The Commonwealth at the Summit

Communiqués of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings 1944-1986

Commonwealth Secretariat

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A WORKING INTERNATIONALISM

Preface by Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal

In September 1943, with the end of the Second World War just beginning to come into sight, Winston Churchill made a now famous speech at Harvard University. His theme was Anglo-American unity; but the wider Commonwealth connection—'the British Commonwealth and Empire' he still called it—was central to his conception of 'fraternal association'. He spoke of the shared heritage of law, language and literature, of common conceptions of what is right and decent—regard for fair play especially to the weak and poor, a sentiment for impartial justice, a love of personal freedom. He saw 'basic English' (on which much work was then being done at Harvard) as 'the headstream of what might well be a mighty fertilising and health-giving river'—'an advantage to many races, an aid to the building up of our new structure for preserving peace'. 'Let us go forward', he concluded, in words that have passed into legend: 'in malice to none and goodwill to all. Such plans offer far better prizes than taking away other people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. *The empires of the future are the empires of the mind*'.

The words with which Churchill ended his oration would have great significance for the future. They were words which would echo through Dumbarton Oaks, through San Francisco and the Charter of the United Nations, and, more specifically, through the decolonisation process which Britain carried forward in such a purposeful fashion in the post-war period. This book brings together the official conclusions of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings from the period just after Churchill's Harvard speech to the present time. These Communiqués, Statements and Declarations from 27 meetings tell in an authoritative way what, I believe, is the rather proud story, of this movement from empire to modern Commonwealth.

It is not for me in this foreword to make an analytical journey through the Communiqués of 42 years. It is precisely to assist that process at the hands of scholars of many disciplines that we have brought them all together in this volume. But, perhaps, it would not be out of place for me to say a word or two by way of introduction in relation to some elements of the process of Commonwealth evolution from which they have emerged.

London Declaration—lynchpin of transition

The evolution of the Commonwealth has occured in a number of distinct phases. It is the transition to the contemporary phase, that of the Commonwealth as a worldwide, multiracial association of sovereign and equal states, that this volume documents. It is a phase characterised by the admission to Commonwealth membership of newly-independent countries from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, joining and momentously changing the 'club' of the old Dominions. It was India's membership from 1947 which signalled and made possible the transition to the modern Commonwealth, both by altering its racial composition and, from the time of the 1949 London

Declaration, by showing that it was possible for the Commonwealth to accommodate republican status. That latter development meant, of course, a changed criterion of membership—allegiance to the British Crown being replaced by recognition of the King as the symbol of the free association and as such Head of the Commonwealth. Not long after the London Declaration, King George VI was succeeded as Head of the Commonwealth by his daughter Queen Elizabeth II whose reign has been virtually contemporaneous with the emergence of the modern Commonwealth.

Summit meetings of the Commonwealth have reflected its inherent flexibility and adaptability to the needs of its members in a changing world. While the Communiqués in this volume run from 1944, it is only since 1971 that they have been Communiqués of 'Heads of Government Meetings', a title capable of embracing national Monarchs, Executive Presidents and Prime Ministers alike. Before that, from 1944 onwards, the summits were known as Prime Ministers Meetings. Significantly, the latter gatherings succeeded the old Imperial Conferences at a time when, near the end of the Second World War, the foundations were being laid for a new world order encompassing many new nationhoods, an order which would decisively reject and move forward from the age of the metropolitan European empires.

With the benefit of hindsight, it would have been neater if the change of name from Imperial Conferences to Prime Ministers Meetings had taken place after 1947, following the admission to the Commonwealth of the first post-war member nations. But history is only neat in retrospect; and both the 1944 Prime Ministers Meeting, though still naturally absorbed with the conduct of the war, and the 1945 Statesmen's Meeting, though called to assist practically with founding the United Nations, together exhaled a forward-looking internationalism and enunciated principles which foreshadowed the theory and practice of the Commonwealth over ensuing decades. The 1946 Prime Ministers Meeting both affirmed the value of Commonwealth co-operation and consultation and, almost for the first time, coupled the promotion of democratic liberty with the raising of standards of living, the quest for security with economic advancement. These are central Commonwealth concerns still. There is thus a logical continuity and progression which justifies beginning this volume in 1944, with the first of the Prime Ministers Meetings, rather than with the first gathering of leaders of the multiracial Commonwealth.

Expanding association of equals

The changing concept of Commonwealth is reflected also in the venues of the summits. London was the setting of all meetings of Commonwealth leaders until the special summit held in Lagos in January 1966 to consider the Rhodesian rebellion, and continued to be so until the Singapore meeting in 1971 began the sequence of Commonwealth summits held at regular two-year intervals in different Commonwealth cities. This sequence has endured up to the present. Nothing would more effectively project the modern Commonwealth as an association of equals than these high-profile gatherings in urban centres across the world. The old Anglocentric Commonwealth had passed into history, replaced by an association with as many centres as members.

The contemporary Commonwealth took root in the great movement of decolonisation which radically transformed the international community after 1945. Now that decolonisation has, for the most part, been accomplished, its success is, perhaps, too easily put down to inevitability. Inevitable it certainly was in the long span of history; yet, in many cases, that was not how it seemed at the time. Independence had to be argued and sometimes struggled for; it

demanded sacrifice and sometimes exacted it. Its achievement required wisdom from both the coloniser and the colonised.

It is also easy to forget the great contribution which the Commonwealth itself made to the process of decolonisation—within the Commonwealth and, by example and encouragement, beyond it. This process both created the association and for long exercised the concern and action of its leaders at their summits. The admission of a new nation to membership is more than the acquisition of someone new in the family; it is a debt of honour paid. The Commonwealth has always stood ready to assist in cases of political difficulty. Normally it is only such cases that are reflected in the Communiqués—as with Belize, whose independence was delayed until 1981 by a dispute over sovereignty, and even more with Zimbabwe, victim of illegal white minority rule leading to armed conflict.

Equally, where members have grave political problems not caused by decolonisation, the Commonwealth stands ready to assist. The situation of Cyprus continues to evoke constructive attention from Commonwealth partners.

Commonwealth Secretariat established

The responsibility for the organisation of official Commonwealth consultations, including the summits, and for the conduct of joint programmes of co-operation, has devolved since 1965 on the Commonwealth Secretariat. The decision to establish the Secretariat is recorded in this volume, with initial consideration at the 1964 summit and a report by officials being followed in 1965 by further consideration, the acceptance by Heads of Government of an Agreed Memorandum on its functions and the appointment of my predecessor, Arnold Smith of Canada, as the first Commonwealth Secretary-General.

These Communiqués show that the idea of a Secretariat was considered at the 1946 summit and rejected. Between 1946 and 1965 the international scene, as well as the minds of Commonwealth leaders, had changed substantially. By 1965, the five Commonwealth members of 1946 had expanded to 21. Now, with 49 partners, and the firm expectation of others to come, it is hard to envisage a Commonwealth without its Secretariat. The great expansion in Commonwealth co-operative activities since 1965 is reflected in these Communiqués; without a central co-ordinating and servicing body, such a range of co-operation would have been impossible. Whether the decision of 1946 was a mistaken one is for the historian to judge. This volume will assist that judgement.

Summits—the Commonwealth way

Commonwealth summits are unique in their duration—normally a full week, compared to the one or two days of most other top-level international meetings—as well as in the flexibility and informality of the proceedings. Their special style and format are cherished because they allow full play to the Commonwealth spirit of friendship and understanding natural among the members of a family of nations which share a heritage of similar practices in education, law, business and administration, and a common respect for pluralism and democracy. These qualities are valued at all levels and in all types of Commonwealth activity, but specially at the summits. And it is at the summits above all that the Commonwealth's shared language of English comes into its own, enabling unambiguous contact between the leaders, a dialogue greatly fostered, without any diminution of forcefulness, by the friendly family

atmosphere, as by the holding of all meetings in strictest privacy and the discouragement of set speeches in favour of direct exchanges between the leaders.

The duration of Commonwealth summits over several days offers the leaders time to nurture personal contact, understanding and friendship between each other. Since the Ottawa summit of 1973, this facility for intimate communication outside the conference room has been reinforced, on a suggestion of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, by a 'retreat', normally at a weekend, away from the venue of the formal sessions in relaxing surroundings.

These retreats have taken the Commonwealth to important milestones of collective decision-making: the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977 seeking to bar apartheid South Africa from sporting links with Commonwealth countries; the Lusaka Accord of 1979 successfully establishing a process for Zimbabwe's independence; the Melbourne Declaration of commitment to conquering global poverty; the Goa Declaration on International Security of 1983; the Commonwealth Accord at Nassau in 1985 agreeing measures to help end apartheid—all these historic agreements were worked out, sometimes with difficulty but always with goodwill, at the retreats. All the Accords and Declarations are printed in this volume alongside the Communiqués of the meetings to the success of which they stand as testimony. The Secretariat is proud to have played an enabling proud in these achievements.

Strengthening the family

The same 1965 summit which established the Secretariat also set up the Commonwealth Foundation to enhance interchanges between professionals in Commonwealth countries. This represented recognition by the Commonwealth of governments of another very different but closely related set of Commonwealth connections, that constituted by the non-governmental, 'unofficial' Commonwealth. Any gathering of like-minded individuals, in activities and professions: from nurses to lawyers, from members of the Commonwealth's many parliaments to surveyors and sportsmen and women—so long as they are bound together by the Commonwealth connection and held under the Commonwealth umbrella, furthers the aim of increased understanding and friendship between people and nations. These Communiqués are not principally concerned with this counterpart, grassroots Commonwealth, but they frequently endorse and encourage it: recognition at the highest political level that without such unofficial contacts inter-governmental activity would be less meaningful. In reality, the Commonwealth of governments and of people are not two separate associations but, rather, two interlocking elements in our Commonwealth partnership which have advanced over the years together.

A third crucial strength was added to the Commonwealth in 1971, with the establishment within the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation to provide assistance in economic and social development to member countries on a multilateral basis. Less than three lines in the 1971 Singapore Communiqué record this decision; yet, the CFTC has grown into possibly the most visible, practical and widely-recognised mechanism of Commonwealth co-operation. With a budget only a fraction of that of many similar bodies in the international family, it has earned a worldwide reputation for highly cost-effective action focused to meet the precise needs expressed by developing countries. That it has been able to achieve so much has been due in large measure to its innovative character as a 'self-help' organisation in which, to a major degree, developing countries themselves provide the experts or

training needed by other developing Commonwealth members, with expertise and facilities also provided where necessary by the developed partner countries. Since all member countries, including the developing members, finance the CFTC on a voluntary basis, its success is a tribute to the value all place upon it.

Other landmarks in practical Commonwealth co-operation emerge from these pages—the leaders' decision to establish a Commonwealth Youth Programme in 1973; their endorsement in 1975 of the Commonwealth Science Council's promotion of the use of science and technology for development; and their support for other co-operative measures: to strengthen co-operation on key economic issues and encourage the North-South dialogue; increase food production and rural development; enhance members' potential for industrial development; promote exports; harmonise legal approaches in Commonwealth-wide schemes; improve managerial expertise, and assist women to contribute fully to national development and public life. They have led to a number of Commonwealth-wide programmes administered by the Secretariat. Education is one of the longest-established areas of co-operation and remains central today. From 1981 onwards, Heads of Government have been specially concerned to foster student mobility throughout the Commonwealth, recognising that educational interaction, endangered by high fees for overseas students in key countries, is one of the most vital strands in the Commonwealth fabric.

Principles—and practice—for our times

In 1971, the achievements of the CFTC lay in the future. In one respect, however, the Singapore meeting that year was a watershed. There, for the first time, the principles which had guided Commonwealth action, and still do today, were set down in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles. This also defined the association's voluntary characteristics and consensual working methods, both directed to enabling its diverse countries to consult and co-operate for their common good and that of the wider world community—doing so in the interests of international understanding, world peace and development. The goals and beliefs set out at Singapore—human liberty and equality, opposition to all racism and colonialism, reducing disparities of wealth between rich and poor countries—blazed a trail not only for Commonwealth member countries but for the whole international community.

I believe that history will acknowledge the Singapore Declaration as a landmark of internationalism. It is no accident that this volume of Communiqués begins with a commitment to peace and to a World Organisation by a Commonwealth locked in the war effort as part of the 'United Nations', and nears its end with the 1985 Nassau Declaration on World Order reaffirming the Commonwealth's commitment to the United Nations after 40 years of that organisation's existence. The Commonwealth has never ceased to be committed to working for a new, more just and harmonious world order of which it is, like the United Nations, an initial if incomplete expression. The principles enunciated at Singapore in 1971 remain a guiding light on the hard road towards that new world.

Recording 40 years of summit-level consultation, these Communiqués are testimony to the effectiveness of a sturdy, commonsense multilateralism true to the association's ideals. The high level of agreement on a very wide range of issues reflected here was achieved, moreover, by the Commonwealth method of consensus, rather than by voting as in most international organisations. It is the Commonwealth belief, justified by experience, that conclusions reached by

consensus, even when for some that involves modifying views to merge with the majority position, create a platform of unity on which progress can be built, while voting tends to clarify and harden division and difference.

The consensus method has demonstrated its continuing validity despite the great increase in Commonwealth membership—from the five partners of 1944 to the 49 of today. That this should be so is a tribute to the Commonwealth spirit which has been present at every summit, however difficult the agenda. And the Communiqués stand for unremitting effort, showing as they do the extent to which it is possible for men and women of goodwill to achieve consensus and eschew disagreement. That the Commonwealth was able to overcome such potentially divisive, even destructive issues as Suez in 1956, the long-drawn-out struggle for Zimbabwe in the 1960s and 70s, Grenada in 1983 and the anti-apartheid sanctions debate in 1985-6, and not just survive but retain intact the will and ability to combine in constructive dialogue towards solutions of unresolved issues, is proof of its tensile strength.

These Communiqués inevitably enshrine both solid achievement and unfulfilled aspiration. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, I believe they fully justify Jawaharlal Nehru's assertion to the Indian Parliament in 1953 that Commonwealth membership would be to 'our and the world's advantage'.

Globally representative

The contemporary Commonwealth has been able to be of benefit both to its members and in a broader international context, because it is a reflection of the modern world. It encompasses countries from every continent and ocean, at every level of development, embracing many different races and religions. Its members come from NATO, from the Non-Aligned Movement and from no particular security grouping; from the Group of Five and (overwhelmingly) the Group of 77, from the OECD and the EEC but also from ASEAN, ECOWAS, SAARC, SADCC, CARICOM and the Pacific Forum. The Commonwealth includes representatives of all types of modern nation state except for the superpowers and the Warsaw Pact bloc, making it easily the most representative body outside the United Nations.

As these Communiqués testify, the small association of old Commonwealth countries of 1944 has grown into a worldwide multiracial partnership in which the countries of 'the South' far outnumber the industrialised 'Northern' members. Yet this Third World membership was implicit even in 1944, when the Communiqué recorded that representatives of India and Southern Rhodesia had joined in the deliberations. The deep roots of Rhodesia within the Commonwealth, illustrated by this reference in the 1944 Communiqué, help to explain the parallel depth of the Commonwealth's commitment to the eventual emergence of an independent Zimbabwe and its welcome to full Commonwealth membership, a goal not fulfilled until 1980. In 1975, the leaders meeting in Kingston offered to welcome a free Namibia to the association, and to work to that end. Zimbabwe showed that the Commonwealth keeps its promises, however long and arduous the effort. That will be true of Namibia, still unjustly denied its freedom by the Pretoria régime. And, it will be true, I believe, of South Africa, a Commonwealth member until in 1961 the association's principled adherence to multiracialism and abhorrence of apartheid forced its withdrawal. The record shows that the association's concern to do all in its power to help end apartheid and enable South Africans of all races to exercise their political rights has strengthened, not diminished, during the long absence of South Africa from the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth was particularly heartened, therefore, by African National

Congress President Oliver Tambo's comment in London in 1986—speaking from the platform of the Royal Commonwealth Society—that for many South Africans South Africa had never really left the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is not simply waiting, but is working—in ways to which I will refer—to help create a situation in which South Africa will be able to resume its place in the association.

The collective positions of the Commonwealth's Heads of Government gain in authority from the unity they bring to differing perspectives. The implied contradiction between the unity of the Commonwealth, represented in the points of agreement recorded in these Communiqués, and the diversity of its membership, is resolved by its innate capacity to build bridges of understanding between different interest groups. The Commonwealth is uniquely qualified to bring 'a touch of healing' to a troubled world, to quote Nehru again. Its diversity only serves to heighten the relevance of its bridge-building and healing qualities to current needs. Because the Commonwealth represents the world, the world's problems are its own.

Serving a vision

In the interdependent global society which the world has already become, but to whose imperatives many of its governments are slow to respond, the need for bridges of understanding could hardly be greater. This volume shows Commonwealth members uniting from the start in the service of the vision of 1945, the vision of a new and more equitable world order of which the United Nations was to be the guardian and the image. Over 40 years later, the multilateral international system centred on the UN is severely strained, the vision which inspired it has dulled and the UN has had to become accustomed to a role much more limited than its founders envisaged and its Charter enjoined.

Old patterns of superpower dominance based on armed might have asserted themselves, and the rash of conflict of various sizes across the globe, often sharpened by the intrusion of great-power rivalries, together with the insecurities felt by many of the world's new nations and the spread of militarisation outwards from the superpower arms race to the countries of the Third World, all testify to the world's need for peace, and for international mechanisms to preserve and promote it. In the global economy, too, fundamental structural problems and inequities survive, and the international financial and trading system remains tilted in favour of the major industrialised nations which were parties to the founding of the Bretton Woods institutions, before the more than 100 new nations launched on to the international scene by decolonisation had made their appearance.

Against this background of general inequality, specific recent developments have worsened the lot of many developing countries—for many, an international debt crisis with repayments of a magnitude which has actually reversed financial flows and made the North a net recipient of funds from the South rather than a transmitter of them: for all developing countries, a struggle against persistent and increasing trade protectionism by the industrialised countries; for some, deepening recession due partly to commodity prices lower in real terms than at any time since the 1930s—prices geared to benefitting the buyer rather than the seller. The arguments of international think-tanks such as the Brandt Commission for mutuality of interest between North and South in an equitable system allowing the Northern economies to benefit from increased trade with an expanding and more prosperous South, have largely gone unheeded, although they have been amplified in many international fora

including those of the Commonwealth. At their worst, the resultant breakdowns in the international system are seen in human terms—in the over 1000 million of the world's absolute poor trapped in a vicious cycle of deprivation whether in the desertified landscapes of sub-Saharan Africa or in the squalid urban half-life endured by the outcasts of many of the world's great cities.

Our leaders have shown themselves alive both to the underlying economic realities and to the human consequences, in the spirit of the association's commitment to greater equity, humanity and justice. At their 1975 summit in Kingston, Jamaica, they demonstrated the Commonwealth's bridge-building, consensual qualities by acting on a proposal by a Prime Minister of a Northern country substantially expanded by a Prime Minister from the South (Harold Wilson and Forbes Burnham) which placed the Commonwealth at the service of growing efforts to establish a new, more equitable, international economic order - adding its distinctive voice to efforts at global reform through negotiation and persuasion in the Commonwealth manner. The Kingston meeting initiated a practical Commonwealth quest for international economic justice which continues to this day, conducted on many fronts and by a range of methods.

Drawing on diversity

One method which the Commonwealth has particularly made its own is the establishment, with Secretariat support, of Commonwealth-wide groups of experts independent of governments who have focussed their differing view points on common problems and proposed overall remedies. In doing so, the expert groups have often been able to assist global, not just Commonwealth, searches for solutions. Their reports have developed a reputation for quality and have received significant attention in international discussion. The report on efforts towards a New International Order resulting from the 1975 Kingston summit, the report on a Common Fund to help stabilise commodity prices arising from London in 1977, Lusaka's request for a study on the world economic crisis in 1979, Melbourne's establishment in 1981 of groups to consider the problems of trade protectionism and of obstacles inhibiting North-South negotiations, New Delhi's call for a study on the developing-country debt problem considered by Finance Ministers and then by the Nassau summit—all these were a continuation both of the general commitment of the 1971 Singapore Declaration and of the specific commitment of Kingston in 1975. The results often remain of direct utility today.

And the method proved transferable to other groups and types of issue. In 1983 the New Delhi summit set up a governmental (as distinct from independent) group from across the Commonwealth with a mandate to help promote agreement on key economic issues, including the reform of the international financial and trading system which had itself been studied by an expert group at the request not of Heads of Government but of Finance Ministers. In 1985 another expert group deriving its mandate from Commonwealth leaders as recommended by Ministers of Labour and Employment reported at Nassau on the management of technological change; and the 1983 New Delhi summit launched a pioneering investigation of direct relevance to the world's smaller nations, many of which belong to the Commonwealth family, by a Consultative Group including government representatives which examined the security problems, both political and economic, faced by small states—with results which were considered at Nassau in 1985.

Equally the Nassau summit called for an expert group to prepare a study of youth unemployment, which was presented to Labour Ministers and

commended by them to the Vancouver summit of late 1987. Also arising from Nassau, the report of another expert group was before the leaders in Vancouver; exploring with both vision and practicality the scope for new Commonwealth co-operation in the field of distance learning, it proposed to harness the Commonwealth's teaching resources and technological possiblities in nothing less than a University of the Commonwealth.

These initiatives show the Commonwealth at work, at various levels in the pyramid of consultation and co-operation but ultimately at the summit as reflected in the Communiqués, and at work in ways employing the association's unique facility to build on unity achieved out of diversity.

A safer world

While the security of small states is a new global issue in which the Commonwealth is a front-runner, the broader issues of international security have never failed to claim the attention of Commonwealth summits, despite the absence of superpowers from the membership and the diversity of alliances and groupings represented. The continuity of concern is apparent in this volume, from the meeting of wartime allies in 1944 right up to Nassau in 1985. In a world which has had to live with the threat of nulear destruction implicit in continuing superpower confrontation, there is clearly need for other voices than those of the superpowers themselves to be raised on matters of East-West—in other words, global—security: for the voice of the Six-Nations Peace Initiative including two Commonwealth countries, and for many other voices including that of the whole Commonwealth.

As far back as 1961, Commonwealth leaders issued a 'Statement on Disarmament' (included in these pages) in which they formulated principles to help the international community reactivate the stalled disarmament negotiations; eventually some of these guidelines were reflected in the new phase of US-Soviet disarmament negotiations. As in the period of detente in the 1960s, so, against a background of hardening superpower postures in 1983, the Commonwealth in its Goa Declaration on International Security urged a reduction of tension, the end of the arms race and constructive East-West dialogue. What may have seemed optimistic, even unrealistic, in India proved not to be so by the time of the 1985 Bahamas meeting. At Nassau, Heads of Government were able to welcome the resumption of US-Soviet arms talks; and in 1986 there was the superpower summit at Reykjavik—a failure in some respects but one which, in the breathtaking glimpse it provided of a world free from nuclear thraldom, lights the way to new efforts towards a secure and peaceful global society.

In the particular context of the 1961 meeting, I invite attention to a central feature of Commonwealth summits, namely, that they are constructive even when they appear most controversial. In 1961, the Commonwealth faced up squarely to the traumatic issue of South Africa's withdrawal; yet this crisis caused by adherence to principle did not prevent the leaders from conceiving constructive proposals on disarmament which proved of real benefit to the entire international community. In the same spirit, the Singapore summit of 1971 was notable not only for its disharmonies on the issue of arms sales to South Africa but also for its formulation of the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles and for establishing the CFTC. The New Delhi summit, despite differing viewpoints on the US invasion of Grenada, united in initiating an appraisal of the broad security problems of all small states. In the same way, the 1985 Nassau summit was undeterred by its failure to achieve complete unanimity on substantial sanctions against South Africa, and went on to couple

a more modest sanctions programme with a far-reaching practical effort to promote a dialogue for peaceful change in South Africa.

Ending apartheid

As a key part of this effort, the mission of the Eminent Persons Group to South Africa in 1986, although robbed of the success which seemed within reach, was in the highest Commonwealth traditions and shed fresh lustre on the association. Their conclusions led, in the short term, to the further sanctions agreed in the summer of 1986 by the London Review Meeting with which this volume concludes and, already, have been a catalytic factor in the intensification of global pressure for the ending of apartheid. Moreover, their report, *Mission to South Africa*, is widely recognised as a central text on the contemporary South African situation.

The struggle to eliminate apartheid from South Africa may be in its final phase, but it is far from over. In its Commonwealth dimension it will call to the full on all the association's consensual qualities, all its abilities to create cohesion out of what unites human beings rather than what divides them. It will demand the most vigorous application of humanitarian principles deriving from acknowledgement of our common humanity, a community of compassion written deep into the Commonwealth's Singapore Declaration.

The future must also hold unseen and undefined challenges. These Communiqués reveal a Commonwealth which will not flinch from playing its part in meeting them and from pointing the way for others to do so as well.

I hope many who peruse these pages will penetrate beyond their value as historical record to the human realities with which they are concerned. The Communiqués deal with problems often literally meaning life and death for the human beings involved, and they were written by men and women concerned to change things for the better. It is easier for me than for most readers to remember the authors of these Communiqués because in recent decades I have been privileged to know them and to share their efforts and their friendship. Many of them have been outstanding personalities who have shaped and benefited the times in which we live. They have been builders of their own nations and of a better world. They did not forget that governments exist for people, not the contrary. It is to them, and to their memories, that this record of their endeavours is dedicated.

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1944

(London 1-16 May)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1944

(London, 1-16 May)

DECLARATION SIGNED BY THE FIVE PRIME MINISTERS

We, The King's Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, have now, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, been able to meet together to discuss common problems and future plans. The representatives of India at the War Cabinet and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia have joined in our deliberations and are united with us.

At this memorable meeting, in the fifth year of the war, we give thanks for deliverance from the worst perils which have menaced us in the course of this long and terrible struggle against tyranny. Though hard and bitter battles lie ahead, we now see before us, in the ever-growing might of the forces of the United Nations, and in the defeats already inflicted on the foe, by land, by sea and in the air, the sure presage of our future victory.

To all our Armed Forces who in many lands are preserving our liberties with their lives, and to the peoples of all our countries whose efforts, fortitude and conviction have sustained the struggle, we express our admiration and gratitude. We honour the famous deeds of the Forces of the United States and of Soviet Russia, and pay our tribute to the fighting tenacity of the many states and nations joined with us. We remember indeed the prolonged, stubborn resistance of China, the first to be attacked by the authors of world-aggression, and we rejoice in the unquenchable spirit of our comrades in every country still in the grip of the enemy. We shall not turn from the conflict till they are restored to freedom. Not one who marches with us shall be abandoned.

We have examined the part which the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations should bear against Germany and Japan, in harmony with our Allies. We are in cordial agreement with the general plans which have been laid before us. As in the days when we stood all alone against Germany, we affirm our inflexible and unwearying resolve to continue in the general war with the utmost of our strength until the defeat and downfall of our cruel, barbarous foes has been accomplished. We shall hold back nothing to reach the goal and bring to the speediest end the agony of mankind.

We have also examined together the principles which determine our foreign policies, and their application to current problems. Here too we are in complete agreement.

We are unitedly resolved to continue, shoulder to shoulder with our Allies, all needful exertions which will aid our Fleets, Armies and Air Forces during the war and thereafter to make sure of an enduring peace. We trust and pray that the victory, which will certainly be won, will carry with it a sense of hope and freedom for all the world. It is our aim that, when the storm and passions of war have passed away, all countries now overrun by the enemy shall be free to decide for themselves their future form of democratic government.

Mutual respect and honest conduct between nations is our chief desire. We are determined to work with all peace-loving peoples in order that tyranny and aggression shall be removed or, if need be, struck down wherever it raises its head. The peoples of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations willingly make their sacrifices to the common cause. We seek no advantages for ourselves at the cost of others. We desire the welfare and social advance of all nations and that they may help each other to better and broader days.

We affirm that after the war a World Organization to maintain peace and security should be set up and endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence.

In a world torn by strife, we have met here in unity. That unity finds its strength, not in any formal bond but in the hidden springs from which human action flows. We rejoice in our inheritance of loyalties and ideals, and proclaim our sense of kinship to one another. Our system of free association has enabled us, each and all, to claim a full share of the common burden. Although spread across the globe, we have stood together through the stresses of two World Wars, and have been welded the stronger thereby. We believe that when victory is won and peace returns, this same free association, this inherent unity of purpose, will make us able to do further service to mankind.

l6 May l944

Winston S Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
W L Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada
John Curtin, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia
Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand
J C Smuts, FM, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa

COMMONWEALTH STATESMEN'S MEETING 1945

(London 4-13 April)

COMMONWEALTH STATESMEN'S MEETING, 1945

(London, 4-13 April)

A Commonwealth Statesmen's Meeting (distinct from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Meeting) was held in London to consider proposals for the Charter of United Nations

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

On the eve of the meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco which is to consider the establishment of a new world organisation to secure and maintain peace, we, the representatives of the countries of the British Commonwealth, have met together in London.

We are convinced that only the maintenance after the war of the close co-operation between the United Nations which has brought, and is bringing, success to their arms can prevent the recurrence of strife between the governments and peoples of the world. The countries of the British Commonwealth stand ready to play their full part in an international organisation for the purpose of preserving international peace and security and promoting human welfare.

We have examined, generally and in detail, the tentative proposals resulting from the Dumbarton Oaks conversations and we have had a valuable exchange of views. We are agreed that the proposals provide the basis for a charter of such an organisation, fully recognising that in certain respects they call for clarification, improvement, and expansion.

Each of the countries assembled here will be represented at the San Francisco Conference. Through their representatives it will be the purpose of the peoples and the governments of the British Commonwealth in all the continents to work for the establishment of a world order which will be worthy of the immense sacrifice made by our peoples and designed to unite the nations in assuring all men in all the lands economic and social advancement in conditions of freedom, peace, and concord.

13 April 1945

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon F M Forde, Deputy Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Lord Cranborne, Dominion Secretary
Canada	The Rt Hon Stanley Bruce, High Commissioner in London
India	Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member, Viceroy's Executive Council
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Peter Fraser, Prime Minister
South Africa	The Rt Hon Field Marshall J C Smuts, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1946

(London 23 April-25 May)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1946

(London, 23 April-25 May)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

In the course of the last five weeks the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable C R Attlee, and several of his Cabinet colleagues, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable W L Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable J B Chifley, and the Australian Minister of External Affairs, the Right Honourable H V Evatt, the Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Right Honourable W Nash, and the Prime Minister of South Africa, Field-Marshal the Right Honourable J C Smuts, have engaged in informal consultations on a number of questions arising in connection with the post-war settlements.

The representatives of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa desire to place on record their sincere thanks to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for presiding over the meetings and for his constant and valuable help.

The discussions have been in the nature of an informal exchange of views. They have covered a broad field and have contributed greatly to the elucidation of many problems and to a mutual understanding of the issues involved. Among the subjects on which views were exchanged were the draft Peace Treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland; the future of Germany; security responsibilities and arrangements for liaison between British Commonwealth Governments on military affairs; and economic and welfare co-operation in the South Pacific and South-East Asia. The opportunity was taken for consultations on other current issues and matters of mutual interest, including separate consultations between individual United Kingdom and Dominion Ministers on questions specially affecting one or two countries only.

At the conclusion of the meetings, the assembled representatives of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa place on record their appreciation of the value of this series of consultations, which exemplifies the system of free discussion and exchange of views that characterises the relations of the countries of the British Commonwealth. The existing methods of consultation have proved their worth. They include a continuous exchange of information and comment between the different members of the Commonwealth. They are flexible and can be used to meet a variety of situations and needs, both those where the responsibility is on one member alone and where the responsibility may have to be shared. They are peculiarly appropriate to the character of the British Commonwealth, with its independent members who have shown by their sacrifices in the common cause their devotion to kindred ideals and their community of outlook. While all are willing to consider and adopt practical proposals for developing the existing system, it is agreed that the methods now practised are preferable to any rigid centralised machinery. In their view such centralised machinery would not facilitate, and might even

hamper, the combination of autonomy and unity which is characteristic of the British Commonwealth and is one of their great achievements.

They reaffirm their belief in the efficacy of free and constant consultation and co-operation, not only within the British Commonwealth but also in the wider international sphere. They are determined to do everything in their power to maintain in time of peace the historic co-operation achieved by the Allies in time of war. They look forward to the steady development throughout the whole world of closer international co-operation based on increasing mutual confidence and devoted to the raising of standards of living and the promotion of democratic liberty. Their Governments and peoples are determined to give the fullest support to the United Nations Organisation, not only as a foundation of peace and security, but also as a means of promoting economic progress and social welfare.

23 May 1946

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon J B Chifley, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon C R Attlee, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon W L Mackenzie King, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon W Nash, Deputy Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	The Rt Hon Field Marshall J C Smuts, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1948

(London 11-22 October)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1948

(London, 11-22 October)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Final Plenary Session of the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held at No. 10 Downing Street this morning. At the end of the meeting the representatives of the other Commonwealth Governments placed on record their sincere thanks to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for presiding over the meetings and for his constant and valuable help.

2. The purpose of these informal meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers is to provide opportunities for a free exchange of views on matters of common concern.

3. The meetings held during the past two weeks have covered many such matters of common concern, including international relations, economic affairs and defence. The discussions have shown a substantial community of outlook among all the Commonwealth Governments in their approach to the present world problems. Fundamentally, this approach is based upon their support of the principles and purposes of the United Nations and their determination to make its work more effective. All the Commonwealth Governments are resolved to work together to establish world peace on a democratic basis.

4. In furtherance of these objectives, the representatives of Commonwealth Governments affirmed their purpose to build up the economic strength of their countries and to take all necessary measures to deter and resist aggression. At the same time they will do their utmost to encourage an increased production of wealth so as to achieve a just standard of living, especially for the people of the less developed countries of the world, as a constructive contribution to the preservation of world peace.

5. The economic forecast for the coming years made by the United Kingdom Government for the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation was considered in order to give the other Commonwealth countries an opportunity to examine its implications for their own economies. The conference reaffirmed the need for all the Commonwealth Governments, in formulating their policies, to consult with one another, so far as practicable, so that each can co-operate by taking into account the needs and policies of the others.

6. The United Kingdom Government outlined the nature of its association with other Western European nations under the Brussels Treaty, as a regional association within the terms of the United Nations Charter. There was general agreement that this association of the United Kingdom with her European neighbours to build up their economies and to deter aggression was in accord with the interests of the other members of the Commonwealth and also of world peace. It was agreed that other Commonwealth Governments should be kept fully informed of the progress of this co-operation with Western Europe.

7. The discussions showed a general desire to maintain and extend methods of consultation between all the Governments of the Commonwealth. Detailed recommendations for improving Commonwealth consultation on foreign affairs, economic affairs and defence are being submitted to the Governments for consideration and decision.

8. The Meeting recorded its support for Ceylon's application for membership of the United Nations. The representatives of all the other Commonwealth Governments took note of the constitutional documents published by the Ceylon Government in Ceylon Sessional Paper XXII of 1947 under the title 'The Independence of Ceylon' and in Ceylon Sessional Paper III of 1948 under the title 'The Constitution of Ceylon.' They agreed to take this opportunity of their meeting in London to place on record their recognition of Ceylon's independence and to affirm that Ceylon enjoys the same sovereign independent status as the other self-governing countries of the Commonwealth which are members of the United Nations.

9. This meeting included for the first time the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Their presence symbolised the extension of the bounds of democratic freedom which reflects the spirit and steadfast purpose of the Commonwealth. These new representatives of sovereign nations brought to the deliberations of their colleagues from the other free countries of the Commonwealth the wisdom of their ancient civilisations vivified by the dynamism of the modern age. This blending of the West and the East in the lofty task of building a lasting peace on the foundations of freedom, justice and economic prosperity provides a new hope for harassed mankind.

21 October 1948

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon H V Evatt, Deputy Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Clement Attlee, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon W L Mackenzie King, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon D S Senanayake, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Peter Fraser, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister
Southern Rhodesia	The Rt Hon Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	The Hon E H Louw, Minister of Mines and Economic Affairs

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1949

(London 22-27 April)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1949

(London, 22-27 April)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

During the past week the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have met in London to exchange views upon the important constitutional issues arising from India's decision to adopt a republican form of constitution and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth.

The discussions have been concerned with the effects of such a development upon the existing structure of the Commonwealth and the constitutional relations between its members. They have been conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding, and have had as their historical background the traditional capacity of the Commonwealth to strengthen its unity of purpose while adapting its organisation and procedures to changing circumstances.

After full discussion the representatives of the Governments of all the Commonwealth countries have agreed that the conclusions reached should be placed on record in the following declaration:-

> The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe a common allegiance to the Crown, which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.
>
> The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that under the new constitution which is about to be adopted India shall become a sovereign independent Republic. The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of The King as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.
>
> The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration.
>
> Accordingly the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress.

These constitutional questions have been the sole subject of discussion at the full meetings of Prime Ministers.

26 April 1949

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon J B Chifley, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Clement Attlee, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon L B Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs
Ceylon	The Hon D S Senanayake, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Peter Fraser, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	Dr The Hon D F Malan, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1951

(London 4-13 January)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1951

(London, 4-13 January)

DECLARATION BY COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS

The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Southern Rhodesia, and the South African Minister for the Interior, representing the Prime Minister of South Africa, desire, before concluding the present London Meeting, to state in simple terms some of the great principles which have inspired the discussions and strengthened mutual understanding.

Our historic Commonwealth, which comprises one-fourth of the world's population and extends over all the continents and oceans of the world, is singularly well constituted to enable it to study and in some measure to comprehend the vexed questions which beset the world. These do not fit neatly into old patterns. In Europe there are grave and urgent problems which must be solved, and in Asia the rise of new nations and new national unities must be recognised, if peace is to be secured on a basis of justice and prosperity.

The Commonwealth has the unique quality of embracing nations and peoples from every continent. Our own meetings have, therefore, given us special knowledge, and have left us with a special sense of responsibility.

We are, both jointly and severally, pledged to peace. This is not merely a pledge given to other nations; it is solemnly given to our own.

We believe that there are certain courses which must be pursued if real peace is to come.

First, the wounds of the last war must be healed; settlements with Germany and Japan should be made with speed.

Second, we must do what we can to understand those who appear to differ from us. The great antidote to war is hope; its greatest promoter is despair. When we say that war is not inevitable, we do not just mean that we shall prepare and be strong, and that our strength may deter aggression. We also mean that, in a world worn out and distorted by war, there must be an overwhelming majority of the people of all lands who want peace. We must not despair of reaching them. In all our discussions we have made it clear to each other, as we now do to the world, that as Commonwealth Prime Ministers we would welcome any feasible arrangement for a frank exchange of views with Stalin or with Mao Tse Tung. We should, in the name of common humanity, make a supreme effort to see clearly into each other's hearts and minds.

We do not seek to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet Union or China or any other country; we are simply determined to retain the mastery of our own affairs, without fear of aggression.

It is with these considerations in mind that in the last few days we have directed our efforts to the securing of a cessation of hostilities in Korea, so that around the conference table the Great Powers concerned may compose their differences on a basis which will strengthen the United Nations and fulfil the purposes of the Charter.

We all have deep within us a faith in the existence of a purpose of justice in this world, and we believe it to be our duty to forward it by everything we do. Indeed, this sustaining, faith derives added strength from the fact that at our meetings it has been simply and sincerely expressed by men of different races, traditions and creeds.

We think it proper to declare once more that the Commonwealth countries, though they have a special and precious association which they value profoundly, do not regard themselves as some sort of exclusive body. They welcome co-operation with other nations. It has been their privilege to be able to work closely with the United States of America, whose efforts in the direction of assisting many war-stricken nations are warmly regarded, and whose practical support of the United Nations has contributed much to the strength of that organisation. We will at all times seek, by process of discussion, to promote the utmost harmony among ourselves and to arrive at common international policies with the United States, and with all other friendly and co-operative nations.

Our support of the United Nations needs no re-affirmation. The Commonwealth and the United Nations are not inconsistent bodies. On the contrary, the existence of the Commonwealth, linked together by ties of friendship, common purpose and common endeavour, is a source of power behind the Charter.

We of the Commonwealth recognise that the peace and prosperity of the free world cannot be assured while millions live in poverty. We are therefore resolved, while keeping our own economies strong, to promote economic and social development in the under-developed countries, by providing such financial and economic assistance as we can command and by making full use of our resources of scientific and technical experience. The Colombo Plan is practical evidence of this intention. The Commonwealth countries concerned will continue to contribute, to the full extent of their ability, towards the execution of this and similar schemes for developing economic resources and raising social standards.

In brief, the problem of peace is that of removing the causes of war; of easing tension and promoting understanding; of assisting those less-developed nations which need our aid; of being at all times willing to discuss our differences without foolishly assuming that all attempts to secure peace are a form of 'appeasement'. We will cultivate the friendships we now have, and hope that with wise approaches differences may become less and ultimately disappear.

But, while we say these things with a full heart, we are bound to add that, so long as the fear of aggression exists, we will have to strengthen our defences with all speed and diligence. This may well result in placing heavy burdens upon our peoples. It is our firm belief that that the rule of law should govern human conduct; and we are prepared to accept whatever sacrifices may be necessary to uphold, with all other nations, those principles of international law and order which are essential conditions for world peace and progress.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The final session of the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held at No.10 Downing Street this afternoon.

The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth had agreed that at this critical time it was desirable to supplement and reinforce by personal discussions the regular exchange of information and views which is maintained at all times through the High Commissioners in Commonwealth capitals. Against the background of the common understanding thus secured, decisions can be reached more readily by Commonwealth Governments on specific questions of policy. The discussions which the Prime Ministers have held during the past ten days over a wide range of topics have once again revealed a harmony of view that gives a sense of confidence and strength in this time of international tension.

The main purpose of the present Meeting was to review the international situation, and to consider what further positive action Commonwealth Governments could take to secure and preserve world peace.

There was agreement on the urgency and importance of promoting a satisfactory settlement in the Far East. The current discussions on this question in the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations were kept under daily review during the course of the Meeting; and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were able to exchange views regarding the means by which their representatives in New York could best advance those discussions towards a successful conclusion. It is their earnest hope that the fresh approach which has now been made in the First Committee may lead to a settlement of outstanding issues in the Far East.

The Prime Ministers discussed the terms of a peace settlement for Japan and the safeguards which it might include. They affirmed their belief that the early conclusion of a Japanese Peace Treaty was an urgent need.

The Prime Ministers considered the situation in the Middle East. They agreed that the stability and welfare of this area, and its maintenance as a vital artery of communications, are of deep concern to all Commonwealth countries.

The Meeting also reviewed the situation in Europe. The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Canada, whose Governments are signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty, explained their obligations under the terms of that Treaty and the measures which are being taken to meet them. The Prime Ministers took note of the progress made in re-establishing the economy of Western Europe on a sound basis. By strengthening the ability of the European democracies to maintain their national integrity, this has made a valuable contribution to the security of the free world.

The Prime Ministers examined the economic problems arising from current shortages of raw materials. They agreed that, apart from any comprehensive international organisation for handling raw materials problems, there was need for closer and more regular consultation between the Commonwealth countries on all questions of supply and production. They agreed to recommend to their respective Governments that the existing Commonwealth

machinery for consultation on economic questions should be strengthened for this purpose.

In a separate declaration the Prime Ministers have affirmed the common purpose of the Commonwealth countries to preserve world peace.

Several of the Prime Ministers will be remaining in London for a few days longer and will take this opportunity of discussing matters lying outside the scope of the Meeting now concluded.

12 January 1951

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Clement Attlee, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon L S St Laurent, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon D S Senanayake, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon S G Holland, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister
Southern Rhodesia	The Rt Hon Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	Dr The Hon T E Donges, Minister of the Interior

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1953

(London 3-9 June)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1953

(London, 3-9 June)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The final plenary session of the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held this afternoon.

The Prime Ministers have met at a time of general rejoicing. The presence at the Coronation of representatives of all parts of the Commonwealth has illustrated the unity and the variety of the Commonwealth association of which Her Majesty is the Head. The discussions which the Prime Ministers have held once more demonstrated the concord which exists between all the Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth, despite their varying interests and circumstances, in their approach to the major problems of the world today.

This sense of concord has been strengthened by the discussions of the past week. These have enabled the Prime Ministers to undertake a comprehensive and realistic review of the international situation; and there has been a personal exchange of views which will help all the Commonwealth Governments to continue their conduct of foreign relations with renewed understanding of the policies and interests of their partners in the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers found it specially valuable to have this opportunity for personal discussions so shortly before the proposed meeting at Bermuda between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of France. They reviewed the state of relations with the Soviet Union and agreed that no opportunity should be lost of composing, or at least easing, the differences which at present divide the world. But they recognised that the democracies must maintain their strength and exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve their rights and liberties.

The Prime Ministers reviewed recent developments in Western Europe. The Commonwealth countries associated with or interested in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation expressed the hope that the European Defence Community would be established at the earliest possible date.

The Prime Ministers followed with close interest the concluding phases of the armistice negotiations in Korea. They noted with gratification that long and patient labours have now led to the conclusion of an agreement on prisoners of war and thus made way for the early signature of the Armistice Agreement. They exchanged views on the steps which will have to be considered after the end of hostilities in Korea for the promotion of stability and progress throughout the Far East and South-East Asia.

The current problems of the Middle East were also discussed. The Prime Ministers recognised the international importance of the Suez Canal and of the effective maintenance of the military installations in the Canal Zone. They agreed that it is in the common interest that the outstanding issues in the

Middle East should be settled on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of the Middle East countries, consistently with the sovereignty of each, and promoting their social and economic development.

The Prime Ministers reviewed developments in the economic field following the Commonwealth Economic Conference of December, 1952. They agreed that the Commonwealth countries should adhere firmly to the long-term objectives and lines of policy then laid down. In the meantime it was essential to take advantage of the improved outlook for the sterling area by continuing to strengthen the economy of each of the countries concerned. Particular attention was given to the need for stimulating economic development for expanding exports and, consistently with the maintenance of adequate reserves, for removing progressively restrictions on trade over as wide an area as possible and especially within the Commonwealth and the sterling area.

Throughout this Coronation period the Prime Ministers have taken advantage of many opportunities for informal talks on matters of particular interest to two or more countries and on general subjects which have not been discussed in the plenary sessions. Although those sessions are now over, some of the Prime Ministers will be remaining in London for a further period during which these exchanges will be continued.

9 June 1953

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon L S St Laurent, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon D S Senanayake, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon S G Holland, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister
Southern Rhodesia	The Rt Hon Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	Dr The Hon D F Malan, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1955

(London 26 January-9 February)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1955

(London, 26 January-9 February)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Governments of the member nations of the Commonwealth are resolved to do their utmost to ease international strain. It is their aim, not only to bring any open hostilities to an end, but to promote conditions in which real peace can grow and thrive so that freedom and plenty may be enjoyed by all peoples.

Since the last Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in 1953, agreements have been reached in various parts of the world which have had the effect of removing differences and widening the area of understanding among Governments and peoples. The Prime Ministers welcomed the settlement of the Trieste dispute. They recorded their satisfaction that, in the Middle East, the United Kingdom's differences with Egypt and Iran had been resolved. They looked forward to closer collaboration between all the countries of that area so that its economic development and the welfare of its peoples could be advanced. They welcomed, in South-East Asia, the end of hostilities in Indo-China and stressed the need for strict adherence to the conditions of the Geneva Agreement and for increased welfare and stability in that area.

The Prime Ministers were informed that the Commonwealth countries associated with the North Atlantic Treaty were convinced that the early ratification of the Agreements reached in London and Paris and the acceptance of Federal Germany into the community of the Western nations would mark an important advance towards the security and cohesion of Western Europe.

The Prime Ministers met at a time of tension in the Far East. In view of developments which occured during their Meeting, their discussions of this problem assumed a special significance. They were united in their conviction that it was necessary that incidents should be avoided while means were sought for a peaceful outcome. They were confident that the intimate and personal discussions which they had held at this Meeting would be a valuable foundation for future consultations, with one another and with other countries directly concerned and for the development of their policies on this question.

The Prime Ministers noted the improvement in the outlook for world trade and prosperity which had taken place since the Commonwealth Finance Ministers met at Sydney in January 1954. They recognised that Commonwealth countries had made a substantial contribution to this by maintaining the stability of their currencies, by continuing their development programmes, in which the Colombo Plan had played its part, and by expanding their production. They had also continued their progressive approach towards the widest practicable system of trade and payments, which best serves the interest of the sterling area and Canada.

The Prime Ministers affirmed their determination to continue these policies of economic progress. They agreed, in particular, that all Commonwealth

countries should strive to develop further their resources and their earning power. By these means they could best consolidate their strength and make an increased contribution to economic stability throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers gave anxious thought to the problems of nuclear energy. The latest discoveries confront humanity with a force which is almost beyond the capacity of man's brain to comprehend or measure. They present a choice and a challenge. Is this vast power to be developed for the benefit of man, or is it to be used to bring ruin upon the human race?

The Prime Ministers once again declare that their countries will never embark upon aggression. Indeed, it is their hope that, when the peoples of the world understand the magnitude of the disaster which world war would bring all nations will shrink from violence and follow peaceful means of settling their differences. The annihilating power of the new weapons renders it imperative that sanity should prevail and that war should be prevented.

It is the aim of the Commonwealth countries to work for a disarmament agreement which includes forces and weapons of all kinds and is both comprehensive and effective. Commonwealth Governments have already devoted much time and thought to producing and furthering practical plans to achieve this purpose, and two of the Commonwealth countries are members of the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

With international accord on disarmament, it would become possible to turn the vast resources of atomic energy increasingly into channels which benefit mankind. The Prime Ministers were informed of the progress made by the United Kingdom Government in the use of atomic energy for industrial and other peaceful purposes. They looked forward to the prospects of continued close co-operation between the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries in the development of the civil uses of atomic energy.

In the course of the Meeting, the Prime Minister of Pakistan informed the other Prime Ministers that Pakistan was about to adopt a republican form of constitution but desired to remain a member of the Commonwealth. They were assured that the people of Pakistan were resolved to maintain, despite this constitutional change, their steadfast adherence to the Commonwealth and their recognition of the Crown as the symbol of the free association of its sovereign members. In a declaration issued on February 4 they signified their agreement that Pakistan should continue on this basis to be a full member of the Commonwealth after becoming a republic. All the Prime Ministers reaffirmed that their countries would remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress.

The Commonwealth is a unique association. Its countries contain a fourth of the world's population, embracing people of many races and religions. Among its members are countries of importance in all quarters of the globe. Its strength and influence in the world today are derived from this and from a common outlook which, in spite of differences of geography, religion and race, evokes a broadly similar response to most international problems of the day.

The Commonwealth countries do not pursue any selfish purpose. They seek no aggrandisement and will always oppose aggression. In concert with all who

share their ideals, they are resolved to do their utmost to further the cause of peace throughout the world.

8 February 1955

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon L S St Laurent, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Rt Hon Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Rt Hon Sir Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon S G Holland, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	The Hon C R Swart, Deputy Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1956

(London 27 June-6 July)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1956

(London, 27 June-6 July)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

During the past ten days Commonwealth Prime Ministers have together reviewed the current state of international affairs. Their discussions have again revealed a sense of common purpose in their approach to the major problems of the day. The peoples of the Commonwealth all share the common heritage of Parliamentary democracy. They respect aspirations for freedom and self-government, and they take pride in what they themselves have done in helping to fulfil those aspirations.

This Meeting has been held at a significant stage in the development of international relations. A new element has been introduced by the growing recognition of the devastating power of thermo-nuclear weapons. Other developments of importance have taken place in the world, including changes in the Soviet Union. The common understanding which the Prime Ministers have reached in their review will form a valuable background which will assist each Government in the formulation and pursuit of its national policies.

Despite the high hopes with which the world emerged from the last war, new international tensions developed. These have given rise to increasing fears and suspicion. They have resulted in vast expenditures on armaments and economic distortions which have delayed the full development of the world's natural resources for the common good.

The Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth are united in their desire for peace. They seek friendly relations with all the peoples of the world and have no aggressive intent or design. War would bring disaster for many; world war could mean destruction for all. The policies of all Commonwealth countries will at all times be devoted to preserving and consolidating world peace. The Prime Ministers emphasised the importance they attach to the search for a comprehensive disarmament agreement.

The Commonwealth Governments will strive for a progressive improvement in the standards of life of their own peoples and will assist in similar efforts in other parts of the world. Since the end of the war, in addition to furthering their own economic development, they have done much to assist the development of other countries, through the United Nations and such organisations as the Colombo Plan, the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara and by other means. They will continue in their efforts to secure prosperity as well as peace for all the peoples of the world.

In the course of the Meeting the Prime Ministers reviewed the significant developments in the Soviet Union in the context of international relations and world affairs. In this assessment they were helped by the reports made by those Ministers who have recently visited the Soviet Union or have held elsewhere personal discussions with the new Soviet leaders. The Prime Ministers

considered the recent decisions of the Soviet Government to reduce the numbers in their armed forces, their willingness to facilitate increased contacts between the Soviet Union and other countries, and their expressed desire for improved relations with other Governments. They welcomed these developments. A progressive improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the other Great Powers would help to remove the fear of war and serve the interests of world peace. They believe, however, that the removal of the causes of tension and the creation of mutual confidence and goodwill are essential if peace is to rest on secure foundations. The Governments of the Commonwealth countries will persevere in the search for just and lasting settlements of outstanding international problems. Unless such settlements can be reached, resources which might otherwise be used to improve the lot of man will continue to be devoted to armaments; and the fears which impel the peoples of the world to accept the burdens of defence will continue to distract and weaken mankind.

The Prime Ministers noted with regret that, since their last Meeting, no progress had been made towards German unity. They were informed of current proposals regarding the political and economic activities of the North Atlantic Alliance and the development of closer economic co-operation in Europe.

The Prime Ministers considered the situation in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their interest in the peace and stability of this area. They welcomed the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ensure observance of the terms of the armistice agreements between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States. They agreed that all practicable steps should be urgently taken to consolidate the progress thus made and to seek a lasting settlement of this dispute.

The Prime Ministers were informed of the situation in Cyprus, and welcomed the unceasing efforts of the United Kingdom Government to find a solution acceptable to all concerned.

The Prime Ministers reviewed the situation in the Far East and South-East Asia. They noted the part which was being played by certain Commonwealth Governments in seeking to maintain peace in Indo-China. They looked forward to a continuing relaxation of tension in the Formosa area, and expressed the hope that unremitting efforts would be made to this end. Peaceful settlements of the problems in this area are imperative for stability in the Far East and for removing the dangers of conflict which would frustrate the hopes of peace. The Prime Ministers heard with interest a report from the Prime Minister of New Zealand on his recent visit to Japan. They were informed of the progress of constitutional advance in Malaya and of the negotiations on constitutional development in Singapore.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction that Ceylon and certain other countries had recently been admitted to the United Nations. They recognised the important part which members of the Commonwealth had played in securing this extension of the Organisation. They expressed the hope that its membership could be broadened still further so that it might command a wider allegiance throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers agreed that it was of first importance for their countries to maintain and increase their economic strength. Each country, through sound internal economic policies and steady development of its resources and earning power, could help to strengthen the Commonwealth and the sterling area, and move steadily towards the agreed objective of the widest practicable system of trade and payments. The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the United Kingdom's determination to maintain and improve its capacity to serve as a source of capital for development in Commonwealth countries. They received reports on the development programmes of certain members of the Commonwealth. The Prime Ministers exchanged views on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. They agreed that the civil use of nuclear energy constituted a valuable new sphere if co-operation within the Commonwealth, as well as with other countries, and they noted with satisfaction the progress already made in this field. The Commonwealth countries are already a major source of world supplies of uranium and thorium, and their resources in these materials are increasing. In most of these countries research organisations have been established to develop the use of nuclear energy as a source of power.

During the course of the Meeting, the Prime Minister of Ceylon stated that, in accordance with their declared policy, the Ceylon Government proposed to introduce in due course a republican constitution for Ceylon. He also stated that it was their intention that Ceylon should continue to be a member of the Commonwealth. The other Prime Ministers took note of this statement, and expressed their agreement to Ceylon's remaining a member of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers considered the particular position of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in relation to Meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Taking into account the twenty years' attendance first by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and now by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, they agreed that they would welcome the continued participation of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Apart from the consideration of matters which are of common concern to all Commonwealth countries, these Meetings also afford opportunities for discussions outside the formal sessions. Advantage has been taken of these opportunities on this occasion. The continuing exchange of views on matters of common concern is an important element in the relationship between the member countries of the Commonwealth. It is of the utmost value that this should be supplemented at intervals by personal contacts between the political leaders of the Commonwealth countries, and in a rapidly changing world the need for these direct consultations has assumed a new importance.

6 July 1956

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon L S St Laurent, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon Mrs S W R D Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Rt Hon Viscoûnt Malvern, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon S G Holland, Prime Minister
Pakistan	The Hon Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	The Hon S G Strijdom, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1957

(London 26 June-5 July)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1957

(London, 26 June-5 July)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was concluded today. This was the first Commonwealth Meeting at which Ghana was represented, following her attainment of independence in March 1957. Other Commonwealth Ministers welcomed Ghana's participation in the Meeting as a full member of the Commonwealth, and took note of this occasion as further practical evidence of the progress made by the United Kingdom Government in the pursuit of their policy of fostering constitutional development in their dependent territories.

In the course of their discussions the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed all the major international questions of the day which are of common concern to their countries. In this association of free and independent nations it is inevitable that there should be some differences of viewpoint and opinion. But these Meetings reveal a broad similarity of approach and purpose. It is not their function, nor is it the object of this communique, to record agreed decisions or formal resolutions. Their value lies in the opportunity which they afford for a full and candid exchange of views in the light of which each Commonwealth Government can formulate and pursue its separate policies with deeper knowledge and understanding of the views and interests of its fellow members.

The primary objective of all Commonwealth Governments is world peace and security. They believe that this objective can only be assured by increased co-operation between nations. They themselves accept the principle and practice of co-operation: it is the foundation of their own association: they will continue to work for its wider adoption.

The United Nations was designed to provide one of the main opportunities for the practical exercise of the principle of co-operation between nations. Experience has, however, revealed certain deficiencies and weaknesses in the functioning of the Organisation. The Commonwealth Ministers agreed that constructive action is needed to strengthen and improve the United Nations as an instrument for preserving peace, justice and co-operation throughout the world in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

In discussion of developments since their last Meeting Commonwealth Ministers expressed their grave concern at the tragic events in Hungary. They took note that the forthcoming consideration by the General Assembly of the report presented by its Special Committee will provide the occasion for the United Nations to record its views.

Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the course of developments in the current discussions on disarmament. They noted that proposals relating to a first stage of disarmament were put forward on 2nd July in the Disarmament Sub-Committee on behalf of the Governments of the United States, the United

Kingdom, Canada and France. They recognised that even a limited agreement, by reducing the suspicions and tensions throughout the world, would help to create conditions in which a more comprehensive scheme of disarmament could be developed.

The Commonwealth Ministers discussed the international problems of the Middle East. They agreed that, in the long term, economic and social progress must be the foundation for stability in the Middle East. They agreed, however, that in the short term the need is to work towards a relaxation of the tension arising from the dispute between the Arab States and Israel, the plight of the Arab refugees and the unresolved problems in connection with the Suez Canal. They considered that solutions of all these urgent questions should continue to be pursued by all practical means.

Consideration was also given to the contribution which might be made by the Commonwealth Governments concerned towards the easing of tension and the maintenance of peace, stability and political freedom in the Far East and South-East Asia. Commonwealth Ministers welcomed the important contribution already made by mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan towards raising standards of living and promoting economic development in the under-developed countries of this area.

In their general review of economic questions the Commonwealth Ministers gave special attention to the impact of the major programmes of development on which many of their countries are now engaged. These programmes call for high levels of domestic saving which can only be secured by sound internal policies. But they also call for conditions favourable to investment from other countries. The United Kingdom will continue to play its leading role in furthering economic development in the countries of the Commonwealth, and important contributions are also being made by other Commonwealth members. But, in view of the continued need for capital investment, it is also important to encourage investment from other sources on suitable conditions.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted the progress made since their last Meeting towards the freeing of trade payments. In this context they discussed the proposals for the creation of an industrial free trade area in Europe as a complement to the European Economic Community to be set up under the Treaty of Rome. They agreed that, as part of the continuous exchange of views between Commonwealth Governments on these matters, particular aspects of the proposals which might specially affect certain countries of the Commonwealth should be examined in London next week by officials of all Commonwealth countries in the light of the Ministers' discussions.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted that the Annual Meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be held in Washington in September. The normal practice is for this Meeting to be followed by a meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers. The Prime Minister of Canada extended an invitation that this meeting of Finance Ministers should be held this year in Ottawa.

The Commonwealth Ministers recognised the value of the work carried out over the past thirty years, by the Commonwealth Economic Committee. They agreed that the Committee should be invited to examine and suggest to Governments what expansion of its scope and functions might usefully be

undertaken for the particular purpose of drawing attention to the economic resources of Commonwealth countries.

The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the progress of co-operation within the Commonwealth in the use of nuclear energy for civil purposes. They recognised the growing importance of the contribution which nuclear energy can make to the peaceful development of their countries and of the rest of the world and the value of close collaboration between members of the Commonwealth in this field. For this purpose nuclear scientists from Commonwealth countries will be invited to an informal meeting in the United Kingdom in 1958.

The Commonwealth Ministers noted that the Federation of Malaya was on the eve of attaining independence. They extended to the Federation their warm good wishes for its future, and they looked forward to being able to welcome an independent Malaya as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

5 July 1957

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon M W H de Silva, Leader of the Senate and Minister of Justice
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Hon Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister
Ghana	Dr The Hon Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Hon T L Macdonald, Minister of External Affairs and Defence
Pakistan	The Hon H S Suhrawardy, Prime Minister
Union of South Africa	The Hon E H Louw, Minister of External Affairs

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1960

(London 3-13 May)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1960

(London, 3-13 May)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers ended today. Pakistan was represented by its President. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ghana, the Federation of Malaya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented by their Prime Ministers. South Africa was represented by the Minister of External Affairs, and Ceylon by the Minister of Justice.

2. This was the tenth of these Meetings to have been held since the war. It has taken place at a time of great significance to the Commonwealth and to the world.

3. The continuing growth of the membership of the Commonwealth was marked by the attendance at this Meeting of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which achieved independence in August 1957. The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the presence of the Federation at the conference.

4. The Commonwealth is an association of independent sovereign States, each responsible for its own policies; but the primary objective of all is world peace and security. It is their declared purpose to do everything in their power to achieve that objective, and to continue to co-operate to that end with all the peace-loving nations of the world.

5. In this spirit the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed the major international problems of the day on the eve of the impending Summit Conference which is to be attended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. They expressed their sincere hopes for a successful outcome of that Conference as a further step in the relaxation of international tension. They discussed, in particular, the problem of disarmament; and they welcomed the progress made at the Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests. They hoped that, on the basis of the preliminary work already done, the Summit Conference would be able to make some significant progress towards an eventual settlement, under international control, of the problem of disarmament. An advance towards a solution of that problem, linked with a progressive lessening of political tensions, would afford a firm basis for strengthening confidence between nations and promoting world security.

6. The Commonwealth Ministers also discussed the problems of Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and South-East Asia. They recognised that economic and social progress are essential for political stability. They welcomed the continuing contribution which mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan affords throughout South-East Asia to these aims; and they agreed that there and elsewhere throughout the less developed areas of the world the best hope of peace, stability and political freedom lies in practical international co-operation of this kind.

7. The Ministers reviewed the world economic situation. They noted that, while in general the outlook was favourable, the economic expansion which had taken place since their last Meeting had been greater in the industrialised countries of the Commonwealth than in the primary producing countries. They agreed that an important condition of the prosperity of these countries was their ability to develop their export trade. They also recognised the urgent need to maintain and, where possible, increase the flow of economic assistance to the less developed countries. They welcomed the decision to establish an International Development Association.

8. The Ministers discussed European trade problems. They expressed concern at the prospect of any economic division in Europe and its possible political implications. The countries of Europe form an important market for Commonwealth exports. The Ministers expressed their hope that these countries would follow trade policies in accordance with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and thus avoid damage to the economies of the primary producing countries and those that are also developing exports of manufactured goods. In addition, European countries have an important contribution to make in assisting the economic development of the less advanced countries. The Ministers hoped that these problems could be speedily and satisfactorily resolved, with due regard to the interests of countries outside Europe.

9. The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa which have recently attained or are approaching independence. They agreed that consideration should be given to the possibility of co-operative action among members of the Commonwealth in assisting the economic development of these countries. This possibility will be studied in the first instance by officials of Commonwealth Governments, and the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council will examine it at its next meeting.

10. Ministers also reaffirmed their belief in the value of exchanges between Commonwealth countries of persons with specialised skills and experience. They agreed that further efforts should be made to foster and encourage these exchanges, whether on a regional or other basis, and that the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council should take this question into urgent consideration. They trusted that employers in Commonwealth countries—whether Governments, statutory bodies or private companies—would be ready, wherever possible, to encourage members of their staffs to undertake a period of public service abroad and would do their best to ensure that their prospects in their home countries would not thereby be prejudiced.

11. The Ministers considered various questions of constitutional development within the Commonwealth. They noted that the Federation of Nigeria would attain independence on 1st October 1960. They extended to the Federation their good wishes for its future and looked forward to welcoming an independent Nigeria as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

12. The Meeting was informed that, in pursuance of the recent plebiscite, the Constituent Assembly in Ghana had resolved that the necessary constitutional steps should be taken to introduce a republican form of constitution in Ghana by 1st July 1960. In notifying this forthcoming constitutional change, the Prime

Minister of Ghana assured the Meeting of his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of the Queen as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth. The Heads of Delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of Ghana that the present relations between their countries and Ghana would remain unaffected by this constitutional change and they declared that their Governments would accept and recognise Ghana's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

13. The Meeting noted a statement by the South African Minister of External Affairs that the Union Government intended to hold a referendum on the subject of South Africa becoming a republic. The Meeting affirmed the view that the choice between a monarchy and a republic was entirely the responsibility of the country concerned. In the event of South Africa deciding to become a republic and if the desire was subsequently expressed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, the Meeting suggested that the South African Government should then ask for the consent of the other Commonwealth Governments either at a Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or, if this were not practicable, by correspondence.

14. The Ministers reviewed the constitutional development of the Commonwealth, with particular reference to the future of the smaller dependent territories. They agreed that a detailed study of this subject should be made for consideration by Commonwealth Governments.

15. Whilst reaffirming the traditional practice that Commonwealth conferences do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, Ministers availed themselves of Mr Louw's presence in London to have informal discussions with him about the racial situation in South Africa. During these informal discussions Mr Louw gave information and answered questions on the Union's policies, and the other Ministers conveyed to him their views on the South African problem. The Ministers emphasised that the Commonwealth itself is a multiracial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member States and peoples of the Commonwealth.

13 May 1960

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon E J Cooray, Minister of Justice
Federation of Malaya	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Hon Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister
Ghana	Dr The Hon Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Walter Nash, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Union of South Africa	The Hon E H Louw, Minister of External Affairs

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1961

(London 8-17 March)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1961

(London, 8-17 March)

COMMUNIQUE ON CYPRUS

At their meeting this morning the Commonwealth Prime Ministers accepted a request from the Republic of Cyprus for admission to Commonwealth membership. They invited the President of the Republic to join the Meeting.

13 March 1961

COMMUNIQUE ON SOUTH AFRICA

At their meetings this week the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have discussed questions affecting South Africa.

On 13th March the Prime Minister of South Africa informed the Meeting that, following the plebiscite in October 1960, the appropriate constitutional steps were now being taken to introduce a republican form of constitution in the Union, and that it was the desire of the Union Government that South Africa should remain within the Commonwealth as a republic.

In connection with this application the meeting also discussed, with the consent of the Prime Minister of South Africa, the racial policy followed by the Union Government. The Prime Minister of South Africa informed the other Prime Ministers this evening that in the light of the views expressed on behalf of other member Governments and the indications of their future intentions regarding the racial policy of the Union Government, he had decided to withdraw his application for South Africa's continuing membership of the Commonwealth as a republic.

15 March 1961

COMMUNIQUE ON SIERRA LEONE

The Prime Ministers noted that Sierra Leone would attain independence on 27 April, 1961.

They looked forward to welcoming Sierra Leone as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

16 March 1961

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was concluded today. Pakistan, Ghana and Cyprus were represented by their Presidents. The other Commonwealth countries were represented by their Prime Ministers.

It had been agreed that on this occasion the Prime Ministers would concentrate their main attention on a limited number of specific problems which are currently of common concern to them all—namely disarmament, the structure of the United Nations and certain constitutional problems affecting the Commonwealth itself. At the outset of the Meeting, however, the Prime Ministers held a general review of the international situation as a whole, in order to set these particular problems in the perspective of current world events. They also considered, in the course of their Meeting, recent developments in the Congo and in South-East Asia.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the support of their Governments for the efforts of the United Nations to restore order in the Congo and to secure the independence and integrity of the Republic. They deplored outside intervention in the Congo and recognised that many of the problems which had arisen were due to such intervention. They considered that the United Nations forces in the Congo should be strengthened and that the Security Council resolution of 21st February should be fully implemented.

The Prime Ministers noted with concern the situation which had developed in Laos. They expressed the hope that the parties would be able to reconcile their differences, that intervention from outside would cease, and that Laos would be enabled to enjoy an independent, neutral and peaceful existence.

The Prime Ministers held a full discussion on the problem of disarmament. They recognised that this was the most important question facing the world today and considered that a favourable opportunity was now at hand for a fresh initiative towards a settlement of it. They agreed that the aim should be to achieve general and complete disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control, on the general lines indicated in the statement in the Annex of this communique. They recalled the resolution on general and complete disarmament which was adopted unanimously at the 14th Session of the General Assembly. They agreed that every effort should be made to implement this resolution by agreement between the major Powers, and that further negotiations for this purpose were necessary. Certain proposals designed to promote such negotiations have been put by various countries before the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers expressed their hope that the negotiations on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, which were due to reopen at Geneva on 21 March, would lead to the early conclusion of an agreement on this subject. Such an agreement, apart from its importance in itself, would provide a powerful impetus towards agreement on disarmament generally.

The Prime Ministers considered the various proposals which have recently been put forward for changes in the structure of the United Nations including, in particular, the structure of its Councils, the position of the Secretary-General and the organisation of the Secretariat. They recognised that such changes could only be made with general consent. They agreed that, whatever

adjustments might be made, it remained vitally important to uphold the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to preserve the international and independent character of the Secretariat. They further agreed that members of the Commonwealth shared with all nations a fundamental common interest in maintaining the integrity of the United Nations as a force for orderly, political, economic and social progress throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers also discussed certain constitutional questions relating to Commonwealth membership. The conclusions reached were announced in communiques issued on 13th, 15th and 16th March relating, respectively, to Cyprus, South Africa and Sierra Leone.

ANNEX—STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

Aim
The aim must be to achieve total world-wide disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control.

In view of the slaughter and destruction experienced in so-called 'conventional' wars and the difficulty of preventing a conventional war, once started, from developing into a nuclear war, our aim must be nothing less than the complete abolition of the means of waging war of any kind.

Principles
An agreement for this purpose should be negotiated as soon as possible, on the basis of the following principles:

(a) All national armed forces and armaments must be reduced to the levels agreed to be necessary for internal security.
(b) Once started, the process of disarmament should be continued without interruption until it is completed, subject to verification at each stage that all parties are duly carrying out their undertakings.
(c) The elimination of nuclear and conventional armaments must be so phased that at no stage will any country or group of countries obtain a significant military advantage.
(d) In respect of each phase there should be established, by agreement, effective machinery of inspection, which should come into operation simultaneously with the phase of disarmament to which it relates.
(e) Disarmament should be carried out as rapidly as possible in progressive stages, within specified periods of time.
(f) At the appropriate stage, a substantial and adequately armed military force should be established, to prevent aggression and enforce observance of the disarmament agreement; and an international authority should be created, in association with the United Nations, to control this force and to ensure that it is not used for any purpose inconsistent with the Charter.

On the basis of the above principles, it should be possible, given goodwill on both sides, to reconcile the present differences of approach between the different plans put forward.

Negotiations
The principal military powers should resume direct negotiations without delay

in close contact with the United Nations, which is responsible for disarmament under the Charter. Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other nations should also be associated with the disarmament negotiations, either directly or through some special machinery to be set up by the United Nations, or by both means.

Side by side with the political negotiations, experts should start working out the details of the inspection systems required for the measures of disarmament applicable to each stage, in accordance with the practice adopted at the Geneva Nuclear Tests Conference.

Every effort should be made to secure rapid agreement to the permanent banning of nuclear weapons tests by all nations and to arrangements for verifying the observance of the agreement. Such an agreement is urgent, since otherwise further countries may soon become nuclear powers, which would increase the danger of war and further complicate the problems of disarmament. Moreover, an agreement on nuclear tests, apart from its direct advantages, would provide a powerful psychological impetus to agreement over the wider field of disarmament.

Disarmament without inspection would be as unacceptable as inspection without disarmament. Disarmament and inspection are integral parts of the same question and must be negotiated together; and both must be made as complete and effective as is humanly possible. It must, however, be recognised that no safeguards can provide one hundred per cent protection against error or treachery. Nevertheless, the risks involved in the process of disarmament must be balanced against the risks involved in the continuance of the arms race.

It is arguable whether the arms race is the cause or the result of distrust between nations. But it is clear that the problems of disarmament and international confidence are closely linked. Therefore while striving for the abolition of armaments, all nations must actively endeavour to reduce tension by helping to remove other causes of friction and suspicion.

17 March 1961

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon Mrs S W R D Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
Federation of Malaya	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Hon Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister
Ghana	Dr The Hon Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Keith J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Union of South Africa	Dr The Hon H F Verwoerd, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1962

(London 10-19 September)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1962

(London, 10-19 September)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was concluded today.

2. This was the first occasion on which Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have been represented, as independent countries, at a Commonwealth Meeting; and the presence of their Prime Ministers, together representing 15 million people who have achieved independence since the last Commonwealth Meeting in 1961, was welcomed by the ther Commonwealth Governments. During the course of the Meeting the Prime Ministers were informed that Uganda, with a population of nearly 7 million, will attain independence in October 1962; and they agreed that Uganda should then be admitted to membership of the Commonwealth. They also noted with satisfaction the great progress made towards the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia by 31st August, 1963; this would enable the State of Singapore, the territories of North Borneo and Sarawak and it is hoped, the State of Brunei, with a combined population of about 3 million, to achieve independence as part of the enlarged Federation. They were informed that Tanganyika would adopt a republican form of Constitution in December 1962; and they agreed that Tanganyika should thereafter remain a member of the Commonwealth as a republic.

3. In the course of their discussions the Prime Ministers have taken the opportunity to hold their customary review of international affairs and have exchanged views on the political situation in various parts of the world. They took note, in particular, of the proposals relating to the Congo which were recently put forward by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, and they expressed the hope that these would prove to be the basis for a speedy and constructive settlement.

4. The Prime Ministers agreed that the need for disarmament had been intensified by the steady development of ever more powerful weapons. They reaffirmed the principles laid down in their Statement on Disarmament of 17th March, 1961 and expressed their conviction that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva should continue its efforts towards a Treaty for General and Complete Disarmament in accordance with these principles. They noted that discussions on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests had also been taking place in Geneva and expressed the hope that these efforts would be successful in bringing into being an effective Treaty to eradicate this source of fear and danger to mankind.

5. The primary object of this Meeting was, however, to review the progress made in the negotiations in Brussels about the conditions on which Britain might join the European Economic Community, and to examine the nature and prospects of safeguards for the trade of other Commonwealth countries. The greater part of the Meeting has been devoted to the discussion of this complex question. Although this discussion has disclosed many differences of

viewpoint and many uncertainties, all the exchanges have been conducted in the frank and friendly atmosphere which characterises Commonwealth meetings. This has re-affirmed the common determination to strengthen the links between the countries of the Commonwealth.

6. The Prime Ministers declared that, in all the countries of the Commonwealth, the constant objective of policy is to promote peace and economic progress throughout the world and thus to help to create conditions in which mankind can flourish in freedom, unfettered by poverty, ignorance or disease. In furtherance of this purpose all Commonwealth Governments are resolved to do their utmost to foster the harmonious development and steady expansion of world trade.

7. They note with concern that trade and industry in the developing countries, as well as in some of the more developed countries which are large producers of primary products for export, have been adversely affected by widely fluctuating commodity prices and a progressive worsening of the terms of trade. They see this as a problem which calls for progressive policies in relation to international trade and finance so that demand for the products of those countries can be sustained and increased, and larger and more dependable trade outlets assured to them.

8.To meet the needs of the developing countries they will support policies designed to raise the living standards of the peoples of these countries and to help them to achieve the economic, social and cultural progress to which they aspire. To this end they consider that improved opportunities and conditions for trade are even more important than financial aid. They recognise the need for the developing countries to have easier access to outside markets for the products of their industries as they become established and the desirability of this being reflected in the policies of the more developed countries.

9.To meet the needs of the producers of agricultural commodities, Commonwealth Governments will support policies and initiatives designed to maintain and expand world trade in these commodities and to improve the organisation of the world market in a manner fair alike to producers and to consumers. They will support a fresh and vigorous approach to the negotiation of international commodity agreements to this end. In any such approach principles of price, production and trade access would need to be applied, on a commodity by commodity basis, so as to encourage maximum consumption without over-stimulating production and to offer to efficient producing countries adequate access and stable prices at a fair and reasonable level. They believe that, in the disposal of any surplus of agricultural products, opportunity should be taken, to the fullest extent compatible with the legitimate interests of traditional suppliers, to meet the needs of those peoples of the world who are in want.

10. The Prime Ministers expressed the readiness of their Governments to join in comprehensive international efforts by all available means to expand world trade in both primary products and manufactures. They recognised the important contribution which the European Economic Community and other regional groups could make in such efforts. They hoped that the general objectives set out above would be shared by the members of the European Economic Community. They also took note, in this connection, that legislation

was at present before the United States Congress which could materially assist in this aim.

11. The Prime Ministers were informed of and considered the stage reached in Britain's negotiations with the European Economic Community, and discussed the arrangements which might be made to meet the special needs of other Commonwealth countries if Britain joined the Community.

12. British Ministers set out the broad political and economic considerations which had led the British Government to initiate the negotiations in Brussels. They emphasised that, in the view of the British Government, Britain's accession to the Community on satisfactory terms would have the result of strengthening the position of Britain, of the Commonwealth and of Europe.

They explained in detail the position so far reached in the negotiations in Brussels and emphasised the principal points among the many provisional arrangements which had been worked out. In the first place, an offer of association on advantageous economic terms was open to Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Caribbean and the majority of British dependent territories. Should certain of the countries not become associated, the provisional agreement reached in Brussels offered further discussion in the course of the negotiations with a view to the possible conclusion of other arrangements.

Secondly, the Community were prepared to negotiate as soon as possible trade agreements with India, Pakistan and Ceylon which would have the declared objective of developing mutual trade, to maintain and, as much as possible, to increase the level of their foreign currency receipts and in general facilitate the implementation of their development plans.

Thirdly, as regards temperate products, the enlarged Community would make, at the time of British accession, two important declarations. One would express their intention to initiate discussions on international commodity agreements for temperate foodstuffs on a world-wide basis. It would recognise the greatly increased responsibilities of the enlarged Community by reason of its predominant position amongst world importers. The second declaration would relate to the price policy of the Community. While taking appropriate measures to raise the individual earnings of those engaged in agriculture in the Community, the Community would do its utmost to contribute to a harmonious development of world trade providing for a satisfactory level of trade between the Community and third countries, including Commonwealth countries. British Ministers considered that the policy which the enlarged Community intended to pursue would offer reasonable opportunities in its markets for exports of temperate agricultural products.

13. The representatives of other Commonwealth Governments welcomed this opportunity for personal consultation on this issue and for supplementing the exchanges of information and consultation which had already taken place between Ministers and officials. They took note of the considerations which had influenced the British Government in deciding to accede to the European Economic Community if satisfactory terms could be secured. They recognised that, after full and continuing consultation with the other countries of the Commonwealth and in the light of the further negotiations to be held with the

members of the Community, the responsibility for the final decision would rest with the British Government.

14. The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries freely acknowledged the strenuous efforts which the British Government have made to ensure on the part of the Six a full understanding of the safeguards required, if Britain's entry into the Common Market is not to be on such terms and conditions as to impair their vital interests. They expressed their hope that the members of the European Economic Community will wish to preserve and encourage a strong and growing Commonwealth, in furtherance of their own ideals of an expanding and peaceful world order.

15. At the same time the representatives of various Commonwealth Governments expressed anxieties about the possible effects of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. They trusted that, should there be a closer association between Britain and Europe, it would not be allowed, as it developed to weaken the cohesion of the Commonwealth or its influence for peace and progress in the world. They drew attention to the difficulties to which these developments could give rise in relation to their trade both with Britain and with other countries. They explained the economic points of special concern to their respective countries and the extent to which their interests had not so far been met in the Brussels negotiations.

16. Some independent African countries considered that association with the Community under Part IV of the Treaty of Rome would not be acceptable to them. On the other hand the Government of Sierra Leone wished to consider further their attitude towards association, after consultation with other African territories which are not members of the Commonwealth. In the Caribbean Trinidad and Tobago will be willing to accept association, and Jamaica will wish to consider their attitude further. The Prime Ministers were informed that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is willing to accept association; and they were also informed that, after appropriate consultations, it seemed likely that the majority of the British dependent territories eligible for association would wish to accept it.

The representatives of India, Pakistan and Ceylon urged that, if Britain entered the Community, the trade agreements which the enlarged Community had offered to negotiate with their Governments should be concluded as soon as possible and that, meanwhile, no change should be made in their existing trade arrangements with Britain. They expressed their apprehension that if the treatment of their products in the United Kingdom was altered before wider trading arrangements had been worked out for the enlarged Community, their foreign exchange earnings and investment in export industries would be adversely affected at a critical stage in the implementation of their development plans.

Importance was attached to the need for securing adequate safeguards to protect the essential interests of Commonwealth producers of temperate foodstuffs and other agricultural products, including tropical products, as well as certain raw materials for which zero tariffs had been requested. The importance for some Commonwealth countries of trade in a broad range of manufactured and processed goods was also emphasised.

The Prime Ministers took note that the negotiations in Brussels were incomplete and that a number of important questions had still to be negotiated. Only when the full terms were known would it be possible to form a final judgment.

17. It was agreed that, when the negotiations were resumed, British Ministers would take full account of the views, both general and particular, which had been expressed on behalf of other Commonwealth Governments at this Meeting and would continue their efforts to safeguard essential Commonwealth interests. The British Government undertook to continue to arrange for the closest consultation with other Commonwealth Governments during the remainder of their negotiations with the European Economic Community.

19 September 1962

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon S P C Fernando, Minister of Justice
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
Federation of Malaya	Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussain, Acting Prime Minister
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	The Hon Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister
Ghana	The Hon F K D Goka, Minister of Finance and Trade
India	Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister
Jamaica	Sir Alexander Bustamente, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Keith J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Sir Milton Margai, Prime Minister
Tanganyika	The Hon R M Kajawa, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Rt Hon Eric Williams, Prime Minister

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1964

(London 8-15 July)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1964

(London, 8-15 July)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers ended today. Pakistan, Ghana and Tanganyika and Zanzibar were represented by their Presidents. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Kenya and Malawi were represented by their Prime Ministers. India was represented by the Minister of Finance; Cyprus by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Jamaica by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

This was the first Meeting at which Uganda and Kenya were represented as independent Members; and the other Commonwealth Heads of Government were glad to greet their Prime Ministers. They expressed their satisfaction at the establishment of Malaysia which they had welcomed at their last Meeting in 1962 and they greeted Tunku Abdul Rahman as Prime Minister of Malaysia. They also welcomed the attainment of independence by Malawi on 6th July, 1964 and agreed that Malawi should be admitted to Membership of the Commonwealth. They invited the Prime Minister of Malawi, Dr Banda, to join their Meeting; and Dr Banda took his seat on 9th July. They noted that Northern Rhodesia would become independent on 24th October, 1964 as the Republic of Zambia; and they looked forward to welcoming Zambia as a member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

In the course of their discussion, the Presidents and Prime Ministers reviewed the major issues of the day.

They agreed that one of the most important of these is race relations. It was agreed that the Commonwealth has a particular role to play in the search for solutions to the inter-racial problems which are threatening the orderly development of mankind in general and of many particular areas in the world today. As a community of many different races, the Commonwealth is itself an almost unique experiment in international co-operation among peoples of several races and continents. Within their own borders many of its members have faced and are facing issues raised by the co-existence of differing cultures within a democratic society. The Prime Ministers affirmed their belief that, for all Commonwealth Governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.

The Prime Ministers recalled the critical international situation which had developed shortly after their last Meeting in the autumn of 1962 and the grave

threat to peace which it had implied. They believed that the fact that it was successfully resolved may have been in some sense a turning point in the relations between the major Powers and may have marked the beginning of a new period in international affairs in which the world may hope for a gradual relaxation of tension. This will not be a short or simple process; but the Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the further steps which had already been taken to reduce the causes of friction, particularly the conclusion of the Tests Ban Treaty and the subsequent agreements between the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union not to place nuclear weapons in outer space. They also welcomed the reductions in the output of missile material for military purposes which these Governments have made.

Against this background, the Prime Ministers expressed their hope that these steps would lead progressively to general and complete disarmament. They reaffirmed their support for the work of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and their determination to seek to extend the scope of disarmament in accordance with the principles expressed in their statement of 17th March, 1961, particularly by endeavouring to promote an agreement to prohibit the further dissemination of nuclear weapons and of knowledge relating to their manufacture and use. They will maintain their efforts to reduce the areas of international disagreement by all the means within their power, while maintaining both the strength and the resolution to resist aggression from without or subversion from within. In this connection they assured the Prime Minister of Malaysia of their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries.

They discussed the great significance of China for South and South-East Asia. They also discussed the question of relations with China and of her Membership of the United Nations. They expressed anxiety about the continuing tension in South-East Asia and affirmed their support for all measures which might promote a just and peaceful settlement and help to re-establish stability in the area.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the friendly public statements by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and expressed their hopes that the problems between their countries will be solved in the same friendly spirit.

While recognising that it was not a function of the Commonwealth to act as an arbiter in disputes between member nations, the Prime Ministers agreed that Commonwealth countries could play a role of conciliation and, where possible, consider using their good offices to help towards the settlement of disputes between member nations provided the parties concerned accepted such mediation.

The Prime Ministers renewed their support for the United Nations in its efforts to resolve disputes in various parts of the world. They reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the Charter and emphasised the importance of reinforcing the strength and capacity of the United Nations to respond to the demands which it must meet if the Charter is to be fulfilled.

The Prime Ministers expressed concern about the situation with regard to Cyprus. They reaffirmed their full support for the United Nations Security Council Resolutions of 4th March, 13th March and 20th June 1964. The Prime Ministers asserted that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the frame-work of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice.

They appealed to all countries concerned to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations peace-keeping force, to which a number of Commonwealth countries are contributing, or might prejudice the endeavours of the United Nations to find a lasting solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers undertook to consider practical measures to strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations and to reduce the degree of improvisation required in an emergency. They agreed that consultation and co-operation among interested governments in this matter could be of great value in contributing to the improvement of the peace-keeping effectiveness of the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers expressed their concern at the possible effect on United Nations operations in all fields of a prolongation of the United Nations financial crisis. They expressed a common desire to work towards a long-term equitable solution of the problem of financing large-scale United Nations peace-keeping operations and agreed that any such solution should be based on the principles of collective financial responsibility and relative capacity to pay.

Britain made the following statement to the Meeting about the progress of British Colonial dependencies towards independence:

> Already more than twenty countries (with a total population of some 700 millions) had achieved sovereign independence under British guidance. This process was continuing all the time. Northern Rhodesia would be independent in October and the Gambia very soon after. Basutoland had been promised that she could have independence in about eighteen months' time; Bechuanaland would be free to follow when she wished; and Swaziland's new constitution had now set her on the same course. In addition it had been agreed that the Federation of South Arabia should become independent within the next three and a half years. British Guiana would become independent as soon as she was able to assure internal peace. Southern Rhodesia would attain full sovereignty as soon as her governmental institutions were sufficiently representative.
>
> There were a number of other Colonies which already enjoyed a wide measure of self-government. These included the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras and Mauritius. In addition there were some twenty other Colonies and Protectorates with a combined population of about five million. Of these over three million were in Hong Kong where the circumstances were exceptional. Of the remainder only two territories had a population of more than 100,000. Several had less than 10,000. The smallest (Pitcairn) in the Pacific had only 90 inhabitants. It was clear that no uniform pattern would fit all these very different territories. Some might feel strong enough to proceed to independence on their own. Some

might join with others to form larger and more viable units. Some might wish to couple independence with a treaty of friendship such as Western Samoa concluded with New Zealand. Some would for the present prefer to remain as they were.

The Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth. They recognised that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining Colonies to independence must continue to rest with Britain.

At the same time, Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth countries expressed their views to the Prime Minister of Britain on the question of the progress of Southern Rhodesia towards independence within the Commonwealth. They welcomed the decision already announced by the British Government that, as in the case of other territories, the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia. They also noted with approval the statement already made by the British Government that they would not recognise any unilateral declaration of independence; and the other Prime Ministers made it clear that they would be unable to recognise any such declaration. The view was also expressed that an Independence Conference should be conveyed which the leaders of all parties in Southern Rhodesia should be free to attend. The object would be to seek agreement on the steps by which Southern Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule. With a view to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for such a conference, an appeal was made for the release of all the detained African leaders. The Prime Ministers called upon all leaders and their supporters to exercise moderation and to abstain from violence; and they affirmed their belief that the best interest of all sections of the population lay in developing confidence and co-operation, on the basis of tolerance, mutual understanding and justice. In this connection, they recognised the necessity for giving confidence to the minority community in Southern Rhodesia that their interests would be protected.

The Prime Minister of Britain said that he would give careful consideration to all views expressed by other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. At the same time he emphasised that the Government of Southern Rhodesia was constitutionally responsible for the internal affairs of that territory and that the question of the granting of independence was a matter for decision by the British Parliament.

The Meeting expressed concern at the political rivalries in British Guiana which had led to disorder and inter-racial strife and had prejudiced the attainment of independence. While several different views were expressed on the methods to be employed, a number of Prime Ministers expressed the hope that the political leaders of British Guiana would seek urgently a basis for collaboration in the interest of their fellow countrymen of all races in order to restore mutual confidence among the races and to strengthen a spirit of national purpose and unity. Only in these circumstances could British Guiana hope to sustain true independence.

The question of the progress of the smaller dependent territories in the Caribbean to independence was raised. It was emphasised that the problem for the territories was mainly one of viability: and the hope was expressed that every practicable effort would be made to help them to strengthen their

economies and so enable them to sustain the obligations of independence whether in a federation or in some other form of association.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Some Commonwealth Prime Ministers felt very strongly that the only effective means of dealing with the problem of apartheid was the application of economic sanctions and an arms embargo. It was recognised however that there was a difference of opinion among Commonwealth countries as to the effectiveness of economic sanctions and as to the extent to which they regarded it as right or practicable to seek to secure the abandonment of apartheid by coercive action, of whatever kind. But the Prime Ministers were unanimous in calling upon South Africa to bring to an end the practice of apartheid, which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations and was deplored by public opinion throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers expressed their regret that Portugal had not so far given recognition to the principle of self-determination for her territories in Africa.

The Prime Ministers agreed that the issues of Commonwealth and international relations which confront them in the political field however complex and contentious, must be seen in perspective in relation to the many factors which bring together the peoples of the Commonwealth and enable them to make a unique contribution to the promotion of peaceful development. The Commonwealth now consists of 18 independent member countries, widely distributed over the globe and accounting for nearly a quarter of the population of the world. It is, indeed, a cross-section of the world itself; and its citizens have an unparalled opportunity to prove that, by mutual co-operation, men and women of many different races and national cultures can live in peace and work together for the common good.

The Prime Ministers reviewed the world economic situation as it affects their countries and re-affirmed the resolve of their Governments to promote the economic development of their countries. To this end they emphasised the need of developing countries for improved and more remunerative outlets for their trade and for increased financial aid on easier terms and on a continuing basis. They took note of the problems presented to developing countries by the conditions and terms often attached by donor Governments to their aid, of the desirability of the encouragement of private investment in developing countries and also of the upward trend in the level of financial aid extended by the more developed countries in the Commonwealth and of the easier terms on which it is offered.

There was agreement on the importance for all Commonwealth countries of following up the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in particular with regard to expanding international trade in primary products through freer access to markets and, in appropriate cases, through commodity agreements and stabilised prices at equitable levels; working out arrangements for increasing access by preferences or otherwise to markets in developed countries for manufactured goods from developing countries; and elaborating proposals for supplementary finance to assist countries whose development might be threatened by adverse movements in their export earnings. The Prime Ministers affirmed their intention of working for a solution of these and other problems of the developing countries through

the new institutions resulting from the Conference as well as through existing international bodies such as the GATT.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the resolve of the member countries of the Commonwealth to promote the economic and social progress of developing countries. They wished to maintain their support of the work of the United Nations, its specialised agencies, the Colombo Plan and other similar arrangements in this field. At the same time they wished to establish how best the members of the Commonwealth could make a further distinctive contribution of their own to the development of its member countries. They conceived that the purpose of any new initiative in this respect should be not merely to increase the economic strength and material well-being of the recipients, vital though these considerations are, but also to strengthen the links between the countries of the Commonwealth by encouraging their peoples to work more closely together in a variety of practical ways. For this purpose they selected for further examination several fields of action in which they believed the practice of Commonwealth co-operation might be extended; and they agreed that these schemes should not be in substitution for existing arrangements but supplementary to them.

Commonwealth Development Projects

In particular they considered a proposal that development projects might be launched in individual Commonwealth countries, which would be implemented by various members acting in close collaboration and contributing whatever resources—in men, money, materials and technical expertise—they could most appropriately provide. Such projects, which would be additional to the support which Commonwealth countries already provide to the United Nations Special Fund and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance could be directed to a number of different purposes—the improvement of agricultural production and the development of natural resources through extension services, training and research; the enlargement of professional and technical training; the development of new industries; and so forth. But they would all be inspired by the common purpose of promoting the development of the Commonwealth by a co-ordinated programme of joint or bilateral projects. The British Government said that they would be prepared to make a substantial contribution to projects of this kind within their expanding programme of development aid. The other member governments expressed support for the objective of the proposal and agreed that further consideration should be given to the basis on which such a programme might be established.

Administrative Training

Development projects of this kind would need to be planned, carefully and thoroughly, at all stages in their execution; and the Prime Ministers therefore considered that it might be valuable to supplement the existing arrangements for promoting the study of the techniques of administration and development planning throughout the Commonwealth. They considered that there might be advantage in making arrangements, which could include the formation of a new Institute, to provide facilities for specialised training and research for senior administrators concerned with administrative and development problems in relation to the needs of new countries. They agreed that further consideration should be given to the most appropriate form for arrangements for additional training, including the strengthening of existing institutions.

Education

The Prime Ministers took note of the scope which exists for co-operation between the Governments and peoples of the Commonwealth in social, as well as economic development. They noted with satisfaction that the Third Commonwealth Education Conference will be held in Ottawa in August; and they expressed warm wishes for its success, together with appreciation of the British Government's offer to increase to an average of £5 million a year, over the five years starting in 1965-66, the capital assistance which they already provide for higher education in developing Commonwealth countries, both independent and dependent.

Medical Conference

They decided in principle that an initiative similar to that which was launched in the field of education by the first of the Commonwealth Education Conferences several years ago should now be taken in the field of medicine and that for this purpose consideration should be given to the convening of a Commonwealth Medical Conference during the course of 1965. Such a Conference would enable the members of the Commonwealth to discuss mutual assistance in medical education including links between institutions; the provision of ancillary staffs, the development and planning of health services; and the supply of medical equipment and facilities for research.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

The links between the countries of the Commonwealth are strengthened not only by co-operation between their Governments in initiatives of this kind but even more by frequent personal contacts between individuals who share common professional interests.

The Prime Ministers recorded their support for the valuable work which the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association performs in bringing together members of the parliaments of all Commonwealth countries. The British Government stated that they would be prepared, if other Commonwealth Governments would do the same, to increase their contribution to the Association.

Commonwealth Foundation

The Prime Ministers considered that further steps should be taken to promote contacts in other fields and that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields. This Foundation could be administered by an independent Board; and, while it could be financed by contributions from Commonwealth governments, it would also welcome support from all quarters, whether public or private.

Satellite Communications

The Prime Ministers also took note of the current international discussions on the establishment of a global system of satellite communications. They endorsed the desirability of establishing such a system and considered how Commonwealth countries could best co-operate with each other and with other

countries in its development. They discussed the provision of technical assistance to the developing countries in this field, particularly as regards the establishment of ground stations and inter-connections in Commonwealth countries. They agreed that further consideration should be given to the feasibility of such a plan and the basis on which it might best be implemented.

The Prime Ministers directed that the Commonwealth Liaison Committee with the assistance of special representatives should now give more detailed consideration to all aspects of these new initiatives in the hope that they could be launched and carried forward at an early date. They noted that thereafter further opportunities to review many of these projects would be afforded by the Third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa in August and by the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council meeting in Kuala Lumpur in September.

Commonwealth Secretariat

Finally, they were anxious that some permanent expression should be given to the desire, which had been evident through their deliberations, for closer and more informed understanding between their Governments on the many issues which engage their attention and for some continuing machinery for this purpose. They therefore instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth secretariat, which would be available inter alia to disseminate factual information to all member countries on matters of common concern; to assist existing agencies, both official and unofficial, in the promotion of Commonwealth links in all fields; and to help to co-ordinate, in co-operation with the host country, the preparations for future Meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government and, where appropriate, for meetings of other Commonwealth Ministers. This secretariat, being recruited from member countries and financed by their contributions, would be at the service of all Commonwealth Governments and would be a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth.

15 July 1964

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon Lester B Pearson, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon Mrs S W R D Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Cyprus	The Hon Spyros Kyprianou, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Ghana	HE Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President
India	Shri T T Krishnamachari, Minister of Finance
Jamaica	The Hon D B Sangster, Minister of Finance
Kenya	The Hon Mr Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister
Malawi	Dr The Hon Hastings Banda, Prime Minister
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Keith J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Albert Michael Margai, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Rt Hon Eric Williams, Prime Minister
Uganda	Dr The Hon A Milton Obote, Prime Minister
United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar	HE Julius K Nyerere, President

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1965

(London 17-25 June)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1965

(London, 17-25 June)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

At the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which ended today, Pakistan, Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia were represented by their Presidents. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Malawi, Malta and The Gambia were represented by their Prime Ministers. Jamaica was represented by the Acting Prime Minister; Ceylon by the Minister of Justice; Cyprus and Kenya by the Ministers of External Affairs.

This was the first Meeting at which Malta, Zambia and The Gambia were represented as Members of the Commonwealth; and the other Commonwealth Heads of Government were pleased to welcome them. The Prime Minister of The Gambia informed the Meeting that it was his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth after introducing a republican form of Constitution and to accept The Queen as the symbol of the free association of the independent member nations and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth. The Heads of Delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of The Gambia that they would be happy to recognise The Gambia's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers took note that their Meeting was being held during the International Co-operation Year which itself stemmed from a proposal by the former Prime Minister of India, the late Mr Nehru. They recorded their sympathy with its objectives and their desire to assist in its success.

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations fell on the last day of the Meeting. The Prime Ministers sent a message of greetings and of good wishes to the Organisation to mark this occasion.

The Prime Ministers recognised that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association, is opposed to discrimination on grounds of race or colour; and they took the opportunity of their Meeting to reaffirm the declaration in their Communiqué of 1964 that, 'for all Commonwealth Governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.'

In the course of a comprehensive review of the major current international issues, the Prime Ministers noted with concern that, despite the efforts of many countries to promote peace and stability throughout the world, dangerous conflict, or the threat of conflict, persists in several areas. They expressed their

conviction that in these circumstances all possible steps should be taken to reinforce the authority of the United Nations Organisation; and they discussed in this context the question of China's representation in the Organisation. They also reaffirmed their belief in the importance of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations; and they renewed their support for the efforts now being made by a Committee of the United Nations to establish just and equitable principles for authorising, organising and financing peace-keeping operations. They considered it essential that the General Assembly, when it reconvened, should be able to function normally. They welcomed the voluntary and unconditional contributions which had been made to the United Nations in order to help towards relieving it of its financial difficulties; and they expressed the hope that, as a result of these and other actions, the United Nations would be able to discharge its functions. The Prime Ministers pledged their loyalty to the United Nations, the success of which they considered to be essential to the maintenance of world peace.

The Prime Ministers expressed serious concern over the grave situation in Vietnam and the danger of its developing into a major international conflict. They reviewed the various efforts which had been made to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem; and, bearing in mind that the Commonwealth, by virtue of its wide membership, represented a very broad spectrum of opinion in the world and that their Meeting was taking place at a time when the peril to world peace was rapidly increasing, they considered, on the first day of the Meeting, a proposal for a new attempt to move forward to a peaceful solution. To this end a Mission was established to make contact with the parties principally concerned with the problem of Vietnam.

The Mission is composed of the Prime Minister of Britain, the President of Ghana and the Prime Ministers of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago. The Prime Minister of Britain, as Chairman of the Meeting, was appointed Chairman of the Mission. Its object is to explore with the parties principally concerned how far there may be common ground about the circumstances in which a conference might be held leading to a just and lasting peace in Vietnam and, having ascertained such common ground, to seek agreement on a time, place and composition of a conference. The Mission will report progress from time to time to the Prime Ministers by whom they were appointed. The Meeting approved a statement of guidance to the Mission, a copy of which is attached to this Communiqué, together with copies of two statements issued by the Mission.

Malaysia

The Prime Ministers reviewed other developments in South-East Asia. They noted, with concern, that tension still persisted between Malaysia and Indonesia, thus disturbing the peace and security of the area, despite the interval since they had last collectively considered the matter and had stated in the Communiqué issued at the end of their Meeting in 1964, that 'they assured the Prime Minister of Malaysia of their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries'. They recognised and supported the right of the Government and people of Malaysia to defend their sovereign independence and territorial integrity, and expressed their sympathy to the Prime Minister of Malaysia in his country's efforts to this end. They looked

forward to the establishment of peaceful, friendly and mutually advantageous relations between Malaysia and Indonesia on a just and honourable basis.

Cyprus

The Prime Ministers expressed concern about the situation regarding Cyprus. They reaffirmed their full support for the U.N. Security Council resolutions on the subject. The Prime Ministers asserted that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the framework of the U.N. and its Charter and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice and in conformity with the wishes of the people of Cyprus.

They appealed to all countries concerned to act in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of the 4th March 1964, and to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force to which a number of Commonwealth countries are contributing. They also expressed their appreciation of the work and persistent efforts of the United Nations Mediator.

Africa

The Meeting took note of the widely expressed regret at the failure of the Portuguese Government to give due recognition to the legitimate political aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese territories in Africa. The Meeting expressed support for the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and unanimously called upon South Africa to bring the practice to an end.

Caribbean

In discussion of Caribbean problems the Prime Ministers took note of the situation in the Dominican Republic. They expressed the hope that peace would be restored there and a final settlement reached within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations on the basis of self-determination and in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Republic.

Disarmament

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the aim which they had expressed in their Statement on Disarmament on 17th March 1961, namely to achieve total and world-wide disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control. They commended the thorough and useful work which had been done in furtherance of that aim by the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference since it first met in March 1962, both on general and complete disarmament and on preliminary measures to build international confidence. They recognised that the non-aligned members of the Conference, by playing a constructive and intermediary role, had contributed to the progress already achieved and had increased world understanding of the importance of disarmament.

The Prime Ministers believed that there was an urgent need for further progress in the disarmament field, both in the interests of world peace and in order to enable the nations of the world to devote their resources to more

fruitful purposes. They considered that the problems involved in the elaboration of an agreement for general and complete disarmament should be re-examined, in the light of their Statement on Disarmament of March 1961, by the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. They considered that, in order to create the optimum conditions for the success of their efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee should resume its detailed negotiations at Geneva with a view to reaching agreement on the next steps to disarmament which could be submitted to an eventual World Disarmament Conference which should be open to participation by all States.

They welcomed the various proposals which had been put forward for measures to reduce tension and build up international confidence. They hoped that early progress would be made towards an acceptable agreement on some of these measures, including the limitation and reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles and a phased reduction in conventional armaments, as steps towards a world agreement for general and complete disarmament. They emphasised the urgency of arms control and, recognised that in appropriate areas agreement on nuclear-free zones could assist such control. In this connection the hope was expressed that in the preparation of the appropriate Treaties, the declarations by the Organisation of Africa Unity and certain Latin American States regarding the establishment of nuclear-free zones in their own geographical areas would be respected.

The Prime Ministers emphasised that ways and means should be found for associating the People's Republic of China with future discussions on disarmament. Indeed they felt that the importance of a solution of the disarmament problem had been underlined by the fact that, since their last Meeting, the Government of the People's Republic of China had exploded two nuclear devices and had clearly demonstrated their intention to develop nuclear weapons.

The Prime Ministers wished to record their firm conviction that the continuing spread of nuclear weapons had created a serious danger for mankind. They believed that the development of new national nuclear weapon capabilities might jeopardise further efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament. Moreover, the prospects for achieving a fair settlement of disputes would suffer as international tension increased and there would be a growing risk that nuclear proliferation might cause a local conflict to escalate to a nuclear exchange into which the major nuclear powers might be drawn.

Accordingly, the Prime Ministers, fully aware of the gravity of the situation and of their responsibility to each other and to other members of the international community, expressed their determination to give urgent and wholehearted support to measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. To this end they reaffirmed their willingness to join with other countries in signing as soon as possible any appropriate international agreement which would halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

They expressed the hope that efforts to extend the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water should be extended to cover underground tests as well. They called on all nations to abstain from actions which might make agreement on general and complete disarmament or preliminary measures more difficult.

Dependent Territories

Britain made the following statement to the Meeting about the progress of British Colonial dependencies towards independence. The independent members of the Commonwealth now amounted to no less than 21, including a population of more than 750 million; Britain had 31 remaining dependencies with only 10 million inhabitants, of whom over half were in Hong Kong and the South Arabian Federation. Nineteen of these dependencies contained less than 100,000 people and six less than 10,000. It was hoped that many of these remaining dependencies would reach independence in the next three years, including Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Swaziland and the South Arabian Federation; and also some or all of the territories in the East Caribbean, whether in a federation or separately.

The Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries noted with approval the further progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth since their last Meeting. They welcomed the assurance of the Prime Minister of Britain that it remained the objective of his Government to lead to independence, on the basis of democratic government and the principle of universal adult suffrage, such of the remaining territories as desired it and could sustain it; and that the British Government would continue to seek to devise the most appropriate alternative arrangements for such smaller territories as were unable, or unwilling, to proceed to full independence.

In relation to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland the view was expressed that such economic assistance and guarantees of territorial integrity as were necessary to maintain the territories as independent states should be given.

As regards British Guiana, while differing views are held on the constitutional arrangements best suited for the country, the Prime Ministers welcomed the British Government's intention to hold a conference later this year, one of the tasks of which would be to devise a constitution, and to fix a date, for independence. The Prime Ministers noted the British Government's recognition of the need for adequate machinery to ensure human rights and due judicial processes.

As regards the countries of the Eastern Caribbean, the Meeting expressed the hope that the assistance urgently required to strengthen their economies and ensure their viability so as to enable them to sustain the obligations of independence would not be delayed by the discussions on political arrangements.

Rhodesia

The Commonwealth Secretary informed the Meeting of the attempts which the British Government had made in recent months to resolve the problem of the further constitutional development of Rhodesia. He explained the considerations by which they were and would continue to be guided in their approach to the question of Rhodesian independence and emphasised that central to these was the necessity to provide guarantees that future constitutional development should conform to the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule, together with an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population and the progressive elimination of racial discrimination. As they

had repeatedly made clear, the British Government would only recommend to Parliament the grant of independence to Rhodesia if they were satisfied that this was on a basis acceptable to the people of the country taken as a whole. He emphasised the dangers of the use of force or unconstitutional methods by any party; and he reaffirmed in this connection the policies of the British Government as indicated in their statements of 27th October 1964 and 29th April 1965.

The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth took note of the Commonwealth Secretary's statement. They reaffirmed their previous statement that they were irrevocably opposed to any unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Rhodesia, and further reaffirmed their insistence on the principle of majority rule.

While the Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining Colonies, including Rhodesia, to independence must continue to rest with Britain, they also reaffirmed that the question of membership of the Commonwealth by an independent Rhodesia, or by any other newly independent territory, would be a matter for collective Commonwealth decision.

The British Prime Minister was urged by other Prime Ministers to convene a constitutional conference at an early date, say within three months, which all the political leaders in Rhodesia should be free to attend. They reaffirmed that the object of such a conference should be to seek agreement on the steps by which Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable date on a basis of majority rule. In this connection they welcomed the statement of the British Government that the principle of 'one man one vote' was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia.

An appeal was made for the immediate release of all the detained or restricted African Leaders as a first step to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for a constitutional conference. A further appeal was made that the death sentences passed on persons now awaiting execution for offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act should be respite.

It was further urged that, should the Rhodesian Government refuse to attend such a conference and to release the detainees, the British Government should introduce legislation to suspend the 1961 Constitution and appoint an interim Government, which should repeal oppressive and discriminatory laws and prepare the way for free elections.

The British Government said that they were actively engaged in discussions with the Government of Rhodesia; and they undertook to take full account, in relation to these discussions, of all the views which had been expressed during the Meeting. In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step. If the discussions did not develop satisfactorily in this direction in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government having regard to the principle enunciated by the Commonwealth Secretary of unimpeded progress towards majority rule would be ready to consider promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The Prime Ministers renewed their call to all leaders and their supporters in Rhodesia to abstain from violence and to co-operate in the work of fostering tolerance and justice, as the basis of a society in which all the inhabitants would be assured that their interests would be protected.

Economic Affairs

The Prime Ministers then turned to consider problems of aid and development. They recognised that economic and social development constitute a long-term co-operative enterprise in which all countries can work together. The importance of economic planning in relation to development would call for an increased supply of experts; and concerted measures would therefore be required in order to enlarge and mobilise resources of this kind by means of adequate facilities for education and training.

The Prime Ministers appreciated the importance of programmes of economic aid to the developing Commonwealth countries. They took note of the contributions made to such programmes by Commonwealth countries both collectively and individually; and they agreed that these programmes should be maintained and expanded as far as possible. They endorsed the concept of co-operative forward planning of development aid which would apply not only to matching the assistance provided by the developed countries with the needs of the developing countries but also to the supply of personnel for schemes of technical assistance, to which they agreed that high priority should be given. They welcomed the establishment of the British Ministry of Overseas Development together with the decision of the British Government to provide loans free of interest in appropriate cases; they also expressed their appreciation of the similar loans already provided by the Government of Canada and of the fact that the Government of Australia makes its aid available wholly on the basis of grants. It was suggested that, in those cases where financial assistance would remain unused, or give rise to serious internal problems, because of the inability of some recipient countries to finance local costs, donor countries should consider making financial contributions to cover a proportion of such costs. The Prime Ministers recognised the importance of the flow of direct investment to developing countries and expressed the hope that, insofar as economic circumstances permit, the minimum restriction would be placed in its way.

The Prime Ministers recorded their satisfaction at the constructive outcome of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa last August; they looked forward to an equally successful result for the Commonwealth Medical Conference which is to be held in Edinburgh in October 1965.

The Prime Ministers agreed that effective development is promoted not only by aid but even more by trade. Moreover, they were convinced that an expanding exchange of goods and services, by emphasising the interdependence of the countries of the world, was one of the most effective ways of promoting the growth of international understanding and the elimination of the causes of friction.

In further discussion of economic development in the Commonwealth, emphasis was laid on the importance to the economies both of Britain and of certain other Commonwealth countries of emigration to Britain from those countries. The Prime Ministers recognised that the extent of immigration into

Britain was entirely a matter for the British Government to determine. The hope was expressed that in operating such immigration controls as they might think necessary, the British Government would continue to give preferential treatment to Commonwealth citizens; and they welcomed the assurance of the British Prime Minister that there would be no differentiation in any restrictions on account of colour or creed.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the work which had been done since their last Meeting in carrying forward the initial impetus to the expansion of trade which was provided by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; and they pledged themselves afresh to press for more outlets for the trade of developing countries.

They stressed the importance to the development of the economies of member countries of the Commonwealth of the prices obtained for their primary commodities, particularly where the prices of primary produce fell in relation to prices of manufactured goods. The low levels to which the prices of cocoa and some other commodities have fallen are a matter of serious concern to producers. The problem of commodity prices extended beyond the Commonwealth and the Prime Ministers endorsed the need for consideration of the strengthening of existing international commodity agreements, where appropriate, and stressed the urgent need of negotiating further agreements of this kind.

The Prime Ministers agreed on the desirability of exploring means by which Commonwealth trade might be encouraged and expanded. One possibility would be to enable Commonwealth Governments, in planning their economic development, to take into account each others' plans. An exchange of information of this kind might enable production to be more effectively matched to requirements in the Commonwealth and thus increase trade between Commonwealth countries.

The Prime Ministers accordingly agreed on the following measures designed to further these objectives, while at the same time re-affirming their support for the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations now proceeding at Geneva, which these measures will not affect. They agreed to arrange discussions between officials of Commonwealth Governments in the first instance, with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat, in order to examine these issues further and to prepare for an early meeting of Commonwealth Trade Ministers. These official discussions could also pay special attention to problems of individual commodities of particular interest to Commonwealth countries, in order to see how far policies could be co-ordinated within the Commonwealth with a view to appropriate further action, whether on a Commonwealth or international scale.

They also agreed that subsequently the appropriate Ministers or officials in Commonwealth countries should meet to consider the extent to which each country's production and plans, as foreseen, could meet requirements in other Member countries.

Ministers decided to consider through the medium of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council means of promoting a closer understanding of the basic civil air transport requirements of member countries.

In addition the Commonwealth Secretariat will examine the possibility of arranging for the results of research to be shared more widely among Commonwealth countries.

Commonwealth Foundation

At their previous Meeting in 1964 the Prime Ministers considered that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields; officials were instructed to consider this proposal in greater detail. At their present Meeting the Prime Ministers approved a report by officials and an Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Foundation which is attached to this Communiqué.

Commonwealth Secretariat

At their 1964 Meeting Prime Ministers saw a Commonwealth Secretariat as being a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth and instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth Secretariat. At their present Meeting the Prime Ministers had before them a report by officials which they approved and an Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Secretariat is attached. As already announced, they have unanimously approved the appointment of Mr Arnold Smith as the first Secretary-General.

COMMONWEALTH MISSION ON VIETNAM STATEMENT OF GUIDANCE

To enable the Mission to approach its assignment meaningfully, there should be certain broad areas of agreement regarding the requirements for ending the conflict in Vietnam peacefully.

There is already general agreement on certain basic considerations:

(a) there is an inherent risk of the conflict in Vietnam escalating into a wider war;

(b) for this reason there are grave doubts as to an early or final solution by military means;

(c) a comprehensive cease-fire and a conference of all the parties directly involved in the situation seem to provide the essential precondition to the solution of the problem.

Bearing in mind these considerations and also the purpose of the Mission, it should be guided by the following ultimate objectives during its consultations with the parties principally concerned:

(a) a suspension of all United States air attacks on North Vietnam;

(b) a North Vietnamese undertaking to prevent the movement of any military forces or assistance or material to South Vietnam;

(c) a total cease-fire on all sides to enable a conference to be convened to seek a peaceful solution;

(d) the objectives of such a conference might be to:

(i) end the war in Vietnam;

(ii) secure the withdrawal of all foreign military presence from Vietnam and the neutralisation of the area;

(iii) establish, for a period, an international peace force, under the auspices of the Geneva Agreement, to safeguard peace in Vietnam;

(iv) establish principles for the eventual unification of the country through free and internationally supervised elections.

COMMONWEALTH MISSION ON VIETNAM FIRST STATEMENT

The following statement was issued by the Mission on 19th June 1965:-

The Mission appointed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting is to explore the circumstances in which a conference might be held to end the fighting in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, in order to create the conditions in which the Mission can carry through its work, the Mission is appealing to all parties concerned to show the utmost restraint in military operations as a step towards the total cease-fire which the Mission hopes will be established at the earliest possible opportunity. The Mission would wish to meet all the parties concerned.

SECOND STATEMENT

The following statement was issued by the Mission on 24th June 1965:-

Because of certain misunderstandings which have gained currency during the last few days, the Heads of Government of Britain, of Ghana, of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago wish to clarify the basis on which they agreed to form a Mission in connection with the problem of Vietnam.

The Mission was appointed by the London meeting of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth and on behalf of the Commonwealth as a whole.

The Commonwealth as such is in no way committed to either side of the conflict in Vietnam and has formed no collective view except on the urgency of re-establishing conditions in which the people of Vietnam may be able to live in peace. Although within the Commonwealth there is diversity of opinion on the Vietnam problem, there is complete unanimity as to the need to find a peaceful solution.

In the discharge of the task entrusted to it the Mission will be guided by the views of the Commonwealth as a whole and not by the views of any individual member of the Commonwealth.

It is in this context that the Commonwealth is satisfied that its Mission must make direct contact with all the Vietnamese parties. It is reiterated that positive steps should be taken by all outside parties to exercise restraint in military operations while the Mission is carrying out its task.

AGREED MEMORANDUM ON THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

The text of the Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Commonwealth Secretariat, published at the conclusion of the 1965 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London, is as follows.

I Establishment of the Secretariat

Pursuant to their decision announced after the conclusion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in July 1964 the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have decided to establish forthwith a Commonwealth Secretariat. As envisaged in the communiqué issued at the close of the 1964 Meeting, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers see the Secretariat as being at the service of all Commonwealth Governments and as a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth.

II Site of the Secretariat

The British Government will arrange for the Secretariat to be accommodated in Marlborough House.

III Functions of the Secretariat

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers have given further consideration to the role of the Commonwealth Secretariat, and the following paragraphs record the functions which they have agreed it should perform.

The Secretary-General and his staff should approach their task bearing in mind that the Commonwealth is an association which enables countries in different regions of the world, consisting of a variety of races and representing a number of interests and points of view, to exchange opinions in a friendly, informal and intimate atmosphere. The organisation and functions of the Commonwealth Secretariat should be so designed as to assist in supporting and building on these fundamental elements in the Commonwealth association. At the same time the Commonwealth is not a formal organisation. It does not encroach on the sovereignty of individual members. Nor does it require its members to seek to reach collective decisions or to take united action. Experience has proved that there are advantages in such informality. It enables its members to adapt their procedures to meet changing circumstances; conversely there would be disadvantages in establishing too formal procedures and institutions in the association.

General Considerations

Both the Secretary-General and his staff should be seen to be the servants of Commonwealth countries collectively. They derive their functions from the authority of Commonwealth Heads of Government; and in the discharge of his responsibilities in this connection the Secretary-General should have access to

Heads of Government, who will indicate the appropriate channels of communication to them.

The Secretariat should not arrogate to itself executive functions. At the same time it should have, and develop, a relationship with other intra-Commonwealth bodies.

The Secretariat should have a constructive role to play. At the same time it should operate initially on a modest footing; and its staff and functions should be left to expand pragmatically in the light of experience, subject always to the approval of Governments.

Against this background and in the expectation that, as its contacts spread, the Secretariat could expect to receive increasing calls on its resources, the various functions which it will exercise fall under the following broad headings: international affairs, economic affairs and general and administrative functions.

International Affairs

Consultation is the life blood of the Commonwealth association. At their Meeting in July 1964, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers expressed the view that on matters of major international importance a fuller exchange of views could very appropriately be promoted on an increasingly multilateral basis through the agency of the Secretariat. They were particularly anxious to ensure that there should be opportunity for fuller participation by all member countries in the normal processes of Commonwealth consultation. At the same time they showed themselves conscious of the importance of maintaining the unwritten conventions which have always determined those processes. The Secretary-General will observe the same conventions and act in the same spirit.

In so far as Commonwealth Governments agree that the Secretariat should discharge any specific task, it will be fully at their disposal. In general, however, its purpose will be to serve them by facilitating and promoting consultation on matters of common concern. To this end, subject to the general principles set out in paragraphs 12 and 13 below, the Secretary-General will arrange to prepare and circulate papers on international questions of common concern to all Commonwealth Governments where he considers it useful to do so. It may also prove helpful if, in consultation with the Governments concerned, he arranges occasional meetings of officials of member Governments for the exchange of information and views on agreed subjects. Such meetings might on occasion, if member Governments agreed, take place in various Commonwealth capitals or elsewhere.

The general principles which the Secretary-General will observe are set out in the following paragraphs.

The functions of the Secretariat are envisaged as being inter alia the dissemination of factual information to member countries on matters of common concern. 'Factual' information cannot be precisely defined; but, provided that the Secretary-General proceeds with circumspection in the exercise of this function, he is authorised, where he thinks it useful to do so, to prepare and circulate, either on his own initiative or at the request of a member Government, papers on international questions of common concern, provided

that these papers do not propagate any particular sectional or partisan points of view, contain no policy judgements or recommendations by the Secretariat and do not touch upon the internal affairs of a member country or disputes or serious differences between two or more member countries. In addition, the Secretary-General has discretion to refuse to prepare or circulate any paper, whatever its origin, which in his view propagates any sectional or partisan point of view or would for any other reason be liable to be offensive to any member country or countries.

The position of the remaining dependent territories within the Commonwealth is one matter which continues to command lively interest among member countries. The Secretariat could play a role in this field; and it might circulate to member Governments balanced papers on the constitutional advance of the remaining territories or on their progress towards independence, on the understanding that the responsible member Governments would always be closely consulted in the preparation of the papers.

The Secretariat will be guided by the principles outlined in the preceding paragraphs because it is important that it should develop as a unifying element within the Commonwealth. But, provided that it begins modestly and remains careful not to trespass on the independence and sovereignty of the member Governments whose servant it will be, it will be possible for it to grow in the spirit of the Commonwealth association itself. All Commonwealth Governments wish to contribute to this process and will be ready to assist the Secretary-General in every possible way. In particular the Secretary-General will from the outset establish close relations with Commonwealth Governments and with their representatives in London; and Governments will arrange to keep the development of the Secretariat's functions under regular review, by means of an annual report on its work. By these means the Secretariat will gradually accumulate, with the passage of time, a body of knowledge and experience which will contribute to an even closer understanding among member Governments on those major international issues which are of common and continuing concern to all the members of the Commonwealth.

Economic Affairs

The Secretariat will discharge several valuable roles in the economic field, the more important of which are outlined in the following paragraphs. Several intra-Commonwealth bodies are already actively at work in this field, and their relationship to the Secretariat is to be examined in accordance with the arrangements set out in paragraphs 23 to 26.

The Secretary-General will initiate, collate and distribute to member Governments material bearing not only on economic problems, but also on social and cultural issues in respect of which the potential value of his work could be considerable. He is authorised to follow up the specialised factual reports of the various agencies already at work in these fields by promoting wider ranging studies on, e.g., the inter-relationship of agricultural and industrial growth in the new Commonwealth. In this connection the Secretary-General may implement such tasks by commissioning, within the limits prescribed by his approved budget, specialist studies from outside expert sources rather than by engaging additional permanent staff.

Apart from servicing meetings of the various Commonwealth economic bodies, the Secretariat may, as appropriate, be represented at meetings of these specialised agencies in order to keep in close touch with their activities; and it will also keep in touch with the various United Nations agencies whose work in Commonwealth countries will on occasion be of direct concern to it.

In connection with the general economic aspects of the Secretariat's work, the proposals advanced at the last meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for the initiation of joint Commonwealth Development Projects in individual Commonwealth countries are relevant. The passage from the 1964 Communiqué reads:

> In particular they considered a proposal that development projects might be launched in individual Commonwealth countries, which would be implemented by various members acting in close collaboration and contributing whatever resources—in men, money, materials and technical expertise—they could most appropriately provide. Such projects, which would be additional to the support which Commonwealth countries already provide to the United Nations Special Fund and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, could be directed to a number of different purposes—the improvement of agricultural production and the development of natural resources through extension services, training and research; the enlargement of professional and technical training; the development of new industries; and so forth. But they would all be inspired by the common purpose of promoting the development of the Commonwealth by a co-ordinated programme of joint or bilateral projects. The British Government said that they would be prepared to make a substantial contribution of projects of this kind within their expanding programme of development aid. The other member Governments expressed support for the objective of the proposal and agreed that further consideration should be given to the basis on which such a programme might be established.

As regards the Secretariat's general functions and, in particular, its activities in the economic field, it is important that nothing should be done which might disturb the existing channels of economic and technical assistance to member countries or duplicate the present bilateral and multilateral links. The functions of the Secretariat in connection with the Commonwealth Development Projects are therefore expert and advisory and will not detract from the right of member countries to determine their own aid and development programmes.

Subject to these basic considerations the Secretariat will be able to play a valuable part in assisting member Governments, at their request, in advancing, and obtaining support for, development projects and technical assistance in a variety of fields on a multilateral Commonwealth basis, as appropriate. It will also help in the expeditious processing of requests for such assistance made by one Commonwealth country to another. In this connection, it will prepare and make available to Commonwealth Governments up-to-date information on the possibility of securing aid and technical assistance in various fields from individual countries of the Commonwealth.

Thus the Secretariat, by accumulating a reliable body of knowledge on the aid potential of the Commonwealth to which member countries can usefully have

recourse for the purpose of promoting their own development, will enable Commonwealth countries generally to co-operate to the maximum extent possible in promoting the economic development of all.

In general, the Secretary-General, in discharging his functions in this field of economic and related affairs, will be guided by the principles set down in paragraphs 12 and 13.

Proposed Review of Intra-Commonwealth Organisations

A comprehensive review of existing intra-Commonwealth organisations concerned with economic and related affairs will be carried out, in view of the changing nature of the Commonwealth and of the fact that the multiplicity of organisations working in these fields has created problems of staff and finance.

The main purpose of this review will be to examine whether existing work on economic and related affairs is being unnecessarily duplicated; how far the activities of the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations now supersede those of existing intra-Commonwealth bodies; what Commonwealth bodies might usefully be absorbed within the Secretariat; which have functions so specialised that they cannot profitably be so absorbed; and how close co-operation between these latter and the Secretariat, particularly in the light of the needs of the changing Commonwealth, can most effectively be achieved.

In order to secure an impartial appraisal and to protect the future relationship between the Secretariat and other Commonwealth organisations this review will be carried out by a small committee, appointed by Commonwealth Governments, under an independent Chairman. In order to safeguard the Secretary-General's position he will not be a member of the Committee. Nevertheless, he will have the right to be present or to be represented throughout the proceedings of the committee and to participate in its discussions. The Commonwealth organisations concerned will, of course, have the right to submit evidence to the Committee.

Pending the outcome of the review the Secretariat and the Commonwealth Economic Committee will work in the closest consultation. Again without prejudice to the review, the Secretariat will take over from the Commonwealth Relations Office as soon as convenient the secretarial functions which that Department at present carries out on behalf of the Commonwealth Liaison Committee.

Servicing of Commonwealth Meetings

The Secretariat, operating as the visible servant of the Commonwealth association, will carry out the task of servicing future meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government and where appropriate, other Ministerial and official meetings open to all members of the Commonwealth. The Secretariat will be able to rely on the host country for such secretarial help as it cannot itself provide and for assistance in matters of accommodation, hospitality, transport and the like.

The Secretariat will service the annual conference of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council and meetings of the Commonwealth Liaison Committee. The more technical or specialised organisations, e.g., the Com-

monwealth Education Conference, the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee or the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board will, pending the proposed review of Commonwealth organisations, continue to organise their own meetings.

As regards Meetings of Prime Ministers the Secretary-General will henceforth serve as Secretary-General to each Meeting. Subject to the principles set out in paragraphs 12 and 13 above, his duties will include the preparation, collation and circulation of papers on agenda items, together with such background papers as appear appropriate; the production of minutes; and, with the assistance of the host Government, the general organisation of the Meeting.

As to the preparation of the agenda itself, the Secretary-General will be responsible for co-ordinating this process in the light of such direct discussions as Commonwealth Heads of Government may find convenient. Heads of Government will maintain the practice whereby the provisional agenda is drawn up, after consultation among themselves, in the form of a list of broad headings for discussion and they also reserve to themselves decisions on the timing and location of their Meetings.

IV Administrative Arrangements

In consonance with the above functions of the Secretariat, its administrative organisation will be as follows.

The Chief Officer of the Secretariat will be the Secretary-General, and all members of the staff of the Secretariat will be responsible only to him.

The Secretary-General will be appointed by Commonwealth Heads of Government collectively. He will be a man of high standing, equivalent in rank to a Senior High Commissioner. A significant part of his duties will be visiting member countries of the Commonwealth.

The Deputy Secretary-General will be appointed by Commonwealth Heads of Government acting through their representatives in London. One Deputy Secretary-General will have the necessary qualifications and special responsibilities for economic matters and should deal, on request, with the development projects. As the work of the Secretariat expands, it may become necessary to appoint a second Deputy Secretary-General who will be primarily concerned with the other functions of the Secretariat.

The paramount consideration in the selection of staff and in the determination of conditions of service will be the necessity of integrity, due regard being paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible within the Commonwealth. The Secretary-General will have discretion, in the light of the above considerations, to appoint senior staff to the service of the Secretariat from among panels of names submitted by Commonwealth Governments, who need not feel themselves limited to Government servants in submitting nominations.

The Secretary-General has authority to make appointments of junior staff, subject to the approved budgetary limitations.

All persons appointed to the staff of the Secretariat must be subject to clearance to the extent that their own Governments raise no objection to their suitability for employment. All members of the Secretariat, whatever their origin, must be strictly impartial in the discharge of their functions and place loyalty to the Commonwealth as a whole above all other considerations.

Senior officers, including the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General, will be appointed in the first instance for not more than five years and preferably not less than three in order to ensure continuity of administration. In determining the period of tenure of other individual officers, the Secretary-General will no doubt wish to have regard to the need to stagger appointments in order to avoid a complete change of senior staff at any one time.

The British Government will introduce legislation in order to give the Secretariat a legal personality under United Kingdom law and to accord to the Secretariat and its staff the immunities and privileges which are set out in Annex A.

Other Commonwealth Governments will take steps to accord corresponding immunities and privileges to the staff of the Secretariat when visiting their territories, subject to whatever constitutional processes are required.

The cost of the Secretariat will be borne in agreed shares by Commonwealth Governments; the scale of contributions is set out in Annex B.

The annual budget will be considered by the Commonwealth High Commissioners in London or their representatives, together with a United Kingdom representative, meeting as a Finance Committee. The budget will then be submitted to Commonwealth Governments for their approval. The Senior Commonwealth High Commissioner in London or a representative of the British Government will be responsible for convening the Finance Committee as necessary.

AGREED MEMORANDUM ON THE COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION

A Commonwealth Foundation will be established to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields throughout the Commonwealth. It will be the purpose of the Foundation to provide assistance where it is needed in order to foster such interchanges.

The Foundation will be an autonomous body, although it will develop and maintain a close liaison with the Commonwealth Secretariat. Like the Secretariat, the Foundation will be accommodated at Marlborough House.

Within the broad purpose indicated above, the Foundation will include among its aims the following objects:-

(a) To encourage and support fuller representation at conferences of professional bodies within the Commonwealth.

(b) To assist professional bodies within the Commonwealth to hold more conferences between themselves.

(c) To facilitate the exchange of visits among professional people, especially the younger element.

(d) To stimulate and increase the flow of professional information exchanged between the organisations concerned.

(e) On request to assist with the setting up of national institutions or associations in countries where these do not at present exist.

(f) To promote the growth of Commonwealth-wide associations or regional Commonwealth associations in order to reduce the present centralisation in Britain.

(g) To consider exceptional requests for help from associations and individuals whose activities lie outside the strictly professional field but fall within the general ambit of the Foundation's operations as outlined above.

The Foundation could usefully develop informal contacts with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. To avoid the risk of duplication with the activities of existing organisations concerned with cultural activities and the Press, the Foundation should not initially seek to assume any functions in these fields.

The policy of the Foundation will be directed by a Chairman, who will be a distinguished private citizen of a Commonwealth country appointed with the approval of all member Governments, and a Board of Trustees who should be expected to meet at least once a year. The Board of Trustees will consist of independent persons, each subscribing Government having the right to nominate one member of the Board. These nominees, even if officials, will be appointed in a personal capacity. The Commonwealth Secretariat will be represented on the Board of Trustees by the Secretary-General or an officer appointed by him.

There will be a full-time, salaried Director who will be appointed, initially for a period of not more than two years, by Commonwealth Heads of Government collectively acting through their representatives in London. He will be responsible to the Board of Trustees.

The Director will require a small personal staff: general office services will be provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

It is hoped that Commonwealth Governments will subscribe to the cost of the Foundation on an agreed scale. Payment of the first annual subscriptions will be made as soon as the Director has indicated that a bank account for the Foundation has been opened. It is hoped that, in addition, private sources may be willing to contribute to the funds of the Foundation.

The accounts of the Foundation will be audited annually by the British Comptroller and Auditor-General, whose report will be submitted to the Board of Trustees. The financial year of the Foundation will be from 1st July to 30th June.

The budget of the Foundation will be subject to the approval of the board of Trustees.

The British Government will draw up the necessary documents to set up the Trust and take any further steps needed to constitute the Foundation as a legal charity.

25 June 1965

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon Leslie B Pearson, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon A F Wijemanne, Minister of Justice
Cyprus	The Hon Spyros Kyprianou, Minister of Foreign Affairs
The Gambia	The Hon D K Jawara, Prime Minister
Ghana	HE Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President
India	Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Hon D B Sangster, Deputy Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon J Murumbi, Minister of External Affairs
Malawi	Dr The Hon Hastings Banda, Prime Minister
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister
Malta	Dr The Hon G Borg Olivier, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Keith J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Albert Michael Margai, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Julius K Nyerere, President
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Rt Hon Eric Williams, Prime Minister
Uganda	Dr The Hon A Milton Obote, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS JANUARY 1966

(Lagos 10-12 January)

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(Lagos, 10-12 January)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government under the Chairmanship of Alhaji The Right Honourable Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria, ended today in Lagos. Cyprus was represented by its President and Zambia by its Vice-President. In addition to Nigeria, Britain, Canada, The Gambia, Malawi, Malta, Sierra Leone, Singapore and Uganda were represented by their Prime Ministers: Jamaica was represented by its Acting Prime Minister while Malaysia and Trinidad and Tobago were represented by their Deputy Prime Ministers. Ceylon was represented by its Minister of Justice; India by its Minister of Law and Social Security; Kenya by its Minister of Finance; and New Zealand and Pakistan by High Commissioners. There was an Australian observer.

On the eve of the meeting news was received of the death of the Prime Minister of India, Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Prime Ministers paid tribute to the work of the late Mr Shastri and a message of condolence was sent by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting.

The Prime Ministers welcomed Singapore to their discussions as an independent member of the Commonwealth.

They expressed their special appreciation of the invitation from the Prime Minister of Nigeria to meet in Lagos. Observing that this was the first meeting to be held in Africa, they agreed that to assemble from time to time in a different Commonwealth capital would underline the essential character of the Commonwealth as a free association of equal nations, spanning all races and continents.

The Prime Ministers noted that this was also the first meeting to be held after the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat and were glad to welcome the Secretary-General.

This was the first meeting called to deal with a single political issue and was devoted entirely to the question of Rhodesia. The Prime Ministers discussed in particular the ending of the rebellion; the need for co-operation with the assistance to Zambia; and the future of Rhodesia under constitutional rule. A Working Party of officials discussed in greater detail the nature and efficacy of economic measures against the illegal régime in Rhodesia; ways in which Zambia could be helped in its co-operation in these measures; and the question of Commonwealth assistance in training Africans in Rhodesia. They reported their conclusions to the meeting.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rested with Britain, but acknowledged that the problem was of wider concern to Africa, the Commonwealth and the world.

The Prime Ministers recalled their statement, first made in 1964, that 'for all Commonwealth Governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens'.

They further recalled that in their 1965 communique they stated that 'the principle of one man one vote was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia'.

They expressed their concern at the danger to all multi-racial communities in the Commonwealth, particularly in East and Central Africa, and at the danger to the future of the multi-racial Commonwealth itself if the situation in Rhodesia were to continue.

Objectives

The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it. They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority for the benefit of a privileged few was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights.

The meeting agreed that the goal of future progress in Rhodesia should be the establishment of a just society based on equality of opportunity to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential and from which all could enjoy the benefits due to them without discrimination or unjust impediment.

To this end several principles were affirmed. The first was the determination of all present that the rebellion must be brought to an end. All those detained for purely political reasons should be released. Political activities should be constitutional and free from intimidation from any quarter. Repressive and discriminatory laws should be repealed. The Prime Ministers noted the statement of the British Government that a period of direct rule would be needed, leading to the holding of a constitutional conference. This conference representing all sections of the Rhodesian people would be for the purpose of recommending a constitution leading to a majority rule on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

Ending the Rebellion

The Prime Ministers reviewed and noted the measures taken by Commonwealth and other countries against the illegal régime. Some expressed concern that the steps taken so far had not resulted in its removal. They called on all countries which had not already done so to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Security Council Resolution of 20th November 1965, making at the same time necessary arrangements to provide for the repercussions of such further measures on the economy of Zambia.

The Prime Ministers discussed the question of the use of military force in Rhodesia and it was accepted that its use could not be precluded if this proved necessary to restore law and order.

In this connection the Prime Ministers noted the statement by the British Prime Minister that on the expert advice available to him the cumulative effects of the economic and financial sanctions might well bring the rebellion to an end within a matter of weeks rather than months. While some Prime Ministers had misgivings in this regard, all expressed the hope that these measures would result in the overthrow of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia within the period mentioned by the British Prime Minister.

The Prime Ministers decided on the following measures of Commonwealth action, starting now:

(1) To appoint two continuing committees composed of representatives of all Commonwealth countries to meet with the Secretary-General in London. The first will review regularly the effect of sanctions and also the special needs which may from time to time arise in honouring the Commonwealth's undertaking to come to the support of Zambia as required. The second will co-ordinate a special Commonwealth programme of assistance in training Rhodesian Africans as set out below.

(2) The Sanctions Committee will recommend the re-convening of the Prime Ministers' meeting when they judge that this is necessary. In any case, the Prime Ministers agreed to meet again in July if the rebellion has not been ended before then.

(3) The Sanctions Committee will advise the Prime Ministers if it considers action by the United Nations is called for.

(4) Some Prime Ministers indicated that they reserved the right if need arises to propose mandatory United Nations action under Articles 41 or 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter. This statement was noted by the other Heads of Government.

Co-operation with Zambia

The Prime Minister of Britain informed his colleagues of British actions in support of Zambia. The Prime Ministers welcomed the effort made by Commonwealth and other countries in organizing the emergency transport of oil and vital supplies. The meeting agreed that members of the Commonwealth should give full consideration to concerted assistance to Zambia and that this assistance should be extended to include Malawi if necessary.

Assistance in training Rhodesian Africans

The Prime Ministers were agreed that planned assistance to a lawfully constituted Government of Rhodesia should begin at once. They therefore approved the establishment of a special Commonwealth programme to help accelerate the training of Rhodesian Africans and directed the Secretary-General to arrange as soon as possible a meeting of educational and technical assistance experts to consider detailed projects of aid by Commonwealth countries, including the early establishment of an administrative training centre in Rhodesia.

Conclusion

Finally, the Prime Ministers saw the Rhodesian question in the context of the world-wide problem of race relations. They re-affirmed the declaration made in their communique of July 1964 and expressed the hope that a just solution to the Rhodesian question would light a ray of hope for men and women of all races throughout the world for a future giving assurance of greater harmony between nations and recognition to the dignity of man.

12 January 1966

Heads of Delegation

Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon Lester B Pearson, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon A F Wijemanne, Minister of Justice
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
The Gambia	Sir Dawda Jawara, Prime Minister
India	Shri Asoke Sen, Minister of Law
Jamaica	The Hon Donald B Sangster, Acting Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon James Gichuru, Minister of Finance
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister
Malaysia	Tun Abdul Razak bin Hussein, Deputy Prime Minister
Malta	Dr The Hon G Borg Olivier, Prime Minister
New Zealand	Sir Thomas MacDonald, High Commissioner for New Zealand in Britain
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	HE Hakim M Ahson, High Commissioner for Pakistan in Nigeria
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon P J V Solomon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs
Uganda	Dr The Hon A Milton Obote, Prime Minister
Zambia	The Hon R C Kamanga, Vice-President
Commmonwealth Secretariat	HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General
Australia	HE Dr J W C Cumes, High Commissioner for Australia in Nigeria (Observer)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS SEPTEMBER 1966

(London 6-15 September)

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, SEPTEMBER 1966

(London, 6-15 September)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers which began on 6th September, ended today. Cyprus, Malawi and Uganda were represented by their Presidents, and Kenya by its Vice-President. Australia, Britain, Canada, The Gambia, Guyana, Malaysia, Malta, New Zealand, Sierra Leone and Singapore were represented by their Prime Ministers, and Jamaica by its Acting Prime Minister. Ghana was represented by the Deputy Chairman of the National Liberation Council; Trinidad and Tobago by its Deputy Prime Minister, India by its Minister of External Affairs and Pakistan and Zambia by their Foreign Ministers. Ceylon was represented by its Minister of Justice and Nigeria by Brigadier Ogundipe. The Prime Minister of Britain was in the Chair.

This was the first Meeting at which Guyana was represented as a member of the Commonwealth and the other Heads of Government welcomed its Prime Minister. They agreed that Commonwealth countries would collectively sponsor Guyana's application for United Nations membership.

They noted with pleasure that the Bechuanaland Protectorate would become independent on 30th September as Botswana, Basutoland as Lesotho on 4th October, and Barbados on 30th November; and that all three countries had expressed the wish to become members of the Commonwealth. All member governments agreed to accept them as members of the Commonwealth, upon completion of the necessary legislative and constitutional processes, and looked forward to welcoming them to the Commonwealth association and to sponsoring their application for membership of the United Nations.

In the course of a comprehensive review, Prime Ministers discussed the major issues arising from the international situation. They considered that it had never been more important that the United Nations should be as strong and effective a spokesman of the world community as possible and they pledged themselves to continue efforts to place the organisation's finances on a sound footing and to strengthen the organisation in all its aspects, including its ability to discharge its peace-keeping role. They were unanimous in expressing their deep appreciation of U Thant's efforts on behalf of peace and international co-operation and expressed the hope that he would reconsider his decision not to offer himself for a second term.*

The Prime Minister of Malaysia informed his colleagues of the ending of the Indonesian confrontation against his country. This was warmly welcomed as opening the way for the countries concerned to devote more of their resources to the urgent task of national development and offering the hope of constructive co-operation within the region.

* *The text of a telegram sent by Commonwealth Heads of Government to the United Nations Secretary-General is annexed.*

The Prime Ministers greeted with pleasure the announcement made to the Meeting that Pakistan and Malaysia had resumed diplomatic relations.

Prime Ministers recognised the dangers of a narrowing of horizons and a failure to view the great human problems of racial injustice, poverty and war in the universal terms which alone offer hope of relief to this and succeeding generations. Prime Ministers affirmed their conviction that the greater the international stresses proved to be, the greater the need for bridge-building associations to try to resolve them. They recorded their view of the continuing and vital importance of such broad groupings as the United Nations and the Commonwealth itself, comprising representatives of so many races, continents and cultural traditions.

Rhodesia

The Commonwealth Conference devoted a major portion of its discussions to the problem of Rhodesia.

As at Lagos, in January of this year, the members of the conference reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for guiding Rhodesia to independence rested with Britain but they acknowledged that the problem was of wider concern to Africa, the Commonwealth and the world.

They reaffirmed the view expressed in the communique issued at the end of the Lagos conference as follows:

> The Prime Ministers declared that any political system based on racial discrimination was intolerable. It diminished the freedom alike of those who imposed it and of those who suffered under it. They considered that the imposition of discriminatory conditions of political, social, economic and educational nature upon the majority by any minority for the benefit of a privileged few was an outrageous violation of the fundamental principles of human rights. The goal of future progress in Rhodesia should be the establishment of a just society based on equality of opportunity to which all sections of the community could contribute their full potential and from which all could enjoy the benefits due to them without discrimination or unjust impediment. To this end several principles were affirmed. The first was the determination of all present that the rebellion must be brought to an end. All those detained for purely political reasons should be released. Political activities should be constitutional and free from intimidation from any quarter. Repressive and discriminatory laws should be repealed.

They further re-affirmed the statement made in their London Communique of 1965 and repeated in Lagos that 'the principle of one man one vote was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia.'

They remain unanimous on the objective that the rebellion in Rhodesia must be brought to an end speedily. In order to achieve this objective, most of the Heads of Government expressed their firm opinion that force was the only sure means of bringing down the illegal régime in Rhodesia. Others, however, shared the British Government's objections to the use of force to impose a constitutional settlement, while agreeing that it was not ruled out where necessary to restore law and order.

Most Heads of Government urged that Britain should make a categorical declaration that independence would not be granted before majority rule is established on the basis of universal adult franchise and that this declaration should not be conditional on whether the illegal régime agreed to surrender or not. They further urged that Britain should refuse to resume discussions or to negotiate with the illegal régime.

The British Prime Minister stated that the British Government would not recommend to the British Parliament any constitutional settlement which did not conform with the six principles; that they attached particular importance to the fifth principle, namely that any settlement must be, and be seen to be, acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole; that they regarded it as implicit in this fifth principle that the test of acceptability must enable the people of Rhodesia as a whole to indicate whether or not they were prepared to accept any settlement which provided for the grant of independence before majority rule was achieved; and that there would be no independence before majority rule if the people of Rhodesia as a whole were shown to be opposed to it.

The Conference noted the following decisions of the British Government:

(a) After the illegal régime is ended a legal government will be appointed by the Governor and will constitute a broadly based representative administration. During this interim period the armed forces and police will be responsible to the Governor. Those individuals who are detained or restricted on political grounds will be released and normal political activities will be permitted provided that they are conducted peacefully and democratically without intimidation from any quarter;

(b) The British Government will negotiate, with this interim administration, a constitutional settlement directed to achieving the objective of majority rule, on the basis of the six principles;

(c) This constitutional settlement will be submitted for acceptance to the people of Rhodesia as a whole by appropriate democratic means;

(d) The British Parliament and Government must be satisfied that this test of opinion is fair and free and would be acceptable to the general world community;

(e) The British Government will not consent to independence before majority rule unless the people of Rhodesia as a whole are shown to be in favour of it.

Most Heads of Government made it clear that in their view political leaders and others detained should be immediately and unconditionally released before an interim representative Government was formed, in which they should be adequately represented. They further expressed the view that any ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole should be by a referendum based on Universal Adult Suffrage i.e. one man, one vote.

The Heads of Government also noted that the British Government proposed immediately to communicate its intentions as indicated above through the Governor to all sections of opinion in Rhodesia and to inform the illegal régime there that if they are not prepared to take the initial and indispensable steps

whereby the rebellion is brought to an end and executive authority is vested in the Governor, the following related consequences will ensue:-

(a) The British Government will withdraw all previous proposals for a constitutional settlement which have been made; in particular they will not thereafter be prepared to submit to the British Parliament any settlement which involves independence before majority rule.

(b) Given the full support of Commonwealth representatives at the United Nations, the British Government will be prepared to join in sponsoring in the Security Council of the United Nations before the end of this year a resolution providing for effective and selective mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

The Conference had before it an analysis of the working of economic sanctions prepared by the Sanctions Committee set up in Lagos. It was agreed that, though sanctions had undoubtedly depressed the Rhodesian economy, they were unlikely at their present level to achieve the desired political objectives within an acceptable period of time. Accordingly, the Heads of Government were generally agreed on the need for stronger and mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Most were convinced that mandatory sanctions of a general and comprehensive character should be applied under Chapter VII Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter, and should cover both exports and imports. Others favoured sanctions on selected individual commodities important to the economy of Rhodesia. The Heads of Government recorded their appreciation of the work of the Sanctions Committee and requested it to continue its work.

There was unanimity of view that Commonwealth countries should continue to co-operate to the fullest extent possible in the pursuit of these objectives for Rhodesia notwithstanding some differences of opinion as to the most effective means of achieving them.

It was also agreed unanimously that assistance should be given to Zambia to produce a more complete cut-off of trade with Rhodesia and to assist her to withstand any serious effect on her economy resulting therefrom. To this end they requested that the Zambian Sub-Committee of the Sanctions Committee should continue its efforts in co-ordinating further Commonwealth assistance. Continuing consideration should also be given to the problems of Malawi.

The Heads of Government agreed that the problem of Rhodesia should be kept under constant review, and that they would meet again soon if the illegal régime were not brought to an end speedily.

The Heads of Government have had one overriding purpose in their consideration of the Rhodesian situation; a consideration which has now extended over four meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. That purpose is to end the perpetuation of power in that country in the hands of a minority, with only ineffective and inadequate guarantees of the political rights of the majority. Such a situation must be replaced by an arrangement based on a multi-racial society in which human and political rights will be vested in all the people without discrimination and in accordance with the true principles of democracy.

Vietnam

The Prime Ministers discussed the situation in Vietnam. They noted with particular concern that since they had last met the conflict had intensified. They expressed deep anxiety at the tragic and mounting loss of life and devastation in Vietnam, and were conscious of the danger that the conflict might spread and develop into a major international conflict.

They reviewed recent developments, including the many efforts, representing a wide range of international opinion, which had been made since their last meeting to end the conflict and achieve a negotiated settlement. They reaffirmed their continuing belief in the urgent need to establish conditions in which the people of Vietnam might be able to live in peace and be free from outside pressures in order to be able to work out their own destiny within the broad framework of the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

They regretted that the Mission which they had appointed at their 1965 Meeting had not been able to undertake its task. Nonetheless they believed that the Commonwealth should continue its efforts to promote peace in Vietnam.

Disarmament

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their support for the aim of general and complete disarmament subject to effective international inspection and control. They expressed regret that, since the conclusion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference had not reached agreement either on general and complete disarmament or on more limited measures; but they expressed the view that this conference had performed thorough and useful work in defining the areas of disagreement on specific measures. They agreed that this conference is a useful forum for detailed disarmament negotiations, and they expressed the hope that, when it reconvened after the conclusion of Twenty First United Nations General Assembly, it would be able to agree on a solution of the most urgent problems.

Prime Ministers recorded their view that events were throwing into ever sharper relief the need for firm and far-reaching agreements on disarmament. They were convinced that the persistence of political tensions gave a reason not to relax but to redouble efforts to this end.

They expressed their concern at the growing danger of nuclear proliferation. The Meeting deplored recent nuclear weapons tests conducted in the atmosphere by two major powers. Commonwealth Governments recorded their hope that all steps would be taken to bring about a universally binding nuclear test ban treaty and to persuade those nuclear states concerned to participate in discussions on disarmament.

Nevertheless Prime Ministers were of the opinion that useful progress could be made in the control of nuclear arms and that such progress would increase the momentum towards world-wide agreements on disarmament. To this end they reaffirmed the principles set out in Resolution 2028 (XX) on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 19th November 1965.

Prime Ministers emphasised in particular that while there was still time it was imperative to halt the spread of nuclear weapons by the signature of a non-proliferation treaty. They urged all countries, nuclear as well as non-nuclear weapon powers, to agree to measures to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Prime Ministers regarded it as no less important to complete the test ban treaty by agreement to stop underground tests. They welcomed the fact that initiatives had been taken by some non-nuclear weapon countries both in suggesting procedures for bridging the differences among the major nuclear weapon powers as well as in setting in motion arrangements for international seismological co-operation. They trust that these initiatives, along with the rapid developments which are taking place in the field of detection and identification of seismological events could help to lead towards an early extension of the present partial test ban treaty to include an agreement to ban underground tests.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government pledged themselves to work for these ends both within and outside the United Nations, and appealed to all governments to do likewise.

Africa

Apart from Rhodesia itself, the Meeting also considered other problems in Southern Africa. It expressed its concern at the continuing refusal of Portugal to concede the right of self-determination to its territories. The Meeting expressed the hope that the remaining dependent territories in Africa would soon be granted the right of self-determination.

The Meeting also expressed concern at the denial by South Africa of its international obligations in respect of the mandated territory of South-West Africa. There was some discussion of the recent decision on this territory by the International Court of Justice. Prime Ministers drew attention with regret to the fact that the Court had not pronounced on the merits of the issue.

While the Meeting noted that it was still open to the United Nations to raise collectively with the Court the question of South Africa's discharge of its responsibilities under the mandate, most members thought it necessary that the United Nations should now revoke the mandate of South Africa in respect of South-West Africa and take over responsibility for its administration until such time as it achieves independence. They noted that this matter would be considered at the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Prime Ministers noted that there was danger of an escalation of conflict arising from territorial claims in Africa, particularly in the Horn of Africa, and they expressed the hope that disputes on changes in international boundaries would be settled by peaceful means and outside powers would refrain from taking steps which could aggravate the situation in that area.

Heads of Government condemned the continued practice of apartheid by the Government of South Africa and the adoption of oppressive and discriminatory measures against the non-white population of that country.

Cyprus

The Prime Ministers noted the developments with regard to Cyprus since their last meeting, including the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 18th December 1965, and reaffirmed their view that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice and in conformity with the wishes of the people of Cyprus.

Dependent Territories

Britain made a statement to the Meeting about the progress of the remaining British dependencies towards self-government or independence.

In the last year there have been nine constitutional conferences involving twelve territories and agreement on the final status of eleven had been reached. These included Guyana, the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho), Barbados, Mauritius and Antigua, St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Dominica, St Lucia, St Vincent and Grenada. When all these agreements have been put into effect over the next few months, twenty-two dependencies will remain, many of them with very small populations. A new constitution is about to be introduced in Fiji. The British Government is engaged in working out new constitutional arrangements in the near future for a number of other territories including Bermuda and the Virgin Islands. They are also engaged in discussions about the special positions of British Honduras, Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands. The British Government stands ready to give independence to territories that want it and can sustain it. For the others Britain is willing to work out arrangements appropriate to each territory that will enable them, if they wish, to continue in some form of association with Britain.

The Prime Ministers noted with approval the report of the New Zealand Prime Minister on the progress being made by the Independent State of Western Samoa and the fact that the Cook Islands had become a fully self-governing state freely associated with New Zealand.

They noted with approval the progress that had been made and was in train to bring British territories towards independence or some other solution of their choice. They welcomed the assurance of the continuing objective of British policy in this regard.

Prime Ministers were informed about the association arrangements being made with Antigua, St Kitts Nevis Anguilla, Dominica, St Lucia, St Vincent and Grenada. They noted that while these include provision for Britain to be responsible for the external affairs and defence of these territories in consultation with their Governments it had been agreed that a substantial measure of authority in the conduct of their external relations should be delegated to the associated states. Prime Ministers agreed that consultations should be held about the question of representation of the Associated States of the Eastern Caribbean at Commonwealth Meetings.

In relation to British Honduras some concern was expressed about the current mediation between Britain and Guatemala, and the hope was expressed that particular care would be taken to ensure that the people of British Honduras are given the fullest opportunity to express their views freely about any

proposed arrangements affecting their future. Britain gave a firm assurance that no settlement would be reached that was not in accordance with the wishes of the people of British Honduras.

Economic Affairs

The Prime Ministers held a general discussion on the world economic situation. They noted that Commonwealth Trade Ministers at their Meeting in June 1966 had had extensive and valuable consultations on world trade. It was recognised that, while Commonwealth trade must be seen in the larger context of international trade of which it was a vital part, there was continuing scope for expansion of Commonwealth trade and need to strengthen to this end the well-established links among Commonwealth members. In this context the value of the Commonwealth preference system was recognised. Heads of Government endorsed the continuing need for close consultation and co-operation among Commonwealth countries in international forums, particularly with the view to improving conditions for international commodity trade including questions of better access and more stable prices for primary products remunerative to producers and fair to consumers and to increasing the openings in international markets for exports of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from developing countries so essential in the development of their economies.

Prime Ministers reaffirmed the hope that the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations would lead to a substantial growth in international trade. Failure of the negotiations could lead to the further development of trade blocs and intensified trade restrictions. Such growth was of vital concern for the economic progress of Commonwealth countries. Despite the slow progress of the negotiations, Heads of Government attached importance to achieving an early settlement covering both industrial and agricultural products and resulting in increased benefits for all concerned, including the developing countries.

They observed that the British Government had indicated at the Trade Ministers' Meeting its readiness to seek membership in the European Economic Community provided that the essential interests of Britain and other Commonwealth countries were safeguarded. The British Government stated that they would make available the maximum information possible to other Commonwealth Governments on the progress of exploratory discussions and would at all stages of any negotiations consult closely with other Commonwealth Governments. The other Heads of Government noted this assurance and stressed the importance of consultations at all stages of exploratory talks, discussions and negotiations. The hope was expressed that the interests of developing countries would receive special attention during these talks.

Heads of Government also noted the statement by the representative of Nigeria that his country had recently signed an Agreement of Association with the European Economic Community.

They noted with approval that, in accordance with their decision in 1965, which had been carried further by Commonwealth Trade Ministers at their meeting in June 1966, a preliminary conference of officials engaged in economic planning was to be convened to consider the various methods adopted in Commonwealth countries and see whether a mutual exchange of current plans

could be used to improve them and thus promote trade and economic progress within the Commonwealth.

Heads of Government recognised the importance of the strength of sterling and the need for additional liquidity for international payments and they expressed the hope that substantial progress in this direction would be made at the forthcoming meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington. They attached particular importance to this matter since they recognised that the maintenance of economic expansion in the fully industrialised countries as well as in less developed countries was a basic requirement for the steady increase in world trade and development that is so vital to all countries of the Commonwealth. They noted that Commonwealth Finance Ministers proposed to discuss these and allied matters in Montreal later this month.

The Prime Ministers noted with concern the deteriorating position with regard to the world's food supply and stressed the urgent need for a massive increase in food production, particularly in the developing countries to meet the needs of the world's growing population, and the desirability for continuing assistance towards this end.

In the course of discussion of the problems of aid and development, Prime Ministers were concerned that the economic progress in the developing countries had fallen short of the minimum average targets of the United Nations Development Decade. They also noted that, notwithstanding the increased efforts of certain countries, the flow of resources from the developed to the developing countries was inadequate. They recognised that the growing economic imbalance between the rich and poor countries called for a continued and concerted effort to provide development assistance. In this connection they noted the growing difficulties arising from maturing debt obligations. They agreed that the Commonwealth, which was a representative group covering all levels of economic development problems, could continue to provide useful initiatives in international co-operation as it had in the establishment of the Colombo Plan for economic and technical co-operation in South and South-East Asia and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan.

Prime Ministers had before them a number of suggestions submitted to them by the Secretary-General on possible ways to implement their wish as set out in the 1964 and 1965 communiques that the Commonwealth can make a further distinctive contribution of its own to increase the economic strength and material well-being of Commonwealth countries. They considered that one of the most promising avenues of Commonwealth co-operation lay in the opportunity to play a creative role in the future strategy of economic development.

Prime Ministers agreed that the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his paper on Commonwealth Assistance Programmes should be further examined at a meeting of Senior Officials of Commonwealth countries concerned with aid administration and that this meeting might usefully be combined with the meeting of Senior Planning Officials which Trade Ministers had earlier on the suggestion of Prime Ministers asked the Secretary-General to convene on Planning Techniques, Regional Co-operation in Planning and Trade Promotion.

Commonwealth Medical Conference

Heads of Government were happy to accept the invitation of the President of Uganda that the Commonwealth Medical Conference in 1968 be held in Kampala.

Commonwealth Secretariat Matters

Following the decision at their 1965 Meeting, Heads of Government considered the Report of the Review Committee on Intra-Commonwealth Organisations concerned with economic and related affairs. They expressed appreciation of the work of the Committee and accepted the major recommendations including the integration of the Executive Secretariat of the Commonwealth Economic Committee and the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit with the Commonwealth Secretariat, noting that this would produce economy in expenditure.

Heads of Government took note of the Annual Report of the Secretary-General and authorised its publication.

Heads of Government expressed their high appreciation of the work of the Secretary-General and his colleagues in the Commonwealth Secretariat.

15 September 1966

ANNEX

TEXT OF MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Commonwealth Heads of Government now meeting in London have unanimously asked me, as Chairman, to convey to you our fullest confidence in you as Secretary-General. We earnestly invite you to reconsider your decision not to offer yourself for reappointment and to continue to be available to offer your distinguished services to the United Nations in the future.

Harold Wilson, Chairman

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Hon Harold Holt, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon Lester B Pearson, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon A F Wijemanne, Minister of Justice
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
The Gambia	Sir Dawda Jawara, Prime Minister
Ghana	The Hon J W K Harlley, Deputy Chairman of National Liberation Council
Guyana	The Hon L F S Burnham, Prime Minister
India	Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs
Jamaica	The Hon Donald B Sangster, Acting Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon J Murumbi, Vice-President
Malawi	HE Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President of Malawi
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Prime Minister
Malta	Dr The Hon Giorgio Borg-Olivier, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon K J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Brigadier B A O Ogundipe, Leader of Delegation
Pakistan	The Hon Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Foreign Minister
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Sir Albert Margai, Prime Minister
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Hon P J V Solomon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs
Uganda	HE Dr A Milton Obote, President
Zambia	The Hon S M Kapwepwe, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Commmonwealth Secretariat HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS 1969

(London 7-15 January)

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FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in London from 7-15 January. Botswana, Cyprus, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia were represented by their Presidents. Australia, Barbados, Britain, Canada, Ceylon, The Gambia, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Lesotho, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland and Trinidad and Tobago were represented by their Prime Ministers. Ghana was represented by the Deputy Chairman of the National Liberation Council; Kenya by its Minister of Finance; Nigeria by the Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council; and Pakistan by its Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Prime Minister of Britain was in the Chair.

2. This was the largest meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government and one of the biggest consultative gatherings of Heads of Government from all parts of the world since the signature of the United Nations Charter. Heads of Government warmly greeted the President of Botswana, and the Prime Ministers of Barbados, Lesotho, Mauritius and Swaziland, whose countries had become new members of the Commonwealth since the previous Meeting.

3. The Republic of Nauru has become the Commonwealth's first 'special member', with the right to participate in all functional meetings and activities, and to be eligible for Commonwealth technical assistance. The Associated States of the West Indies, having reached a full measure of self-government although not fully independent, also take part in Commonwealth meetings and activities in fields within their constitutional competence. Heads of Government welcomed these arrangements which had been agreed since their last Meeting to enable very small States to participate in the work of the Commonwealth.

International Affairs

4. Heads of Government were aware that they were meeting at a time of some misgivings about the effectiveness of international organisations and associations. They were unanimous that effective international co-operation was more than ever important. Any weaknesses and failures of international machinery were a reason to improve that machinery, not to despair of it. They expressed their continued support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and their wish to contribute to efforts to strengthen the institutions and work of the United Nations, particularly its role in maintaining and promoting peace.

5. They noted with pleasure the part played by Commonwealth countries in the development of regional co-operation. At the same time they recognised that exchanges of view and consultation within a wider association such as the Commonwealth offered one means by which its members could form a better understanding of one another's problems and attitudes and of their growing interdependence.

6. With these considerations in mind, they reviewed some of the major issues and trends in the world political situation.

7. They were in agreement that the principles of non-interference by one State in the internal affairs of another and of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and political independence of all States are the very cornerstone of the structure of world peace.

8. Heads of Government felt that events in Czechoslovakia, in violation of these principles and of the United Nations Charter, tended to undermine respect for the territorial integrity and sovereign independence of all States, particularly small States.

9. They considered that events in the Middle East in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolutions emphasised the need for the establishment of a durable peace in the area as a matter of urgency. This could be achieved in accordance with the Security Council's Resolution of 22nd November 1967. The Heads of Government expressed support for the efforts of Dr Jarring, the special representative of the UN Secretary-General, and urged all concerned to give him their fullest co-operation. They were encouraged to note the round of consultation now in progress among four permanent members of the Security Council and urged these Governments to persist in their efforts to help bring about a settlement in accordance with the 22nd November Resolution of the Security Council. While the role of major Powers was important, other countries especially those who have an interest in the re-opening of the Suez Canal, including Commonwealth members, could contribute towards a settlement.

10. Recalling the views expressed at their Meetings in 1965 and 1966, Heads of Government welcomed the commencement of the Vietnam talks in Paris and expressed the hope that they would lead to discussions aimed at securing a just, lasting and genuine peace.

11. It was the view of the majority of Heads of Government that the People's Republic of China has a right and a duty to participate in full in all the world's efforts towards peace. Most Heads of Government expressed the hope that the People's Republic in China would be able to take its rightful place in the international community, although some of them also stressed that this should be achieved without prejudicing the rights of the people of Taiwan to an independent existence if they chose. However, certain Prime Ministers of countries whose Governments recognised the Government of the Republic of China (Taiwan) reiterated their support of that Government's right to membership of the United Nations.

12. Heads of Government, recalling the ending of Indonesia's policy of confrontation against Malaysia in 1966, were encouraged by developments towards stability in Indonesia since their last Meeting in 1966 and felt that this would contribute to the general stability and economic development of the region.

13. The Meeting observed that difficulties between Malaysia and the Philippines arising out of the Philippine claim to Sabah had hampered the progress of regional co-operation in South East Asia. It expressed the hope that these difficulties could be resolved by peaceful means, upholding the right of self-determination which has been exercised by the people of Sabah.

14. The Meeting also noted with concern and sympathy the difficulties which Guyana was experiencing in connection with Venezuela's claim to more than one-half of Guyana's territory. Acknowledging that threats to the territorial integrity of the State make inevitable the diversion of resources and energies from the constructive tasks of development, many members shared the view advanced by Guyana's Prime Minister that there was an urgent need for an international effort to secure the territorial integrity of every State—and especially of the small developing countries of the world.

15. The Meeting expressed the hope that the recent achievement of independence by many small States would bring home to the international community the need to introduce special and effective measures to guarantee their territorial integrity.

16. The Meeting considered that major barriers to progress on negotiated agreements in critical areas and fields would be overcome by significant progress in achieving detente and in co-operation between the major Powers. It was therefore considered essential that efforts to reduce tension and extend areas of peace and co-operation should continue.

17. Heads of Government recalled that at their Meeting in September 1966 they had expressed the view that events were throwing into ever sharper relief the need for firm and far reaching agreements on disarmament. They considered that the need for such agreements was even more urgent now than it was then, and hoped that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee would resume consideration of this matter.

18. The Meeting considered that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee should, as a matter of priority, explore possibilities of reaching agreement on effective measures designed to bring about a cessation of the nuclear arms race at a very early date. With this end in view a universally binding comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty was an urgent necessity. In this connection, the British proposal to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee for a phased approach to a comprehensive test ban treaty was deserving of further study. They considered that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee should also seek to achieve a cut-off of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. Both these measures could be of great significance in halting the nuclear arms race. Mention was also made of the possibility that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee might undertake the study of various proposals made for a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. The Meeting gave particularly strong support to one of the recommendations made by the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (whose distinguished President was present at this Meeting) and repeated by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, that they should at an early date begin their bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles.

19. The Meeting stressed again that effective disarmament must cover non-nuclear as well as nuclear weapons. In this connection the Heads of Government drew attention to the urgent need for action to deal with the threat presented by chemical and biological weapons and welcomed the British proposal to the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee for a new convention prohibiting micro-biological methods of warfare. They looked forward to

the report on chemical and biological weapons which the Secretary-General of the United Nations had been requested to prepare; they hoped that this would make a valuable contribution to the consideration of arms control measures to deal with these weapons.

20. Heads of Government recalled that at their Meeting in September 1966 they had stressed that while there was still time it was imperative to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. A step torwards this goal was taken with the opening for signature of the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In so far as the Treaty achieved this objective, most Heads of Government welcomed it. However, some Heads of Government had reservations on certain aspects of the Treaty including its effectiveness and the reliability of security guarantees for non-nuclear weapon States. It was recognised that the Non-Proliferation Treaty would not fulfil all the hopes set upon it unless progress could also be made by the nuclear Powers towards effective measures of nuclear disarmament. It was also recognised that member States which were subjected to attack or threat of attack by either nuclear or non-nuclear weapons had the right to the protection afforded to them under the United Nations Charter.

21. The Meeting heard a statement by Britain on the progress of the remaining British dependencies towards self-government or independence. Twenty such dependencies were now left—many of them very small islands—and there had been recent constitutional advances in sixteen. It noted that in the case of British Honduras, the Falkland Islands and Gibraltar, the British Government stood ready to hold discussions with interested neighbouring countries, consonant with its basic principle, which was enshrined in the United Nations Charter, that the interests and wishes of the inhabitants must be paramount.

22. The Prime Minister of Malta drew the attention of other Heads of Government to the situation arising from the rapidly increasing technological capacity to exploit the immense resources of the sea bed, which constitutes nearly three-quarters of the surface of the earth. They considered that the area of the sea bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, for which a precise definition should be sought, should be accorded a special legal status as part of the common heritage of mankind, and as such should be reserved for peaceful purposes and for the orderly exploration and exploitation of its great resources, by such appropriate international machinery as is agreed acting for the common benefit of all States, irrespective of their geographical location, and taking into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries.

23. The Meeting welcomed the initiative of the Government of Malta which led to the appointment in December 1968 by the General Assembly of the United Nations of a committee on the peaceful uses of the sea bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and declared its support for the committee's work.

Rhodesia

24. The Meeting had a full discussion on the problem of Rhodesia. Heads of Government agreed that there were several reasons why Rhodesia was so important in Commonwealth consultations. The legal authority and the responsibility for the terms on which it would be brought to independence

rested with Britain, a Commonwealth member. The attempts of Commonwealth countries adjacent to Rhodesia to establish non-racial societies and prosperous economies were jeopardised by the growing threat of race conflict within the region. But the overriding reason was that problems such as this involved principles of racial justice and equality and the right of all peoples to self-determination which are embodied in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration of Human Rights. These matters went to the heart of the Commonwealth relationship and were therefore of deep concern to all Commonwealth members.

25. The Meeting recalled that, for these reasons, Rhodesia had been an important subject of discussion at recent Commonwealth Conferences, and Heads of Government reiterated the principles and objectives affirmed at their four previous Meetings.

26. They also reviewed developments since their last Meeting, noting that the illegal régime had continued acts of political repression against the African majority population, and that there were increasing trends towards an apartheid system in Rhodesia.

27. The constitutional proposals drawn up on board H.M.S. Fearless were discussed. Most Heads of Government emphasised their view that these proposals were unacceptable as the constitution of an independent Rhodesia, and should therefore be withdrawn. They considered that to transfer sovereignty to a racial minority as the result of an agreement reached with that minority would settle nothing, if the settlement was not freely accepted by the people of Rhodesia as a whole including the four million African Rhodesians and seen by the international community, especially the independent African countries to be so accepted. Otherwise internal strife, and outside support for guerilla activities would increase, with the inevitable risk of increasing instability and eventual race war. They stated that historical experience suggested that once independence was achieved, a minority in power could not be prevented from changing a constitution in whatever way they might wish. The only effective guarantees of political and civil rights lay in vesting those rights in the people as a whole.

28. The Meeting recalled the pledge given by the British Prime Minister, following discussion at the Commonwealth Meeting in September 1966 that independence would not be granted before majority rule was achieved (N.I.B.M.R.). The British Prime Minister stated that although the Fearless Proposals remained on the table, there had been no change in the British Government's policy on N.I.B.M.R. The Meeting welcomed the statement that the British Government's policy on N.I.B.M.R. remained unchanged, but most Heads of Government reiterated their position that the Fearless Proposals should be withdrawn.

29. Some Heads of Government reiterated their call on the British Government to use force to quell the rebellion in Rhodesia. The British Prime Minister explained the reasons why the British Government regarded the use of force as wrong and impracticable.

30. The British Prime Minister said that he had taken careful note of the view expressed by most other Heads of Government that the Fearless Proposals ought to be withdrawn. But he could not himself accept this view since he

considered that it would be right, if it proved possible, to give the people of Rhodesia as a whole an opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they wished for a settlement which would be fully consistent with the Six Principles laid down by successive British Governments. Any such settlement would need to be clearly shown to be the wish of the Rhodesian people as a whole. If that took place, he would consult his Commonwealth colleagues about the N.I.B.M.R. commitments. He emphasised, however, that a settlement based on the Six Principles would not be possible if it were shown that there could be no genuine test of its acceptability in present circumstances in Rhodesia.

31. It was agreed that any settlement must depend for its validity upon the democratically ascertained wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The process for ascertaining their views was the British Government's responsibility, but the test of the acceptability of any proposed settlement would need to be made in a manner which would carry conviction in the Commonwealth and in the international community generally, so that its results would be accepted as truly reflecting the wishes of the people of Rhodesia. Many Heads of Government urged that this could only be carried out through the normal democratic process of election or referendum, and doubted whether adequate safeguards for free political expression and verification of the results could he provided so long as the rebel government remained in power. The Meeting noted the British Prime Minister's statement that it would be open to the proposed Royal Commission to say that in the circumstances prevailing in Rhodesia, no genuine assessment was possible of the acceptability of the proposed settlement to the people of Rhodesia as a whole and that, further, if the Royal Commission felt themselves unable to adjudicate on the acceptability or otherwise of the proposals to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, they would be free to recommend any alternative method, including a referendum, which in their view would adequately test Rhodesian opinion.

32. The Meeting had before it a review of the working of economic sanctions prepared for it by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. The Meeting agreed that the comprehensive mandatory sanctions were having some effect. It was important to strengthen the enforcement of these and other pressures on the illegal régime, and to intensity them where ever possible, in order to bring about an acceptable political settlement. Heads of Government therefore affirmed their support for the Supervisory Committee of the United Nations Security Council and for the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, which they requested to continue to keep the situation under review.

33. Notwithstanding some differences of opinion on method, Heads of Government remained unanimous on the ultimate objectives to be sought in Rhodesia. They were more than ever resolved that, whatever the time needed to reverse it, the seizure of power by a small racial minority could be neither recognised nor tolerated. Concerted international action was being steadily built up particularly through the United Nations and the Commonwealth and Heads of Government pledged their continuing support for all efforts to strengthen and extend this and to continue to assist Rhodesian Africans in preparing themselves to take their rightful place in the Government and administration of their country. The special problems encountered by Botswana and Zambia arising from the Rhodesia crisis were recognised.

34. The British Prime Minister undertook to continue to consult Commonwealth members on the issue of Rhodesia.

Southern Africa

35. The Meeting considered other problems in Southern Africa. It reaffirmed the condemnation expressed at previous meetings of the policy of apartheid of the South African Government—a policy totally abhorrent to world opinion. It expressed serious concern at the continued refusal of South Africa to accept its international obligations in respect of the territory of South West Africa.

36. The Meeting deeply regretted that Portugal continued to deny the right of self-determination to the inhabitants of her colonial territories in Africa and called on Portugal to concede that right without delay. Some Heads of Government felt that the situation in Southern Africa if continued, would endanger peace and security and pointed to the threats which they felt were posed to their countries by the armed forces of South Africa and Portugal.

Migration

37. Informal discussions took place outside the meeting between some Commonwealth countries on certain problems of migration between those Commonwealth countries. The Secretary-General was requested by the countries engaged in these discussions to examine in consultation with representatives of those countries general principles relating to short and long term movement of people between their countries and to consider the possibility of exploring ways and means of studying this subject on a continuing basis with a view to providing relevant information to those Governments.

38. The Prime Ministers re-affirmed the declaration made in communiques of 1964 and 1965 that for all Commonwealth Governments it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.

Economic Affairs

39. Heads of Government held a general discussion on the world economic situation and broadly reviewed recent developments and trends. They agreed that the representative character of the Commonwealth and its tradition of informed and sympathetic interest in the problems of development make it a most valuable forum for constructive discussion and a useful instrument for co-operative endeavour.

40. They noted that early last year, in New Delhi during UNCTAD II, Commonwealth Ministers had exchanged views on some of the problems affecting trade and development of member countries, and that more recently, Commonwealth Finance Ministers at their annual meeting held in London had a full discussion of the world economic situation with special reference to international monetary problems, development and aid.

41. Heads of Government were concerned that the gap between the rich and poor was widening, but were encouraged by growing recognition of the increasing inter-dependence of nations. Greater co-operative action was vital to

ensure economic progress and prosperity on which stability and peace so largely depend. Postponement of adequate and united efforts would lead to greater political and economic problems.

42. They took note of the fact that developing countries of the Commonwealth were making efforts to help themselves. They were steadily laying the ground-work of future self-sustained growth by paying increasing attention to agriculture, education, population control and administrative and institutional reforms. It was therefore hoped that if they were assisted by appropriate international measures, they would be in a position during the decade of the 1970s to achieve higher rates of economic growth.

43. Heads of Government noted the growing movements towards greater regional co-operation among the developing countries of the Commonwealth. This represented a valuable form of self-help on the part of the developing countries.

44. Heads of Government recognised that the results of UNCTAD II had been very disappointing to the developing countries. While there had been agreement on the need to evolve an international policy for development and a global strategy to implement it, little progress had been made in achieving this. On the other hand UNCTAD II had mapped out certain promising lines of approach.

45. They stressed the need to give practical effect to the unanimous agreements reached in principle at UNCTAD II. They expressed the hope that it would soon be possible to conclude successfully the negotiations on a scheme of generalised preferences which would be of benefit to all developing countries and which would provide compensation for the less developed countries whose export trade might be adversely affected by the introduction of such a scheme. They agreed that close and continuous consultations among Commonwealth countries would be necessary during the consideration of the scheme of generalised preference. They emphasised the importance of continuing consultation at the Trade and Development Board and other organs of UNCTAD and asked the Secretary-General to maintain close contacts with these and other international agencies in order to keep these developments under review.

46. Heads of Government agreed that the first Development Decade had fallen short of expectations in achieving practical results. They hoped, however, that the experience gained would help in the identification of areas of development and the strategy to which urgent attention needs to be directed with a view to achieving greater concrete results during the second Development Decade.

47. It was recognised that the terms of trade had moved against some countries of the Commonwealth who depend to a great extent on the export of primary products. More orderly and satisfactory markets for primary products were crucial for Commonwealth countries. Recognising the present unsatisfactory state of major export markets for many primary products, Heads of Government stressed the need for further efforts by Commonwealth countries in international forums to secure improved conditions for international commodity trade, including better access to markets in both developed and developing countries and equitable and stable prices for primary products. They expressed gratification at the extension of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement and

expressed the hope that those governments which had not already signed it would do so. They further hoped that other commodities of special economic importance to Commonwealth countries would be covered similarly by suitable international arrangements, which arrangements would be pursued and be supported by Commonwealth countries.

48. In this connection, they noted recent developments in the negotiations for the conclusion of an International Agreement on Cocoa. They urged all parties to the negotiations to intensity their efforts so as to reach a speedy agreement, and on the progress of which the Secretary-General should keep members fully informed.

49. Heads of Government welcomed the liberalisation of trade in respect of manufactured products consequent on the conclusion of the Kennedy Round of negotiations, and hoped that this process of trade liberalisation would be carried further in respect of all products. They regretted however that these negotiations had produced no significant benefits for most developing countries. They expressed the hope that continuing efforts would be made under the auspices of GATT and UNCTAD to enable developing countries to secure improved access for their products to international markets with a view to increasing their foreign exchange earnings, while making every effort to increase trade among themselves.

50. They stressed the dangers of excessive protectionism in a number of foreign industrialised countries for agricultural products of export interest to Commonwealth countries.

51. While it was recognised the Commonwealth trade must be seen in the larger context of global trade of which it was a vital part, they agreed there was continuing scope for the expansion of Commonwealth trade and for this purpose there was need to strengthen the well-established links amongst Commonwealth members.

52. Heads of Government took note of the Secretary-General's report that, in pursuance of an earlier decision, the Secretariat had begun a study on the feasibility of Commonwealth co-operation to assist in trade promotion. They looked forward to the completion of this study.

53. The Meeting took note of the special difficulties of Lesotho and other African landlocked Commonwealth countries. These countries expressed the hope that all concerned would find it possible to accede to or ratify the international convention on the transit trade of landlocked countries. Heads of Government hoped that all countries concerned would make every effort to provide adequate transit facilities to the trade of such landlocked countries.

54. Heads of Government reiterated the importance of continuing close consultation by the British Government with Commonwealth governments in regard to developments of interest to them concerning the British application for entry into the European Economic Community.

55. In discussing the international monetary situation, Heads of Government stressed the importance of restoring stability in world payments—and of adapting the world monetary system to meet evolving needs. They stressed the need for providing adequate international liquidity for implementing and

activating as early as practicable the scheme for Special Drawing Rights through the International Monetary Fund to supplement reserve assets. They regretted that it had not been possible as yet to get the necessary broad international agreement on a special link between international action to increase liquidity and the needs of developing countries. They hoped that further consideration would be given to establishing such a link.

56. They expressed the hope that more liberal trade policies would follow from improvements in the international payments system.

57. Some Heads of Government felt that Commonwealth countries should call for a world monetary conference, open to all members of the IMF, to reappraise the World Monetary System since Bretton Woods and to make recommendations for its improvement, and that there should be a Commonwealth Meeting prior to such a conference. Others while sympathising with these objectives felt that it would be inappropriate to attempt to achieve them through such a conference and that it would be better to continue official discussions through existing channels.

58. The Meeting discussed international assistance for economic development, and noted with concern that the net transfer of resources from industrialised to developing countries had stagnated at a level which was inadequate to facilitate an acceptable rate of economic development in the developing countries. A critical situation was emerging for a number of countries because of the burden of debt servicing. Heads of Government expressed the hope that countries which had not already done so would be in a position to signify their acceptance of an early date for complying with UNCTAD resolution on the target of 1 per cent of gross national product at market prices. They stressed the urgency of the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association and expressed the hope that all countries concerned would follow the lead already given by some in effecting such replenishment.

59. Heads of Government noted with approval the recent tendency on the part of some Commonwealth countries to soften the terms of their loans which they were extending to the less developed Commonwealth countries. They considered that Commonwealth donor countries should take the lead in seeking further improvements in the terms of international aid generally, and hoped that donor Governments would view sympathetically in appropriate cases the granting of more flexible terms.

60. Heads of Government expressed the hope that the consideration of the scheme of supplementary financing would lead to early results of benefit to developing countries.

61. They welcomed the appointment of an International Commission by the World Bank to review the total aid experience of the past two decades and to make recommendations for future aid programmes, and were particularly gratified that a former colleague, The Rt Hon Lester B Pearson, was presiding over the Commission's work.

Commonwealth Co-operation

62. Heads of Government reviewed the extensive range of co-operation which exists among Commonwealth countries in such areas as technical assistance,

education, science, medicine, law and many other functional fields. Such co-operation is facilitated and rendered more fruitful by the advantages the Commonwealth association offers—a common working language, similar traditions in government, administration, educational methods, and the organisation of the professions. With the increasing membership of the Commonwealth and the potentially wider areas of co-operation, they recognised the importance of seeking ways and means of achieving more effective co-operation among members in all fields.

63. Much was being done through bilateral arrangements between member countries. The Meeting noted that intra-Commonwealth official bilateral assistance, which accounts on the average for about 85 per cent of the total of such assistance provided by Commonwealth members in all developing countries, had increased in 1967 and 1968, and they hoped that this would continue to grow.

64. They also reaffirmed the value of programmes of specifically Commonwealth effort in certain fields. An example would be increasing application of the principle of third-party financing, as a useful mechanism for bringing qualified experts and important tasks together quickly and efficiently. Third-party financing, by which exports from one country can be financed wholly or in part by another, can significantly enlarge the pool of expertise available for technical assistance arrangements by drawing on skills available in developing countries. These skills, moreover, are often of particular relevance to the needs of other developing countries. The Meeting agreed that early consideration should be given to the extension of the principle of third-party financing to education, training and consultations. This would allow students to be trained in surroundings and under conditions more appropriate to their future employment, and in this way ease the problem of the brain-drain.

65. The Meeting noted several examples of mutual assistance which had already grown up among developing members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Programme of Technical Co-operation, established within the Secretariat the previous year and on which the Secretary-General submitted a progress report, was a further step in building on the special advantages which the Commonwealth affords. A number of them underlined the particular usefulness of the Programme to the smaller members. They noted that a review of this Programme is to be carried out later this year.

66. The Meeting also considered a number of proposals for strengthening Commonwealth co-operation in specific fields.

67. They agreed that the nature and work of the Commonwealth should be more widely known in member countries. They approved in principle the proposal by Guyana for a Commonwealth Information Programme, and authorised the Secretary-General to appoint an Information Officer and to undertake in consultation with Governments a study of the implications of a programme as proposed.

68. Heads of Government also welcomed in principle the proposals submitted by Pakistan on co-operation in the fields of mass communication and education and asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail and in consultation with Commonwealth governments.

69. The Meeting had before it three proposals by Britain for increased Commonwealth co-operation. The first was for extension of co-operation in the legal field. This proposal involved the establishment of a small Legal Section in the Secretariat, which was agreed; and a conference on legal education, to which further consideration should be given.

70. The second British proposal was for regional centres for the teaching of English and the teaching of science, which was welcomed in principle, and which it was agreed should be further considered by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Secretariat.

71. The third British proposal was for a series of studies on the problems of youth. The Meeting asked the Secretary-General to examine its feasibility, taking into account the work in this field undertaken by other international organisations.

72. In addition the Meeting discussed proposals for a Commonwealth Book Development Programme designed to assist developing Commonwealth countries to obtain books and journals for educational and research purposes. The Meeting asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail in conjunction with the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, convening expert working parties where necessary. The Secretary-General was asked to include in these studies the implications of the ratification of the Protocol to the Berne Copyright Convention.

73. Heads of Government took note of the Second Report of the Secretary-General and the Report of the Commonwealth Foundation.

74. The Meeting also expressed appreciation of the valuable contribution to the strengthening of Commonwealth co-operation and understanding being made by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. As an independent association of Parliamentarians, it provides unique opportunity for the sharing of experience, the discussion of common problems and the development of personal links to the benefit both of its members and of the people they represent.

75. They expressed high appreciation with the work of the Commonwealth Secretary-General and his colleagues which they thought more than adequately justified the decision to establish the Secretariat.

15 January 1969

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon J G Gorton, Prime Minister
Barbados	The Rt Hon Errol W Barrow, Prime Minister
Botswana	Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon Dudley S Senanayake, Prime Minister
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
The Gambia	Sir Dawda Jawara, Prime Minister
Ghana	The Hon J W K Harlley, Deputy Chairman, National Liberation Council
Guyana	The Hon L F S Burnham, Prime Minister
India	Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Hon H L Shearer, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon J S Gichuru, Minister of Finance
Lesotho	The Hon Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Prime Minister
Malta	The Hon Dr G Borg-Olivier, Prime Minister
Mauritius	The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon K H Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Deputy Chairman, Federal Executive Council
Pakistan	The Hon M Arshad Hussain, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Sierra Leone	The Hon Siaka P Stevens, Prime Minister
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Swaziland	HRH Prince Makhosini Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, President
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Rt Hon Eric Williams, Prime Minister
Uganda	HE Dr A Milton Obote, President
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President

Commmonwealth Secretariat	HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1971

(Singapore 14-22 January)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1971

(Singapore, 14-22 January)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Singapore from 14 to 22 January. All Commonwealth countries were represented, seven by their Presidents, seventeen by their Prime Ministers, one by the Vice-President, and six by senior Ministers. The Prime Minister of Singapore was in the Chair.

2. This was the first Heads of Government Meeting to be held in Asia. Heads of Government welcomed this and expressed gratitude to the Government of Singapore for the hospitality it had provided.

3. The Meeting expressed a warm greeting to the Prime Ministers of Tonga, Western Samoa and Fiji whose countries had become members of the Commonwealth during 1970, and particularly welcomed their membership as it brought to Commonwealth consultations additional views of the peoples of the south-west Pacific.

Commonwealth Declaration

4. Heads of Government approved unanimously and issued a Commonwealth Declaration.

International Affairs

5. Heads of Government reviewed the world political situation and trends. Views were exchanged on: East-West relations; Chinese representation in the United Nations; the steps required to end the conflict in Indo-China; the neutralisation of south-east Asia; the conditions necessary for achieving a durable settlement in the Middle East; the violation of the security and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea by the military and naval forces of Portugal in conjunction with other elements; the need for general and complete disarmament under effective international control, the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the conclusion of collateral measures with particular attention to nuclear disarmament until general and complete disarmament is achieved; the staging of nuclear weapons tests and the dumping of chemical weapons in the peaceful south-west Pacific area; and the complementary role of regional organisations and such trans-regional groupings as the Commonwealth.

Southern Africa

6. The Meeting reviewed major developments in southern Africa, including in particular those in South Africa and Namibia (South West Africa), the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia, and noted that tensions in that region were likely to increase rather than decrease unless there were fundamental changes in the conditions now prevailing. Earlier discussions on N.I.B.M.R. were

recalled. There was unanimous reaffirmation of the importance of the principle that any proposals for settlement must be acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

7. The Meeting had before it the report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee which reviewed the working of economic sanctions over the last two years. Heads of Government authorized the Committee to continue to review the situation.

8. Heads of Government discussed fully the question of the sale of arms to South Africa.

9. Heads of Government considered the factors affecting the security of maritime trade routes in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which are of vital importance for a large number of Commonwealth countries. They decided to set up a Study Group, consisting of representatives of Australia, Britain, Canada, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia and Nigeria, with instructions to consider the question further and report to them through the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

10. Certain Heads of Government stipulated the understandings on which they agreed to support the proposal to set up the Study Group.

The Security of the Indian Ocean

11. In their discussion of a paper presented by the Prime Minister of Ceylon on the security of the Indian Ocean, Heads of Government agreed on the desirability of ensuring that it remains an area of peace and stability.

Economic Affairs

12. Heads of Government held a full and frank discussion on the world economic situation and broadly reviewed recent developments and trends. Among the items discussed were: liberalisation of trade and access to markets; the special problems relating to exports of developing countries; the generalised preferences system and the problems connected with it; international commodity problems; high freight rates, inflation and its consequences; debt servicing problems of developing countries; targets for the transfer of resources to developing countries; terms and conditions of assistance, including the untying of aid; supplementary financing; the possibility of a link between Special Drawing Rights and development finance; and, the lending policies of international financial institutions.

13. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction that agreement was reached on the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade at the United Nations General Assembly. They reaffirmed their Governments' resolve to take the measures to translate into reality the goals and objectives of the Decade. In summarising their discussions, they also reaffirmed their conviction that fulfilment of the economic and social aspirations of the peoples of the developing countries was a matter of vital concern not only to the developing nations but to the world at large.

Possible British entry into the EEC

14. Heads of Government discussed Britain's possible entry into the European Economic Community and the implications of this for other Commonwealth

members. Among the matters discussed were the questions of: the effect of the Common Agricultural Policy on the exports of Britain's traditional suppliers; the need for any enlarged Community to be outward looking; standstill arrangements for those countries which desired or may be offered association or other trading arrangements with an enlarged Community; reverse preferences and their impact on international trading arrangements; the potential advantages and disadvantages for the Commonwealth in the event of Britain's accession; and methods of consultation during negotiations. They welcomed the resolve of the British Government to continue to press during the negotiations for measures to safeguard the interests of Commonwealth countries.

Commonwealth Co-operation for Development

15. Heads of Government welcomed the establishment of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and noted that the way was now open for it to be made operational.

16. Heads of Government discussed the recommendations embodied in a study on Commonwealth Export Market Development. They decided that these recommendations should be given further consideration at an early meeting of trade and finance officials.

Commonwealth Information Programme

17. Heads of Government agreed in principle on the proposals submitted to them for a Commonwealth Information Programme.

Commonwealth Co-operation on Youth Questions

18. Heads of Government noted with approval the Secretariat's activities in the youth field and agreed that such activities be expanded. They noted that a number of related matters would be discussed at the forthcoming Commonwealth Education Conference in Canberra. They decided that a meeting of Ministers concerned with Youth matters be convened as early as possible.

Commonwealth Book Development and Gift Voucher Scheme

19. Heads of Government approved in principle the establishment of a Commonwealth Book Voucher Scheme.

Special Commonwealth Programme for Assisting the Education of Rhodesian Africans

20. Heads of Government took note of the development of the programme and supported its continuation.

Commonwealth Foundation

21. Heads of Government noted the progress of the Commonwealth Foundation and agreed to its proposed expansion.

Comparative Techniques of Government

22. The Conference agreed that the item on 'comparative Techniques of Government', which was introduced by the Prime Minister of Canada, should be the subject of further discussion at the next meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. It was proposed that the Secretary-General should facilitate such discussion by arranging for preliminary study of the subject by appropriate officials.

Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General

23. Heads of Government took note of the Third Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

THE DECLARATION OF COMMONWEALTH PRINCIPLES

The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary association of independent sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and co-operating in the common interests of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace.

Members of the Commonwealth come from territories in the six continents and five oceans, include peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialised nations. They encompass a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions.

Membership of the Commonwealth is compatible with the freedom of member governments to be non-aligned or to belong to any other grouping, association or alliance. Within this diversity all members of the Commonwealth hold certain principles in common. It is by pursuing these principles that the Commonwealth can continue to influence international society for the benefit of mankind.

We believe that international peace and order are essential to the security and prosperity of mankind; we therefore support the United Nations and seek to strengthen its influence for peace in the world, and its efforts to remove the causes of tension between nations.

We believe in the liberty of the individual, in equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief, and in their inalienable right to participate by means of free and democratic political processes in framing the society in which they live. We therefore strive to promote in each of our countries those representative institutions and guarantees for personal freedom under the law that are our common heritage.

We recognise racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness threatening the healthy development of the human race and racial discrimination as an unmitigated evil of society. Each of us will vigorously combat this evil within our own nation. No country will afford to régimes which practise racial discrimination assistance which in its own judgement directly contributes to the pursuit or consolidation of this evil policy.

We oppose all forms of colonial domination and racial oppression and are committed to the principles of human dignity and equality. We will therefore use all our efforts to foster human equality and dignity everywhere, and to further the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.

We believe that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated. They also create world tensions. Our aim is their progressive removal. We therefore seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society.

To this end our aim is to achieve the freest possible flow of international trade on terms fair and equitable to all, taking into account the special requirements of the developing countries, and to encourage the flow of adequate resources, including governmental and private resources, to the developing countries, bearing in mind the importance of doing this in a true spirit of partnership and of establishing for this purpose in the developing countries conditions which are conducive to sustained investment and growth.

We believe that international co-operation is essential to remove the causes of war, promote tolerance, combat injustice, and secure development among the peoples of the world. We are convinced that the Commonwealth is one of the most fruitful associations for these purposes.

In pursuing these principles the members of the Commonwealth believe that they can provide a constructive example of the multi-national approach which is vital to peace and progress in the modern world. The association is based on consultation, discussion and co-operation.

In rejecting coercion as an instrument of policy they recognise that the security of each member state from external aggression is a matter of concern to all members. It provides many channels for continuing exchanges of knowledge and views on professional, cultural, economic, legal and political issues among member states.

These relationships we intend to foster and extend, for we believe that our multi-national association can expand human understanding and understanding among nations, assist in the elimination of discrimination based on differences of race, colour or creed, maintain and strengthen personal liberty, contribute to the enrichment of life for all, and provide a powerful influence for peace among nations.

22 January 1971

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon J G Gorton, Prime Minister
Barbados	The Rt Hon Errol W Barrow, Prime Minister
Botswana	Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Edward Heath, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
Fiji	Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	Sir Dawda Jawara, President
Ghana	Dr The Hon Kofi Abrefa Busia, Prime Minister
Guyana	The Hon L F S Burnham, Prime Minister
India	Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for External Affairs
Jamaica	The Rt Hon Hugh Lawson Shearer, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon Daniel arap Moi, Vice-President
Lesotho	The Hon Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein, Prime Minister
Malta	The Hon Dr G Borg Olivier, Prime Minister
Mauritius	The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Hon Sir Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Dr The Hon Okoi Arikpo, Commissioner for External Affairs
Pakistan	The Hon Ahsanul Huque, Minister of Commerce
Sierra Leone	The Hon Cyril Foray, Minister of External Affairs
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Swaziland	HRH Prince Makhosini Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Prince Tu'ipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon Karl T Hudson-Phillips, Attorney-General and Minister for Legal Affairs
Uganda	HE Dr A Milton Obote, President
Western Samoa	The Hon Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Commmonwealth Secretariat	HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1973

(Ottawa 2-10 August)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1973

(Ottawa, 2-10 August)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Ottawa from 2 to 10 August. All Commonwealth countries were represented, five by their Presidents or their Heads of State, eighteen by their Prime Ministers, three by their Vice-Presidents and six by senior Ministers. The Prime Minister of Canada was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government warmly welcomed the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and The Commonwealth of the Bahamas, whose countries have become members of the Commonwealth since the last meeting in 1971. They expressed gratitude to the Prime Minister of Canada for the hospitality provided by his Government.

3. On 3 August the Meeting was informed by the Prime Minister of Malaysia of the sudden death of the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, suspended its proceedings in tribute, and conveyed sincere condolences to the Government and people of Malaysia and to the bereaved family.

4. The Meeting was positive in tone and constructive in its approach. Having agreed to new procedures designed to ensure informality and free discussion, the leaders put aside set-piece speeches and addressed themselves directly both to each other and to the pressing questions before the Meeting. When unanimous agreement was not possible, mutual understanding of conflicting viewpoints was achieved. It was agreed that in this regard the Meeting established a most useful precedent for future Commonwealth consultations. The Commonwealth had been greatly strengthened by the event and Heads of Government were heartened by this.

5. Heads of Government were convinced that the association had once again demonstrated its vitality and flexibility. They intend to make maximum use of the Commonwealth machinery to put the principles of the Commonwealth Declaration into practice and to accelerate the pace of social and economic development among the less affluent members.

Statement on Nuclear Weapon Tests

6. Heads of Government issued a statement, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. The statement is annexed.

World and Commonwealth Trends

7. In a frank and informal review of world trends, Heads of Government examined changing power relationships and their political and economic

consequences with particular reference to Commonwealth countries. Views were exchanged on: changing relationships among the United States, the Soviet Union and China; problems of security in various regions; the emergence of new centres of economic power; the continued atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons, and the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty and for general and complete disarmament under effective international control; the situation in the Middle East and South East Asia; the establishment of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean; and the situation in Southern Africa with particular reference to Rhodesia.

8. While welcoming the general relaxation in international tension, they nevertheless noted those areas of tension which continue to threaten international peace and security as well as the widening gap between the rich and poor nations and recognised the need for the spirit of detente in all international relations. Acknowledging the potential for progressive change arising from shifting power relations, Heads of Government recognised that economic and monetary instability continue to pose urgent problems for the world community. As the search for solutions to these political and economic problems was pursued in the context of the changing power relationships, new opportunities arose for states other than the major powers to influence world developments, to contribute to the achievement of peace and security, to ensure the avoidance of spheres of influence and to secure a régime of social justice, economic progress and racial harmony throughout an increasingly inter-dependent world.

9. Consultation and co-operation in the Commonwealth, an informal worldwide association which included no super power, could make a special contribution to greater international understanding as well as to the search for solutions to economic problems. Heads of Government, therefore, stressed the value of strengthening practical co-operation between member countries, both internationally and on a regional basis, and working within other international organisations and groupings in order to give the medium and small countries a more effective voice in international relations to raise living standards and to improve the quality of life for all their peoples.

10. Heads of Government noted the progress made with regard to the proposal for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean since the last Conference in Singapore, where they agreed on the desirability of ensuring that it remains an area of peace and stability. They noted that the proposal was under study by an and hoc committee which had been established by the United Nations and they expressed the hope that its deliberations would receive the support and co-operation of all states concerned.

11. The Heads of Government were greatly concerned about the deteriorating situation in the Middle East which now presents a most serious threat to world peace. This deterioration was directly attributable to the lack of progress in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967. They considered that ways and means should now be urgently sought by all states to give substance to the Security Council Resolution.

12. Heads of Government also noted that since the last Conference in Singapore, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have adopted a Declaration to make South East

Asia a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality. They regarded this initiative as a positive contribution towards peace and stability in that region.

Trade

13. Heads of Government had a wide-ranging and substantive discussion on economic issues against the background of widespread inflation. Particular attention was devoted to problems of international trade. Heads of Government considered the prospects for the implementation of the Generalised System of Preferences by all the developed countries, and for improvements where schemes had already been introduced or were due to be harmonised. They hoped that the forthcoming Multilateral Trade Negotiations under the auspices of GATT would secure world-wide expansion of trade and take particular account of the needs of developing countries.

14. Heads of Government exchanged views on the prospects for the forthcoming negotiations between the enlarged European Economic Community and the developing countries of Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, and expressed the hope that they would lead to the conclusion of just, enlightened, and effective arrangements. The developing Commonwealth countries reiterated their previously expressed views that the notion of reciprocity could not be a basis for equitable and enduring relations between them and the EEC. In the case of the countries to which the Joint Declaration of Intent in the Treaty of Enlargement applies, it was urged that the Community should take a positive attitude to approaches that have already been made or might be made, and work out suitable arrangements taking their trade interests into account before the Common External Tariff is applied to British imports from them in accordance with that Treaty.

15. It was recognised that the system of Commonwealth Preferences has provided and continues to provide important advantages for Commonwealth countries, and the hope was expressed that the existing favourable arrangements for developing Commonwealth countries in markets of developed Commonwealth countries other than Britain should wherever possible be maintained.

16. Heads of Government considered the special problems of countries highly dependent on exports of agricultural products in primary, semi-processed and processed forms, and noted the desirability of achieving substantial liberalisation of trade in these products in the course of the forthcoming GATT multilateral negotiations. They underlined the urgent need for deliberate measures to be taken by the international community to secure equitable and remunerative returns for such products. To this end, they considered it essential that new international commodity arrangements be devised which would deal with this serious problem and protect the foreign exchange earnings of developing countries against excessive price fluctuations and inroads from synthetics, thereby increasing their capacity to buy needed imports. There was need also to increase the export earnings of developing countries from primary products, especially agricultural products, as prices of industrial goods continue to rise; and to study methods to introduce a realistic relationship between the prices of the two categories of goods. Commonwealth countries should play an active role in the search for new international commodity arrangements. It was felt that it was equally necessary to explore measures to minimise fluctuations in the prices of mineral products.

Monetary Issues

17. Heads of Government reviewed the work of the Committee of Twenty and recognised the urgent need to work towards the achievement as quickly as possible of a new and stable international monetary order, which would take into account the special concerns of developing countries, particularly as regards the creation of a link between Special Drawing Rights and Development Finance.

Development Assistance

18. The Meeting examined various aspects of development assistance, including the disadvantages of tied aid, the need for a more flexible approach by aid donors and the importance of achieving mutually satisfactory relationships between the donors and recipients of aid, as well as measures for reducing the onerous debt burdens of developing countries.

Private Foreign Investment

19. Heads of Government had a lively discussion of the problems and opportunities involved in private foreign investment. Special reference was made to the role of multinational corporations in a number of Commonwealth countries. Views were exchanged on possible techniques for ensuring that the operations of investing companies are compatible with the national goals of host countries, on the possibility of promoting the exchange of information on this subject among Commonwealth countries, and on the desirability of drawing up a code of conduct for international corporations.

International Transport

20. Heads of Government exchanged views on a number of important aspects of international transport problems and their implications, including rising freight rates, dependence on foreign-owned shipping, and conflicts of interest created by difference in labour costs and trade union action among member countries.

Food Shortages

21. Heads of Government expressed their concern at the growing shortages and rising prices of food and their hope that these problems might be considered without undue delay in appropriate international forums such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

22. (It was noted that the facilities of the Commonwealth Secretariat were available to examine a number of subjects mentioned in paragraphs 13 to 21. Such an examination might provide the basis for further action by Commonwealth countries.)

Southern Africa

23. Heads of Government had a full and frank exchange of views on changes and developments in Southern Africa. The Meeting also gave special consideration to the problems faced by countries in Southern Africa which border on territories and countries still under minority rule. While recognising that there were complex and difficult problems involved, Heads of Government were

agreed in their opposition to apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa. They therefore recognised the legitimacy of the struggle to win full human rights and self-determination.

24. In discussing conditions in South Africa, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies, it was agreed that Commonwealth members in a position to do so should seek to use their influence to persuade Portugal to grant a negotiated independence to its African colonies. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice and Security Council resolutions on Namibia were recalled and emphasis placed on international responsibility for that territory. There was discussion on how Commonwealth countries, especially those with economic interests in South Africa and Namibia, might best bring influence to bear to promote change. Heads of Government reviewed the efforts of the indigenous people of the territories in Southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence and agreed on the need to give every humanitarian assistance to all those engaged in such efforts. The British Government reserved its position in relation to the last proposal in circumstances in which assistance might be converted into military purposes.

25. Heads of Government expressed their intense concern for the situation in Rhodesia and the damaging consequences of a continued absence of a settlement. They appreciated the efforts made by the British Government with whom the responsibility lay and were united in their willingness to contribute towards a solution. All were agreed on seeking a peaceful settlement and that the objective was majority rule. They took note of the meeting between Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa and associated themselves with the British Government's wish for the discussions to be broadened and the necessary steps taken to remove restrictions so as to enable all groups representative of Rhodesian opinion to take part. The British Prime Minister welcomed the constructive suggestions made and undertook to take them into account as the situation developed.

26. Heads of Government considered the Report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee and authorised the Committee to continue its work. It was agreed that in the light of the recommendations contained in that Report further efforts should be made to render sanctions more effective pending an acceptable settlement. Heads of Government also took note of the development of the Special Commonwealth Programme for Assisting the Education of Rhodesian Africans and supported its continuation. The Zambian Foreign Minister expressed his Government's appreciation of Commonwealth assistance to Zambia.

Techniques of Government

27. Heads of Government welcomed the opportunity to exchange views on comparative techniques of government. They had a lively and useful discussion which included consideration of such subjects as: the determination of national priorities; the problem of ensuring effective implementation of government decisions; fostering communication between government and people; the redress of economic disparities; and the problem of correcting economic imbalances as between urban and rural areas. Heads of Government agreed that the question of comparative techniques of government should be the subject of further discussion at future Heads of Government Meetings and that, in the interim, the Commonwealth Secretariat should undertake appropriate preliminary studies to facilitate such discussion.

Commonwealth Functional Co-operation

28. Heads of Government agreed that functional co-operation was an important and dynamic aspect of the Commonwealth. They expressed warm appreciation of the way in which the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) was developing in meeting the priority needs of member countries, and commented favourably on its flexibility and speedy response. They agreed that activities undertaken through the Fund should be intensified and commended for further study various proposals for their extension.

29. Heads of Government noted with appreciation the generous contributions being made by several Governments, and especially by Canada, and hoped that further contributions on a voluntary basis would be provided by other participating countries.

30. Heads of Government noted the Secretary-General's proposal for a target of between 1 per cent and 2 per cent of total Commonwealth aid flows through Commonwealth multilateral channels. They agreed that further consideration should be given at the next Finance Ministers' Meeting to the means by which an increased flow could be brought about.

31. Heads of Government agreed to refer the proposal for the establishment of a Commonwealth Development Bank and a report on export credit financing in Commonwealth developing countries to Commonwealth Finance Ministers for consideration.

32. Heads of Government gave preliminary consideration to a proposal for a Commonwealth Centre for Applied Studies in Government and agreed that the detailed requirements for such a Centre should be studied and a report prepared for consideration, if possible, by senior Commonwealth officials in 1974.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

33. Heads of Government endorsed the Commonwealth Youth Programme which was approved by Ministers concerned with youth matters. They agreed that the scope of the programme should take into account the particular needs of individual countries and expressed warm appreciation of the pledges which had been made towards the agreed target of £1 million over three years. Heads of Government instructed the Secretary-General to proceed with the immediate implementation of the agreed programme.

Commonwealth Foundation

34. Heads of Government agreed that the budget of the Commonwealth Foundation be increased to £450,000 per annum for the period 1 July 1974 to 30 June 1976.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

35. Heads of Government noted with appreciation the contribution by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in promoting contacts between Members of Parliament of Commonwealth countries at annual conferences, and providing a forum for them to exchange views and discuss matters of

common interest at regional and international levels, thereby furthering Commonwealth ideals and interests.

Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General

36. Heads of Government took note of the Fourth Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

10 August 1973

ANNEX

STATEMENT BY COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON THE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TREATY BANNING NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS IN THE ATMOSPHERE, IN OUTER SPACE AND UNDER WATER

On this, the tenth anniversary* of the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, Heads of Government of the Commonwealth, meeting in Ottawa, reaffirmed their unfailing support for the Treaty and their concern to ensure its universal observance.

Recalling the terms of the preamble to the Treaty,

> Proclaiming as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons,
>
> Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end, and desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances,

Commonwealth Heads of Government appealed to all powers, and in particular to the nuclear powers, to take up as an urgent task the negotiation of a new agreement to bring about the total cessation of nuclear weapon tests in all environments.

3 August 1973

* Sunday, 5 August 1973

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Hon E G Whitlam, Prime Minister
Bahamas	The Hon L O Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister
Barbados	The Rt Hon Errol W Barrow, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Edward Heath, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister
Cyprus	The Hon John Christophides, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	The Hon A D Camara, Vice-President
Ghana	Brig NYR Ashley-Lassen, Member of the National Redemption Council and Chief of Defence Staff
Guyana	The Hon L F S Burnham, Prime Minister
India	Sardar Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister
Jamaica	The Hon Michael Manley, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon Daniel arap Moi, Vice-President
Lesotho	The Hon Chief Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister
Malawi	The Hon J D Msonthi, Minister of Education
Malaysia	Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister
Malta	The Hon Dom Mintoff, Prime Minister
Mauritius	Dr The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Hon Norman E Kirk, Prime Minister
Nigeria	HE General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Sri Lanka	The Hon Mrs Sirimavo W R D Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Swaziland	HRH Prince Makhosini J Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Prince Tu'ipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon F Prevatt, Minister of Petroleum and Mines
Uganda	The Hon P O Etiang, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs
Western Samoa	The Hon Fiame Mata'afa Faumuina Mulinu'u II, Prime Minister
Zambia	The Hon M Chona, Vice-President
Commmonwealth Secretariat	HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1975

(Kingston 29 April-6 May)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1975

(Kingston, 29 April-6 May)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Kingston from 29 April to 6 May. All Commonwealth countries were represented, 28 by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of Jamaica was in the Chair.

2. This was the first Heads of Government Meeting to be held in the Caribbean. Heads of Government expressed their gratitude to Commonwealth Caribbean Governments and in particular to the Prime Minister of Jamaica for the warm hospitality provided by his Government.

3. Heads of Government extended a cordial greeting to the Prime Minister of Grenada whose country had become a member of the Commonwealth since the previous meeting. They affirmed that a request from Papua New Guinea for Commonwealth membership on the attainment of its independence would be welcomed.

4. Heads of Government paid tribute to the memory of the late Norman Kirk, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and recalled with respect and affection his deep and practical concern for humanity and his outstanding personal contribution to the development of the modern Commonwealth.

5. Heads of Government reaffirmed the value they attach to these meetings and expressed satisfaction with the constructive approach and mutual confidence of their deliberations. They noted with approval the increasing use being made of Commonwealth machinery to further the principles of the Commonwealth Declaration and to promote consultation, co-operation and collaborative action across and within regions. Such consultation formed an important part of the contribution Commonwealth countries make to the development of a new pattern of international relations which took account of the significant shifts in political and economic power. Heads of Government urged that the Commonwealth initiatives already taken to this end should be intensified so as to promote peace and security, economic and social justice and harmony among races.

6. The reduction of continuing unacceptable economic disparities, the shifting balance of political and economic power and colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa were the main preoccupations of Heads of Government in their discussions.

7. Heads of Government recalled the statement in the declaration of Commonwealth principles: 'We believe that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated' and pledged themselves to do all in their power to promote a new and equitable economic order.

World and Commonwealth trends

8. Heads of Government reviewed political developments in the world which had occurred since they last met, in the light of the varied interests and concerns of member countries. They acknowledged the contribution of the spirit of detente to a measure of relaxation in international tensions and called for its universal application. They noted, however, that there were some crisis areas in the world where peace and stability were not yet secured and which were still subject to super power rivalry and interference. They stressed that the maintenance of peace and stability could not be left to arrangements between the super powers but was the responsibility of the entire international community. Heads of Government laid particular emphasis on the opportunities for the Commonwealth to make a constructive contribution to the problems of Southern Africa and underlined the special responsibility of Commonwealth member countries to work together in the search for a resolution of the situation in Rhodesia.

Disarmament

9. Heads of Government expressed their concern at the continued testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons and reaffirmed the need for urgent measures to facilitate a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapons tests as one essential step towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Cyprus

10. Heads of Government, deeply concerned over the continuation of the Cyprus crisis, expressed their solidarity with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and their determination to help in the achievement of a political settlement based on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. They reaffirmed their support for General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council's Resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) and in particular they called for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus, for the taking of urgent measures for the return of all the refugees to their homes in safety and for continued efforts through the intercommunal talks to reach freely a mutually acceptable political settlement. They noted the spirit of good will with which the government of Cyprus approached the resumption of the intercommunal talks under the personal auspices and direction of the Secretary- General of the United Nations and expressed the hope that these would be fruitful.

11. Heads of Government, as a concrete expression of their interest and concern for a fellow Commonwealth country, agreed to establish a committee consisting of representatives of the Governments of Australia, Britain, Guyana, India, Kenya, Malta, Nigeria and Zambia to meet with the Commonwealth Secretary-General as early as possible, to follow developments concerning Cyprus, make recommendations and assist in every possible way towards the early implementation of the above-mentioned United Nations Resolutions.

Middle East

12. Heads of Government expressed concern at the renewed danger of conflict in the Middle East. They re-emphasised the need for the establishment of a

durable peace in the area as a matter of urgency and urged all parties to renew their efforts to achieve this objective. To this end Heads of Government affirmed their support for the relevant United Nations Resolutions on the Middle East and their belief that to ensure success it was necessary that the authentic and legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people participate in the forthcoming peace negotiations in Geneva.

Indian Ocean

13. Noting that the Indian Ocean was a region of special interest to a significant number of Commonwealth countries, Heads of Government reaffirmed the desirability of ensuring that it remained an area of peace and stability. Serious concern was expressed about the increase in naval activity in the Indian Ocean area on the part of the great powers and the establishment and expansion there of military installations. Heads of Government called upon all nations and particularly the great powers most directly concerned to work towards the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

South Asia

14. The Heads of Government noted that positive steps had been taken in the process of normalisation among the countries of the South Asian sub-continent. However, they expressed their grave concern at the impediment to normalisation of relations posed by certain outstanding problems resulting in the aggravation of economic hardship and the retardation of the process of national reconstruction in Bangladesh. These problems include the repatriation of nationals and the sharing of assets. Heads of Government expressed the hope that the problems will be resolved expeditiously and satisfactorily through discussions among the countries concerned in the larger interest of peace and stability in the region.

Indo-China

15. Heads of Government welcomed the end of the prolonged war in Indo-China, urged countries in a position to do so to contribute to international assistance for the urgent tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction and looked forward to the new Governments of the region playing their full part in the community of nations.

The Caribbean

16. Heads of Government strongly reaffirmed the right of people in each country to choose the form of government which they considered best able to achieve their social, economic and political goals.

Belize

Heads of Government offered their full support for the aspirations of the people of Belize for early independence. Noting that talks had recently been resumed with Guatemala, and bearing in mind the special responsibilities of Britain as the administering power, Heads of Government urged the parties to take all necessary action for a speedy solution of the problem, which could be endorsed by the international community through the United Nations, in

accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Cuba

Heads of Government expressed the hope that all countries would now normalise their relations with Cuba and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State and the right of its people to the Government of their choice.

Southern Africa

17. Heads of Government had a thorough and constructive discussion of the changing situation in Southern Africa and its implications for the Commonwealth. They considered that the imminent independence of Mozambique and Angola had radically altered the balance of forces in the area and tributes were paid to the liberation movements who had contributed so decisively to this result.

18. Heads of Government re-emphasised that the objective for Rhodesia was independence on the basis of majority rule. They welcomed the initiatives taken by the Heads of Government of Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia and the President of FRELIMO to achieve this objective by peaceful means if possible. The Heads of Government, meeting informally, heard a statement by Bishop Muzorewa, President of the African National Council. The meeting noted that the Nationalist Movement, now united in the African National Council, was seeking with sincerity and determination the basis for an agreed settlement.

19. Heads of Government reaffirmed their total support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence on the basis of majority rule and pledged to concert their efforts for the speedy attainment of this objective. They took note of the determination of the African freedom fighters, supported by African and other States, to achieve their objective by peaceful means if possible and recognise the inevitability of intensified armed struggle should peaceful avenues be blocked by the racist and illegal régime. The moral responsibilities in those circumstances would lie with the minority Government and those who had chosen to sustain it.

20. The meeting noted that South Africa continues to support the rebel government by affording it the military and economic assistance on which its survival depends and reaffirmed their view that South Africa should fulfil its international obligations and strictly apply the United Nations mandatory sanctions and withdraw its forces from Rhodesia.

21. It was agreed that the prospects for a settlement would be greatly enhanced by the strict enforcement of sanctions by the international community as a whole. Heads of Government undertook to bring this consideration to the attention of Governments outside the Commonwealth in renewed representations where a breach of sanctions was known to have occurred. They also agreed to take action at the international level for the reinforcement and extension of sanctions.

22. In considering the recommendations of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, and authorising the Committee to continue its work, Heads of

Government emphasised the importance of taking immediate practical steps to assist an independent Mozambique in applying sanctions, since the great bulk of Rhodesia's exports and imports is dependent on Mozambique's transit facilities. They were unanimously in favour of providing immediate financial assistance to the new Government of Mozambique. They also endorsed the recommendation that an initiative should be taken by Commonwealth Governments at the United Nations to establish a programme of assistance for Mozambique in terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter.

23. Heads of Government were deeply concerned that South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in total disregard of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of June 1971, and in defiance of world opinion. Reaffirming that the fragmentation of Namibia was unacceptable, they recalled the obligation of the international community to maintain the territorial integrity of the territory and the right of its people to self-determination and independence.

24. The meeting looked forward to the time when the Government and people of Namibia might be welcomed into the Commonwealth, if that were their wish.

25. Heads of Government reaffirmed their total and unequivocal condemnation of apartheid and all forms of racialism. They welcomed the British Government's decision to comply strictly with the United Nations embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa and to terminate the Simonstown Agreement. They condemned the violation of the embargo by those countries which continue to supply arms to South Africa or enable them to be manufactured in that country. Noting the alarming increase in South Africa's defence expenditure, Heads of Government expressed their concern that this military build-up was bound to increase tension in an area already plagued by dangerous conflict. Heads of Government also agreed to maintain and intensify effective pressure on South Africa in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid.

26. Heads of Government reiterated their support for humanitarian assistance to the indigenous people of Southern Africa in their efforts to achieve self-determination and independence. Several Heads of Government described their contributions to various bilateral and multilateral programmes and indicated their intention to increase such assistance. The meeting also noted with approval the development of the special Commonwealth programme for assisting the education of Rhodesian Africans and indicated their desire to expand this programme to meet new and urgent needs. In particular, Heads of Government recognised the importance of extending the variety of education and training opportunities available to the people of Zimbabwe, with special emphasis on technical and industrial training, 'in service' experience and administrative training. It was also agreed that Commonwealth multilateral assistance should be made available to help in the developmental and training needs of the people of Namibia.

Economic Matters

27. Commonwealth Heads of Government recognised the need to take immediate steps towards the creation of a rational and equitable new international economic order. They reaffirmed the statement included in the Commonwealth Declaration adopted in Singapore in 1971 that 'the wide

disparities of wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated .... our aim is their progressive removal', and acknowledged the complexity, range and inter-related nature of the issues involved. They agreed that a small group of experts should be invited to draw up for consideration by Commonwealth Governments, in the context of the current international dialogue, a comprehensive and inter-related programme of practical measures directed at closing the gap between the rich and the poor countries. These measures would be designed to promote development and to increase the transfer of real resources to developing countries *inter alia* in the areas of production, distribution and exchange of primary and secondary products as well as services. Heads of Government recognised the importance in this context of co-operating to achieve an expanding world economy and world trade.

28. The group of experts should be selected from the Commonwealth on the basis of their personal capacities and their expert knowledge of contemporary problems of international economic development, and should be assembled in a way which would enable the perspectives of different regions of the Commonwealth and different national development strategies to be brought to bear on the problems concerned.

29. The group of experts should address itself to the issues and proposals elaborated in:

(i) the declaration and the programme of action on the establishment of a new international economic order as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly; and

(ii) the relevant principles of the Commonwealth Declaration adopted in Singapore in 1971; and

(iii) the concepts and proposals advanced during the discussions of the international economic situation at the Kingston meeting of Heads of Government including the presentations by the Government of Guyana on behalf of the Caribbean and by the Government of Britain.

30. In drawing up a programme of practical measures the group should pay particular attention to:

(i) measures to transfer real resources from developed to developing countries through international co-operation in the field of international trade in primary commodities with particular reference to the integrated commodities programme recommended by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, current proposals of buffer stocks, for indexation, and other relevant proposals, including the proposal for a general agreement on commodities;

(ii) measures which the international community can introduce for assisting developing countries:

(a) to increase food production;

(b) to promote rural development;

(c) to promote economic co-operation among themselves at the sub-regional, intra-regional and inter-regional levels;

(d) a review of existing organisations for industrial co-operation and development;

(e) to obtain greater control over, and benefits from, such activities as shipping, insurance, banking and other parts of the infrastructure for international trade and development;

(iii) programmes for industrial development involving new and expanded forms of industrial co-operation, the enlargement of employment opportunities in developing countries, and more favourable access to the markets of developed countries;

(iv) a review of existing organisations for industrial co-operation and development;

(v) mechanisms for increasing the flow of long-term development funds, the transfer of technology and the transfer of real resources to developing countries; and

(vi) reform and where necessary the restructuring of the international institutions concerned with the management of international trade and finance, and whether means could be found to increase the effective share of the developing countries in the decision-making process of the major international financial institutions.

In all of the above matters due regard would be paid to the special needs of the least developed, land-locked, the most seriously affected, and island developing States with limited natural resources.

31. In drawing up its recommendations the group of experts should consider the feasibility of utilising relevant concepts and mechanisms embodied in recent economic co-operation agreements between certain developed and developing countries.

32. The group of experts should consist of not more than 10 persons.

33. The members of the group should be appointed by the Secretary-General after consultation with member Governments.

34. The group should aim at submitting to Governments an interim report on the results of its work indicating measures which are amenable to early and effective implementation in time to permit discussion of this report at the next meeting of Commonwealth Ministers and to enable Governments to take this report into account before the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly.

35. It is expected that the group will endeavour to hold its first meeting by the end of May or early in June.

36. It would be desirable that the Secretary-General-elect should be associated at as early a stage as possible with the work of the group.

37. Heads of Government appointed Mr Alister McIntyre, Secretary-General of the Caribbean Community, Chairman of the Expert Group.

Lomé Convention

38. Heads of Government welcomed the conclusion of the Lomé Convention drawn up by the European Economic Community and 46 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. They welcomed the increased co-operation within the Convention between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries in these areas. They expressed the hope that the principles underlying the Lomé Convention could usefully contribute to the further development of relations between the EEC and other industrialised countries, on the one hand, and developing countries, including the Asian and other Commonwealth countries, on the other.

39. Heads of Government welcomed the valuable support which the Secretariat is giving to Commonwealth countries in the multilateral trade negotiations.

Food Production and Rural Development

40. Heads of Government discussed the report of the Commonwealth Ministerial Meeting on Food Production and Rural Development held in London in March 1975. They welcomed the opportunity it had provided to consider in a Commonwealth setting the problems of the three-quarters of the population of Commonwealth developing countries who live in rural areas. Heads of Government endorsed the view that the problems of rural development and food production should be attacked in an integrated manner and should receive high priority from individual Governments and aid agencies. They stressed the need for aid-providing agencies to adapt their practices and programmes to meet the special needs of food production and rural development, and endorsed the proposal to establish a food production and rural development division within the Secretariat. The new division would enhance the effectiveness of the Secretariat's already significant contribution to this sector and should be essentially action-oriented.

41. Heads of Government emphasised the setback to agricultural production which has resulted from scarcity and high prices of fertiliser, and welcomed efforts, in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, to secure adequate supplies of fertiliser at reduced costs. They also called for similar efforts with respect to farm machinery, feed stuffs and other agricultural inputs.

Drought and other Natural Disaster

42. Heads of Government recognised the value of the Commonwealth as a forum in which to consult and concert broad strategies for action in the Sahelian zone of Africa and in other natural disaster areas and endorsed the recommendation of the Ministerial Meeting on Food Production and Rural Development that Commonwealth action should supplement action taken by world bodies.

Industrial Development Co-operation

43. In underlining the importance of increasing agricultural production, Heads of Government stressed the parallel and related need to accelerate the

development of industry and endorsed the expansion of industrial co-operation, particularly between Commonwealth countries. In this context, they stressed the need for measures to promote the processing of primary commodities in their places of origin and the removal of barriers to trade in processed primary commodities and other manufactured goods.

44. Heads of Government stressed their concern to ensure that the activities of multinational corporations conform with the policies of host Governments and their goals for an equitable redistribution of wealth. They noted the work done on multinational corporations by the Commonwealth Secretariat and by bodies in the United Nations system. They agreed on the need for countries to build up their capabilities to deal with multinational corporations.

Development Assistance

45. Heads of Government affirmed the need for all countries with the capacity to do so, to maintain and, wherever possible, increase the flow of development assistance to developing countries, —l ı ı
especially to the developing countries most seriously affected by recent economic developments. They should also promote the rapid industrialisation of developing countries.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

46. Heads of Government reaffirmed their conviction that mutual help and shared responsibility were essential elements in Commonwealth co-operation. They expressed satisfaction at the expansion of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation in the four years since its establishment, noted with approval its flexibility and its capacity to respond quickly to the requests of member countries and commented favourably on it successful management.

47. Recognising the need for the fund's resources to keep pace with the expanding requirements of Commonwealth Governments, Heads of Government noted with appreciation the steady growth in support for the fund and welcomed the substantially increased pledges made by developed and developing member countries. They noted the intention expressed by a number of Governments to increase their contribution and hoped that further increases would be forthcoming.

Commonwealth Investment Bank

48. Heads of Government noted the studies organised by the Secretary-General at the request of the 1974 Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, on the financial feasibility and the need for the services of a Commonwealth Investment Bank along the lines proposed by a Commonwealth expert group. They concluded that a number of issues still required discussion before the proposal could be put to Governments for a final decision. They requested the Secretary-General to convene a committee of Commonwealth officials to prepare a detailed and specific proposal, addressing itself to the unresolved issues which must be faced if such an institution is to be set up. This committee should report to the next meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers.

Commonwealth Scientific Committee

49. Noting the crucial importance of science and technology in promoting social and economic development, Heads of Government welcomed the proposal of the Commonwealth Scientific Committee for an enlarged programme of scientific and technological co-operation among Commonwealth members and for the closer integration of its activities within the Secretariat. They expressed the view that attention should be given to environmental aspects in the enlarged programme.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

50. Recognising that the populations of all Commonwealth countries included a significant and increasing number of young people whose talents and potential ought to be fully utilised in meeting the developmental challenges of their communities and nations, Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the progress which had been made in the short time since the establishment of the Commonwealth Youth Programme and agreed that the programme should be extended beyond 1976.

Brain Drain

51. Heads of Government acknowledged the concern expressed over the problems associated with the brain drain and agreed that there was an urgent need for practical measures to reduce these difficulties being experienced. The specific proposal for the establishment of a volunteer corps was considered and the Secretary-General was asked to undertake a detailed study for the consideration of Commonwealth Governments.

Women in Public Affairs

52. While recognising that there was increasing participation by women in the national affairs of many Commonwealth countries, Heads of Government emphasised the need to focus greater attention on the rights of women to ensure the availability of opportunities for them to participate on a basis of full equality in the political, economic, social and cultural activities of their countries. As far as possible existing and future Commonwealth programmes should take into account the needs and aspirations of women and genuine efforts should be made to provide for their full participation in national and international affairs.

Commonwealth Foundation

53. Heads of Government expressed appreciation of the achievements and progress of the Commonwealth Foundation, which they regarded as having an important role to play in strengthening professional co-operation throughout the Commonwealth, and noted the increased budgetary requirements for 1976-79.

Report of the Secretary-General

54. Heads of Government took note of the Fifth Report of the Secretary-General.

Election of Secretary-General

55. Heads of Government paid warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr Arnold Smith, CH, for his distinguished service to the Commonwealth over the past l0 years and elected the Honourable Shridath Ramphal, Foreign Minister of Guyana, to succeed him.

Next meeting

56. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure an invitation by the United Kingdom Government to hold their next meeting in London in mid-l977 at the time of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of Her Majesty The Queen's accession as Head of the Commonwealth.

6 May 1975

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Hon E G Whitlam, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	The Hon Lynden O Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	HE Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President
Barbados	The Rt Hon Errol Walton Barrow, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Trudeau, Prime Minister
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	HE Sir Dawda K Jawara, President
Ghana	Lt Col Kwame Baah, Commissioner, Foreign Affairs
Grenada	The Hon Eric Gairy, Prime Minister
Guyana	The Hon L F S Burnham, Prime Minister
India	Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Hon Michael Manley, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon Daniel arap Moi, Vice-President
Lesotho	The Hon Dr L Jonathan, Prime Minister
Malawi	The Hon D T Matenje, Minister of Finance
Malaysia	Tun Haji Abdul Razak Bin Datuk Hussein, Prime Minister
Malta	The Hon Dom Mintoff, Prime Minister
Mauritius	Dr The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon W E Rowling, Prime Minister
Nigeria	HE General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Sri Lanka	The Hon Mrs Sirimavo W R D Bandaranaike, Prime Minister
Swaziland	HRH Prince Makhosini J Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Dr Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Prince Fatafehi Tu'ipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon K Mohammed, Minister of Health and Leader of the House of Representatives
Uganda	HE K Y Kinene, Permanent Representative to the UN
Western Samoa	The Hon Fiame Mata'afa Faumuina Mulinu'u II, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr K D Kaunda, President

Commmonwealth Secretariat	HE Arnold Smith, Secretary-General

(Kingston 29 April-6 May)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1977

(London 8-15 June)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1977

(London, 8-15 June)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in London from 8 to 15 June, 1977. Of the 33 countries who attended the Meeting 26 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The British Prime Minister was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitations to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth and expressed their special pleasure at meeting in London on the occasion of Her Majesty's Silver Jubilee. They also expressed their gratitude to the British Government for its generous hospitality.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed Papua New Guinea and Seychelles who had become members of the Commonwealth since their last Meeting in Kingston.

4. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction at the growing contribution which the Commonwealth was making to further the cause of development and international co-operation. They reaffirmed their confidence in its capacity to serve the international community and to play a significant part in promoting the cause of wider international co-operation and understanding.

World and Commonwealth Trends

5. In reviewing world trends, Heads of Government were deeply conscious of the fundamental changes taking place in international relations. They recognised that those relations, as reflected for example by the increasing strength and influence of the non-aligned movement and the potential for broadening the character and meaning of detente, were becoming less characterised by ideological polarities or by traditional concepts of power. For many of the issues which divide the world no lasting settlement was possible which was not based on an ethic of social justice, the eradication of racism, apartheid and colonialism, and a respect for human rights in the widest sense. They recognised that power in the world no longer depended exclusively on the military capacity or economic strength of the major powers.

6. It was clear that certain considerations which had engaged Heads of Government in the past, including especially the disparity between the rich and the poor nations, were now perceived as essential elements in global interdependence. One such element was the increasing awareness of the dependence of many industrialised countries on sources of energy and raw materials beyond their borders. Another was the need to make efficient and equitable use of the world's energy resources including uranium, which however requires universal non-discriminatory safeguards in order to reduce the danger of nuclear weapons proliferation and also facilitate the objective of nuclear

disarmament. These and other considerations underlined the reality of interdependence for all countries and gave the continuing crisis of poverty afflicting the developing countries practical as well as moral dimensions.

7. In a situation in which there was an increasing diffusion of power Heads of Government, from their different perspectives, agreed that a recognition by all countries of the full implications of interdependence was the only basis on which a global consensus could be established. They recognised that such a consensus must encompass political as well as economic elements and the acceptance of new structures and systems. Heads of Government believed that the Commonwealth with its unique potential for fostering co-operation among its diverse membership could significantly assist the international community in advancing global accord. They reaffirmed their commitment to use the Commonwealth relationship in practical ways in pursuit of this objective.

Southern Africa

8. Heads of Government reviewed the situation in Southern Africa and took note of a number of significant developments which had taken place since they last met together in Kingston. They expressed satisfaction that the attainment of independence by Mozambique and Angola had greatly strengthened the cause of liberation throughout the entire region. They affirmed their total support for the struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia and for the just demands of the oppressed in South Africa. They recognised, however, that events had moved into a phase of acute crisis.

9. In this connection they expressed deep concern over the increasing danger to international peace and security in view of the dramatic escalation of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia arising from the continuing intransigence of the racist minority régimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa and the failure of efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement.

10. In particular they condemned the repeated threats to and violations of the territorial integrity of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia as exemplified by the recent attack on and occupation of Mozambican territory by armed forces of the illegal Smith régime.

11. Heads of Government were also concerned over the exodus of thousands of refugees including the flight of many students and school children to neighbouring countries as a result of the escalating harassment and brutal repression by the minority régimes. In addition they took account of the deepening crisis in Namibia caused by South Africa's persistent defiance of the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

12. Heads of Government recognised that the capacity of the racist minority régimes to survive is in large measure due to the continuing material, military and economic support which they receive through collaboration with external sources.

13. Heads of Government agreed that these grave developments warrant the most urgent and effective action to ensure the speedy liberation of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa and renewed their commitment to this end.

14. Heads of Government reiterated that the independence of Zimbabwe must be achieved on the basis of majority rule. They recognised therefore that it is necessary to mobilise and exert maximum pressure on the illegal Smith régime. In this connection they noted that the armed struggle has become complementary to other efforts including a negotiated settlement and agreed that its maintenance was inevitable. While Heads of Government welcomed the renewed attempts to reach a negotiated settlement, doubts were expressed about the prospects of their success. In this connection Heads of Government noted the statement of the administering power regarding its timetable for the independence of Zimbabwe in 1978. Heads of Government recognised that a genuine settlement must involve agreement not only on appropriate constitutional changes but also on practical measures to ensure the transfer of effective power to a majority government. In this connection they expressed their deep conviction that a negotiated settlement must entail not only the removal of the illegal Smith régime but also the dismantling of its apparatus of repression, in order to pave the way for the creation of police and armed forces which would be responsive to the needs of the people of Zimbabwe and ensure the orderly and effective transfer of power. Heads of Government, however, recalled that so far all efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement had foundered on the sustained intransigence of the illegal régime.

15. Heads of Government condemned South Africa for the military and economic support which it continues to give to the illegal régime. In particular, they deplored and condemned the provision of military equipment and the supply of petroleum and petroleum products which buttress the illegal régime. They therefore called on South Africa to desist forthwith from complicity in repression and on all countries to take effective steps to ensure that South Africa no longer sustains the illegal régime in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council.

16. Heads of Government considered the Report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. They noted that massive evasions continue to take place which enable the Rhodesian economy to survive and in some sectors also to expand. They were particularly concerned that these evasions are being systematically facilitated and their prevention inhibited by the policies and legislation of various countries maintained in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. They recognised that ways must be found of frustrating these subterfuges. They recognised that the breach of sanctions, particularly in respect of petroleum and petroleum products, is a crucial factor in the survival of the illegal régime. Heads of Government requested the Committee to undertake urgently a study on the matter and make recommendations. They also undertook to re-examine legislation with a view to strengthening enforcement procedures in their respective countries so as to prohibit the export, by their corporate entities and nationals, of petroleum and petroleum products which might find their way to Rhodesia. They further undertook to persuade other countries to take similar steps. More generally Heads of Government agreed to take action at the international level for the reinforcement and extension of sanctions. In approving the Report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, Heads of Government paid tribute to the sacrifices made by Mozambique in applying sanctions against Rhodesia. They also authorised the Committee to keep under review developments in Southern Africa as a whole and to work in close collaboration with the United Nations in this regard.

17. Heads of Government condemned South Africa's continued illegal occupation of and its military presence in Namibia. They recognised that the

heroic people of Namibia have had to resort to several methods, including the armed struggle, to achieve their liberation. They reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. They also reaffirmed the right of the people of Namibia to choose their own government in free elections under United Nations supervision and control. They rejected as totally unacceptable to the Commonwealth, and to the international community as a whole, any arrangements for independence based on the system of 'bantustans' and apartheid and on the exclusion of SWAPO from participation in the electoral process. Accordingly they called on South Africa to act immediately to end its illegal occupation, to release all political prisoners and, in consultation with the appropriate organs to the United Nations, to transfer power within the framework of principles established by the United Nations resolutions and in particular Security Council Resolution 385 of 30 January 1976. Heads of Government noted that two of their members were involved in the five-power initiative in relation to Namibia and expressed the hope that it would contribute to this purpose. In this connection they urged the international community to take urgent action to apply an immediate arms embargo against South Africa and to make such an embargo effective.

18. Heads of Government condemned the brutal racist repression inherent in the system of apartheid demonstrated, for example, in the situations which have given rise to numerous uprisings culminating in the Soweto massacre last year. Heads of Government further deplored and condemned South Africa's attempts to perpetuate the system of apartheid with its denial of political rights by the creation of the so-called 'homelands' and reaffirmed that these 'bantustans', which are not sovereign states, should not be afforded any recognition by Commonwealth countries and the rest of the international community. In this context they recognised the serious difficulties which Lesotho encounters in consequence of its courageous refusal to recognise the independence of 'bantustans'.

19. Heads of Government recognised that South Africa plays a central role in perpetuating the problems of Southern Africa which are all inter-related. They considered that the policies and actions of the South African régime, both at home and abroad, constitute a grave threat to the security and stability of the whole area. They urged the international community to take effective measures to compel South Africa to bring about majority rule. Heads of Government expressed concern about the fact that South Africa has the potential for the development of nuclear weapons and might soon become a nuclear weapon state. They urged any Government which collaborates with South Africa in the development of its nuclear industry to desist from doing so.

20. Heads of Government considered the question of apartheid in sport and agreed on a statement which is attached to this communique.

21. Heads of Government recognised the urgent need for increased and sustained international support and assistance in the pursuit of the freedom of the peoples of Southern Africa. In this regard they welcomed the success of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia held in Mozambique from 16 to 21 May 1977. They agreed that the Maputo Declaration and Programme of Action, notwithstanding the reservations expressed at the time by a few Governments in respect of some of their provisions, provided a framework for specific action by which each Common-

wealth country could act in furtherance of their common purpose of achieving independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia with majority rule.

22. Heads of Government commended the Front-line States for their resolute and determined efforts in advancing the cause of freedom and independence in Southern Africa. They recognised that in doing so those states were making tremendous sacrifices and called upon Commonwealth countries and the international community to accord them full support and assistance. In this connection Heads of Government requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study of the economic costs to the Front-line States of the various practical measures taken by them in support of the liberation movements.

23. They also recognised that some neighbouring Commonwealth countries faced grave economic difficulties in coping with the influx of refugees fleeing from repressive apartheid and minority régimes in Southern Africa, and called upon Commonwealth countries and the international community to accord them full support and assistance.

24. The Meeting noted that Commonwealth Governments were rendering assistance in various ways to further the cause of freedom and independence in Southern Africa, and expressed satisfaction at the effective manner in which Commonwealth multilateral assistance had been provided. Heads of Government pledged continuing support for the Special Commonwealth Programme for the people of Zimbabwe and for comparable assistance which had been extended to the people of Namibia through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. They appreciated the need to increase the resources available and to broaden the scope of such programmes. They also noted with approval the programme of technical assistance financed by the Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique.

25. Looking beyond the existing programmes, and consonant with the Commonwealth's long-standing commitments, Heads of Government reiterated their readiness to respond positively to the evolving situation in Zimbabwe and to the needs of a legitimate government both before and after independence. They requested the Secretary-General to undertake all necessary preparatory studies on the range of assistance which the Commonwealth could collectively extend to that country.

26. Heads of Government praised the prompt efforts made by the United Nations in relation to the serious economic difficulties created for a number of neighbouring countries by the mounting crisis in Southern Africa. They pledged their bilateral and collective support of these efforts.

27. In their consideration of the problems of Southern Africa, Heads of Government attached the greatest importance to the involvement of the people of their countries in the struggle for freedom and independence in Southern Africa. In this context they commended the Government of Nigeria for having established a popularly based national fund for humanitarian purposes in Southern Africa. They expressed great interest in this endeavour and agreed to examine ways in which similar exercises might be introduced in their own countries.

Cyprus

28. Heads of Government reviewed developments concerning Cyprus since their last Meeting and noted with appreciation the valuable work of the Commonwealth Committee on Cyprus. In reaffirming once again their position of solidarity with the Government and people of the Republic of Cyprus and their support for General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX), Security Council Resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975), further endorsed and supplemented by subsequent UN resolutions on Cyprus, Heads of Government expressed deep concern that these resolutions have remained unimplemented. They called for their urgent implementation in all their parts and for continued efforts through the intercommunal talks to reach freely mutually acceptable political settlement. In this respect they welcomed the resumption of the intercommunal talks under the personal auspices and direction of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged that they be carried out in a meaningful and substantive manner with a view to reaching a just and lasting solution within the framework of the United Nations resolutions and in accordance with the four guidelines agreed upon at the meeting of 12 February 1977 between President Makarios and Mr Denktash.

Middle East

29. Heads of Government earnestly hope that negotiations towards a Middle East peace settlement will soon be resumed and will prove successful. They are deeply concerned over the increasing danger of the renewed break-out of even more intense armed hostilities in the Middle East. They renewed their conviction that no real progress towards peace in the area is possible until the relevant resolutions of the United Nations are implemented and the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland is recognised. While urging all parties concerned vigorously to renew their efforts for the establishment of a durable peace in the area, Heads of Government called for the early convening of the Geneva Conference with the full participation of the authentic and legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Most Heads of Government recognised that the Palestine Liberation Organisation is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Belize

30. Heads of Government reviewed the question of Belize and reaffirmed their full support for the aspirations of its people for early independence. They called upon all states to respect the right of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. They acknowledged that there could be no settlement of the question without the full consent of the Government and people of Belize, and pledged their co-operation in securing such settlement. To this end they agreed to establish a ministerial committee of the Governments of Barbados, Canada, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria and Tanzania to meet with the Secretary-General to keep under review the situation relating to the efforts of the people of Belize in pursuit of their legitimate aspirations for self-determination and independence; to assist the parties concerned in finding early and effective arrangements for the independence of Belize on the basis of views expressed at Meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government and in accordance with the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations; to make recommendations; and to render all practicable assistance in achieving these objectives.

Indian Ocean

31. Recognising the special interest of the Indian Ocean to a significant number of Commonwealth countries and the broad consensus that exists among littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean as well as in the wider international community to have it respected as a zone of international peace and regional co-operation, Heads of Government reaffirmed their own interest in the support for peace, stability and development in the Indian Ocean area. In this context, Heads of Government noted and welcomed recent developments which suggested distinct changes in the attitudes of the Great Powers towards the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Serious concern was expressed at the level of naval activities of the Great Powers and the establishment and expansion of their military installations in the Indian Ocean area. Heads of Government called upon all nations to work towards the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In particular, they called upon the Great Powers to pursue urgent contacts between themselves with a view to eliminating Great Power rivalry and tension from the Indian Ocean. The hope was expressed that the Great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean would actively co-operate with the littoral and hinterland states and with the Ad Hoc Committee of the United Nations in the context of on-going consultations for convening a conference on the Indian Ocean with a view to implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

Law of the Sea

32. Heads of Government noted the importance to all states of the Law of the Sea. They agreed on the urgent need to resolve the outstanding issues before the Law of the Sea Conference, now meeting in New York in its Sixth Session, and on the crucial importance of achieving soon a comprehensive and widely-accepted Law of the Sea Convention, including an effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes arising therefrom. They noted that consultations among Commonwealth delegations at the Conference had been helpful in the past and agreed that the delegations continue this practice on appropriate occasions.

Regionalism

33. Heads of Government, taking into account the growing interdependence and complexity of relationships between nations, recognised the important role which regional arrangements have played and continue to play in promoting the political, economic and social development of all the world's peoples. They noted that most members of the Commonwealth participate in one or more regional associations which bring together for consultative or functional purposes countries belonging to the same area and sharing similar concerns and objectives. They welcomed the fact that in many cases these arrangements brought together both Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries. Mindful of the Commonwealth's valuable experience in regional programmes of co-operation Heads of Government agreed that the Secretariat should continue to provide every possible assistance in maximising the benefits of co-operation within and between regions. They also attached particular value to processes of Commonwealth consultation at the regional level directed to enhancing co-operation on matters of Commonwealth interest and furthering collective Commonwealth objectives. They

requested the Secretary-General to assist such processes in every practicable way.

Human Rights

34. Recalling the Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, Heads of Government reiterated their belief in the fundamental rights of all men to life and liberty, to those personal freedoms that are the common heritage of their peoples and to respect for human dignity and the equal rights of all men. Mindful that the realisation of these rights the world over was a continuing if sometimes faltering pursuit, they reaffirmed their commitment to advancing respect for human rights in all their fundamental aspects: for economic, social and cultural rights no less than for civil and political rights. The effective enjoyment and protection of these rights was a cause to which the Commonwealth was resolutely committed.

35. Cognisant of the accumulated evidence of sustained disregard for the sanctity of life and of massive violation of basic human rights in Uganda, it was the overwhelming view of Commonwealth leaders that these excesses were so gross as to warrant the world's concern and to evoke condemnation by Heads of Government in strong and unequivocal terms. Mindful that the people of Uganda were within the fraternity of Commonwealth fellowship Heads of Government looked to the day when the people of Uganda would once more fully enjoy their basic human rights which now were being so cruelly denied.

Economic Matters

36. Heads of Government reviewed the world economic situation and the present stage of international economic co-operation. They noted with deep concern that since they last met, many developing countries had experienced stagnation, or even declining living standards, that desperate poverty persisted for hundreds of millions of the world's population, and that the already unacceptable disparities in wealth between rich and poor countries had increased. They also noted that although the experience was uneven, the economic situation for the developed countries as a whole had begun to improve but inflation and unemployment remained serious problems. They expressed their concern that structural weaknesses and unsatisfactory economic trends made the world outlook very grim indeed. They agreed that the need for a rational and equitable economic order, which they recognised at Kingston, was more urgent than ever before.

37. Their discussions confirmed the extent of the interdependence of the world economy. They recognised that the economic growth in the industrialised countries provided an impetus for accelerated development in the developing countries. They also accepted that rapid development in the developing world would be a positive factor for growth and recovery in the developed countries.

38. Heads of Government recognised that the North-South dialogue had advanced since their Kingston Meeting and welcomed the steps which had been taken by developed and developing countries prior to and at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation to strengthen international co-operation and foster the recovery of the world economy. They noted that participants in CIEC considered that it had contributed to a broader understanding of the

international economic situation, and that the intensive discussions had been useful to them. In the view of the developing members of the Commonwealth, however, the specific measures agreed upon were inadequate either by comparison with their needs or as a contribution towards the introduction of the New International Economic Order. Heads of Government called for renewed and more intensive efforts to pursue and advance the North-South dialogue in a constructive spirit in the responsible international institutions.

39. Heads of Government considered the Final Report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts which they set up at their Kingston Meeting. They congratulated the members of the Group on the expeditious and conscientious manner in which they discharged their mandate. While recognising that some elements of the Report differ from the positions of some governments, they endorsed the Report as a constructive contribution towards developing a specific action programme. They agreed that many of the proposals contained in the Report should be implemented with urgency and be incorporated in comprehensive and mutually reinforcing national and international policies to provide greater opportunity for development to the developing countries. Such policies should reinforce the efforts of developing countries to achieve self reliance in satisfying their basic needs as soon as possible. They decided to refer the Report of the Group of Experts to Commonwealth Finance Ministers together with the decisions on economic issues taken at this Meeting as a basis for further action at the international level. They asked Secretary-General to ensure that the Report was brought to the attention of the wider international community.

40. Heads of Government reaffirmed the overriding necessity to effect structural changes in the international economic system and recognised that the introduction of such changes required a continuing global consensus.

41. Heads of Government welcomed the agreement at CIEC that a Common Fund should be established as a new entity to play a key role in achieving the objective of the Integrated Programme for Commodities as set out in Resolution 93 (IV) at Nairobi. They also noted the agreement that the specific purposes and objectives of a Common Fund as well as its other constituent elements will continue to be negotiated in UNCTAD. They agreed to work towards the early establishment of the Fund. To this end they asked the Secretary-General to establish a small technical working group drawn from Commonwealth countries to examine the issues which need to be addressed in further work in UNCTAD and their report should inform Commonwealth leaders on the range of objectives and purposes for which the Common Fund might be used, its methods of operation and the measures to be adopted to help developing countries which are net importers of the commodities concerned, with a view to facilitating greater progress at the UNCTAD Conference in November.

42. Heads of Government noted the recommendations in the Commonwealth Group of Experts' Report for the further enlargement and liberalisation of the compensatory financing facility of the IMF and agreed to give urgent consideration to them with a view to having further improvements in the facility made by the IMF.

43. In the view of Heads of Government, the Paris Conference had brought forcefully to international attention the true dimensions of the global energy

problem and the need for international co-operation to deal with it. They agreed that all members should urgently adopt energy conservation measures and particularly improve efficiency in the use of oil and natural gas. They agreed further that they would actively promote the diversification of sources of energy supply, especially in energy deficient developing countries, including the provision of adequate short and long term funds for energy investment through international financial institutions.

44. Heads of Government agreed to work for the early conclusion of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations which, inter alia, should provide significant benefits to developing countries.

45. They stressed the important contribution which the European Economic Community could make to enlarging the markets available to developing countries. It was urged that the EEC should take further account of the trading interests of Commonwealth Asian countries which have been put at a disadvantage with the phasing out of Commonwealth Preferences and the granting of preferential arrangements by the EEC to an increasingly wider group of countries. It was also urged that there should be regular and substantial flows of EEC assistance to include non-associate Commonwealth Asian countries as well.

46. Heads of Government commended the action of one developed member of the Commonwealth in deciding not to proceed with the establishment of an industry of substantial importance to several developing countries and urged developed countries to take account of this principle in respect of other major industries in the trade of developing countries.

47. They agreed to support new initiatives for the early implementation of the decisions of the World Food Conference including the establishment, in the context of the arrangements for cereals, of measures to improve world food security through actions at the national and regional levels and through the setting up of internationally co-ordinated and financed stocks and international emergency reserves. They agreed that the FAO Commission on Fertilisers should be asked to consider the preparation of a permanent international fertiliser supply scheme and to devise measures for ensuring an adequate flow of investment for fertiliser plants in developing countries. They asked the Secretary-General to convene an advisory group to report urgently on further practical programmes for increased food production and rural development and on measures that could usefully be taken by the Commonwealth in regard to food security problems.

48. Heads of Government considered that the international monetary system should respond more rapidly and flexibly than it has so far to the fundamental changes which are taking place in the conditions of international trade and payments. The same flexibility should apply to the rules and practices of the IMF governing the adjustment process. They agreed that they would work for an acceleration of the process of international monetary reform including implementation of the decision to make the SDR the principal reserve asset in the monetary system.

49. Heads of Government agreed to recommend that early and sympathetic consideration be given to a general increase of at least 50 per cent in quotas at the Seventh Quota review of the IMF. They agreed to support the adoption of

provisions relating to conditionality which take full account of political and social as well as economic problems and the need for economic growth. They urged that studies be initiated on improving the machinery for recycling funds from surplus to deficit countries and on reforming the international monetary system to make it more responsive to the requirements of the changing world economy.

50. They agreed to work towards the early enlargement of the capital of the World Bank and, at the proper time, of the regional development banks and the IDA to enable these institutions to increase their lending to developing countries in real terms on a sustained basis.

51. Developed Commonwealth countries committed themselves to increase their ODA with a view to reaching the 0.7 per cent target and where applicable to improve the quality of their assistance. Heads of Government agreed on the need for co-operative efforts to finance major infrastructural works, adequate food supplies, rural development and programmes of regional co-operation. They called upon all donor countries, irrespective of the social and economic systems, to make a parallel effort to improve the volume and quality of their ODA in accordance with the UN target. They also agreed that, while the poorer countries deserve priority, there were indicators of needs other than per capita income and that in the allocation of ODA appropriate account be taken of all relevant circumstances.

52. Heads of Government agreed to intensify the search for comprehensive solutions, within a multilateral framework, to the problem of the growing debt service burden of non-oil developing countries. Without waiting for comprehensive solutions they agreed to examine, as a matter of urgency, actions through multilateral channels, bilateral assistance or debt relief which could be taken in regard to this critical problem.

53. They agreed to support an appropriate restructuring of the UN system in order to enhance its capability for international negotiations and decision-making with particular reference to the establishment of a new international economic order.

54. Heads of Government considered that industrial and regional economic co-operation provided opportunities for effective Commonwealth action and agreed that developed countries should act so as to aid rather than hinder regional co-operation among developing countries.

55. Heads of Government agreed that rapid industrialisation was an indispensable element of balanced national development. They agreed on the importance of selecting and developing the appropriate technology for any given project and the need to adapt much existing technology to meet the requirements of developing countries. In this connection Heads of Government underlined the importance of the UN Conference on Science and Technology to be held in New York in 1979.

56. They asked the Team of Industrial Specialists in its final report to identify a programme of Commonwealth action in the field of industry including, in particular and if necessary, the establishment of new mechanisms for financing industrial development, the transfer, development and diffusion of appropriate technology and measures to promote the development of specific indus-

tries, where the developing countries have developed or will develop a comparative advantage, in Commonwealth developing countries.

57. They noted with considerable interest two specific proposals made in relation to the establishment of a Commonwealth Fund for Industrial Co-operation and Development and a Centre for the Development and Diffusion of Appropriate Technology. They decided that these proposals should be evaluated, along with other possible mechanisms for industrial co-operation between developed and developing countries in the Commonwealth, by the Commonwealth Team of Industrial Specialists. They requested the Secretary-General to submit the Team's final report to a meeting of Commonwealth Ministers.

58. Heads of Government noted that the persistence of trade restrictions on a number of products, particularly textiles and textile products, which are so important to the economies of developing countries, continue to be of serious concern to those developing countries and urged remedial action as conditions permit. They recognised that the rapid industrialisation of developing countries will yield benefits to developed countries. They further recognised that the uncertainty faced by developing exporters of textiles has been damaging. They agreed that the negotiations for a new Multi-Fibre Arrangement must be carried out in earnest as soon as possible.

59. Heads of Government commended the work that the Secretariat has been undertaking on the elements of a new international economic order. They directed the Secretary-General to continue these activities giving priority attention to food production and rural development, transfer of resources, industrial development, commodity arrangements, energy and international institutional reform.

Regional Economic and Functional Co-operation

60. Heads of Government discussed the development of regional economic co-operation in the world today and noted the part that Commonwealth countries were playing in these developments. They recognised that such co-operation had become an important means of improving the development prospects of many developing countries. They endorsed the view of the Commonwealth Group of Experts that schemes of regional economic and functional co-operation among developing countries should increasingly become a focal point of international development strategy to promote social and economic transformation and development in developing countries on the basis of self-reliance. They identified some of the difficulties being experienced by regional economic groupings and accepted that the Commonwealth could play a special role in assisting those groupings in which Commonwealth countries are participating to overcome their problems. To this end they agreed to ask the Secretary-General to draw up a special programme of Commonwealth assistance in this field for the early consideration of Commonwealth Governments. They also agreed to pursue support for regional economic co-operation with appropriate international institutions.

61. Heads of Government also agreed that in working towards their targets for ODA, donor countries should be asked to give particular attention to the financing of multinational projects that would promote the process of regional economic integration and co-operation.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

62. Heads of Government welcomed the continuing expansion of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and emphasised its importance. They recalled the very favourable assessment of the Triennial Review Group on the work of the Fund and its cost-effectiveness and endorsed the guidelines for growth agreed by the Board of Representatives, especially the need of members as reflected in requests for assistance. They recognised with satisfaction the extent to which the Fund was achieving its major purpose by demonstrating in a practical way the ideals of co-operation and mutual assistance and by strengthening multilateral links among Commonwealth countries and peoples. Heads of Government therefore welcomed the intention expressed by a number of developed an developing countries to make substantial increases in their contributions and agreed that the need for the Fund to keep pace with the expanding requirements of Commonwealth Governments called for a positive approach by all members to the provision of the resources required to maintain the momentum established.

Non-governmental Organisations and Development

63. Heads of Government noted that a programme to provide advisory teams to assist developing countries in working out and implementing development plans was being initiated by the Government of Canada drawing on the resources of non-governmental organisations. They recalled that a number of Commonwealth countries had found such multi-disiciplinary teams of particular value.

Non-governmental Organisations and the Commonwealth Foundation

64. Heads of Government acknowleged the valuable contribution made by Commonwealth non-governmental organisations and requested the Secretary-General to establish an Advisory Committee which would report on concrete steps to promote mutually beneficial ties between the official and unofficial Commonwealth. Recognising that the Commonwealth Foundation had proved its value in the professional field they considered that there might be further specific areas in which, in close consultation with non-governmental bodies, it could usefully be active on a regional or Commonwealth-wide basis. The Meeting noted that increased contribution would be necessary in order to assure the income for such an extension of the Foundation's activities.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

65. Heads of Government noted with appreciation the progress made towards the objectives of the Commonwealth Youth Programme. In particular they commended the contribution being made through the Programme's activities not only to the training of youth leaders and workers concerned with the development of national youth programmes but also to promoting the involvement of young people in national development and to broadening understanding among Commonwealth youth. They agreed that the Commonwealth Youth Programme should continue to be funded annually on a voluntary basis at a level agreed upon in advance by the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council, the Programme's governing body.

66. Heads of Government noted the Commonwealth Youth Declaration adopted by the meeting of Commonwealth youth leaders in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, and that it would be studied further by the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council. They endorsed the need to encourage more extensive participation by youth in all aspects of the development of their societies.

Women and Development

67. Heads of Government recognised that unless women are active participants both in contributing to the process of development and as beneficiaries, the goals of social and economic growth would not be fully realised. They therefore agreed that all programmes of the Secretariat should reflect this awareness and seek to contribute to the full integration of women in the developmental process. They requested the Secretary-General to report to Governments on the progress achieved.

Education about the Commonwealth

68. Heads of Government endorsed the need for greater efforts to increase information, understanding and appreciation of the Commonwealth and of the activities being undertaken within its framework. They expressed the hope that member Governments would encourage such efforts and, in this regard, stressed the role of educational programmes in schools and colleges and adult education programmes designed to reach the general public.

Report of the Secretary-General

69. Heads of Government commended the Sixth Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last Meeting.

Next Meeting

70. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of Zambia to hold their next Meeting in Lusaka in 1979.

COMMONWEALTH STATEMENT ON APARTHEID IN SPORT

(The Gleneagles Agreement)

The member countries of the Commonwealth embracing peoples of diverse races, colours, languages and faiths have long recognised racial prejudice and discrimination as a dangerous sickness and an unmitigated evil and are pledged to use all their efforts to foster human dignity everywhere. At their London Meeting Heads of Government reaffirmed that apartheid in sport, as in other fields, is an abomination and runs directly counter to the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles which they made at Singapore on 22 January, 1971.

They were conscious that sport is an important means of developing and fostering understanding between the peoples, and especially between the young peoples, of all countries. But they were also aware that, quite apart from

other factors, sporting contacts between their nationals and the nationals of countries practising apartheid in sport tend to encourage the belief (however unwarranted) that they are prepared to condone this abhorrent policy or are less than totally committed to the Principles embodied in their Singapore Declaration. Regretting past misunderstandings and difficulties and recognising that these were partly the result of inadequate inter-governmental consultations they agreed that they would seek to remedy this situation in the context of the increased level of understanding now achieved.

They reaffirmed their full support for the international campaign against apartheid and welcomed the efforts of the UN to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of that campaign.

Mindful of these and other considerations they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, and by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by, their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognised that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter.

They acknowledged also that the full realisation of their objectives involved the understanding, support and active participation of the nationals of their countries and of their national sporting organisations and authorities. As they drew a curtain across the past they issued a collective call for that understanding, support and participation with a view to ensuring that in this matter the peoples and Governments of the Commonwealth might help to give a lead to the world.

Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their Meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid. On that basis, and having regard to their commitments, they looked forward with satisfaction to the holding of the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton and to the continued strengthening of Commonwealth sport generally.

15 June 1977

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	The Rt Hon Lynden O Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	HE Major-General Ziaur Rahman, President
Barbados	The Rt Hon J M G M Adams, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon James Callaghan, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister
Cyprus	His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	HE Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President
Ghana	Lt Gen F W K Akuffo, Chief of Defence Staff and Member of the Supreme Military Council
Grenada	The Rt Hon Sir Eric M Gairy, Prime Minister
Guyana	The Hon F R Wills, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice
India	Shri Morarji R Desai, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Hon Michael Manley, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon D T arap Moi, Vice-President and Minister for Home Affairs
Lesotho	The Hon Dr L Jonathan, Prime Minister
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Datuk Hussein Bin Onn, Prime Minister
Malta	The Hon Dom Mintoff, Prime Minister
Mauritius	Dr The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon R D Muldoon, Prime Minister
Nigeria	HE Brig Shehu Yar'Adua, Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters
Papua New Guinea	The Rt Hon Michael Somare, Prime Minister
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka P Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Sri Lanka	The Hon Felix R D Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, Food and Co-operatives
Swaziland	Col Maphevu Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	The Hon Aboud Jumbe, Vice-President
Tonga	HRH Prince Tu'ipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad & Tobago	The Hon John Donaldson, Minister of External Affairs and National Security
Western Samoa	The Hon Tupoula Efi, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1979

(Lusaka 1-7 August)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1979

(Lusaka, 1-7 August)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Lusaka from 1 to 7 August, 1979. Of the 39 countries which attended the Meeting, 27 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth
Kaunda, was in the Chair.

2. They sent a message of felicitations to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They welcomed with special pleasure the opportunity of meeting in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, an African nation in the forefront of the struggle for human emancipation. They expressed deep appreciation for the excellent arrangements for the Meeting made by the Zambian Government and gratitude for the hospitality extended to them.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed their colleagues from Solomon Islands, Dominica, St Lucia and Kiribati, which had become members of the association since their last Meeting, and extended similar greetings to Tuvalu which had acceded to special membership.

4. Heads of Government, recognising the growing contribution which the Commonwealth is capable of making to the solution of world problems, reaffirmed the importance which they attach to meeting together and the opportunity this gives for consultations aimed at forging a consensus on some of the major issues facing the world.

Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice

5. Heads of Government approved unanimously and proclaimed the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

World and Commonwealth Trends

6. In considering political trends since their last Meeting, Heads of Government were conscious of the gravity and complexity of the problems now facing the international community, in particular in South-east Asia, Southern Africa, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. They were concerned that many of these problems, some of long standing, were now assuming critical dimensions. Their analysis of political trends was made against the sombre background of mounting economic difficulties which they subsequently examined in greater detail. They noted that the intractability of international economic problems was increasingly a cause of political instability in many parts of the world and frequently made it difficult for governments to take positive steps within their own societies necessary to promote social and economic justice consistent with respect for basic human rights. In Southern Africa the stubborn persistence of apartheid and racist policies was seen as a matter of grave concern to the

Commonwealth and Heads of Government acknowledged that further delay in the satisfactory resolution of that issue could lead to divisions within the Commonwealth itself and jeopardise further the peace and security of the entire region.

7. Focusing on these and other international problems, Heads of Government recognised that no single power or group of powers could any longer impose solutions; lasting solutions required collective action by the international community as a whole. Heads of Government looked to the Commonwealth to play a significant part in upholding shared principles, reconciling differences of approach, harmonising divergent interests and building a more secure basis for world peace and prosperity.

South-East Asia

8. Heads of Government reviewed the serious situation in South-East Asia resulting from the armed conflicts in Indo-China. They expressed concern at the continuing conflicts and tensions in the region, and the fact that these were being exacerbated by outside powers. They warned that there was a real danger of the conflicts escalating over a wider area.

9. Heads of Government condemned all acts of armed intervention in the region which violated the universally accepted principles of respect for a country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Affirming the right of the peoples of the region to determine their own future free from outside interference, subversion or coercion, they called for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from the areas of conflict. Urging all states in South-East Asia to develop peaceful, friendly and harmonious relations, Heads of Government noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region, and called upon all states to lend their fullest support to these efforts.

Refugees

10. Heads of Government expressed deep concern at the global growth of the international refugee problem. They turned their attention to the particular problems of refugees in Africa, South-East Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean.

11. They recalled the longstanding concern of the Commonwealth at the enforced movements of refugees as a result of harassment by the authorities in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. They expressed their concern at the additional burden thus imposed on independent countries in Southern Africa in discharging a humanitarian obligation to receive and support the peoples concerned.

12. Heads of Government expressed grave concern at the enormity of the problem of refugees leaving the countries of Indo-China, in particular Vietnam, arising from the situation in that region and which is causing severe political, socio-economic and security problems for the other countries and territories in South-east Asia. They noted that this problem, if unchecked, will have a destabilising effect on the region. They expressed their appreciation for the contribution being made in the South-east Asian region by Malaysia and Hong Kong in particular, and the large-scale programmes for resettlement

including those being undertaken by Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand. They appealed to all members of the international community to increase their contributions to and actively co-operate with the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for whose operations they expressed their admiration and support.

13. In this regard, they noted with approval the statement of the United Nations Secretary-General Dr Waldheim that 'the countries of origin must respect the right of emigration and family reunification, while avoiding any action leading to their people departing the country under conditions which would put their lives in jeopardy. This obligation stems from the basic right of individuals to stay in their country or to leave as a matter of free will.' They also noted that at the recent United Nations Geneva Conference on Indo-China Refugees, Vietnam had undertaken to co-operate with the international community in regulating the orderly departure of these refugees. They expressed the hope that Vietnam will continue to show a positive attitude and assist in finding an effective and permanent solution to this refugee problem.

Southern Africa

14. Heads of Government had a frank discussion on the current problems of Southern Africa and their implications for the Commonwealth and the wider international community. While recognising that certain developments since their Meeting in London have added new dimensions, they remained concerned by the potential dangers inherent in the existing situation. They therefore stressed the urgent need for finding satisfactory solutions to the remaining problems of this region.

15. In relation to the situation in Rhodesia, Heads of Government therefore:

a. confirmed that they were wholly committed to genuine black majority rule for the people of Zimbabwe;

b. recognised, in this context, that the internal settlement constitution is defective in certain important respects;

c. fully accepted that it is the constitutional responsibility of the British Government to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe on the basis of majority rule;

d. recognised that the search for a lasting settlement must involve all parties to the conflict;

e. were deeply conscious of the urgent need to achieve such a settlement and bring peace to the people of Zimbabwe and their neighbours;

f. accepted that independence on the basis of majority rule requires the adoption of a democratic constitution including appropriate safeguards for minorities;

g. acknowledged that the government formed under such an independence constitution must be chosen through free and fair elections properly supervised under British Government authority, and with Commonwealth observers;

h. welcomed the British Government's indication that an appropriate procedure for advancing towards these objectives would be for them to call a constitutional conference to which all the parties would be invited; and

i. consequently, accept that it must be a major objective to bring about a cessation of hostilities and an end to sanctions as part of the process of implementation of a lasting settlement.

16. Heads of Government stressed that the grave problems afflicting the Southern Africa region stemmed from the racist policies of the South African régime embodied in the system of apartheid. In order formally to express their abhorrence of all forms of racist policy, wherever and however they might be manifested, they had agreed to make a special declaration on this subject. This has been published as the Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice. This declaration reaffirms the Commonwealth rejection of all policies designed to perpetuate apartheid, racial segregation or other policies based on theories that racial groups are or may be inherently superior or inferior.

17. Heads of Government deplored South Africa's continued refusal to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions providing for Namibia's independence and the UN Secretary-General's proposals outlined in his report of 26 February, 1979. They commended the positive response of those Commonwealth Governments which had been requested by the Secretary-General to provide military or civilian personnel as part of the proposed UN Transitional Assistance Group for Namibia.

18. Heads of Government condemned the steps taken by South Africa to establish an illegal National Assembly inside Namibia following the holding of the so-called elections last December. They declared that these developments contravened the relevant Security Council resolutions and were in defiance of the efforts of the international community to bring an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and to secure for its people genuine independence.

19. Heads of Government recalled that in repeatedly condemning South Africa's policies, the UN General Assembly and Security Council had warned South Africa that it faced international action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter if it did not agree to the implementation of the UN proposals for Namibia. They therefore called upon South Africa to comply with the decisions of the international community.

20. Taking note that two of their members had played a role as part of a Five-Power Initiative with the South African authorities in attempting to secure South Africa's co-operation in implementing the decisions of the Security Council with regard to Namibia, Heads of Government expressed the earnest hope that this effort would contribute to expediting Namibia's passage to genuine independence.

21. Meeting for the first time in full Session in Africa, Heads of Government paid tribute to the outstanding contribution of African countries in general and African Commonwealth countries in particular, to the development of a more humanitarian international community and to the evolution of the Common-

wealth along relevant and enlightened lines. They paid special tribute to the Front-Line States and to Nigeria for their active support to the various initiatives seeking negotiated solutions to the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia.

22. Heads of Government expressed satisfaction at the effective manner in which the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa had discharged its responsibilities in the past two years. Having considered its Report, Heads of Government endorsed those recommendations which were put forward unanimously. They authorised the Committee to continue its work, and to intensify its collaboration with the United Nations on all questions of mutual concern and interest.

23. In endorsing the recommendations of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa regarding Commonwealth humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa, Heads of Government noted with approval the contribution of the Commonwealth, made both bilaterally and multilaterally, to international assistance for manpower development for Zimbabwe and Namibia. In this context, Heads of Government commended the Secretariat's assistance programmes as cost-effective and efficiently administered and agreed that they should be expanded in scope, subject to the availability of resources.

24. Heads of Government noted with concern that as the conflict has escalated in Zimbabwe, its effects have increasingly spilled over into the neighbouring Commonwealth states of Botswana and Zambia as well as into Mozambique. The Meeting called on the international community to increase its assistance to the Front-Line States in order to alleviate the damage to their development caused by the persistent problems of Southern Africa. Heads of Government, noting with approval the technical assistance programme financed by the Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique and recognising that the Government of Mozambique would welcome continued Commonwealth assistance, agreed that the Fund should continue to remain available to member Governments as a channel for such assistance. The Meeting concluded that, while significant bilateral and multilateral assistance is already being provided to the Front-Line States and Southern Africa to which individual Commonwealth countries make an important contribution, the needs of the region justify further international assistance on a substantial scale. Against the background of a collective Commonwealth commitment and in response to the requests of member Governments, the Secretary-General was asked to supplement the activities of other international agencies by assisting in contingency planning including regional studies in anticipation of the emergence of independent and internationally accepted governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Cyprus

25. Reviewing developments concerning Cyprus since their last Meeting, Heads of Government noted with satisfaction and endorsed the Kyprianou-Denktash agreement of 19 May, 1979 under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General but expressed their grave concern at the failure to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

26. They regretted the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks which should be based on the said agreement and expressed the hope that these talks could be resumed at the earliest possible date with a view to reaching a just and

lasting solution on the basis of the United Nations Resolutions relevant to the question of Cyprus and in accordance with the Kyprianou-Denktash agreement of 19 May, 1979.

27. Heads of Government also regretted the non-implementation of General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions on Cyprus. They called once more for the urgent implementation of General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) as endorsed by Security Council Resolution 365 (1974) which, together with subsequent United Nations Resolutions, were to form the basis of settling the Cyprus question.

28. They expressed concern at the fact that foreign troops still occupied part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and stressed the urgent need for the voluntary return of displaced persons to their homes in safety, respect for the human rights of all Cypriots, including the tracing of and accounting for those missing on both sides, and non-interference in the demographic structure of the Republic of Cyprus.

29. They noted the proposal of the President of the Republic of Cyprus presented at the Tenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament for the total demilitarisation and disarmament of the Republic of Cyprus which was put forward as a significant contribution to the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem.

30. They reaffirmed their solidarity with the Government and people of Cyprus and in this respect reiterated their determination to help in the achievement of a political settlement based on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

31. Heads of Government believing further that the Commonwealth Committee on Cyprus, established in 1975 at their Meeting in Kingston, could play a more constructive role in the achievement of a just and lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus, decided to ask the Commonwealth Secretary-General to convene the Committee at Ministerial level whenever appropriate and under the same terms of reference.

Belize

32. Heads of Government reviewed developments over Belize and noted with appreciation the work of the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize. They reaffirmed their full support for the legitimate aspirations of the people of Belize for early and secure independence on the basis of territorial integrity, and again acknowledged that any settlement of the question must command the full consent of the Government and people of Belize. Heads of Government renewed their commitment to the search for an acceptable solution and in this regard requested the Committee, consonant with its mandate, to intensify its efforts to mobilise even further international support for Belize. Noting that there were on-going talks with Guatemala and bearing in mind the special responsibilities of Britain as the administering power, they welcomed the British Government's readiness to resume negotiations with a view to producing an internationally acceptable settlement in accordance with the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

Middle East

33. Heads of Government reviewed the serious situation in the Middle East with particular reference to the central question of Palestine. Recalling the relevant United Nations Resolutions they emphasised that a just and permanent peace can only be achieved on the basis of a fully comprehensive solution which upholds the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including their right to a home land. In this respect the Commonwealth members of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People drew particular attention to the Committee's recommendations. Heads of Government expressed their grave concern that the Palestinian problem is still unresolved and that it continues to pose a serious threat to peace and security in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and throughout the world. Most Heads of Government recognised that the Palestine Liberation Organisation is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people struggling justifiably for an independent Palestinian State.

Mediterranean

34. Heads of Government emphasised that the security of Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East were interrelated and that Europe has a contribution to make to the search for just and durable solutions to conflicts in the region. In this respect, the further implementation of the Mediterranean Chapter agreed upon and incorporated in the Helsinki Final Act, four years ago, would enhance both European and Mediterranean security as well as Middle East peace, thus contributing to the development of security and co-operation throughout the area. Heads of Government agreed that greater stability in the Mediterranean would enable the countries of the Region and Europe to pursue freer and closer co-operation amongst themselves and also with Commonwealth members.

Indian Ocean

35. Heads of Government reviewed developments in the Indian Ocean region since their last Meeting. They noted, with regret, that not much progress had been made in implementing the United Nations Declaration of 1971 on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. They also noted that Great Power military presence in the Indian Ocean, instead of decreasing, had actually increased. They urged the Great Powers and the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean to co-operate more actively with the littoral and hinterland states and with the Ad Hoc Committee of the United Nations for the implementing of this Declaration.

36. Heads of Government noted, with satisfaction, that the US and the USSR have agreed that their representatives would meet to discuss the resumption of talks, which they hoped would contribute to the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. They expressed the wish that these talks would be resumed early.

South Asia

37. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the countries of the South Asian subcontinent were making earnest efforts to increase co-operation among themselves, thus contributing positively to stability and peace in the area.

Economic Matters

38. Heads of Government reviewed developments in the world economy since they last met in London in 1977. They noted with deep concern the deterioration since then in the world economic situation. A continuation of this trend would pose grave problems for all countries. The developing countries, especially the poorest among them, were facing particularly grim prospects and there was a real danger that unless remedial measures were taken urgently, existing disparities in income and wealth between the rich and poor countries would widen further. They noted that a large part of the world's population continued to live in intolerable poverty with little hope for a better future. They recognised that this persistence of mass poverty further highlighted the urgent need for a more rational and equitable economic order. They reaffirmed their commitment to structural changes and policies to improve growth in order to reduce poverty and increase living standards.

39. Heads of Government noted that the increasingly interdependent world economic system depended for its healthy functioning on the efficient deployment of global resources and affording all countries an equitable opportunity to participate in it. This would require acceptance by all of structural change and the adoption of policies to effect such change and to improve prospects for global economic growth, the restraint of inflation and the fuller employment of human and material resources. Higher rates of growth were particularly urgent for the developing countries.

40. Heads of Government noted that the period since 1973 had witnessed slower growth in international economic activity and in international trade by comparison with the previous quarter century. Recent assessments by international organisations for the medium term outlook were for a continuation of slow growth or even a further deterioration in growth prospects.

41. Heads of Government considered that a continuation of slow growth in the global economy would further damage the prospects for reducing poverty and raising living standards in developing countries. Such a continuation would also be contrary to the economic interests of developed countries and could have adverse effects on the economic, social and political structures of all countries. These circumstances called for bolder endeavours and a new approach to the formulation of policies and to improving the public understanding of the need for change in the countries participating in the interdependent international system. For the decision-making process to be sufficiently responsive, it would require better information and involvement at the highest political level.

42. Against this background, Heads of Government requested the Secretary-General to commission an in-depth report by a group of eight to ten independent experts from Commonwealth countries chosen from appropriate fields. Their task would be to investigate and report on the factors inhibiting structural change and a sustained improvement in economic growth in both developed and developing countries, in particular the acceleration of growth in developing countries. The report, which should be clearly focused, should assess the importance of and the relationship between possible constraints, such as protection and adjustment policies, inflation, subsidies both on production and exports, fluctuations in commodity prices, availability and cost of energy resources including oil, and factors inhibiting investment, transfer of technology and international flows of official and private resources.

43. The report should identify specific measures by which developed and developing countries, Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth, might act to reduce or eliminate such constraints as a matter of urgency. They recognised that this would require attention at the highest political level. The group, which would be assembled by the Secretary-General after appropriate consultation with member Governments, should report in time to assist Commonwealth Governments in their preparation for the Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1980.

44. Heads of Government expressed concern about the serious balance of payments problems faced by many developing countries and some developed countries also. They noted that, among other serious and persisting factors, recent developments in the oil market had aggravated these problems. This would call for appropriate adjustment policies and might necessitate emergency assistance in many cases. They recognised that orderly arrangements for financing these deficits were in the interest of all countries and therefore constituted an important challenge to the international community. They welcomed recent agreement on an increase in the IMF quotas, new allocations of SDRs and the establishment of the Supplementary Financing Facility since it represented a step towards the goal of much-needed monetary reform. They also welcomed prospects for an early enlargement of the capital of the IBRD, and stressed the need to keep under close review the resources available from international institutions.

45. Heads of Government noted the new guidelines on conditionality which had been adopted by the IMF. While all countries accepted the need for reasonable conditions, and the need to adopt appropriate adjustment policies, it was important to have regard to individual domestic, social and political circumstances. These considerations are of special importance to small island developing and other specially disadvantaged states. They accordingly recognised the need for the international financial institutions to keep their operational policies under review.

46. Heads of Government discussed the effects of recent developments in the field of energy on the growth prospects of developed and developing countries. Mindful of the serious effects on the world economy of recent trends, they noted that the developing countries consumed only a small proportion of the world's oil and this mostly for essential purposes in agriculture, industry and transport. In discussing the relationship between the supply and cost of energy they recognised the particularly difficult economic problem that the energy-deficient developing countries were currently having to face. Heads of Government noted that many countries had embarked upon major programmes to conserve energy and reduce their dependence on imported oil. They called upon the international community to develop the necessary institutional mechanisms to deal with this most important subject and to ensure that the necessary financial and technological resources were mobilised to ensure rapid development of both renewable and non-renewable sources of energy. The Heads of Government noted that special measures would need to be taken to assist the energy-deficient developing countries to reduce this deficiency and the effect it is having upon their economic development.

47. Heads of Government noted that the Multilateral Trade Negotiations had been concluded since their last Meeting and that agreement had been reached

on tariffs and some non-tariff barriers. Heads of Government recalled the hope expressed at their last Meeting that the Negotiations would provide significant benefits to developing countries. They recognised that the results fell far short of the aspirations of the developing countries. They noted that there had been little or no progress on liberalisation of world agricultural trade and trade in tropical products. On the other hand, they noted that progress had been made in the liberalisation of trade in industrial products. While noting failure so far to reach agreement on a safeguard code, they expressed the hope that the negotiation of such a code, satisfactory to all concerned, would be completed without delay. They agreed that countries should not take unilateral action against imports in a manner inconsistent with established international trade rules. They noted that the danger of protectionism was ever present and urged countries to resist protectionist pressures wherever they arise. They believed this would assist the efforts of developing countries to secure better and more stable access to the markets of industrialised countries, and hoped that every effort would be made to achieve this.

48. Heads of Government noted the strong dissatisfaction of the Commonwealth African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries with the outcome of the negotiation for a successor to the Lomé Convention. This concerned many aspects of the Lomé Convention, including the dissatisfaction of the mineral-exporting ACP countries with the proposed mineral assistance scheme and its failure to deal with the urgent problem of unstable export earnings for minerals.

49. They reviewed developments in the North/South dialogue, particularly the results of the Fifth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Manila. They expressed disappointment at the lack of faster progress towards more effective international co-operation in the areas of trade and finance, and concern at the slow pace of recent international negotiations on specific measures to promote the evolution of a new international order from which all countries could benefit. They acknowledged, however, that one element of progress had been the agreement regarding the basic elements of the Common Fund. They welcomed this development and noted with satisfaction the contribution made by the Commonwealth in helping to bring about a convergence of positions on the Common Fund following initiatives taken at their last Meeting. They urged early completion of final arrangements for the establishment of the Fund as scheduled, including pledges to the Second Window. They stressed the need to accelerate the setting up of effective international commodity agreements, in respect of commodities of export interest to developing countries, to stabilise commodity prices, and to fulfil the objectives of the Common Fund. They recognised the need for effective mechanisms for consultations between producers to be developed within the framework of the Commonwealth.

50. Heads of Government noted that the Final Report of the Team of Industrial Specialists had been completed and considered by a Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers on industrial co-operation held in Bangalore in March 1979. They acknowledged that effective industrialisation was an essential element in development strategy and that international action must support and reinforce policies to accelerate the pace of industrialisation in developing countries. In this context, they endorsed the Commonwealth Action Programme agreed at the Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers. They approved the establishment of an Industrial Development Unit in the CFTC

with proposed additional financial resources of £5 million for the initial three-year period, and requested the Secretary-General to proceed with the establishment of a Unit with functions and initial staffing as proposed by him.

51. Heads of Government expressed concern over the international food security situation. They agreed that a meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Agriculture and Food be held before or during the forthcoming FAO Council Meeting. The meeting could usefully encompass such essential elements as food security, production and distribution, as well as the transfer of technology for the manufacture of agricultural inputs. To facilitate the discussion at the proposed Ministerial Meeting, the Secretariat was asked to prepare a study of these issues.

52. Developed Commonwealth countries recognised the importance of increased and stable flows of aid, finance and investment to developing countries. Heads of Government expressed deep concern at the declining trend in Official Development Assistance in relation to national income, having regard to the internationally agreed 0.7 per cent target. They called for further improvement in the terms and conditions of aid, particularly for poor countries. In this connection, they noted with satisfaction the improvement effected by major Commonwealth donor countries in the terms of their aid to developing countries.

53. Heads of Government welcomed the opportunity to discuss for the first time the special disadvantages that beset the growing number of smaller member countries, particularly the island developing countries and certain other specially disadvantaged member countries. They agreed that in order to offset the disadvantages of small size, isolation and scarce resources which severely limit the capacity of such countries to achieve their development objectives or to pursue their national interests in a wider international context, special measures of support were required. They noted in particular the growing needs of small island states for specialised assistance to enable them to take effective advantage of the resources within their 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones. In order to facilitate the exploitation of such resources, they hoped for early completion of the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea in a manner which would reflect in a balanced way the interests of all countries.

54. Heads of Government considered a memorandum by the Secretary-General analysing the problems of island developing and other specially disadvantaged countries, and proposing a wide range of measures designed to supplement existing bilateral and multilateral assistance to these countries. They commended the memorandum as a constructive basis for practical action. They requested the Secretary-General to pursue the programme of action recommended for the Secretariat, as resources permit and recipient countries request, and urged member Governments carefully to consider implementing those measures recommended. Heads of Government believed that the Commonwealth could thus respond both multilaterally and bilaterally to the special needs of smaller and specially disadvantaged members. They requested the Secretary-General, acting in close consultation with the countries concerned, to convene as necessary a committee to make recommendations on additional or improved programmes of assistance for consideration by Commonwealth Governments.

55. Heads of Government reaffirmed their belief in the value of regional co-operation as a means of promoting accelerated growth and development. They noted the active participation of Commonwealth countries in a wide range of regional associations in five continents and agreed that the Secretariat should continue to assist efforts directed at fostering and strengthening regional and inter-regional co-operation. Recognising the valuable contribution which Commonwealth consultation at the regional level could make in enhancing co-operation on matters of Commonwealth interest and promoting Commonwealth objectives, Heads of Government expressed satisfaction at the successful outcome of the first meeting of Heads of Government of the Asia/Pacific region held in Sydney in February 1978. They commended the initiatives flowing from the Sydney Meeting and hoped that progress in the consultative and working groups that had been established would contribute to the success of the next Heads of Government Regional Meeting in New Delhi in 1980.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

56. Heads of Government recorded their appreciation of the work of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, and in particular of the expenditious and flexible way in which the Fund responded to a wide variety of requests. They agreed that, while maintaining its reputation for informality and cost-effectiveness, the Fund expressed in a practical way the ideals of mutual assistance and functional co-operation and thus strengthened multilateral links amongst Commonwealth countries and peoples. Recognising the need of the Fund to grow in order to maintain its ability to meet the expanding requirements of Commonwealth Governments, and to be innovative in response to new needs, including housing, urbanisation and protection of the environment, Heads of Government called for a positive approach by all members to the provision of additional real resources and they welcomed the intention expressed at the Meeting by a number of developed and developing countries to make significant increases in their contributions.

International Year of the Child

57. Cognisant of the fact that their Meeting was taking place during the International Year of the Child, Heads of Government recognised that the future economic and social wellbeing of all Commonwealth countries depends in large measure on the extent to which the special needs and aspirations of children are fulfilled. They agreed that all future development planning should reflect this important priority.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

58. Heads of Government reaffirmed the original objectives of the Commonwealth Youth Programme and noted that it was the only programme providing for extensive inter-governmental co-operation in this field. They recognised that the need for mobilising young people to assist in the development process was even more pressing now than when the Programme was first launched in 1973. It was therefore a matter for concern that inadequate funding of the Programme was severely limiting its capacity to assist Commonwealth Governments in a crucial area of co-operation. In commending the work of the three regional centres in providing essential training for young administrators and field workers, it was recognised that unless the Programme received more funds this vital aspect of its activities would be placed in jeopardy.

59. Heads of Government strongly endorsed the request of the Secretary-General for an increase of at least one-third in pledges to the Commonwealth Youth Programme. They agreed that the funds available to the Programme for the biennium 1980-82 should be increased to £1 million per annum. In determining its minimum voluntary contribution to the target figure they suggested that each Government might be guided by its assessed percentage contribution to the Commonwealth Secretariat's administration budget and that all member Governments should endeavour to increase their pledges to make good the deficit. They also agreed that the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council at its meeting early in 1980 should review the management, budget, structure, activities and future direction of the Programme.

Commonwealth Foundation

60. Heads of Government commended the cost-effectiveness and imaginative work of the Commonwealth Foundation in developing and strengthening professional co-operation throughout the Commonwealth. They agreed that the Foundation's mandate should, subject to a review of its priorities, be expanded as recommended by the Advisory Committee on Relationships between the Official and the Unofficial Commonwealth in areas including culture, information, social welfare and rural development. In order to make good the erosive effects of inflation, and to permit the envisaged expansion in the Foundation's activities, the target for the Foundation's income was set at £1.1 million, although it was recognised that realisable resources were unlikely to exceed £900,000 in 1979-80.

The Official and Unofficial Commonwealth

61. Heads of Government considered the Report of the Advisory Committee on Relationships between the Official and the Unofficial Commonwealth and endorsed the conclusion that non-governmental organisations were an under-utilised resource. They agreed that official Commonwealth bodies at all levels, national, international and regional, should make a determined drive to establish regular exchanges with the unofficial sector. In this way the energies and expertise of non-governmental organisations would be more effectively harnessed to programmes of social and economic development, and to increasing information, understanding and appreciation of the Commonwealth among the general public. At the national level, Governments should take appropriate measures to improve contact with NGOs and to channel assistance to and through them. They requested the Secretary-General to encourage Commonwealth consultative bodies dealing with technical and professional matters to invite representatives of NGOs to meetings in an observer capacity.

Women and Development

62. Heads of Government noted that in conformity with the decision taken at their London Meeting in 1977, the Secretary-General had carried out an assessment of all Secretariat programmes with a view to ensuring that appropriate provision was made for women both as participants in and as beneficiaries of such programmes.

63. Heads of Government also noted that the review revealed scope for greater involvement of women in Secretariat programmes and for those programmes

to be more relevant to the needs of women. They recognised that to achieve significant and quick progress in this area a focal point was needed within the Secretariat to assist the Secretary-General in responding to identified needs and priorities of Governments and help the Secretariat to plan its programmes so as to take full account of the needs of women. They, therefore, agreed that an Adviser to the Secretary-General be appointed with such supporting staff as were necessary, to co-ordinate and monitor action in this area.

64. It was recognised, however, that to a large extent progress depended on the policies of member Governments. In particular Governments should be encouraged to ensure that women played their full part in activities organised and training programmes funded by the Secretariat, and that in their requests for assistance, development projects which would be of direct benefit to women should receive due priority.

Commonwealth Human Rights Commission

65. Heads of Government reaffirmed the importance attached by Commonwealth Governments to the observance of human rights as proclaimed in the Singapore Declaration and other international instruments and welcomed in principle the initiative by the Government of The Gambia for the establishment of a Commonwealth Human Rights Commission. They decided that Governments be urged by the Secretary-General to communicate to him by the date of the next Commonwealth Law Ministers' Meeting, the views requested on the subject by Law Ministers at their Winnipeg Meeting in August 1977. They also requested the Secretary-General to appoint a suitably qualified and representative Working Party to make recommendations for the consideration of Commonwealth Governments.

Commonwealth Film and Television Institute

66. Heads of Government welcomed in principle the proposal by the Government of Cyprus for the establishment of the Commonwealth Film and Television Institute which would operate as a non-governmental institution. They invited the Secretary-General to undertake, with relevant Commonwealth institutions, a detailed study for the feasibility of the proposal and report to Commonwealth Governments, if possible within a year.

Communication and Media in the Commonwealth

67. Heads of Government endorsed the establishment of a select committee to identify the most pressing communication and media problems, with particular reference to the needs of developing countries, as a basis for the identification of regional and national communications priorities in Commonwealth countries and of suitable forms of practical co-operation to meet these problems. They asked the Secretary-General to determine, in consultation with Commonwealth Governments, the size and composition of the select committee bearing in mind the need to obtain a representative cross-section of Commonwealth opinion. The Committee could include representatives not only of Commonwealth Governments but also of relevant Commonwealth non-governmental organisations.

68. Heads of Government acknowledged the desirability of expanding media exchanges between Commonwealth countries and proposed that such ex-

changes be co-ordinated by the Secretariat, in consultation with the Commonwealth Foundation and the Governments concerned, and on the basis of voluntary contributions.

Report of the Secretary-General

69. Heads of Government commended the Seventh Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last Meeting.

Next Meeting

70. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of Australia to hold their next Meeting in Australia in 1981.

LUSAKA DECLARATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH ON RACISM AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

We, the Commonwealth Heads of Government, recalling the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles made at Singapore on 22 January 1971 and the statement on Apartheid in Sport, issued in London on 15 June 1977, have decided to proclaim our desire to work jointly as well as severally for the eradication of all forms of racism and racial prejudice.

The Commonwealth is an institution devoted to the promotion of international understanding and world peace, and to the achievement of equal rights for all citizens regardless of race, colour, sex, creed or political belief, and is committed to the eradication of the dangerous evils of racism and racial prejudice.

We now, therefore, proclaim this Lusaka Declaration of the Commonwealth on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

United in our desire to rid the world of the evils of racism and racial prejudice, we proclaim our faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and declare that:

(i) the peoples of the Commonwealth have the right to live freely in dignity and equality, without any distinction or exclusion based on race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin;

(ii) while everyone is free to retain diversity in his or her culture and lifestyle, this diversity does not justify the perpetuation of racial prejudice or racially discriminatory practices;

(iii) everyone has the right to equality before the law and equal justice under the law;

(iv) everyone has the right to effective remedies and protection against any form of discrimination based on the grounds of race, colour, sex, descent, or national or ethnic origin.

We reject as inhuman and intolerable all policies designed to perpetuate apartheid, racial segregation or other policies based on theories that racial groups are or may be inherently superior or inferior.

We reaffirm that it is the duty of all the peoples of the Commonwealth to work together for the total eradication of the infamous policy of apartheid which is internationally recognised as a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and the very existence of which is an affront to humanity.

We agree that everyone has the right to protection against acts of incitement to racial hatred and discrimination, whether committed by individuals, groups or other organisations.

We affirm that there should be no discrimination based on race, colour, sex, descent or national or ethnic origin in the acquisition or exercise of the right to vote; in the field of civil rights or access to citizenship; or in the economic, social or cultural fields, particularly education, health, employment, occupation, housing, social security and cultural life.

We attach particular importance to ensuring that children shall be protected from practices which may foster racism or racial prejudice. Children have the right to be brought up and educated in a spirit of tolerance and understanding so as to be able to contribute fully to the building of future societies based on justice and friendship.

We believe that those groups in societies who may be especially disadvantaged because of residual racist attitudes are entitled to the fullest protection of the law. We recognise that the history of the Commonwealth and its diversity require that special attention should be paid to the problems of indigenous minorities. We recognise that the same special attention should be paid to the problems of immigrants, immigrant workers and refugees.

We agree that special measures may in particular circumstances be required to advance the development of disadvantaged groups in society. We recognise that the effects of colonialism or racism in the past may make desirable special provisions for the social and economic enhancement of indigenous populations.

Inspired by the principles of freedom and equality which characterise our association, we accept the solemn duty of working together to eliminate racism and racial prejudice. This duty involves the acceptance of the principle that positive measures may be required to advance the elimination of racism, including assistance to those struggling to rid themselves and their environment of the practice.

Being aware that legislation alone cannot eliminate racism and racial prejudice, we endorse the need to initiate public information and education policies designed to promote understanding, tolerance, respect and friendship among peoples and racial groups.

We are particularly conscious of the importance of the contribution the media can make to human rights and the eradication of racism and racial prejudice by helping to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between people and by drawing attention to the evils which afflict humanity. We affirm the importance

of truthful presentation of facts in order to ensure that the public are fully informed of the dangers presented by racism and racial prejudice.

In accordance with established principles of International Law and, in particular, the provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, we affirm that everyone is, at all times and in all places, entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of the right to be free of racism and racial prejudice.

We believe that the existence in the world of apartheid and racial discrimination is a matter of concern to all human beings. We recognise that we share an international responsibility to work together for the total eradication of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We note that racism and racial prejudice, wherever they occur, are significant factors contributing to tension between nations and thus inhibit peaceful progress and development. We believe that the goal of the eradication of racism stands as a critical priority for governments of the Commonwealth, committed as they are to the promotion of the ideals of peaceful and happy lives for their people.

We intend that the Commonwealth, as an international organisation with a fundamental and deep-rooted attachment to principles of freedom and equality, should co-operate with other organisations in the fulfilment of these principles. In particular the Commonwealth should seek to enhance the co-ordination of its activities with those of other organisations similarly committed to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

7 August 1979

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	The Rt Hon Lynden O Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	HE Maj-Gen Ziaur Rahman, President
Barbados	The Rt Hon J M G M Adams, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Sir Seretse Khama, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Joe Clark, Prime Minister
Cyprus	HE Spyros Kyprianou, President
Dominica	The Hon M A Douglas, Minister for Finance, Trade and Industry
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	HE Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President
Ghana	Major Mensah Gbedemah, Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
Grenada	The Hon Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister
Guyana	The Hon R E Jackson, Minister of Foreign Affairs
India	Shri Shyam Nandan Mishra, Foreign Minister
Jamaica	The Hon Michael Manley, Prime Minister
Kenya	HE Daniel T arap Moi, President
Kiribati	HE Ieremai T Tabai, President
Lesotho	The Hon C D Molapo, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen bin Tengku Ismail, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malta	The Hon Dr Philip Muscat, Minister of Education
Mauritius	Dr The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Robert D Muldoon, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Maj-Gen H E O Adefope, Commissioner for External Affairs
Papua New Guinea	The Rt Hon Michael T Somare, Prime Minister
St Lucia	The Hon George Odlum, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
Seychelles	HE F Albert Rene, President
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka P Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Solomon Islands	The Rt Hon Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister
Sri Lanka	The Hon R Premadasa, Prime Minister
Swaziland	The Hon Richard Dlamini, Minister without Portfolio
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Prince Tuipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	HE Eustace Seignoret, High Commissioner to the United Kingdom
Uganda	HE Godfrey L Binaisa, President and Chairman of the National Executive Committee
Western Samoa	The Hon Vaovasamanaia Filipo, Minister for Finance
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1981

(Melbourne 30 September-7 October)

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FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Melbourne from 30 September to 7 October 1981. Of the 41 countries which attended the Meeting, 30 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr Malcolm Fraser, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitation to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They welcomed with great pleasure the opportunity of meeting in Melbourne, and expressed their appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the meeting and the warm and generous hospitality of their Australian hosts.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed their colleagues from Zimbabwe, Vanuatu and Belize which had become members of the association since their last Meeting, and extended similar greetings to St Vincent and the Grenadines which had become a special member.

4. Heads of Government expressed their deep grief at the death of President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, President Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana, President Benjamin Henry Sheares of Singapore and Prime Minister Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago and recalled their deep commitment and significant contributions to the Commonwealth.

5. Heads of Government recalled with particular satisfaction the Commonwealth's role in helping to bring Zimbabwe to independence under majority rule following their Meeting in Lusaka. They were encouraged by this demonstration of the contribution their Meetings could make to the resolution of long-standing international problems.

World and Commonwealth Trends

6. Heads of Government were conscious that they were meeting at a time when there was a growing sense of insecurity among the people of the world: they expressed grave disquiet at the marked deterioration that had taken place in international relations since their last Meeting. Central to their concern were the slide from detente to confrontation, mounting tension between the Super-Powers and the build-up of nuclear arms threatening the very survival of mankind. Heads of Government contrasted the inreasingly large resources devoted to the manufacture of ever more destructive weapons with the growing inadequacy of the resources available for international economic co-operation and continued inability of the international community to agree on ways and means of alleviating world poverty. They were disturbed that in this situation, which called for new and enlightened policies, there was evidence of a weakening of the spirit of internationalism. They believed their association could help to reverse this trend and contribute to a safer and saner world.

7. Heads of Government asserted the right of all peoples freely to determine their destiny and noted with concern that this right was being denied in widely different circumstances in many parts of the world. They recognised an obligation to work for conditions more conducive to respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the right to self- determination.

8. Heads of Government emphasised that as an association of aligned and non-aligned states, the Commonwealth was uniquely well placed to make a substantial contribution to defusing international tensions in a divided world. Believing that it was in the highest interest of the international community that the Non-Aligned Countries should be able to continue to play their constructive role and pursue the policies and principles of non-alignment free of outside pressures, they especially endorsed the role of the non-aligned members of the Commonwealth.

Southern Africa

9. Heads of Government reviewed developments in Southern Africa since their Lusaka Meeting which established the basis for Zimbabwe's independence under majority rule. They affirmed that the Lancaster House Conference, and the negotiations which preceded it, demonstrated in a decisive and compelling manner the ability of Commonwealth members to work together to achieve consensus and to make a positive contribution to the resolution of major problems. In this respect they paid tribute to the central role of Britain in facilitating the process which enabled Zimbabwe to take its place as a sovereign independent country in the international community and the Commonwealth.

10. Heads of Government congratulated the Government of Zimbabwe which had earned the respect of the world community and fully justified the trust placed in it by the Commonwealth. Deep concern was expressed that, despite the significant achievement of Zimbabwe's independence, grave problems remained to be resolved in Southern Africa. Heads of Government acknowledged that, in fact, the situation had deteriorated. They recognised the urgent need to find solutions to these unresolved problems and renewed their total commitment to this objective.

11. Heads of Government stressed that at the core of these problems is the apartheid system which the white minority régime in South Africa continues to sustain and strengthen in a variety of ways, including the brutal internal repression of the African majority, the persistent refusal to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions providing for Namibia's long-delayed independence, the pursuit of policies of destabilisation against neighbouring states, the repeated threats to and violations of their territorial integrity and the expansion of South Africa's military capability. They considered that these developments not only threatened the stability of the region but also gravely endangered international peace and security. They therefore called on the international community to strengthen its collective resolve to eradicate apartheid.

12. Recalling their Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice proclaimed at Lusaka in 1979, Heads of Government reaffirmed their total and unequivocal condemnation of apartheid as a crime against humanity and their total rejection of all policies designed to perpetuate this inhuman system. They accepted that it was the solemn and urgent duty of each of their governments

vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by the adoption of effective measures against it and to assist those struggling to rid themselves of it.

13. Heads of Government reaffirmed their Gleneagles Agreement of 1977 and reiterated their commitment to fulfilling effectively their obligations under it.

14. Heads of Government took special account of the efforts of the United Nations to reach universally accepted approaches to the question of sporting contacts within the framework of the international campaign against apartheid. They agreed to redouble their own efforts to secure such international agreement.

15. Heads of Government expressed deep concern that there had been no progress towards the achievement of independence for Namibia. They registered their grave disappointment that the Pre-implementation Meeting in Geneva in January 1981 had been aborted by the refusal of the South African Government to agree to a date for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435. Heads of Government reaffirmed their determination to ensure that the people of Namibia should be allowed without further delay to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Mindful of the role being played by the Western Contact Group, which included two of their members, they urged the Group, as a matter of particular urgency, to intensify efforts to secure the implementation of Resolution 435 without modification or dilution as early as possible in 1982.

16. Heads of Government noted that, notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 418 (1977), imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, the apartheid régime's expenditure on military expansion and nuclear development had increased alarmingly. They therefore called for a full and effective implementation of the arms embargo, including its efficient monitoring, and urged all governments to desist forthwith from any collaboration with South Africa which undermined the implementation of the arms embargo.

17. Heads of Government condemned the South African régime's repeated threats to and violations of the territorial integrity of the States of Southern Africa, in particular its recent invasion and occupation of Angolan territory. They called for an immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola and an end to all such violations. They also condemned any attempt from any quarter to subvert the legitimate Government of Angola through interference in the internal affairs of the country. In this connection, they expressed strong solidarity with the Front-Line States. They also expressed the view that African states should be able to pursue their own affairs without interference from any source.

18. In endorsing the report of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, Heads of Government expressed appreciation for the effective and constructive manner in which the Committee had discharged its responsibilities in the past two years. They authorised the Committee to continue its work and to pay particular attention to the developments on Namibia. They noted with approval the important role played by the Commonwealth, both bilaterally and multilaterally, in enhancing the supply of trained manpower for both Zimbabwe and Namibia, and commended the Secretariat for its efficient administration of Commonwealth humanitarian assistance programmes in this regard.

19. Heads of Government noted that the increasing number of young refugees from South Africa in neighbouring countries was imposing severe burdens on those countries. They therefore approved in principle the recommendations of the Committee for the establishment of a Commonwealth education and training programme for the benefit of these refugees as a concrete manifestation of their concern and reinforcement of their political commitment against apartheid and their support for majority rule in South Africa. They requested the Secretary-General to prepare detailed proposals for establishing such a programme for consideration by Commonwealth governments through the Committee. Heads of Government also welcomed the recent UN/OAU/UNHCR Conference on Refugees in Africa and expressed appreciation to the participating countries and institutions and urged them to fulfil their pledges made at the conference to help alleviate this grave humanitarian problem.

20. Heads of Government recalled that at their Lusaka Meeting in 1979, they had acknowledged that the persistent problems of Southern Africa were damaging the development efforts of the states of the region which were in great need of further international assistance on a substantial scale. They therefore specially welcomed the establishment of and the progress made by the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) aimed particularly at strengthening co-operation among the majority-ruled states in the region and reducing their economic dependence on South Africa. While noting that significant bilateral and multilateral assistance is already being provided to SADCC to which Commonwealth countries are contributing, Heads of Government drew attention to the need for even greater international assistance to meet the emergent needs of SADCC countries.

Afghanistan

21. Heads of Government expressed grave concern at the situation in and around Afghanistan and its implications both for the region's peace and stability and for international security. Although there were differing perceptions about the developments leading to the present situation, Heads of Government were united in calling urgently for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty, and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference. They affirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. They urged all concerned to work towards a negotiated settlement which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future.

South-East Asia

22. Heads of Government were gravely concerned by the continuing tension in South-East Asia arising especially from the armed conflict in Kampuchea which affected the peace and security of the whole region and, if left unchecked, would result in the active intervention by major powers in the affairs of the region. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and the inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations. They agreed on the urgent need for a comprehensive political settlement which would ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states in the region, including Kampuchea. They reaffirmed the right of the people of the region to determine their future free of outside interference, subversion or coercion,

and called for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Heads of Government endorsed the conclusions of the New Delhi Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in this regard. They noted various proposals, decisions and efforts of the various parties concerned directed towards finding an early political settlement of the problem.

23. Urging all states in South-East Asia to develop peaceful and friendly relations, Heads of Government noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region, and called on all states fully to support these efforts.

Refugees

24. Heads of Government also noted with concern the problem of Indo-Chinese refugees/illegal immigrants caused by the continuing instability in Indo-China. They expressed their appreciation to countries of first transit burdened with this problem and to the resettlement countries for accepting these refugees/illegal immigrants. They were convinced that the root cause of this problem could be eliminated through a political solution to the conflict in Indo-China. They urged the countries which have the primary responsibility to tackle the problem of illegal departures at source by fostering the establishment of circumstances in which all the people concerned can live in peace and harmony and by co-operating with the UNHCR and resettlement countries to implement the programme of orderly departures.

Cyprus

25. Heads of Government, reaffirming their Lusaka Communiqué and their decision regarding the Commonwealth Committee on Cyprus, reiterated their support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and their solidarity with its Government and people. They stressed the importance of respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots and called for an end to all foreign intervention and interference in the Republic of Cyprus. While welcoming the resumption of inter-communal talks under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General, they expressed their concern that these talks have not yet produced a solution, and stressed the need to achieve early progress towards a just and lasting solution, based on the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and the High-level Agreements. They noted that the President of the Republic of Cyprus had once again drawn to their attention his proposal for the total demilitarisation and disarmament of his country, put forward as a significant contribution to the search for a solution to the problem of Cyprus, a member of the Commonwealth.

Zones of Peace

26. Heads of Government noted the trend inherent in the call by the states of various regions represented in the Commonwealth for the creation of Zones of Peace in their respective regions. They saw this trend as a reflection of the concern of the peoples of those regions to safeguard their political independence and territorial integrity free from interference by extra-regional forces. They undertook to give consideration to requests for support for the establishment and consolidation of new Zones of Peace.

Latin America and the Caribbean

27. Heads of Government reviewed recent developments in Latin America and the Caribbean and noted that the region had not escaped the vicissitudes and the dangers which beset the international community elsewhere. They upheld the sovereign right of each state to continue to pursue its own political, economic and social development free from all forms of external interference, coercion, intimidation or pressure. Most Heads of Government further called upon the international community to respect and support the wishes of the people of the Caribbean for the Caribbean area to be recognised as a Zone of Peace.

Belize

28. Heads of Government reviewed developments leading to the independence of Belize. They expressed satisfaction with the role played by the British Government and welcomed its commitment to make adequate provision for the security of Belize. They commended the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize for the effective manner in which it had discharged its mandate. Noting the continuing threat to the security of Belize in the absence of a final settlement with Guatemala, Heads of Government reaffirmed their full support for the efforts of the Government of Belize to maintain Belize's territorial integrity and to achieve a final resolution of the outstanding issues on the basis of the Heads of Agreement signed in London on 11 March 1981. They requested the Secretary-General to convene the Committee, whenever necessary, to assist the Government of Belize in finding a lasting settlement in accordance with the Heads of Agreement. They noted the helpful attitude of the United States Government as reflected in its affirmative vote for the Belize resolution in the United Nations General Assembly in 1980 and expressed confidence that this attitude would be maintained.

Guyana

29. Heads of Government expressed their deep concern at the threat to the territorial integrity of Guyana arising from the resuscitation by Venezuela of a claim to more than two-thirds of the territory of Guyana and the steps taken by Venezuela in pursuit of the claim. Noting that the existing boundary was laid down by an International Arbitral Award in 1899 and accepted by all concerned as a final settlement, they expressed support for Guyana and called for the peaceful settlement of the controversy in accordance with established procedures and with full respect for the sanctity of treaties.

Middle East

30. Heads of Government expressed grave concern that the unresolved problems of the Middle East, especially the central question of Palestine, remained a serious threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world. They recognised that a just and lasting settlement should be on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their inalienable right to a homeland, as well as the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure borders. Stressing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, most Heads of Government affirmed that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, recognised by a substantial majority of them as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be involved in negotiations for a settlement.

Mediterranean

31. Heads of Government reiterated their conviction, expressed in the Lusaka Communiqué of 1979, that the implementation of the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act would enhance the security of the Mediterranean, Europe and the Middle East and urged its full implementation. They noted the declaration by the Government of the Republic of Malta proclaiming Malta as a neutral state adhering to a policy of non-alignment as an effective contribution to detente, peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

Indian Ocean

32. Heads of Government noted with disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of the littoral and hinterland states there had been a further increase in the military presence of outside powers in the Indian Ocean and a deterioration of peace and security in the area. The concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace enshrined in the 1971 United Nations Declaration had been gravely undermined by increased military activity on the part of outside powers. They called upon governments concerned with the pursuit of the objectives of the declaration to co-operate in steps to remove sources of tension in the area and to make progress towards the creation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. In the belief that the proposed United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean could contribute positively to the implementation of the declaration, they expressed the hope that agreement would be reached to convene the Conference at an early date.

South Asia

33. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the countries of South Asia had initiated constructive steps with a view to increasing regional co-operation among themselves, thus contributing further to the climate of peace, stability and economic progress in the area.

Poland

34. Heads of Government discussed the situation in Poland. They were concerned that it could have serious implications for the international community as a whole. They considered that the people of Poland should be left to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference.

South Pacific

35. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction at the resolution of the difficulties which had attended Vanuatu's accession to independence. They agreed that it was vital for the peace and stability of the region that all people of the South Pacific should be given the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination as laid down in the United Nations Charter. In this regard, they welcomed the decision by the South Pacific Forum to send a mission to France to discuss the future of the French territory of New Caledonia.

36. Heads of Government shared the concern of member governments in the South Pacific over continued nuclear testing in the region. The South Pacific countries were strongly supported in their call for an immediate end to such tests.

37. Heads of Government noted the opposition in the South Pacific region to the proposals for dumping and storage of nuclear waste in the Pacific Ocean and the deep concern at the serious ecological and environmental dangers to which member countries could be exposed. In this regard the resolution adopted at the recent meeting of the South Pacific Forum was strongly supported.

Disarmament and Arms Control

38. Heads of Government were profoundly disturbed by the lack of progress in implementing measures of disarmament and arms limitation contained in the final document of the UN Special Session on Disarmament held in 1978. They saw this as a particularly serious matter in a situation in which there was mounting tension and lack of confidence amongst states. They agreed that practical measures directed towards nuclear disarmament and the avoidance of all armed conflict, particularly nuclear conflict, must have the highest priority on the international agenda.

39. On that basis they welcomed the decision of the United States and the Soviet Union to reopen theatre nuclear force negotiations and urged the reopening of talks on strategic arms limitation at the earliest possible date. These initiatives pursued in a genuinely constructive spirit would bring renewed hope to the rest of the international community. They would also inspire all concerned to bring a new sense of purpose to their negotiations on specific measures of disarmament and arms control.

40. Heads of Government emphasised the importance of an early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty as a crucial first step towards the cessation of nuclear weapons tests by all states in all environments.

41. Reaffirming their support for the objective of the Second Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1980, Heads of Government considered that the Second Special Session on Disarmament scheduled for 1982 would provide a significant impetus for a process of genuine disarmament particularly in the nuclear field. They expressed their determination to contribute effectively to the success of the Special Session.

Drug Abuse

42. Heads of Government expressed concern at the problem of drug abuse which affects humanity. They recognised its grave danger to national security, stability and resilience. They agreed that this was not only a social problem but that there was also a clear link between drug trafficking and other types of organised crime, including illegal traffic in firearms, which could pose a serious security problem in some countries. They recognised that this menace had the potential to destabilise societies and nations. Heads of Government stressed the need to foster closer co-operation within the framework of international and regional agencies to combat this menace.

Law of the Sea

43. Heads of Government stressed the importance they attached to securing at an early date a comprehensive and widely accepted Convention on the Law of the Sea.

44. They observed that such a Convention would enhance the prospects for peace and security in the world. It would define, inter alia: the rights of coastal states and other users of the sea; assist the rational exploitation and management of the living and non-living resources of the oceans; provide increased protection for the marine environment; give practical effect to the principle that the resources of the seabed beyond national jurisdiction are the common heritage of mankind, and permit all states to participate in the exploitation of those resources, either directly through national operators or indirectly through the enterprise.

45. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that negotiations at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea had reached a very advanced stage, but recorded their disquiet at developments which, over the last two sessions, have prevented the conference from concluding a Convention in 1981. They expressed the hope that the Conference would complete its work in 1982 in accordance with the decision taken at its Tenth Session.

The Melbourne Declaration

46. Recalling their Melbourne Declaration, agreed and issued during their weekend retreat, and recognising the importance of carrying forward the political commitments reflected in it into areas of practical action, Heads of Government approached their consideration of the world economic situation with a deep sense of urgency and practicality. They were determined to help the international community to usher in a new era of constructive economic relations between developed and developing countries, based on interdependence, mutual respect and a shared interest in change.

The World Economy

47. Heads of Government reviewed developments in the world economy and the deterioration in it since they met in Lusaka in 1979. They recognised that they were meeting at a time of economic crisis. Recession was persisting and was accompanied by stubbornly high inflation and rising levels of unemployment and under-employment. Prospects for many developing countries were particularly grim; they were experiencing serious balance-of-payments and debt service problems, further erosion of their terms of trade, acute poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Heads of Government stressed the global character of the problems facing the contemporary world and expressed their firm belief that domestic policies to counter these problems needed to be supplemented by collective action and a global approach. They noted that the growing interdependence of the world economy rendered it imperative that urgent action be taken to deal with the economic problems of both developed and developing countries, with special attention being paid to the needs of the least-developed countries which were engaged in a desperate struggle for survival.

48. Heads of Government reaffirmed their conviction that the persistence of widespread poverty underlined the importance of promoting rapid economic growth and development, and of pursuing necessary structural and institutional changes in international economic relations, in order to create a more equitable economic order. In approaching the critical issues, they took account of the analysis and recommendations made by the reports of the Brandt Commission and the Commonwealth Group of Experts. They noted with

satisfaction the international recognition accorded to the report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts which they had commissioned at their Lusaka Meeting.

49. Heads of Government were conscious of the significance of their Meeting for the outcome of the Cancun summit. They believed that the issues to be considered had major implications for the recovery of the world economy as well as for relations between developed and developing countries. They expressed the hope that Cancun would make a bold start by putting international economic co-operation on a new and constructive course; and that it would unequivocally reaffirm the commitment to Global Negotiations, thus giving a much needed political impetus to those negotiations. They resolved to make every effort to remove obstacles to an early start to the Global Negotiations.

50. Heads of Government noted that the Global Round of Negotiations would cover wide fields and could be a time-consuming process. At the same time, they recognised the need for immediate and effective action in such critical areas as trade, energy, food, and money and finance, and called on leaders of all countries, without prejudice to the Global Round of Negotiations, to join them in commitment to such action.

51. Heads of Government noted the conclusions on North/South Issues at the Ottawa summit of industrialised countries, and expressed the hope that the attention given to those issues at Ottawa would be advanced at Cancun. They requested participating colleagues to provide to other Commonwealth governments, through the Secretary-General, their assessment of the Cancun Meeting.

52. Heads of Government noted that co-operation among developing countries was a growing and welcome element in international relations. They urged that this process should be appropriately facilitated and supported so that it might make its due contribution to the resolution of the problems affecting the global economy.

53. Heads of Government noted that lack of progress in negotiations between developed and developing countries resulted in part from obstacles in the negotiating process itself. They requested the Secretary-General to convene a high level group to study and report on the issues involved.

Financial Issues

54. Heads of Government attached high priority to the resolution of current problems in the financial and monetary fields, and stressed the urgent need to restore world economic growth and curb inflation. They noted that financial markets were unsettled; interest rates had reached unprecedented levels; exchange rates were subject to severe, and often disruptive, fluctuations; and there were pervasive and persistent imbalances in international payments. In an interdependent world, the resolution of these problems required greater co-ordination and co-operation on economic policy. They called upon all governments, particularly the major economic powers, to show greater concern for the repercussions of their policies on other countries; and, in the context of promoting economic recovery, to give urgent consideration to measures to bring stability to the financial and exchange markets and reduce upward pressure on interest rates.

55. In the light of the critical economic situation facing many developing countries, Heads of Government emphasised the need to increase official development assistance, particularly to the least-developed and other disadvantaged countries. They welcomed the decision of some countries to increase levels of official development assistance and called upon all industrialised countries which have not already done so, to reach the internationally agreed targets as soon as possible.

They also called upon the developed centrally-planned countries to substantially increase their development assistance. They noted the decision at the recent UN Conference on Least-Developed Countries in Paris to make additional resources available to these countries. The prospects for flows of concessional assistance to these and other low-income countries had been adversely affected by delay and uncertainty regarding IDA VI. They expressed the firm hope that the funding of IDA VII would be placed on a sounder footing. They attached importance to programme lending, including support for structural adjustment, and agreed that there was a case for a significant increase in such lending. They noted the prevalence of tied aid, which can distort the priorities of recipient countries, and urged all donor countries to give aid as far as possible in untied forms.

56. Heads of Government recognised the substantial contribution that multilateral institutions have made to economic development, and emphasised the major role they should play in expanding the flow of resources to developing countries. They agreed to make special efforts to ensure that progress in strengthening the resources of these institutions would not falter at this critical time. They stressed the need for these institutions to avoid political and ideological considerations in determining their operational policies.

57. Heads of Government recognised the role of private non-concessional flows, including direct investment, in facilitating development and stressed the continuing need for adequate financial mechanisms for the recycling of surplus funds. They noted that the commercial banking system had performed well in recycling funds; however, in their view, it might not be able to do so in future at levels and on conditions that would not impose intolerable debt service burdens. They agreedthat international financial institutions should play an expanding role in the recycling process. In this connection they drew attention to the proposal of the Commonwealth Group of Experts for the establishment of appropriate guarantee facilities which would enable surplus funds to be channelled to developing countries on appropriate terms, including longer maturities. The present financial difficulties of developing countries were such that they required innovative approaches. Among other measures, Heads of Government called for consideration to be given to increased use of mechanisms such as export credit insurance and the exchange of commodities on a barter basis.

Trade and Protectionism

58. Heads of Government expressed their anxiety over the trend towards increased protectionism. Aware of the importance of expansion of world trade to economic recovery and growth, they agreed that governments should make further efforts to reduce tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade and to achieve international agreement on effective rules covering resort to emergency safeguards. They noted that little progress had been made in eliminating

quantitative restrictions against certain categories of manufactured exports of particular importance to developing countries. They noted also that the process of reducing barriers to trade in agricultural products had scarcely begun. The export of processed commodities continued to be constrained by trade barriers which escalate with the degree of processing. They welcomed the proposal for a Ministerial Meeting of the GATT and urged the Contracting Parties of the GATT to take a positive decision to convene the Ministerial Meeting in 1982 to consider these and other problems of trade faced by all countries.

59. In view of their strong interest in the issues involved and in order to assist the deliberations, Heads of Government requested the Secretary-General to commission a group of independent high-level Commonwealth experts to investigate the impact of protection on developing country trade and report in time to assist governments in their preparations for the proposed GATT Ministerial Meeting. They agreed that the group would examine the effects of protection on developing countries, including the impact of tariff and non-tariff barriers on industrial and agricultural products. In this respect the group should consider, inter alia, the question of emergency safeguards, and non-conventional measures which, among other things, include such matters as voluntary export restraints and orderly marketing arrangements, structural adjustment, the escalation of tariffs and trade barriers that constrain the expansion of trade in processed commodities, and the adequacy of existing arrangements for the settlement of disputes.

Commodities

60. Heads of Government noted that unstable prices and declining terms of trade were having an adverse effect on commodity-exporting developing countries, especially at a time of recession. They welcomed the agreement to establish the Common Fund and noted that progress made to secure its implementation had been slow. They urged all governments which had not done so to take urgent action to sign and ratify the Agreement to enable the Fund to become operational as early as possible and to contribute to its Second Account. They took note of the limited progress made in establishing effective international commodity agreements and urged governments to intensify their efforts to establish such agreements. They asked the Secretariat to give priority to identifying ways and means to expand processing in developing countries and to measures to maintain and improve commodity export earnings, and also to study the need for the adoption of a global scheme for the stabilisation of commodity export earnings.

Energy

61. Heads of Government re-affirmed their conviction that the energy situation required short, modicum and long-term measures to be undertaken within the framework of wider international economic co-operation. Such a policy must ensure adequate returns to exporters of oil and secure supplies to consumers. Oil prices should be set in such a way as to avoid sudden major increases, and at levels which would encourage production and conservation. Within this framework, immediate consideration should be given to devising special arrangements to meet the energy needs of low-income countries facing difficult balance of payments problems. They welcomed the concessional arrangements for the purchase of oil introduced by several oil exporting

countries, including Commonwealth members Nigeria and Trinidad and Tobago, for designated groups of developing countries and urged that consideration be given to their wider application.

62. Heads of Government emphasised the urgent need to devote sufficient resources for the development of conventional and new and renewable energy sources. They recognised that some progress had been made at the UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy held in Nairobi, and that some governments had offered to provide increased assistance for energy development. They noted in this connection, however, that there was no agreement on an appropriate multilateral financing mechanism. Mindful of the large increase in investment required for energy development in developing countries, they called for substantial additional multilateral provision of resources supported by both the industrialised and oil-exporting developing countries for the development of conventional and non-conventional energy sources. In this regard they supported the proposal for the establishment of an energy affiliate within the World Bank.

63. Heads of Government underlined the importance of meeting the technical assistance requirements of Commonwealth developing countries in energy development, particularly in respect of programmes to disseminate technology and to provide the necessary training facilities. In this context they noted the proposal under examination for a centre for research and development on new and renewable sources of energy within the United Nations system. They believed that the Commonwealth could play an expanded role in providing technical assistance for the development of conventional and non-conventional energy in Commonwealth countries. They asked the Secretary-General to examine the possibility of strengthening Commonwealth efforts in this field.

64. They noted with interest the work that was being done through the Commonwealth Regional Renewable Energy Resources Information System (CRRERIS). This system, which was established as a result of a decision of the New Delhi Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, made available information on renewable energy technology. In this context they welcomed the Australian Government's offer to make available to all Commonwealth countries information and experience through the CRRERIS.

Food Problem

65. Heads of Government were disturbed by the continuing precarious state of world food security and the persistent food shortages in many developing countries. An urgent need was a dependable system of world food security. They agreed to make greater efforts to secure the early establishment of an international grains arrangement with effective economic provisions which would safeguard the interests of both exporting and importing countries while recognising the special needs of developing countries, to reach agreed food-aid targets and to provide adequate food reserves, including emergency reserves. They also emphasised the importance of replenishing the resources of the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the World Food Programme to levels necessary to enable them to discharge their functions effectively.

66. Heads of Government recognised that the ultimate solution to the world food problem lay in greater food self-sufficiency in developing countries. They

stressed the importance of measures to provide essential agricultural inputs on reasonable terms. They emphasised further the special importance of appropriate domestic policies and strategies including the pricing and marketing of agricultural products.

67. Heads of Government endorsed the recommendations of the Commonwealth Ministerial Meeting on Food Production and Rural Development held in February 1981 in Dacca. They recognised that the Commonwealth should mobilise its resources and experience to assist its developing members, and act as a catalyst for effective use of wider international assistance. They agreed that there was need for an enlarged Commonwealth role in agricultural project identification, preparation and management, the management of fisheries resources, the preparation of food strategies, training, improvements in food storage, the reduction of post-harvest losses, and ensuring the increased participation of women in food production. They requested the Secretary-General to give priority to work in these areas through technical assistance activities in response to requests from member governments, and welcomed offers of additional financial and institutional assistance from Commonwealth Governments.

68. Heads of Government welcomed the decision of the Australian Government to establish the Australian Centre for International Agriculture Research and the decisions of the Canadian Government to establish an International Centre for Ocean Development and a training programme for agricultural extension workers which would reflect the important role of women in agricultural production. They recognised that these initiatives would contribute to the effectiveness of an enlarged Commonwealth food production programme.

Regionalism

69. Heads of Government recognised the dynamic character of regionalism of which the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was the most recent manifestation. They noted with satisfaction the support provided by Commonwealth countries and the Secretariat for regional efforts and agreed that they should continue to assist regional and inter-regional co-operation.

70. Heads of Government noted in particular the useful contribution made to Commonwealth co-operation by the Meetings in Sydney in 1978 and in New Delhi in 1980 of Commonwealth Heads of Government in the Asia/Pacific region. They noted that the Meetings had significantly contributed to co-operation and had become established as useful and regular forums for exchanges between Commonwealth countries of the region. They further noted the important areas in which practical co-operation between members had commenced—namely trade, energy, industry, and combating terrorism and the traffic in illicit drugs.

Island Developing and Other Specially Disadvantaged Countries

71. Heads of Government discussed the special problems faced by island developing and other specially disadvantaged member countries. They noted with concern the particularly difficult economic and trading situation which currently faced small, poor states because of their limited human and natural

resource endowment, small size and specific transport and energy problems. It was agreed that these countries needed special measures of support.

72. The importance of measures to assist island states in developing their resources within their Exclusive Economic Zones was recognised as being of crucial importance to their development efforts.

73. Heads of Government noted that the Special Action Programme approved in Lusaka had been of some benefit to these countries, but that much more needed to be done within the Commonwealth and on a bilateral basis to help alleviate the problems of these states. Heads of Government noted the offer by the Government of Australia to fund appropriate facilities in New York to enable Pacific island states not presently represented to maintain representation at the United Nations. They also noted the initiative within the Pacific to establish a regional advisory service. The governments concerned agreed to consult to formulate more detailed proposals.

74. Heads of Government requested the Secretariat in consultation with member countries to strengthen further Commonwealth assistance to small island and other disadvantaged member countries.

Women and Development

75. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the establishment of a unit on Women and Development in accordance with the decision reached at their Lusaka meeting. The unit was already doing valuable work, especially in the smaller states and in helping to upgrade the status and broaden the experience of those working in women's bureaux. Recalling that this unit was established to advance the interests of women in the Commonwealth through exchanges of experience, training programmes and other activities, they expressed the hope that its services should be used increasingly by government agencies as well as by non-governmental organisations which are concerned with matters of interest to women. It was recognised that if women are to benefit from Secretariat activities, governments will need both to ensure their inclusion as participants in conferences and workshops and actively to search out suitable candidates for scholarships and training programmes.

International Year of Shelter for the Homeless

76. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the proposal made by the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements at the meeting held in Manila in April 1981 for an International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, and the recommendation made by the Economic and Social Council at its meeting in July 1981 to declare 1987 as the International Year. Heads of Government expressed their support for this recommendation.

International Year of Disabled Persons

77. Heads of Government acknowledged that their Meeting was taking place in the International Year of Disabled Persons, and noted the related activities being conducted by the Commonwealth Secretariat and by member governments.

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

78. Heads of Government, reaffirming that the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation should be assured of the resources required to exploit the many comparative advantages of Commonwealth functional co-operation, welcomed the arrangements for the Fund's restoration, replenishment and governance made by its Board of Representatives. In particular, they agreed that the level of activities carried out by the CFTC should be restored by 1983/84 to the level attained in 1978/79 as a basis for future growth, and expressed their satisfaction that indications from major and minor contributors suggested that the necessary resources would be made available over this three-year period.

79. In order to foster wider awareness of the Commonwealth among its peoples and as a contribution towards the financial stability of the CFTC, Heads of Government agreed in principle to the proposal for a special Commonwealth stamp issue every five years. Stressing the necessity of every Commonwealth country participating, they authorised the Secretary-General to prepare, for consideration by governments, detailed plans for the first issue which would commemorate Commonwealth Day in 1983.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

80. Heads of Government noted with pleasure that the Commonwealth Youth Programme had continued to make a valuable contribution to the development of national youth policies and programmes and expressed satisfaction with the results of the restructuring of the programme requested by them at Lusaka in 1979. They stressed the importance of ensuring that the programme's resources should not be allowed to fall below their present level if the current planned level of activities is to be sustained. To this end, Heads of Government agreed to endeavour to maintain the value of their contributions in real terms.

Commonwealth Foundation

81. Heads of Government expressed satisfaction with the valuable work of the Commonwealth Foundation and approved the recommendation of its Board of Trustees that the Foundation be accorded the status of an international organisation by the host government. Noting with appreciation that the budgetary target approved in Lusaka in 1979 had almost been reached, they agreed that governments should endeavour to maintain this level of funding for the present.

82. Heads of Government expressed their warm appreciation to the retiring Chairman, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola of Nigeria, for his services to the Foundation over the last four years. They appointed Dr Muhammad Adbur Rashid of Bangladesh as the new Chairman.

Human Rights

83. Heads of Government considered the Report of the Commonwealth Working Party on Human Rights and reaffirmed the importance which all Commonwealth governments attached to the observance of human rights. They urged those governments which had not yet done so to accede to relevant global and regional instruments on human rights. They endorsed in principle

the recommendations of the Working Party concerning the establishment of a special unit in the Secretariat for the promotion of human rights within the Commonwealth subject to agreement being reached on the appropriate method of financing the unit. They requested the Secretary-General to consult further with member governments on an agreed definition of human rights within the Commonwealth context as well as of the unit's functions. They took note of the Working Party's proposals for an Advisory Committee for the protection and maintenance of human rights and asked that these should be further considered by the next meeting of Commonwealth Law Ministers.

Student Mobility

84. Heads of Government reaffirmed that student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth were important to the national development efforts of Commonwealth countries and to maintaining Commonwealth links. While noting the factors contributing to the situation, they recognised that there was widespread and serious concern that the recent very substantial increases in overseas student fees in some countries were creating impediments to the movements of students and teachers between member countries. They expressed their appreciation of the report of the Consultative Group on Student Mobility within the Commonwealth and urged that early and sympathetic consideration be given to the implementation of its recommendations.

Communication and the Media

85. Heads of Government welcomed the Report of the Commonwealth Committee on Communication and the Media. They expressed satisfaction with the operation of the Commonwealth Media Exchange Fund and noted the Secretariat's proposals to broaden the scope of its application. They noted with appreciation the contributions by the Governments of Australia and Britain to the Fund and welcomed offers of additional support from other governments.

Culture

86. Heads of Government expressed appreciation of the work of the Commonwealth Institute and commended it to all member countries.

Commonwealth Employment/Labour Ministers Meeting

87. Heads of Government noted a proposal by the Commonwealth Trade Union Council for a meeting of Commonwealth Employment/Labour Relations Ministers at the time of the International Labour Conference, and requested the Secretary-General to make arrangements for such a meeting in 1982.

Report of the Secretary-General

88. Heads of Government commended the Eighth Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last meeting.

Next Meeting

89. Heads of Government, recognising the growing contribution which the Commonwealth is capable of making to the solution of world problems, reaffirmed the importance which they attach to their biennial meetings and the opportunity which such meetings provide for consultations aimed at forging a consensus on some of the major issues facing the world.

90. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of India to hold their next meeting in India.

7 October l98l

THE MELBOURNE DECLARATION

We, the Heads of Government here assembled, drawn from five continents representing a quarter of the world's entire population:

1. Affirm our strong and unanimous conviction that all men and women have the right to live in ways that sustain and nourish human dignity;

2. Believe that this right imposes obligations on all states, large and small, not only in respect to their own people but in their dealings with all other nations;

3. Assert that the gross inequality of wealth and opportunity currently existing in the world, and the unbroken circle of poverty in which the lives of millions in developing countries are confined, are fundamental sources of tension and instability in the world;

4. As a consequence, assert our unanimous conviction that there must be determined and dedicated action at national and international levels to reduce that inequality and to break that circle;

5. Believe that for all these reasons it is imperative to revitalise the dialogue between developed and developing countries;

6. Declare that this will require a political commitment, clear vision and intellectual realism which have thus far escaped mankind and to all of which the Commonwealth can greatly contribute;

7. Believe that the dialogue must be conducted with a genuine willingness to accept real and significant changes commensurate with the urgency of the problems we now face;

8. Firmly believe that the choice is not between change and no change but between timely, adequate, managed change and disruptive, involuntary change imposed by breakdown and conflict;

9. Maintain that success will only be achieved as states recognise and give due weight to the essential inter-dependence of peoples and of states;

10. Declare that, while the most urgent humanitarian considerations demand action, self-interest itself warrants a constructive and positive approach to these great human problems by all governments;

11. Recognise that in the process of negotiations, nations must cast aside inhibitions and habits which have thwarted progress in the past and find new ways of talking constructively to one another so as to reach agreement on effective joint action;

12. Note that, as well as technical economic considerations, it is imperative that states keep in the forefront of their attention the larger moral, political and strategic dimensions of what is at stake;

13. Maintain that while the problems are formidable, they are not of such a weight that they will defeat our purpose, given political will and an understanding of the needs of different countries and groups;

14. Assert that what is at stake—in terms of how hundreds of millions will live or die; of the prospects for co-operation or conflict; and of the prospects for economic advance or stagnation—is of such vital importance in human terms that it would be an indictment of this generation if that political will and the readiness to find a creative compromise were not found;

15. Firmly believe that the issues are so important that they require the personal commitment and involvement of political leaders who, representing the will of their people, have the greatest power to advance the common cause of mankind;

16. Attaching the highest importance to the principles and objectives of this document, recognising the mutual interests and interdependence of all nations, declare our common resolve: to end the present impasse: to advance the dialogue between developed and developing countries: to infuse an increased sense of urgency and direction into the resolution of these common problems of mankind: and solemnly call on all leaders of all countries to join us in a commitment to taking prompt, practical and effective action to that end.

Canberra
3 October 1981

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	HE R F Anthony Roberts, High Commissioner to the United Kingdom
Bangladesh	The Hon Shah Azizur Rahman, Prime Minister
Barbados	The Rt Hon J M G M Adams, Prime Minister
Belize	The Hon George C Price, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Dr Quett K J Masire, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister
Cyprus	HE Mr Spyros Kyprianou, President
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	The Hon Assan Musa Camara, Vice President
Ghana	Dr The Hon Isaac K Chinebuah, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Grenada	The Hon Cde Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister
Guyana	HE Cde L F S Burnham, President
India	Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Rt Hon Edward Seaga, Prime Minister
Kenya	HE Daniel T arap Moi, President
Kiribati	HE Ieremia T Tabai, President
Lesotho	The Hon M V Molapo, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malawi	Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Tan Sri Muhamad Ghazali Shafie, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malta	Dr The Hon Joseph Brincat, Minister of Justice
Mauritius	Dr The Rt Hon Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Robert D Muldoon, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President
Papua New Guinea	The Rt Hon Sir Julius Chan, Prime Minister
St Lucia	The Hon Peter Josie, Minister for Foreign Affairs
Seychelles	The Hon Jacques Hodoul, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Sierra Leone	Dr The Hon A O Conteh, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Solomon Islands	The Hon Ezekiel Alebua, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
Sri Lanka	The Hon Ranasinghe Premadasa, Prime Minister
Swaziland	HRH Prince Mabandla Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Prince Fatefehi Tu'ipelehake, Prime Minister
Trinidad and Tobago	Mr Isidore C Rampersad, Permanent Secretary to the Prime Minister and Head of the Civil Service
Uganda	The Hon Otema Alimadi, Prime Minister
Vanuatu	The Hon Father W H Lini, Prime Minister
Western Samoa	The Hon Taisi Tupuola Efi, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, President
Zimbabwe	The Hon Robert G Mugabe, Prime Minister
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1983

(New Delhi 23-29 November)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1983

(New Delhi, 23-29 November)

THE GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

As we meet together in India at the end of 1983, representing a quarter of the world's people from every continent and many regions, we have shared both our concerns and our hopes for international security. Despite differences of approach which affect the way we analyse and judge events, it is our perception that relationships between the world's major military alliances are in danger of becoming more confrontational. In the context of heightened tensions and a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, the future of civilisation as we know it could be threatened. None of our countries or peoples would be insulated from that fate.

We are alarmed by increasing disregard for the moral and legal principles which should govern the conduct of states; by the degree to which the ethic of peaceful settlement of disputes is being eroded and by the readiness of nations to resort to the illegal use of force.

At this time of crisis, we believe it to be imperative that the Soviet Union and the United States should summon up the political vision of a world in which their nations can live in peace. Their first objective must be to work for the resumption of a genuine political dialogue between themselves leading to a relaxation of tensions. We believe that Commonwealth governments can make a practical contribution in encouraging them to do so and in promoting a larger measure of international understanding than now exists.

Essential to that enlargement of understanding is the need to increase contacts at a variety of levels between the governments and peoples of East and West. A concerted effort is required to restore constructive dialogue to the conduct of East-West relations. Only thus can a climate of confidence be rebuilt in place of the prevailing one of fear and mistrust.

In all these pursuits we emphasise the supreme importance of political will. We therefore welcome Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's call for a new political dimension in the quest for international security. We support his efforts to restore active political contact and communication among all the nuclear weapon powers, and are willing to help these and other such efforts in all appropriate ways.

As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on diarmament is the stopping of the nuclear arms race. These are essential steps for progress in working towards a world released from the menace of nuclear weapons and their wider spread. If the resources released by disarmament were ploughed back in some measure into world development, the needs of the developing countries which are in the forefront of our concern could be significantly met.

We are concerned also over the diminishing capacity of international institutions to play an effective role in world affairs. Rejecting this negative trend, we pledge our renewed support for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. There is, in our view, an urgent need to consider what practical steps can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

We are particularly concerned at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs. These countries are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, has a moral obligation to provide effectively for their territorial integrity. We have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues. Additionally, however, we will play our part in helping the international community to make an appropriate response to the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter.

Meeting here in India, we cannot emphasise too strongly our belief that an ethic of non-violence must be at the heart of all efforts to ensure peace and harmony in the world. That ethic requires close adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement. Only by such a commitment on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security.

Finally, we retain faith in human capacity to overcome the dangers and difficulties that threaten the world and to secure for all its people the prospect of a more peaceful international environment. We shall work together to fulfil that faith.

Fort Aguada, Goa
27 November 1983

THE NEW DELHI STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC ACTION

We, the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth meeting in New Delhi, addressed ourselves to the global economic crisis. We considered how, as a group, we might try to resolve our common problems, through urgent action by the international community.

Background

Our approach to international economic questions has been moulded by a shared experience of the most serious and pervasive recession since the Second World War and a concern about long-term structural problems. Most countries have suffered from economic stagnation, unemployment and inflation. World trade has declined. The international monetary, financial and trading system has been further weakened. Many countries have been severely affected and have immediate anxieties arising from depressed commodity prices, protectionism, inadequate resource flows, and debt and balance of payments problems. For developing countries, this common crisis has beeen superimposed on deep-seated problems of poverty and hunger. The small states, with their exposed economies, have had particular problems of their own.

Since we met in Melbourne there have been some signs of recovery. But the recovery remains uneven and fragile, and its overall pace has been disappointing. Its impact continues to elude the developing world. Moreover, there are considerable dangers in the present situation. Recovery remains at risk because of continuing high real interest rates, excessive budgetary deficits, inflationary expectations, and rising protectionism.

The Reports

In trying to understand the origins of these problems, and in seeking solutions, we have noted with appreciation the Commonwealth reports on *Protectionism: Threat to International Order, The North-South Dialogue: Making it Work* and *Towards a New Bretton Woods.* The last report was first submitted to Finance Ministers at their meeting in Port of Spain in September, and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago has given us an account of their discussions. We commend the authors for their valuable reports and we have taken note of the conclusions of Commonwealth Finance Ministers at their last meeting.

National and International Policy

All countries have a responsibility for pursuing prudent domestic economic policies. At the same time we are deeply conscious of the crucial international dimension to our problems. The domestic policies of major countries make an impact on the well-being of others. Mutually acceptable principles governing trade and financial flows must be found by the international community. We share a common belief that the Bretton Woods institutions need to be adapted and better equipped to help cope with the full magnitude of the global crisis. These institutions need the resources and operational flexibility to meet the changing requirements of the international economy. In particular, the adjustment efforts of the developing countries must be supported by adequate resources on appropriate terms and conditions from the international financial institutions. We believe that these institutions must develop and adapt to the conditions of the 1980s and beyond. They must help sustain resource flows to developing countries. We especially recognise the need for increasing concessional flows to developing countries, especially the least developed. Access to the international and regional financial institutions by the small states must be improved.

Reform

We recognise that there are some differences concerning the nature and scale of the reforms and adaptations required in the international economic system. These have been reflected in different formulations of the problem. The Commonwealth report *Towards a New Bretton Woods* recognised that there are many deficiencies in the system, and recommended that the international community should work towards an international conference on the world's financial and trading system. The Non-Aligned Summit has proposed an international conference on money and finance for development with universal participation. The Williamsburg Summit has invited Finance Ministers to define the conditions for improving the international monetary system and to consider the part which might in due course be played in this process, by a high level international monetary conference.

We believe that the situation calls for a comprehensive review of the international monetary, financial and relevant trade issues.

An immediate process of preparatory consultation is needed to identify areas of agreement, potential agreement and areas requiring further consideration. All the countries affected must be directly involved in the discussions and decision-making. There is a widespread belief among us that it will be necessary to discuss these issues at an international conference with universal participation. The preparatory process could result in a consensus on convening such a conference.

Role of the Commonwealth

We have carefully considered how the Commonwealth can make a distinctive practical contribution to remove differences and misunderstandings. We believe we can be particularly effective when, as a representative group of developing and developed nations, we can speak with a common voice to the rest of the world. We have found a common voice on certain specific and immediate issues and we believe we can point the way forward on the more complex, longer-term questions.

Immediate Issues

As to the former, we unite in calling for prompt and substantial additional resources to be made available to the international financial institutions, and in particular to IDA under the Seventh Replenishment. We stress the need for the negotiations on the replenishment to be completed urgently to ensure that IDA VII becomes effective by 1 July 1984. The negotiations should take into account the need to accommodate an expanded recipient community and the critical importance of enhancing the growth prospects of developing countries. We pledge our commitment to play a positive role to this end. We invite the Commonwealth donor countries to convey to all other donor countries the strength of our support for the IDA VII replenishment. We also concur in deploring the rising level of protectionism. We welcome, in this connection, the strong stance taken in defence of multilateral trading rules by the Commonwealth report, *Protectionism: Threat to International Order*. We reaffirm our support not only for a standstill in the adoption of further protectionist measures but also for a progressive relaxation of those now in force. We see this, along with sustained world recovery, as crucial to the resolution of the developing-country debt problem. We have consequently requested the Secretariat, with the aid of a group of experts, to examine the developing-country debt problem in all its aspects and to report to the Toronto meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers.

The Process

As to longer-term questions, we are encouraged by the growing recognition that more co-operative relations must be established between the developed and the developing countries; growing interdependence and mutual interests make renewed efforts to establish such relations imperative. We believe that the way in which the Commonwealth functions is, in itself, evidence that dialogue is not only possible but fruitful. We endorse the practical and business-like approach to the negotiations recommended in the Commonwealth report *North-South Dialogue: Making it Work*. We believe the Commonwealth can perform a useful role in stimulating a more responsive dialogue.

We have accordingly decided to establish a Commonwealth consultative group for the purpose of promoting a consensus on the issues covered by this Statement. It will consult as appropriate on the most effective way of taking action, taking full account of international consultations going on elsewhere and of our discussions in New Delhi. The group will be composed of representatives of Governments from Britain, Canada, Fiji, India, New Zealand, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zimbabwe, together with the Secretary-General. We ask the group to report to Finance Ministers in good time before they meet next year in Toronto.

Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi
28 November 1983

COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983. Of the 42 countries which attended the Meeting 33 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitations to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They welcomed with great pleasure the opportunity of meeting in New Delhi and expressed their deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting by the Government of India and gratitude for the generous hospitality extended to them.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed Antigua and Barbuda and St Christopher-Nevis which had become members of the association since their last Meeting, and extended similar greetings to the Republic of Maldives which had become a special member.

4. Heads of Government reviewed a number of important current international issues. They were encouraged to find much common ground between them. In view of the overriding importance of issues relating to security, disarmament and the maintenance of peace, as well as the increasing tendency towards interference and intervention by political and economic means in the internal affairs of other states, they have in their Goa Declaration expressed their grave concern about them. Their views on a number of other problems and situations are set out below.

Cyprus

5. Heads of Government condemned the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 15 November 1983 to create a secessionist state in Northern Cyprus, in the area under foreign occupation. Fully endorsing Security Council Resolution 541, they denounced the declaration as legally invalid and reiterated the call for its non-recognition and immediate withdrawal. They further called upon all states not to facilitate or in any way assist the illegal secessionist entity. They regarded this illegal act as a challenge to the international community and demanded the implementation of the relevant UN Resolutions on Cyprus.

6. At this critical moment for a member country of the Commonwealth, Heads of Government, reaffirming their Lusaka and Melbourne communiques and recalling the relevant Security Council resolutions, pledged their renewed support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; and in this respect, they expressed their solidarity with their colleague the President of Cyprus.

7. They agreed to establish a special Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus at high level to asist in securing compliance with Security Council Resolution 541. The Group would consist of the following five countries, together with the Secretary-General: Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria and Zambia.

8. Finally, they urged all states and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might further exacerbate the situation.

Grenada

9. Commonwealth Leaders discussed recent events in Grenada which have caused such deep disquiet among them and in the wider international community, and on which most of them had already expressed their views at the United Nations. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for the strict observance of these principles. They recorded their profound regret over the tragic loss of life in Grenada.

10. Heads of Government agreed, however, that the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an interim civilian administration in Grenada. They looked forward to its functioning free of external interference, pressure, or the presence of foreign military forces and noted its intention to hold, as early as possible, elections which would be seen by the international community to be free and fair. On this basis, and given the readiness of the countries of the Caribbean community to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Grenada if so requested by the Interim Administration, Commonwealth leaders confirmed their readiness to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from the island state. In doing so, they stressed the importance they attached to an early return of Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean to the spirit of fraternity and co-operation that had been so characteristic of the region.

11. Time and again in their discussions, Commonwealth leaders were recalled to the special needs of small states, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They recognised that the Commonwealth itself had given some attention to these needs in the context of economic development but felt that the matter deserved consideration on a wider basis, including that of national security. Recalling the particular dangers faced in the past by small Commonwealth countries, they requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study, drawing as necessary on the resources and experience of Commonwealth countries, of the special needs of such states consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they shared with all nations.

Southern Africa

12. Heads of Government expressed grave concern about the sharp deterioration of the situation in Southern Africa since their Meeting in Melbourne. Once

again they identified apartheid as the root cause of repressions and violence in South Africa and of instability in the region.

13. Heads of Government expressed their indignation at repeated violations by South Africa of the territorial integrity of neighbouring states. These acts of aggression, intended to intimidate and destabilise South Africa's neighbours, had involved for example ground and air strikes, attacks on refugee concentrations in Lesotho and Mozambique, the occupation of parts of southern Angola, as well as economic sabotage and blackmail. Heads of Government condemned these acts which endangered international peace and security and showed a total disregard for the norms of civilised conduct between sovereign states. They believed that the international community as a whole had an obligation to take effective measures to impose restraint on South Africa, and to ensure that the stability of the region was not jeopardised by further acts of aggression. In that context they called for the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and an end to all forms of assistance to the subversive forces. As a significant element in collective action to achieve these objectives, Heads of Government called for a stricter enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo so as to ensure that there are no loopholes in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 418 of 1977. They commended the Secretary-General's prompt response to Lesotho's request for assistance in the wake of South African attacks and they urged Commonwealth Governments to respond favourably to Lesotho's bilateral approaches for assistance.

14. Heads of Government recalled their view, stated on a number of occasions, that the denial of inalienable rights to the African majority was at the heart of the apartheid system.

In the light of the Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice, the overwhelming majority of Heads of Government rejected the proposals of the South African Government for 'constitutional' change, since the African majority was wholly excluded from their scope and the proposals were designed not to eradicate but to entrench and strengthen apartheid; they consequently condemned the recent referendum as fraudulent. The implementation of these proposals could only lead to a rising tide of anger against the injustice of apartheid with further repression and brutality directed at the African majority and other racial groups acting in solidarity with them.

15. Heads of Government were of the view that only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Africa.

16. Heads of Government agreed that Namibia was the most immediate of the remaining issues in Southern Africa. They were in full agreement on the need, without further delay, to bring about the independence of Namibia through the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). Hopes that such independence might be imminent had been frustrated when the United States and South Africa insisted on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition. Heads of Government, reflecting the view of the international community as a whole, firmly rejected any attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops. South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal, and acquiescence by any member of

the international community in South Africa's attempt to undermine the central role of the United Nations in this matter strikes at the fabric of international order. In support of Security Council Resolution 539 (1983), Heads of Government urged members of the Contact Group to exercise their influence to secure the speedy and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). If South Africa continues to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435 the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations will have to be considered.

17. Heads of Government reaffirmed their commitment to uphold, in both spirit and letter, their 1977 Gleneagles Declaration on sporting contacts with South Africa. Recognising that sport in South Africa cannot become genuinely multiracial until apartheid itself is eliminated, they urged all Commonwealth sportsmen not to be misled by recent changes in South African sport.

Heads of Government noted that, as a result of the sporting boycott, South Africa had resorted to a strategy of massive financial inducements and they commended the many Commonwealth sportsmen and sports bodies which have resisted these blandishments. They also noted with satisfaction that the Commonwealth Games Federation had amended its constitution to enable it to fulfil its obligations with regard to the Gleneagles Declaration more effectively in future.

18. In the continuing struggle against the evil system of apartheid, Heads of Government attached importance to taking effective public relations measures to counteract South African propaganda in certain target countries by disseminating the truth about apartheid and about social and economic progress in African countries. To this end they requested the Secretary-General to co-operate with the United Nations in collecting and disseminating such information.

19. Heads of Government reiterated their support for the efforts of the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to strengthen their co-operation and to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Recognising that SADCC had evolved into a major force for development co-operation in the region, they renewed their call for greater international assistance to meet its continuing needs.

20. Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa for the effective manner in which it had fulfilled its mandate, and endorsed the recommendations put forward in its report, including its proposals for a Commonwealth education and training programme for South African refugees. They authorised the Committee to continue its work and to pay particular attention to developments in Namibia as well as within South Africa itself.

The Middle East

21. Heads of Government noted with deep concern and anxiety the heightening tensions, the dangerous concentration of forces and the generally worsening situation in the Middle East, which posed a grave threat to world peace and security. They called for the exercise of utmost restraint by all concerned. They recognised the central importance of the Palestinian issue and stressed the need to intensify efforts for the achievement of a comprehen-

sive, just and lasting settlement on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967, and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people including their inalienable right to a national homeland, as well as the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure borders. Recalling their statement at Melbourne, and their support for self determination, most Heads of Government reaffirmed their view that the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be involved on an equal footing in negotiations for a settlement.

22. They noted the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held in Geneva in September 1983. They expressed appreciation of the successful efforts of the non-aligned mission in securing a ceasefire in Northern Lebanon.

23. Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, and expressed solidarity with the efforts of the Lebanese people and Government to restore stability and peace to their country. Many Heads of Government called for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Lebanon other than those present at the express request of the Government of Lebanon.

South-East Asia

24. Heads of Government were gravely concerned that since the discussion at the 1981 Melbourne Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting and the 1982 Suva Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, tension in South-East Asia arising especially from armed conflict in Kampuchea was continuing and if left unchecked would result in active intervention by major powers in the affairs of the region. They reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion. In this regard, they also reaffirmed their position on the issue as reflected in the Melbourne Communiqué and endorsed the position adopted in the Suva CHOGRM Communiqué and in the New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit Declaration. They renewed their call for an urgent comprehensive political settlement of the problem which would lead to lasting peace in the region.

25. Heads of Government noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called on all states fully to support these efforts.

Refugees

26. Heads of Government also noted with concern the continuing problem of Indo-Chinese refugees/illegal immigrants caused by the instability in Indo-China. They expressed their appreciation to countries of first transit burdened with this problem and to the resettlement countries for accepting these refugees/illegal immigrants. They were convinced that the root cause of this problem could be eliminated through a political solution to the conflict in Indo-China. They urged the countries which have the primary responsibility to tackle the problem of illegal departures at source by fostering the establishment of circumstances in which all the people concerned can live in peace and harmony and by co-operating with the UNHCR and resettlement countries to

implement the Programme of Orderly Departures. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the results of the First International Conference on Refugees in Africa convened in Geneva in 1981 and urged members of the Commonwealth and the wider international community to participate fully in the Second International Conference on Refugees in Africa to be held in Geneva in 1984.

Afghanistan

27. Heads of Government continued to be gravely concerned at the situation in and around Afghanistan and its implications both for the region's peace and stability and for international security. They renewed the call for an urgent search for a negotiated political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future. They reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. Heads of Government noted with approval the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged their continuation.

Central America

28. Heads of Government noted with great concern the escalation of tensions in Central America which posed a threat to the peace and stability of the region, with potentially dangerous consequences for international security. They stressed the urgent need to reduce these tensions and to achieve a lasting peace through dialogue and negotiations. In this connection, they welcomed the efforts of the Contadora Group of states to seek a negotiated settlement to the region's problems. They noted that these problems were rooted not in East-West ideological rivalry but in deep-seated social and economic ills. They urged all the states to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or the threat of the use of force, and from intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Guyana

29. In reaffirming their position adopted at Melbourne with regard to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela arising from the resuscitation by Venezuela of a claim to more than two-thirds of the territory of Guyana, Heads of Government noted that the Governments of these countries had referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of the 1966 Geneva Agreement. They welcomed the unqualified undertaking given by the Venezuelan Government to eschew the use of force as a means of settling the controversy. Stressing the importance of the sanctity of treaties and respect for defined and demarcated boundaries, Heads of Government expressed the hope that the controversy would be quickly and peacefully resolved.

Belize

30. Heads of Government noted with concern the continuation of the political problem between Belize and Guatemala and reaffirmed their full support for the efforts of the Government of Belize to maintain Belize's territorial integrity.

They expressed satisfaction with the continuing role of the British Government in helping to provide for the security of Belize. They reiterated their commitment to co-operate in the search for a settlement, requesting the Secretary-General to convene the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize whenever necessary. They urged the parties to pursue negotiations on the outstanding issues so as to achieve a lasting settlement at the earliest possible opportunity.

Indian Ocean

31. Heads of Government again voiced their disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of littoral and hinterland states and adoption in 1971 of the UN Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace there had been a further increase in the military presence and rivalry of outside powers in the Indian Ocean with adverse consequences for the peace and security of the area. They called upon all the Governments concerned to reach agreement for the convening of the proposed UN Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1984 or early in 1985 at the latest.

South Pacific

32. Heads of Government reiterated that the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories of the South Pacific should be given the opportunity to exercise their rights to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Progress towards this end was continuing in New Caledonia and they urged that this momentum be maintained. In this regard they strongly supported the resolution on New Caledonia adopted by the South Pacific Forum at its recent meeting. Heads of Government noted that the general principles of the concept of a nuclear-free zone had also been discussed by South Pacific Forum member states and that further consultations would be undertaken pursuant to this initiative. Furthermore most expressed strong opposition to nuclear testing in the Pacific and to the proposals for the dumping and storage of nuclear waste material there.

Mediterranean

33. Heads of Government expressed their concern at the continuing tensions in the Mediterranean and the accumulation of forces in the region. They noted the desire of a number of Mediterranean countries to transform their region into a zone of peace. They urged all states concerned to participate effectively in all appropriate fora, especially the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), in agreeing upon measures aimed at reducing tensions in the area. They reaffirmed that peace and security in the Mediterranean and in Europe are closely interrelated and in this context stressed the need for a full implementation of the relevant decisions of the CSCE, including the decisions agreed upon in the recently concluded Madrid meeting.

Law of the Sea

34. Heads of Government recalled the view expressed at Melbourne that a comprehensive and widely accepted Convention on the Law of the Sea would enhance the prospects for peace and security in the world. Most Heads of Government recognised the Convention on the Law of the Sea, signed at

Montego Bay, Jamaica 10 December 1982, as a major step forward in the codification and development of international law. Most Heads of Government expressed the fear that the lack of universal support for the Convention would seriously undermine the effectiveness of an instrument that was designed to establish equitable and orderly management of the resources of the sea for the benefit of developed and developing countries alike. There was a widespread view that all states should sign the Convention and proceed to the ratification process without unnecessary delay.

International Economic Co-operation

35. Heads of Government reviewed developments in the world economy since their last Meeting and paid particular attention in their discussion to monetary and financial issues, protectionism and the state of the North-South dialogue. In this regard, they drew attention to the recommendations of the reports of the three Commonwealth Expert Groups on these subjects.

36. Heads of Government stressed the need for and called upon the international community to take urgent and comprehensive action to deal with the grave problems facing the world economy. They have set up a Commonwealth consultative group at high level to pursue the matter. The details are contained in the New Delhi Statement on Economic Action, the text of which appears above.

37. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction at the work of the Commonwealth in international economic co-operation. They noted that since they last met there had been meetings of Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Trade, and Labour and Employment. These meetings covered a wide range of issues in addition to those dealt with in particular in the New Delhi Statement. Heads of Government took note of the communiques issued by the respective Ministerial meetings. They requested the Secretariat to continue their work in the areas specified in those communiques, paying particular attention to the debt problems of low-income countries; concessional and private capital flows; trade issues affecting developing countries, especially present commodity prices and protectionism; the special problems of disadvantaged states; the problems of unemployment; food production and international food security issues.

Food and Agriculture

38. Heads of Government noted the deteriorating food situation in many low-income countries. The problem was particularly grave in Sub-Saharan Africa where per capita food production had declined in the last ten years and where there was an imminent crisis caused by a number of factors including drought and inadequate foreign exchange to purchase agricultural inputs and increased food imports. Heads of Government called on international agencies and donor countries to redouble efforts to ensure increased financial and technical assistance for agriculture and expanded food aid to meet international targets in order to benefit in particular the food-deficit low-income countries. They also called on these food-deficit countries to make greater efforts to increase food production and support agricultural development through improved policies and increased investment in this sector.

39. Heads of Government endorsed the recommendations of the Meeting of Commonwealth Agriculture Ministers held in Rome on 4 November 1983 prior to the opening of the 22nd FAO Conference. They commended the assistance already provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) in food and agriculture. They emphasised, in addition, the importance of the World Conference on Fisheries Management and Development to be held in Rome in mid-1984.

Population

40. Heads of Government noted the serious pressure of population on the resources of many Commonwealth countries and especially on developing Commonwealth countries and the world in general. They recognised that in many Commonwealth countries measures to curb rapid population growth have proved quite sucessful but there is a need for those countries with greater expertise in this important field to assist those in need of it.

Next Meeting

41. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas to hold their next Meeting in The Bahamas.

COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

1. Heads of Government reaffirmed that functional co-operation was an important and dynamic aspect of the Commonwealth. They reviewed progress in a variety of areas and welcomed evidence of consolidation, improved co-ordination, and increasing attention paid to evaluation and cost-effectiveness in the utilisation of resources. In this connection, they noted with approval the establishment of the Human Resource Development Group in the Secretariat, and, reaffirming their confidence in the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC), welcomed the successful introduction of a new planning framework for the Fund.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

2. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC), strengthened by increased contributions from all member countries, had restored its programme activity to the levels attained in 1978/9. They welcomed the valuable work done by the Fund including its recently established Industrial Development Unit, particularly its special efforts to assist small island states and in the promotion of regional and interregional co-operation. Recognising that the technical assistance needs of developing member countries had increased, they underlined the importance of maintaining the momentum of the Fund's activities. They agreed to ensure the Fund's resources would be adequate to meet the forward planning programme targets recently approved by its Board of Representatives.

Commonwealth Stamp Issue

3. Heads of Government welcomed the satisfactory financial outcome of the special Commonwealth stamp issue. They requested the Secretary-General to

prepare a detailed review of the experience with the 1983 issue and proposals for a second issue together with the promotion of a second commemorative album on Commonwealth Day 1988. In order to provide all concerned with an adequate lead time, these proposals and the review should be considered by the meeting of Senior Officials to be held in 1984.

Student Mobility

4. Heads of Government reaffirmed the importance of student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth, not only to the national development efforts of member countries but also to the maintenance of Commonwealth links. They considered that the consequences of any further diminution in the levels of intra-Commonwealth exchange would be regrettable. Heads of Government, while welcoming expansion in the number of scholarship awards in some receiving countries, noted the effect that increases in fees and charges could have in limiting the number of Commonwealth students abroad. They emphasised the importance of strengthening, and putting on a more systematic basis, the process of dialogue and consultation among member countries on the major questions affecting student mobility, including fees.

5. Heads of Government considered that the recommendations in the Second Report of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility provided, in the proposed Commonwealth Higher Education Programme, a framework for action within which the range of educational opportunities for citizens of Commonwealth countries could be significantly widened in a manner consistent with the long-term policies of member countries. To carry forward these recommendations they agreed that a Commonwealth Higher Education Unit should be established within the Secretariat's Human Resource Development Group. In endorsing the Standing Committee's recommendations, Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of its work and invited it to continue its contribution to this important Commonwealth endeavour.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

6. Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Youth Programme for the continued assistance being provided to member governments in this vital area of national development. They noted with approval the expansion of services in the South Pacific and activities planned for International Youth Year.

7. Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the Programme and agreed to use their best endeavours to maintain at least the existing level of programme activity during the next biennium.

Commonwealth Scientific Co-operation

8. Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of the work of the Commonwealth Science Council which was charged with fostering co-operative activities designed to enhance the scientific and technological capabilities of member countries. They welcomed the establishment of an Expert Group to examine ways and means of promoting an expanded programme of Commonwealth scientific co-operation, which would encourage

work in new areas of developmental significance, including high technology, and affirmed the priority which they accord to strengthening Commonwealth scientific co-operation.

Women and Development

9. Heads of Government recognised that the full integration of women as agents and beneficiaries of development was essential if development goals were to be realised.

10. They noted with satisfaction the continued progress of the Secretariat's Women and Development Programme and reaffirmed their support for the Programme's work in promoting the advancement of women as well as their full participation in the development process and in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries. Heads of Government agreed that ministers responsible for women's affairs should meet in Nairobi on the eve of the 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. They considered that the preparations for this meeting would be greatly facilitated by a meeting of officials in London in 1984.

11. Heads of Government recognised the multi-faceted nature of women's contribution to the development process. This called inter alia for the close and active collaboration of all Secretariat Divisions with the Women and Development Programme. They further noted that as women experienced particular disadvantages in such fields as agriculture, education and commerce, and also under the law, special attention shoudl be given to programmes in these areas.

Employment and Labour

12. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the meetings of Commonwealth Employment and Labour Ministers which they initiated at their previous Meeting had proved useful. As a result, increasing attention was being given by the Secretariat to labour and employment matters, and the point had been reached when a permanent capacity to deal with such matters should be designated by the Secretariat. They also noted the agreement of the 1983 Meeting of Employment and Labour Ministers to convene annually. They expressed support for the further development of Commonwealth activities on employment and labour, in particular the proposed Commonwealth Industrial Training and Experience Programme. Heads of Government welcomed the role and activities of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council described in their memorandum and noted the important role of workers' education in national development. Heads of Government recognised that the problems of unemployment were likely to persist on a substantial scale. They considered in this context that the adoption of new technologies could present additional difficulties of, as well as opportunities for, structural adjustment. To assist member countries in their planning, training and adjustment strategies in these areas, they endorsed the recommendation of Employment and Labour Ministers that a Commonwealth Working Group be set up to examine member countries' experience in managing technological change; the Group's terms of reference would be those proposed by the Secretary-General.

The Commonwealth Foundation

13. Heads of Government noted that following their decision at Melbourne to reconstitute the Foundation as an international organisation formalities had been completed in February 1983.

14. They expressed satisfaction that the comprehensive review of the Foundation's activities initiated in Lusaka in 1979 had been completed, and welcomed the new orientation adopted, including its limited role in cultural exchanges. They noted with approval that the Foundation had begun to support trade-union education and training projects.

15. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Foundation's total income in 1982/3 had slightly exceeded the Lusaka target of £1.1 million through careful investment of funds awaiting disbursement, although in no single year since 1979 had government contributions attained the target they had set. They recognised that the Foundation had great potential to contribute to Commonwealth co-operation. In order to put into effect the new activities of the Foundation and to maintain its present level of operation, Heads of Government agreed that a new target for the Foundation's income should be set at £1.46 million for the period 1984/5 to 1985/6, recognising that the target might not be reached in 1984/5.

Commonwealth Cultural Co-operation

16. Heads of Government fully recognised the value to the Commonwealth of enhanced cultural interchange among its diverse peoples. They agreed that in the present circumstances of financial stringency governments should pursue the objective of greater cultural interaction through existing official institutions and private agencies, as well as relevant non-governmental organisations for the development of wider programmes of cultural co-operation.

17. They noted that the Commonwealth Foundation intended a modest increase in its support for activities in this field.

18. Heads of Government very much hoped that the practice of holding festivals of Commonwealth arts at the time of the four-yearly Commonwealth Games would continue.

19. They asked the Secretary-General to continue to keep in view the possibility of finding ways to promote cultural activity, and to report to the next meeting of Senior Officials.

Report of the Secretary General

20. Heads of Government commended the Ninth Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the continued progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last Meeting.

29 November 1983

Heads of Delegation

Antigua and Barbuda	The Hon Lester Bird, Deputy Prime Minister
Australia	The Hon Robert J L Hawke, Prime Minister
Bahamas	The Rt Hon Sir Lynden Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	HE Lt Gen H M Ershad, President
Barbados	The Rt Hon J M G M Adams, Prime Minister
Belize	The Rt Hon George C Price, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Dr Quett K J Masire, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Pierre E Trudeau, Prime Minister
Cyprus	HE Spyros Kyprianou, President
Dominica	The Hon Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	HE Alhaji Sir Dawda K Jawara, President
Ghana	HE K K S Dadzie, Special PNDC Plenipotentiary
Guyana	HE Linden F S Burnham, President
India	Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Rt Hon Hugh L Shearer, Deputy Prime Minister
Kenya	HE Daniel Arap Moi, President
Kiribati	The Hon Ieremai T Tabai, President
Lesotho	The Hon E R Sekhonyana, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malawi	HE Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, President
Malaysia	Tan Sri Haji Muhammad Ghazali bin Shafie, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Malta	The Hon Alex Sceberras Trigona, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Culture
Mauritius	The Hon Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Robert D Muldoon, Prime Minister
Nigeria	HE Alhaji Shehu Shagari, President
Papua New Guinea	The Rt Hon Michael T Somare, Prime Minister
St Christopher-Nevis	Dr The Rt Hon Kennedy Simmonds, Prime Minister
St Lucia	The Hon John Compton, Prime Minister
Seychelles	Dr The Hon Maxime Ferrari, Minister of Planning and External Relations
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Solomon Islands	The Hon Dennis C Lulei, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Trade
Sri Lanka	HE Mr J R Jayewardene, President
Tanzania	HE Mwalimu Dr Julius K Nyerere, President
Tonga	HRH Crown Prince Tupouto'a, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon George Chambers, Prime Minister
Uganda	HE Dr A Milton Obote, President
Western Samoa	The Hon Tofilau Eti Alesana, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Zimbabwe	The Hon Robert G Mugabe, Prime Minister
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING 1985

(Nassau 16-22 October)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, 1985

(Nassau, 16-22 October)

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, recall to all countries and peoples the need for world order and the central importance of the United Nations 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 at this historic moment 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 the more disturbing any movement away from multilateralism and internationalism, from a world aspiring to be governed by fair and open rules towards unilateral action and growing ascendance of power in all spheres: economic, political and military. 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 dangers from which the world set out to rid itself at San Francisco in 1945. We issue that warning mindful that the nuclear menace imperils all peoples and nations and the very survival of our human species.

3. The conduct of relations between nations necessitates adherence to, and preservation of, certain accepted international norms and principles. A retreat from these norms and principles increases the threat to the sovereignity, independence, unity and territorial integrity of states. In particular, we are concerned that the world community face up to the nature and needs of small states, many of them among our membership, respond to their particular vulnerability with imagination and resolve and work to create an environment for their protection and support.

4. As a Commonwealth whose great majority live in poverty, we believe it imperative that the world community redouble 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. However, the world must make better use of its collective resources to secure more equitable progress for all. In a global community of acknowledged and increasing interdependence between nations, which is undergoing rapid technological advance and which has the resources to meet the needs of all, the continuing disparities that divide the world's rich and poor are a daily reminder that only partnership and collective effort and recognition of economic realities will give a fresh thrust to growth and development for all. There is thus a pressing need to renew the consensus on international co-operation for development within the United Nations system and to revitalise multilateral institutions to meet the goals of our global society for sustainable economic growth within a framework of stability.

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 and others to enhance the effectiveness of the world body and its capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts, and pledge to work to this end.

6. In the spirit of international democracy, to which we attach importance, we hope that all nations will demonstrate the desire to seek accord and the will to negotiate constructively which are crucial to the success 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.

7. Therefore, as leaders of the Commonwealth comprising one thousand million people and one 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. As we ourselves categorically reject the use or threat of force as a means of settling disputes, we appeal to all governments to work to strengthen the institutions which contribute to orderly resolution of differences between nations and which sustain peace.

We rededicate ourselves to the principles of self-determination, non-racialism, 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 revitalising 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 collective security based on mutual trust and shared interest. All nations have a stake in disarmament. We therefore look for urgent agreement in reversing the arms race and on significant reductions, and eventual elimination, of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

We invite all peoples and nations to join in a universal effort to fulfil these objectives.

8. Believing that the theme of the Fortieth Anniversary celebrations, 'United Nations for a better world', expresses a profound need, 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.

Nassau
21 October 1985

THE COMMONWEALTH ACCORD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

1. We consider that South Africa's continuing refusal to dismantle apartheid, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its aggression against its neighbours constitute a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth, a challenge which Commonwealth countries cannot ignore. At New Delhi we expressed the view that 'only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Africa.' We are united in the belief that reliance on the range of pressures adopted so far has not resulted in the fundamental changes we have sought over many years. The growing crisis and intensified repression in South Africa mean that apartheid must be dismantled now if a greater tragedy is to be averted and that concerted pressure must be brought to bear to achieve that end. We consider that the situation calls for urgent practical steps.

2. We, therefore, call on the authorities in Pretoria for the following steps to be taken in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency:

(a) Declare that the system of apartheid will be dismantled and specific and meaningful action taken in fulfilment of that intent.

(b) Terminate the existing state of emergency.

(c) Release immediately and unconditionally Nelson Mandela and all others imprisoned and detained for their opposition to apartheid.

(d) Establish political freedom and specifically lift the existing ban on the African National Congress and other political parties.

(e) Initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion, with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government.

3. We have agreed on a number of measures which have as their rationale impressing on the authorities in Pretoria the compelling urgency of dismantling apartheid and erecting the structures of democracy in South Africa. The latter, in particular, demands a process of dialogue involving the true representatives of the majority black population of South Africa. We believe that we must do all we can to assist that process, while recognising that the forms

of political settlement in South Africa are for the people of that country—all the people—to determine.

4. To this end, we have decided to establish a small group of eminent Commonwealth persons to encourage through all practicable ways the evolution of that necessary process of political dialogue. We are not unmindful of the difficulties such an effort will encounter, including the possibility of initial rejection by the South African authorities, but we believe it to be our duty to leave nothing undone that might contribute to peaceful change in South Africa and avoid the dreadful prospect of violent conflict that looms over South Africa, threatening people of all races in the country, and the peace and stability of the entire Southern Africa region.

5. We are asking the President of Zambia and the Prime Ministers of Australia, The Bahamas, Canada, India, the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe to develop with the Secretary-General the modalities of this effort to assist the process of political dialogue in South Africa. We would look to the group of eminent persons to seek to facilitate the processes of dialogue referred to in paragraph 2(e) above and by all practicable means to advance the fulfilment of the objectives of this Accord.

6. For our part, we have as an earnest of our opposition to apartheid, reached accord on a programme of common action as follows:

(i) We declare the Commonwealth's support for the strictest enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 418 and 558, and commit ourselves to prosecute violators to the fullest extent of the law.

(ii) We reaffirm the Gleneagles Declaration of 1977, which called upon Commonwealth members to take every practical step to discourage sporting contacts with South Africa.

(iii) We agree upon, and commend to other governments, the adoption of the following further economic measures against South Africa, which have already been adopted by a number of member countries:

(a) a ban on all new government loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies;

(b) a readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of Krugerrands;

(c) no Government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibitions and trade fairs in South Africa;

(d) a ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police or security forces;

(e) a ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials and technology to South Africa;

(f) a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa;

(g) a strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and paramilitary equipment from South Africa;

(h) an embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa; and

(i) discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it.

7. It is our hope that the process and measures we have agreed upon will help to bring about concrete progress towards the objectives stated above in six months. The Heads of Government mentioned in paragraph 5 above, or their representatives, will then meet to review the situation. If in their opinion adequate progress has not been made within this period, we agree to consider the adoption of further measures. Some of us would, in that event, consider the following steps among others:

(a) a ban on air links with South Africa;

(b) a ban on new investment or reinvestment of profits earned in South Africa;

(c) a ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa;

(d) the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa;

(e) the termination of all government assistance to investment in, and trade with, South Africa;

(f) a ban on all government procurement in South Africa;

(g) a ban on government contracts with majority-owned South African companies;

(h) a ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

8. Finally, we agree that should all of the above measures fail to produce the desired results within a reasonable period, further effective measures will have to be considered. Many of us have either taken or are prepared to take measures which go beyond those listed above, and each of us will pursue the objectives of this Accord in all the ways and through all appropriate fora open to us. We believe, however, that in pursuing this programme jointly, we enlarge the prospects of an orderly transition to social, economic and political justice in South Africa and peace and stability in the Southern Africa region as a whole.

Lyford Cay, Nassau
20 October 1985

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Nassau from 16 to 22 October 1985. Of the 46 countries which attended, 41 were represented by their Heads of State or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of The Bahamas, Sir Lynden Pindling, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitation to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They expressed great pleasure at the opportunity of meeting in Nassau and deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting and the generous hospitality extended to them by the Government of The Bahamas.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed their colleagues from Brunei Darussalam, which had joined the Commonwealth on resuming independence in 1984, and from St Vincent and the Grenadines and the Republic of Maldives, which had become full members since the last Meeting.

4. Heads of Government expressed their deep sense of loss at the death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, who had chaired their last Meeting, and of President Forbes Burnham of Guyana and Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados, and recalled their significant services to the Commonwealth.

5. In reviewing international developments since their last Meeting, Heads of Government were concerned by the continuing evidence of a decline in commitment to co-operative approaches to the ordering of global affairs. Meeting as they did while the General Assembly of the United Nations was marking the Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the world body, Heads of Government felt impelled to voice their concerns, and their hopes for the future, in their separate Nassau Declaration on World Order. Their views on a number of other important problems and issues are set out below.

Disarmament

6. Head of Government welcomed the reactivation of bilateral arms talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. They recognised that these negotiations would be significantly influenced by the forthcoming meeting in November between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan, and stressed the importance of a constructive and positive outcome. They urged the two leaders to achieve their declared objective of preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth.

7. As world civilisation was already under threat from existing nuclear arsenals, they appealed to the two leaders to halt the nuclear arms race and begin without delay the process of reversing it through significant measures of nuclear disarmament. Most stressed in particular the need to prevent a new and uncontrolled arms race in outer space.

8. Recognising the significant contribution which the cessation of nuclear testing within the framework of an effective nuclear disarmament process would represent, they called upon nuclear weapon states to facilitate and pursue vigorously through the Committee on Disarmament the early resolution of outstanding problems, including the problem of verification, over a

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In the meantime most Heads of Government stressed the need for earnest efforts to be made for an immediate halt to the testing of nuclear weapons. Most Heads of Government recalled the importance of the consensus declaration of the Third Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

9. Heads of Government expressed special concern that some countries might be involved in the actual or potential manufacture of chemical weapons, and urged that a global and verifiable agreement to ban the development, production, stockpiling and deployment of chemical weapons be achieved as soon as possible.

Small States

10. Heads of Government welcomed the Report, *Vulnerability: Small States in the Global Society*, prepared by the Consultative Group set up following their New Delhi Meeting. They expressed their appreciation of the comprehensive and sensitive analysis of the situation of small states and of the unique problems that arise from their inherent high level of vulnerability. They believed the Report would help to increase international awareness of the link between the well-being of small states and wider concerns for peace and security, and that this would enlarge the possibilities for creative international responses. Heads of Government, however, stressed that action to reduce the vulnerability of these states should not diminish their status as independent, sovereign and equal members of the world community. Efforts should be directed at working for the realisation of a global environment safe for small states and conducive to their economic viability.

11. Heads of Government welcomed the wide range of approaches suggested in the Group's Report directed at enabling small states to become more self-reliant both through their own initiative and through bilateral and multilateral action. They also endorsed the Report's emphasis on the increased potential for action at the regional level. Noting with approval that some governments had already established programmes of support for small states, they urged continuing appraisal of these programmes in the light of the Report. They also encouraged other governments in a position to do so to establish similar programmes.

12. Heads of Government drew particular attention to the analysis and recommendations pertaining to the economies of small states. In respect of immediate international action, they called on international financial institutions to pay due regard, in providing access to their resources, to the structural problems which impede economic diversification and which are compounded by the relatively higher per capita costs for installing and maintaining infrastructure including transportation, the latter being of particular significance to small island states. They commended the Report's recommendations regarding graduation from IDA and IBRD, and supported the view expressed in the Report that 'relatively high per capita income levels give a distorted view of actual development achievement. We regard it as extremely important that graduation should not be applied to small states until there is assurance of adequate availability of capital from other sources'. They stressed too the relevance of support for regional efforts to help overcome the problems emanating from small size. Recognising the inevitability of the relative openness of their economies and their susceptibility to external and internal

shocks, they called also for early attention to the recommendations concerning favourable access to product markets and to international safety-net arrangements.

13. Heads of Government stressed the particular problems being faced by small land-locked states in Southern Africa, especially at this time, and the need for increased assistance for domestic and regional efforts to overcome their transportation and other special problems.

14. Heads of Government asked the Secretary-General to undertake appropriate action to follow up the Report's conclusions and recommendations and to ensure that small states continue to receive priority in the economic and developmental assistance rendered by the Secretariat. They welcomed the fact that the Report pointed directions in which small states could take measures to increase their national security capacity and urged the need for a sustained Commonwealth-wide effort to ensure that maximum benefit is derived from it. They also undertook to consider such appropriate forms of collective support as have been referred to in the Report, both within the Commonwealth and through the United Nations. In addition, they called for a meeting of Commonwealth officials to formulate a programme of action to implement the recommendations and to press for international action where required.

15. Heads of Government drew particular attention to the recommendations that the United Nations should strengthen its capacity to safeguard the security of vulnerable states and that the United Nations Secretary-General should play a more active role, in the spirit of Article 99 of the United Nations Charter, in responding to requests from a state feeling itself under military threat.

16. Heads of Government also stressed the importance of the role that the Commonwealth Secretary-General could play in assisting a country anticipating a security crisis.

17. Recognising the importance to small states of participation in the work of the United Nations, Heads of Government expressed appreciation of the support given by Australia for the office in New York accommodating the permanent missions at the United Nations of several small member states from the Asia-Pacific region. They also requested the Commonwealth Secretary-General to explore, for the consideration of member governments, the possibility of the extension of similar facilities to other regional groups that might seek such assistance. They also agreed to consider the possibility of collective funding and requested the Secretary-General to present proposals to member states.

18. In commending the Report to the international community Heads of Government asked the Secretary-General to facilitate its circulation both within and beyond the Commonwealth.

Southern Africa

19. Heads of Government, having set out in their separate statement, 'The Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa', a united Commonwealth response to the continuing problem of apartheid in South Africa, also addressed the other major issues of the region: the question of South Africa's continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the regimé's acts of aggression against its neighbouring states.

20. Heads of Government were gravely concerned that Namibia's independence had been further delayed. They considered the establishment of the so-called interim administration as null and void and renewed their call for the immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) which they reaffirmed as the only acceptable basis for bringing Namibia to independence. In accordance with this position, they again rejected attempts to delay Namibia's freedom by linking it to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. They also stressed that the policy of 'constructive engagement' had failed to end South Africa's intransigence over Namibia as well as over apartheid.

21. Heads of Government recalled that in New Delhi they had agreed that if South Africa continued to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435, the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations would have to be considered. They also agreed that the action which they envisaged in their separate Accord on South Africa should be directed equally towards ensuring South Africa's compliance with the wishes of the international community on the question of Namibia.

22. Heads of Government recalled that when South Africa entered into pacts with Angola and Mozambique early in 1984, the hope had been expressed that they would lead to peace in the region. But far from breaking the cycle of violence, South Africa had continued to occupy Angolan territory and to launch attacks against that country. It had also continued its destabilisation programme against its neighbours as evidenced in its self-confessed active support for UNITA, the Angolan rebel movement, and in the support given to the MNR, the rebel movement in Mozambique. Heads of Government again called for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola and an end to all assistance to dissident movements in the region. They also called upon all states to do everything in their power to refrain from any actions which might entail support for, or encourage, South African attacks on, or continued insurgency in, these countries.

23. Heads of government condemned the South African regimé's continued attacks on those neighbouring countries which have refused to enter into pacts with it. They especially deplored the brutal attack against Botswana, a Commonwealth country, in June 1985. In this regard they expressed full support for Security Council Resolution 568 (1985) which called for an end to all such acts of aggression and demanded that South Africa make full compensation to Botswana for the loss of life, injury and damage to property.

24. Heads of Government approved the report of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa and in commending its work asked it to continue paying particular attention to developments in Namibia and South Africa.

25. Heads of Government agreed that the programme to counteract apartheid propaganda they had launched in New Delhi should be continued.

26. Heads of Government welcomed the progress made by Commonwealth training programmes for South African and Namibian refugees and agreed that these be expanded.

Cyprus

27. Heads of Government reaffirmed the position they took at New Delhi and their support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus, and reiterated their condemnation and non-recognition of the unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities in November 1983. They declared that they would not recognise, and denounced, the subsequent measures designed to consolidate the secessionist state in the area of Cyprus which to their deep regret remains under foreign occupation. They noted with satisfaction that no other country besides Turkey had recognised or given assistance to the illegal entity. Heads of Government stressed the importance of securing compliance with Security Council resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the unilateral declaration of independence and the continuation of the United Nations Secretary-General's mission of good offices, and, in particular, Security Council Resolutions 541 and 550. They strongly supported his latest initiative and expressed the hope that all parties would co-operate fully with him so that the negotiations could lead to a just and peaceful settlement in accordance with the Charter principles and United Nations resolutions of Cyprus. They also urged that no action be taken which might exacerbate the situation.

28. Heads of Government commended the work of the Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus they had set up at their last Meeting and the support it had given to the United Nations Secretary-General's good offices mission. As an expression of their continuing solidarity with the Government and people of Cyprus and their colleague, the President of Cyprus, they agreed that the Group should continue to monitor developments and assist the Secretary-General's efforts.

Belize

29. Heads of Government reaffirmed their full support for the efforts of the Government of Belize to maintain its territorial integrity and consolidate its independence in the context of the claims to a part of its territory by Guatemala. Noting positive indications of a shared desire to reach agreement, they urged the parties to pursue negotiations to achieve a lasting settlement at the earliest opportunity. They reaffirmed their readiness to co-operate in the search for a settlement and the mandate authorising the Secretary-General to convene the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize whenever necessary. They commended the continuing role of the British Government in helping to provide for Belize's security.

Guyana

30. Heads of Government welcomed the constructive efforts under way to resolve the controversy arising from Venezuela's territorial claim to more than two-thirds of Guyana's territory. They noted that the governments of both countries had referred the choice of means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in accordance with the 1966 Geneva Agreement, and had pledged every assistance for his efforts. They were encouraged by the expressed determination of the two governments to reach agreement and their hopes for a peaceful settlement.

South Pacific

31. Heads of government reaffirmed their support for the right of the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories of the South Pacific to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. They stressed the need to secure the early independence of New Caledonia. They endorsed the call by the South Pacific Forum to all parties to engage in constructive dialogue for a peaceful and lasting resolution of New Caledonia's problems. While welcoming the fact that France had agreed to an act of self-determination to be held by the end of 1987 at the latest, they also expressed the hope that there would be a positive response to the call on it by the South Pacific Forum that prior electoral reform be undertaken; and that it clarify its announced intentions with regard to its military presence in New Caledonia.

32. Heads of Government expressed their belief that nuclear weapon free zones, on the basis, among other criteria, of agreements freely arrived at among states of a region, could constitute an important disarmament measure. They welcomed the adoption of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty by the South Pacific Forum on 6 August 1985 at Rarotonga as an important step in global and regional efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. They noted that consultations would be held on the draft Protocols to the Treaty to enlist the support of nuclear weapon states for the Treaty and its Protocols.

33. Heads of Government recognised that continued nuclear testing in the region by France was a major reason for the Forum's adoption of the Treaty. Most of them also expressed their strong opposition to the continuation of nuclear tests and to proposals to dump or store nuclear waste in the region.

South-East Asia

34. Heads of Government noted with great concern the continuing tension in South-East Asia arising particularly from the armed conflict in Kampuchea which posed a serious threat to the peace and security of the region as a whole and if left unchecked would lead to active intervention by major powers. They reaffirmed their support for the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion. Heads of Government reiterated their position, as reflected at the 1981 Melbourne Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, the 1982 Suva Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, and at the 1983 New Delhi Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, including the call for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. They also agreed on the urgent need for a comprehensive political settlement which would ensure peace in the region. Noting the recent events on the issue, they emphasised that the search for such a settlement should be continued in a constructive manner.

35. As a further means of ensuring lasting peace and stability in the region, Heads of Government noted with approval efforts being made towards the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region, and urged all states fully to support these efforts.

Indian Ocean

36. Heads of Government noted the efforts made in the past two years towards agreement on the preparatory work for the long-delayed United Nations Conference on the Implementation of the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. They emphasised the importance of the Conference in view of the continuing military presence of outside powers in the Indian Ocean against the wishes of most littoral and hinterland states. They reiterated the need to carry forward the preparations in order that the holding of the Conference could be made possible, with the participation of all concerned states, in the first half of 1986 as called for by the relevant United Nations General Assembly resolution in 1984.

The Caribbean

37. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the reduction of tension in the area, and the efforts to strengthen regional co-operation in the Caribbean and pledged their support for the region's collective efforts to accelerate development.

Central America

38. Heads of Government were gravely concerned by the continuing tension in Central America. At the New Delhi Meeting they had noted with great concern the escalation of tensions which posed a threat to the peace and stability of the region with potentially dangerous consequences for international security. They stressed the urgent need to reduce these tensions and to achieve a lasting peace through dialogue and negotiations. Despite progress in some areas, the situation had not improved in major respects. In this context they expressed their continuing support for the Contadora Group's efforts to promote dialogue with the aim of finding lasting solutions to the region's problems and promoting its development. Believing that the Contadora Act of Peace and Co-operation in Central America of 7 September 1984 has significantly assisted the negotiation process, they urged all states to refrain from carrying out, supporting or promoting political, economic or military actions which might aggravate the situation in the region, and particularly in Nicaragua, or impede the Group's efforts.

Mediterranean

39. Heads of Government noted with concern the continuing dangerous situation of accumulation of forces in the Mediterranean region and the persistence of unresolved conflicts. They called for restraint and expressed the view that the prospects of reduction of forces and armaments in the region would be enhanced through a just and durable settlement to all the problems in the region.

40. Heads of Government noted initiatives being taken by various Mediterranean countries with the objective of transforming their region into a zone of peace, security and co-operation. They reaffirmed that security, co-operation and confidence-building in the Mediterranean and in Europe are closely interrelated.

41. In this context, they noted with interest the results and decision of the first meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Mediterranean Countries held in Valletta, Malta in September 1984, intended as a preliminary basis for further initiatives towards peace in the region.

42. Heads of Government welcomed the reaffirmation by the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Mediterranean Countries at the meeting of their resolve to avoid the resort to force, or threat of force, in relations between them. They agreed to work actively to secure agreement on measures to reduce tension in the region.

Middle East

43. Heads of Government noted with deep concern that the tensions arising from the unresolved problems of the Middle East, especially the Palestinian issue, continued to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. They stressed the need to intensify efforts to achieve a settlement on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967 and recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to a national homeland, as well as the rights of all states in the region to live in peace within secure borders. They hoped that the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement of February 1985 would assist progress towards a framework for durable peace. Most Heads of Government reaffirmed their view that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be involved on an equal footing in negotiations for a settlement.

44. Heads of Government expressed their deep concern at the violence which continues in various areas of Lebanon and reaffirmed their support for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and for the efforts of the Lebanese Government and people to restore stability and peace to their country.

Afghanistan

45. Heads of Government noted that in spite of the ongoing process of indirect talks through the intermediary of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative, major barriers remained preventing agreement on the key provisions for eventual political agreement. They renewed their call for an urgent search for a negotiated settlement, based on the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan, and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future. They also reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour.

Terrorism

46. Heads of Government were deeply concerned at the growing incidence of terrorism world-wide with its increasing toll of innocent lives. They condemned all terrorist activities whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or states, and resolved to counter them by every means possible. They in particular acknowledged the duty of governments to refrain from acts of, and encouragement to, terrorism in the territories of other states, and to resist the

demands of terrorists, including demands for safe haven. They stressed the need for states to co-operate more closely in preventing and combating all forms of terrorism and promoting appropriate action through competent international organisations. They also agreed to strengthen their adherence to the relevant legal instruments including those adopted under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organisation and the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages.

47. They urged the media to exercise due care in reporting on all forms of terrorist activity so as to avoid giving unwitting support to terrorism.

Law of The Sea

48. Heads of Government took note that the work of the Preparatory Commission of the International Seabed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea has been proceeding apace in Kingston and Geneva. Most reaffirmed the importance they attached to the Convention as an instrument of international co-operation and development and urged, as they had in New Delhi, that all states should accede to the Convention and proceed to the ratification process without unnecessary delay.

World Economic Situation

49. Heads of Government expressed concern at the continuing difficult world economic situation and its impact on developing countries. They recognised that there were positive features such as the control of inflation and a recovery in output in most developed countries. However, they also noted that the recovery had generally slowed down. They were concerned at the fragility and unevenness of the recovery and its failure, so far, to benefit most parts of the developing world. In spite of progress made on some fronts, there were deep uncertainties about economic prospects.

50. Heads of Government noted that the economic position of the vast majority of developing countries remained grave, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, with per capita incomes falling from levels which were already seriously inadequate. Balance of payments pressures, aggravated by falling commodity prices, onerous debt servicing obligations and reduced, or in some cases reverse, capital flows had imposed severe constraints on growth.

51. Heads of Government stressed the mutuality of interest between developed and developing countries. They welcomed the growing recognition in industrial countries of the reality of interdependence, and of the need to broaden the basis of expansion through bolder, co-ordinated action. In this regard they noted the growing importance of the links between finance and trade. They also noted the view of leading developed countries that exchange rates should better reflect fundamental conditions than has been the case. They urged all countries, and particularly the major developed countries, to show greater concern for the repercussions of their policies on the developing countries. They recognised that the critical situation facing developing countries necessitated urgent action to improve the external environment—higher growth and a rollback of protectionist measures especially in industrial countries; lower interest rates; and significantly increased external assistance and foreign investment—as well as continuing efforts to improve their domestic economies.

52. Heads of Government considered the final Report of the Consultative Group on International Economic Action, which they had set up at their New Delhi Meeting, and expressed appreciation of the Group's work. They noted its contribution to the holding of the special Spring Washington meetings of the Development and Interim Committees in 1985. Heads of Government recalled the Statement on Economic Action which they had issued at New Delhi. They considered it important to develop an active dialogue on the functioning of the international monetary and financial system. In this context they noted that the Spring 1986 meetings of the Development and Interim Committees would provide an opportunity for in-depth examination of the relevant issues, in the light of the reports by the Group of 10 developed countries and the Group of 24 developing countries.

Financial Flows

53. Heads of Government noted the serious decline, since they last met, in financial flows to developing countries. There had been a substantial fall in multilateral official flows, bank lending, foreign investment and export credit, and stagnation in concessional flows. Net flows of resources todeveloping countries as a whole had become negative.

54. Heads of Government reviewed the developing country debt problem and acknowledged the continuing validity of the concern expressed in the Report of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Debt. Despite action by banks, international financial institutions and governments to stabilise it, the situation remained precarious. They welcomed the Report's detailed attention to the serious debt problems of many low-income developing countries, to which insufficient attention had been paid by the international community.

55. Heads of Government emphasised the importance attached to the role of multilateral institutions in channelling resources to developing countries. They welcomed the growing consensus reflected at the Seoul meetings of the World Bank and the IMF on the need for these institutions to have a considerably enlarged role in supporting growth-oriented adjustment. They noted the proposals of the United States Administration in this regard, and looked forward to early elaboration of the details. They called for a substantial general capital increase to permit the World Bank to fulfil the larger role envisaged for it. In the case of the small island economies this role should, in the prevailing economic circumstances, include a review of the graduation policy which has been progressively applied to those economies. In relation to low-income countries it was crucial to secure a substantially increased replenishment for IDA 8, with strict respect for the timetable envisaged by the Development Committee.

56. Heads of Government recognised the need for adjustment in countries drawing on IMF resources. They also acknowledged that in many cases adjustment had to take place over a longer period, with conditionality appropriate to the circumstances of the country concerned and the time period required. While closer co-ordination between the IMF and the World Bank was necessary, there was growing concern about cross-conditionality; they emphasised the value of the Secretariat making a careful study of this issue as requested by Finance Ministers. Heads of Government welcomed the reactivation of the IMF Trust Fund and noted that further resources would be required for structural adjustment lending on similar concessional terms to

low-income countries. They applauded the decision of India and China not to avail themselves of the Trust Fund, so permitting other low-income countries to benefit more from the limited resources available.

57. They also emphasised the Fund's surveillance role, and in particular the need for strengthening the Fund's surveillance of the economic policies of major industrialised countries. They agreed that a more equitable sharing of the burden of adjustment should be one of the principal aims of multilateral surveillance.

58. They endorsed the view of the World Bank's Task Force that concessional resources were generally well used and that an increase in such flows was needed. They urged donor countries to redouble their efforts to increase concessional flows in line with internationally agreed targets and as far as possible to give priority in the distribution of such additional aid to low-income countries, particularly the least developed. They also emphasised the vital importance of private capital. In this connection they expressed appreciation of the Secretariat's practical work in relation to capital markets and foreign investment.

International Trade

59. They noted with concern that the benefits of the recovery in world trade had not been widely shared. Commodity prices had fallen, worsening the terms of trade of many commodity exporting countries. They regretted the lack of progress in the negotiation of international commodity agreements and in establishing the Common Fund. They also called for improved access to the IMF's Compensatory Financing Facility to offset export earnings instability.

60. Heads of Government noted with serious concern that, since they last met in New Delhi, there had been an alarming increase in protectionist pressures, an increase in trade barriers outside the GATT and a proliferation of discriminatory trade practices. Protectionism was a grave threat to world economic growth and resumption of progress on trade liberalisation was urgently needed. Heads of Government therefore affirmed the importance of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations in the GATT in helping to restore confidence in the multilateral system and reverse protectionism. They noted the statement by the GATT Contracting Parties that a preparatory process on the proposed new round of multilateral trade negotiations had now been initiated and they looked forward to an early agreement on an agenda and timetable for the new round. They emphasised, however, that substantive progress would occur only if the interests of all participants received adequate attention, and there was respect for the principles enshrined in the Tokyo Round. They urged that the large amount of preparatory technical work on new issues should not delay or prevent urgently needed progress on outstanding GATT mandates, notably those arising from the 1982 Ministerial Work Programme.

61. Heads of Government believed that consultations among Commonwealth countries could assist their preparation for negotiations. They requested the Secretary-General to assist member governments, particularly those not permanently represented in Geneva, to prepare for their participation in the new round. With this in view, they asked him to give priority to ongoing work in this area and prepare a comprehensive paper on issues of concern to Commonwealth governments.

Sub-Saharan African Problems

62. Heads of Government paid particular attention to the multiple problems faced by sub-Saharan African countries, very many of whom were members of the Commonwealth. These problems were both short and long-term and both external and internal. Heads of Government noted the comprehensive approach adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in the Declaration issued at its summit meeting in July. On internal policies, they noted the convergence of views, as reflected in the Summit Declaration, and welcomed the determined measures alreadytaken. They expressed satisfaction with national and international relief efforts and noted that more favourable weather had eased the immediate food crisis in many African countries. They emphasised that the region's long-term problems could not be solved without the application of appropriate agricultural technology and improved infrastructure. In addition, development of the industrial and service sectors, as well as moderation of population pressures, were of vital importance in the promotion of balanced growth.

63. Heads of Government noted that for domestic policies to work it was necessary to create a more favourable external economic environment and to increase the inward flow of resources. They stressed the problem of sub-Saharan African indebtedness, emphasising that it differed qualitatively from that of other regions. They called for urgent consideration of measures to ease the debt burdens of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In this connection, most Heads of Government endorsed the call of the Organisation of African Unity for a conference involving creditors, debtors and the international financial institutions to consider measures to ease the burdens of these countries. As an immediate step they stressed the necessity for additional concessional financing and increased flexibility in debt servicing arrangements.

64. Heads of Government noted with special interest the Report *African Agriculture: Building for the Future*, compiled by a Commonwealth Action Group, following a recommendation at the 1984 meeting of Commonwealth Senior Officials. They endorsed the conclusions and recommendations on the role the Commonwealth, and the Secretariat, could play in helping to ease the constraints on long-term development in Africa. They asked the Secretary-General to ensure that the Group's recommendations were implemented as speedily as possible. They requested Commonwealth Agriculture Ministers to follow up the Report at their November 1985 meeting. They expressed appreciation at the speed with which the CFTC had already responded to urgent requests for assistance and the greater emphasis it was giving to Africa and agriculture in its operations. They emphasised the useful consultative role the Secretariat could play in assisting project preparation to speed up the use of external finance and in assisting agricultural policy development, in which it was asked to take due account of the role of women in agriculture.

Population and Development

65. Heads of Government noted the recommendations of the International Conference on Population in Mexico City in August 1984. They recognised the close but complex links between population growth, resources, the environment and living standards. They reiterated their continuing firm support for the agreed population programmes of the United Nations and other multilateral organisations. They felt that the Commonwealth should co-operate more actively with current national and international programmes in this field.

Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

66. Heads of Government were deeply concerned at the rising incidence of drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking that was seriously threatening the social fabric and security of many countries. They recognised that it called for a wide range of responses, including urgent attention to problems affecting young persons and to the rehabilitation of its victims. They agreed that governments should co-operate, both to counter the international traffic in illicit drugs and to deny to those convicted of drug trafficking the proceeds of their crime, and looked to the early implementation of a scheme for enhanced co-operation between Commonwealth countries in this regard.

67. Heads of Government were also disturbed by the extent to which the profits made by drug traffickers were used in criminal and subversive activities often across international borders. They invited Commonwealth Law Ministers to explore measures to counter this trend. While supporting the work of existing international organisations in the field of narcotics control, Heads of Government welcomed the proposal of the United Nations Secretary-General for the convening of an international conference at a high political level in 1987 to deal with all aspects of drug abuse and trafficking and expressed the hope that action would be expedited on the related proposed new Convention.

Human Rights

68. Heads of Government reaffirmed the importance which all Commonwealth Governments attach to the observance of human rights. They welcomed the recent establishment of a Human Rights Unit in the Secretariat and looked forward to its assistance in promoting understanding and respect for human rights within the Commonwealth, in accordance with the principles enshrined in Commonwealth Declarations and the main international human rights instruments.

International Year of Shelter for the Homeless

69. Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of the initiative taken by the Government of Sri Lanka to focus attention on the needs of the homeless. They agreed on the need to give priority, consistent with national resources and policies, to efforts to improve the shelter and neighbourhood of the poor and disadvantaged people throughout the Commonwealth. As well as supporting international measures under the auspices of the United Nations, which has proclaimed 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, they invited the Secretary-General to explore the scope for complementary action in Commonwealth programmes of functional co-operation.

Universal Child Immunisation

70. Heads of Government expressed their support for United Nations efforts to achieve the goal of universal child immunisation against preventable disease by 1990, and their hope that governments would intensify their own efforts to this end. They expressed their appreciation of Canada's contribution towards the support of immunisation campaigns in Commonwealth countries and looked to further support from the donor community.

Commonwealth Secretariat—Twentieth Anniversary

71. Meeting in the year marking the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Heads of Government expressed their warm commendation of the role of the Secretariat in service to the Commonwealth, and to Commonwealth governments, in the past two decades. The Secretariat had been crucial to the enlargement of collective endeavours which had both assisted member nations and strengthened the sense of community of the Commonwealth; it had also assisted them in advancing the Commonwealth's contribution to the world community.

72. Heads of Government expressed their deep appreciation of the role which the Secretary-General had played in Commonwealth affairs and of the leadership which he had given to the Secretariat in the past ten years.

Next Meeting

73. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of Canada to hold their next Meeting in Canada.

COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

1. Heads of Government welcomed the progress made in the various areas of Commonwealth functional co-operation which represented a vital aspect of their collective endeavours and gave practical expression to the Commonwealth spirit of partnership. They expressed satisfaction at the emphasis placed on cost-effective functioning and responsiveness to the evolving needs of member countries. They also noted the continuing efforts of the Secretariat to make the fullest use of its staff resources through inter-divisional collaboration and the progress made by the Human Resource Development Group in bringing a multidisciplinary approach to the work of the Secretariat.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

2. Heads of Government reaffirmed their confidence in the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) and their appreciation of its role in the work of the Commonwealth. They noted with satisfaction the high reputation the CFTC had gained as a technical assistance agency and the increasing readiness of larger development agencies to enlist its collaboration. They welcomed further evidence of the CFTC's capacity to orient its services to meet newly perceived needs as exemplified in its assistance to countries in the field of debt management and its growing contribution to longer-term solutions to the economic problems of sub-Saharan Africa. Recognising the importance of maintaining the CFTC's momentum in view of the increasing developmental needs of member countries, and in particular those of small and vulnerable members, Heads of Government pledged their efforts to achieve the CFTC's resource targets.

Employment, Labour and Technological Change

3. Heads of Government discussed the Report, *Technological Change: Enhancing the Benefits*, by a Commonwealth Working Group which had been established following their New Delhi Meeting. They expressed appreciation of the work of the Group and endorsed its general approach. They asked the Secretary-General to submit detailed proposals in respect of those recommendations for Commonwealth co-operation which had financial implications. They also asked, as an immediate step, that the Secretary-General should convene regional meetings, drawing on both government and non-government representation, to discuss those recommendations in the Report which impinged on national policies, including employment policies, and on which an exchange of ideas and experiences would be beneficial. The Secretary-General was further requested to make the Report widely available to the international community, and to bring relevant recommendations to the attention of the international institutions concerned.

4. Heads of Government registered their serious concern with the levels of unemployment and underemployment in member countries, and particularly with the rate of unemployment among young men and women. They approved in principle the establishment of an expert group on youth unemployment and asked the Secretary-General to consider, in consultation with member governments, the modalities and terms of reference of such a group. A detailed report should be made to Employment/Labour Ministers at their next meeting in 1987 to enable them to advise Heads of Government.

5. Heads of Government expressed satisfaction that the Commonwealth Industrial Training and Experience Programme (CITEP) would soon be established under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. They noted that CITEP provide a facility for increasing Commonwealth co-operation in training in the use of emerging technologies and asked the Secretariat to give priority to requests by member governments.

6. Heads of Government indicated their continuing support for Secretariat training activities for South Africans and Namibians in Southern Africa and acknowledged the contribution which could be made in this field by the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC). In this context, they noted with interest a memorandum submitted by the CTUC and expressed their continuing support for CTUC training activities.

The Commonwealth and Women and Development

7. Heads of Government reaffirmed their commitment to achieving the full participation of women as agents and beneficiaries of development. They welcomed the conclusions and recommendations of the inaugural Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs as a valuable Commonwealth contribution to sustaining the momentum of efforts to improve the situation of women generated during the United Nations Decade for Women. They expressed satisfaction that the international community had agreed in Nairobi on Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000.

8. Heads of Government approved Ministers' recommendations on mechanisms for planning and implementation at the national level which focus on

ensuring that women and development issues are incorporated in the process of policy planning in all sectors. In support of this objective, Heads of Government directed that Commonwealth Ministerial Meetings should, as a matter of general practice, address relevant development issues of particular concern to women, and that the important role of women in food production and the impact of structural adjustment policies on women should be given particular attention.

9. Heads of Government commended the work of the Secretariat's Women and Development Programme, and endorsed the conclusions of the Commonwealth Nairobi Meeting of Ministers. Heads of Government endorsed, together with its financial implications, the Secretariat Policy Statement on Women and Development which complements national initiatives, and noted with approval the Secretariat's intention to prepare a detailed Plan of Action to ensure effective implementation of the Policy Statement. To give impetus to Commonwealth action, and in particular to consider the proposed Plan of Action, Heads of Government invited Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs to meet again before their 1987 Meeting and at intervals thereafter to be determined in the light of that meeting.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

10. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the continued work of the Commonwealth Youth Programme. They commended the Programme's activities during International Youth Year and hoped these would have a lasting impact.

11. Heads of Government, sympathising with the concern expressed at the Commonwealth Conference of Young People held to mark International Youth Year that there should be genuine participation by youth in the activities of their communities and countries and of the Commonwealth, agreed that there should be increased youth participation in the Programme itself, and that it should promote consultation and co-operation among Commonwealth youth. They endorsed in principle the Conference's recommendations which look towards the Programme's further evolution as a source of practical assistance, in staff, institutional and policy development, to both governments and non-governmental organisations.

12. Heads of Government resolved to ensure that the resources pledged to the Commonwealth Youth Programme were at least maintained in real terms and to assist the evolution of the Programme along the lines recommended by the Conference of Young People.

Commonwealth Student Mobility

13. Heads of Government once again reviewed the issue of Commonwealth student mobility, a subject to which they attach importance because of its value for individuals, for the development of member countries and for the future of the Commonwealth itself. Disturbed by the continuing decline in intra-Commonwealth student flows, they agreed that there was an urgent need for all Commonwealth governments to examine how this trend could be reversed within the framework of the principles contained in the Statement on Student Mobility issued by Commonwealth Ministers of Education in Nicosia in 1984. In this context, and with a view to restoring growth, Heads of Government

endorsed the conclusions reached by Commonwealth Ministers of Education at their recent meeting in Sofia.

14. Heads of Government expressed appreciation of the work of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility, asked it to keep the situation under review, and invited all Commonwealth governments to give the closest consideration to its constructive proposals. Particularly encouraged by the potential for collaboration in higher education through distance education and the use of new technologies, they requested the Secretary-General to explore the scope for new Commonwealth initiatives in the field of open learning.

Commonwealth Science Council

15. Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the work of the Commonwealth Science Council in fostering co-operative activities designed to strengthen the scientific and technological capabilities of member countries. They welcomed the Expert Group's Report on *Science for Technology for Development*, and endorsed the expanded programme of co-operation within the Commonwealth agreed by the Council in Ottawa in 1984. In noting the approach now used to formulate projects to attract external funding, they hoped that member countries would strengthen financial and other support to projects, provide leadership where appropriate and increase the involvement of local participants from different sectors.

16. Heads of Government agreed to review sympathetically the Council's position in financing projects at their next Meeting, when the present approach had been tested, and reiterated the priority they accord to strengthening Commonwealth scientific and technological co-operation.

Consular Relations in the Commonwealth

17. Heads of Government recognised the continuing value of Commonwealth co-operation on consular matters in accordance with the understandings they reached in 1973. They endorsed the recommendations of the Report on Consular Relations within the Commonwealth, including that for a focal point in the Secretariat for the exchange of information on Commonwealth consular relations.

Financial Contributions

18. Heads of Government recognised that delays in the payment of contributions and pledges to the budgets of the various official Commonwealth organisations and programmes had inevitable adverse effects on their activities. They agreed to increase their efforts to ensure that arrears were cleared and future contributions and pledges paid when due.

The Commonwealth Foundation

19. Noting that the Commonwealth Foundation would celebrate its 20th anniversary in 1986, Heads of Government commended its role in promoting Commonwealth understanding and its growing capacity to assist socio-economic development. They welcomed its recent initiative to establish liaison

units in each member state as an appropriate step in developing better communications between the official and unofficial Commonwealth.

20. Heads of Government noted with approval the increase in the number of Commonwealth professional associations and the launching of new projects, schemes and fellowships. They expressed satisfaction that following the enlargement of the Foundation's remit in 1979, it had been increasingly concerned with NGOs and grassroots movements which give local expression to priority needs. In order to maintain its present level of operation, they agreed to set new targets for the Foundation's income at £1.54 million for 1986/87 and £1.61 million for 1987/88.

The Commonwealth and Non-Governmental Organisations

21. Heads of Government noted the continuing vigour of non-governmental organisations in the Commonwealth and expressed appreciation of their contribution to social and economic progress in member countries as well as to the links between Commonwealth countries and peoples which are important to the future of the association. It was agreed that official bodies, at national, regional and Commonwealth level, should continue efforts to strengthen links with the unofficial sector to their mutual benefit. While welcoming the decision of the Commonwealth Foundation to promote the setting up of a network of national NGO liaison units, Heads of Government asked the Secretary-General to consider the most efficient means of promoting further co-operation and collaboration with and between non-governmental organisations.

Cultural Co-operation

22. Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of the role of the Commonwealth Institute in promoting public awareness of the variety and richness of Commonwealth cultures.

Report of the Secretary-General

23. Heads of Government commended the Tenth Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the continued progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last Meeting.

22 October 1985

Heads of Delegation

Antigua and Barbuda	The Rt Hon Vere C Bird, Prime Minister
Australia	The Hon Robert J L Hawke, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	The Rt Hon Sir Lynden Pindling, Prime Minister
Bangladesh	HE Lt Gen H M Ershad, President
Barbados	The Hon H Bernard St John, Prime Minister
Belize	The Hon Manuel Esquivel, Prime Minister
Botswana	HE Dr Quett K J Masire, President
Britain	The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Brunei Darussalam	HM Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'lzzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang di-Pertuan and Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister
Cyprus	HE Spyros Kyprianou, President
Dominica	The Hon Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister
Fiji	The Rt Hon Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
The Gambia	HE Alhaji Sir Dawda K Jawara, President
Ghana	Mr Justice Annan, Vice-Chairman of the PNDC
Grenada	The Hon Herbert A Blaize, Prime Minister
Guyana	HE Desmond Hoyte, President
India	Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Rt Hon Edward PG Seaga, Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon Mwai Kibaki, Vice-President
Kiribati	The Hon Ieremai T Tabai, President
Lesotho	HM King Moshoeshoe II, Head of State
Malawi	The Hon ECI Bwanali, Minister of Finance
Malaysia	Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister
Maldives	HE Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President
Mauritius	The Hon Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon David Lange, Prime Minister
Nigeria	Commodore O Ebitu Ukiwe, Chief of General Staff
Papua New Guinea	The Rt Hon Michael T Somare, Prime Minister
St Christopher & Nevis	Dr The Rt Hon Kennedy Simmonds, Prime Minister
St Lucia	The Rt Hon John G M Compton, Prime Minister
St Vincent and the Grenadines	The Rt Hon James Fitz-Allen Mitchell, Prime Minister
Seychelles	HE France Albert Rene, President
Sierra Leone	HE Dr Siaka P Stevens, President
Singapore	The Hon Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister
Solomon Islands	The Rt Hon Sir Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister
Sri Lanka	HE Junius Jayewardena, President
Swaziland	HRH Prince Bhekimpi A Dlamini, Prime Minister
Tanzania	The Hon Salim A Salim, Prime Minister
Tonga	HRH Crown Prince Tupouto'a, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence
Trinidad and Tobago	The Hon George Chambers, Prime Minister
Uganda	The Hon Abraham Waligo, Prime Minister
Vanuatu	The Hon Father Walter Lini, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath S Ramphal, Secretary-General

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REVIEW MEETING 1986

(London 3-5 August)

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REVIEW MEETING, 1986

(London, 3-5 August)

COMMUNIQUE

1. As agreed at Nassau last October, our Meeting was held in the special context of the crisis in Southern Africa. At the outset of our discussions we specifically reaffirmed our commitment to the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa which, with our other colleagues, we had concluded at Nassau. We reaffirmed, in particular, the united belief we expressed in the Accord that 'apartheid must be dismantled now if a greater tragedy is to be averted, and that concerted pressure must be brought to bear to achieve that end'.

2. At our request the Co-Chairmen of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons (EPG), General Olusegun Obasanjo and Mr Malcolm Fraser, introduced the report of the EPG and answered the many questions we put to them. Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, who undertook a mission to Southern Africa in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the EEC, also briefed us on the results of his mission.

3. The Report of the EPG, Mission to South Africa, was the central document at our discussions. That unanimous Report has commanded attention worldwide as pointing the way forward for South Africa and for the world in relation to South Africa. We warmly commend the Group's work which has made a positive and enduring contribution to the efforts to end apartheid and establish a non-racial and representative government in South Africa. We particularly commend the EPG's 'negotiating concept' and deeply regret its rejection by the South African Government.

4. At Nassau, the Commonwealth unanimously adopted a common programme of action which included a number of economic measures against South Africa. It was our collective hope that those measures and the efforts of the EPG to promote a process of dialogue in South Africa would, within six months, bring about concrete progress towards our objectives of seeing apartheid dismantled and the structures of democracy erected in South Africa.

5. As envisaged in the Accord, we have reviewed the situation. We are profoundly disappointed that the authorities in Pretoria have taken none of the five steps which at Nassau we called on them to take 'in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency'. Nelson Mandela and other political leaders remain in prison. A new and more widely repressive emergency has been imposed and political freedom more rigorously curtailed; the ANC and other political parties are still banned. Beyond these, however, it has been a matter of deep concern to us that the EPG after its most patient efforts has been forced to conclude that 'at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African Government to dismantle apartheid' and 'no present prospect of a process of dialogue leading to the establishment of a non-racial and representative government'. We had looked at Nassau for the initiation by Pretoria of a

process of dialogue in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides. Instead, as the EPG found, the cycle of violence and counter-violence has spiralled.

6. We receive the Group's findings with disappointment, and deplore the conduct of the South African Government whose actions, including the raids on neighbouring countries at a crucial moment of the EPG's work, terminated its efforts for peaceful change. We continue to believe with the EPG that the cycle of violence in South Africa must end. It is clearly established that the situation in South Africa constitutes a serious threat to regional peace and security.

7. It is thus clear to us that since our meeting in Nassau there has not been the adequate concrete progress that we looked for there. Indeed, the situation has deteriorated.

8. Accordingly, in the light of our review and of our agreement at Nassau, we have considered the adoption of further measures against the background of the EPG's conclusion that the absence of effective economic pressure on South Africa and the belief of the South African authorities that it need not be feared are actually deferring change. We acknowledge that the Commonwealth cannot stand by and allow the cycle of violence to spiral, but must take effective concerted action.

9. We are agreed that one element of such action must be the adoption of further measures designed to impress on the authorities in Pretoria the compelling urgency of dismantling apartheid and erecting the structures of democracy in South Africa.

10. In doing so, we have looked particularly at the measures listed in para 7 of the Accord which some of us at Nassau had already indicated a willingness to include in any consideration of further measures. But we have looked as well to other measures under consideration elsewhere. In deciding on the adoption of further measures, we recognise that if they are to have maximum effect they should be part of a wider programme of international action.

11. The British Government's position is set out in paragraph 12. The rest of us have agreed as follows:

(a) The adoption of further substantial economic measures against South Africa is a moral and political imperative to which a positive response can no longer be deferred.

(b) We ourselves will therefore adopt the following measures and commend them to the rest of the Commonwealth and the wider international community for urgent adoption and implementation:

(i) All the measures listed in paragraph 7 of the Nassau Accord, namely:

(a) a ban on air links with South Africa,

(b) a ban on new investment or reinvestment of profits earned in South Africa,

(c) a ban on the import of agricultural products from South Africa,

(d) the termination of double taxation agreements with South Africa,

(e) the termination of all government assistance to investment in, and trade with, South Africa,

(f) a ban on all government procurement in South Africa,

(g) a ban on government contracts with majority-owned South African companies, and

(h) a ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa, and

(ii) the following additional measures:

(i) a ban on all new bank loans to South Africa, whether to the public or private sectors,

(j) a ban on the import of uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa, and

(k) the withdrawal of all consular facilities in South Africa except for our own nationals and nationals of third countries to whom we render consular services.

(c) while expressing both concern and regret that the British Government does not join in our agreement, we note its intention to proceed with the measures mentioned in paragraph 12 below.

(d) We feel, however, that we must do more. We look beyond the Commonwealth to the wider international community. We will, therefore, immediately embark on intensive consultations within the international community with a view to securing concerted international action in the coming months, our emphasis being on those countries that presently sustain a significant level of economic relations with South Africa.

12. The British Government, while taking a different view on the likely impact of economic sanctions, declares that it will:

(i) put a voluntary ban on new investment in South Africa,

(ii) put a voluntary ban on the promotion of tourism to South Africa, and

(iii) accept and implement any EEC decision to ban the import of coal, iron, and steel and of gold coins from South Africa.

13. As a further element of our collective commitment to effective action, we have requested the Secretary-General, with assistance from our Governments, to co-ordinate the implementation of the agreed measures and to identify such adjustment as may be necessary in Commonwealth countries affected by them.

14. We renew the call we made at Nassau on the authorities in Pretoria to initiate, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides, a process of dialogue across lines of colour, politics and religion with a view to establishing a non-racial and representative government in a united and non-fragmented South Africa. If Pretoria responds positively to this call and takes the other steps for which we called in paragraph 2 of the Nassau Accord, we stand ready to review the situation and to rescind the measures we have adopted if appropriate; and to contribute, in all ways open to us, to an orderly transition to social, economic and political justice in South Africa and to peace and stability in Southern Africa as a whole.

15. On the other hand, we are equally mindful of our further commitment at Nassau that if in a reasonable time even these further measures have not had the desired effect, still further effective measures will have to be considered. We trust that the authorities in Pretoria will recognise the seriousness of our resolve. Acts of economic or other aggression against neighbouring states by way of retaliation or otherwise will activate that resolve.

16. Regretting the absence of full agreement but recognising that the potential for united Commonwealth action still exists, we agree that the seven Governments will keep the situation under review with the view to advising whether any further collective Commonwealth action, including a full Heads of Government Meeting, is desirable. We are conscious that the situation in South Africa may evolve rapidly and dangerously. We believe the Commonwealth must retain its capacity to help to advance the objectives of the Nassau Accord and be ready to use all the means at its disposal to do so.

17. Meeting in London at a time of heightened strains within our association, we take the opportunity to renew our own firm commitment to the future of the Commonwealth and to the aims and objectives which have guided it over the years. We are fortified in this renewal by the spirit of frankness in friendship which characterised our discussions and our belief that they have helped to light a common path towards fulfilment of our common purpose, namely, the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial and representative government in South Africa as a matter of compelling urgency.

5 August 1986

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Hon Robert Hawke, Prime Minister
The Bahamas	The Rt Hon Sir Lynden Pindling, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister
Canada	The Hon Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister
India	The Hon Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President
Zimbabwe	The Hon Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister
Commonwealth Secretariat	HE Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 1987

Country (Joined Commonwealth)	
Antigua & Barbuda (1981)	
Australia (1931*)	
Bahamas (1973)	
Bangladesh (1972)	previously known as East Pakistan
Barbados (1966)	
Belize (1981)	known as British Honduras before June 1973
Botswana (1966)	previously known as Bechuanaland
Britain (1931*)	full name: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Brunei Darussalam (1984)	
Canada (1931*)	
Cyprus (1961)	
Dominica (1978)	
Fiji (1970)	
The Gambia (1965)	
Ghana (1957)	previously known as the Gold Coast
Grenada (1974)	
Guyana (1966)	previously known as British Guiana
India (1947)	
Jamaica (1962)	
Kenya (1963)	
Kiribati (1979)	previously known as the Gilbert Islands
Lesotho (1966)	previously known as Basutoland
Malawi (1964)	previously known as Nyasaland
Malaysia (1957)	between 1957 and 1963 known as Federation of Malaya
Maldives (1982)	
Malta (1964)	
Mauritius (1968)	
Nauru (1968)	special Member; does not attend Heads of Government Meetings
New Zealand (1931*)	
Nigeria (1960)	
Papua New Guinea (1975)	
St Christopher-Nevis (1983)	
St Lucia (1979)	
St Vincent & the Grenadines (1979)	
Seychelles (1976)	
Sierra Leone (1961)	
Singapore (1965)	
Solomon Islands (1978)	
Sri Lanka (1948)	known as Ceylon until 1972
Swaziland (1968)	
Tanzania (1961)	previously known as Tanganyika

**Date of the Statute of Westminster, for convenience regarded as the beginning of the Commonwealth*

Tonga (1970)	
Trinidad & Tobago (1962)	
Tuvalu (1978)	special member; does not attend Heads of Government meetings. Previously known as the Ellice Islands.
Uganda (1962)	
Vanuatu (1980)	previously known as the New Hebrides
Western Samoa (1970)	also known as Samoa
Zambia (1964)	previously known as Northern Rhodesia
Zimbabwe (1980)	previously known as Southern Rhodesia and Rhodesia

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