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PREM 19/1179

Commonwealth Heads of Government

Meeting, 23-29 November 1983

● New Relm
Policy

Commonwealth

Part I March 1979

Part 7:
NOVEMBER 1983

PART 7

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
1.12.83							
7/12/83							
19.12.83							
21.12.83							
23.12.83							
29.12.83							
20.1.84							
1.3.84							

PREM 19/11/79

95

PART 7 ends:-

Commonwealth Circular Letter 5/84 +
Communique .

PART 8 begins:-

FERB to Sir William Keselkne 1/3.

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC(83) 35 th Meeting, item 2	01/12/1983

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate **CAB** (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed J. Gray Date 17/6/2013

PREM Records Team

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

CABLES: COMSECGEN LONDON SW1
TELEX: 27678
TELEPHONE: 01-839 3411 Ext:

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL,
LONDON, SW1Y 5HX

Your ref:
Our ref:

Circular Letter No.5/84

20 January 1984

RECEIVED	
20 JAN 1984	
DESK	64
INDEX	

... Enclosed are envelopes addressed to each member of your delegation to the Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi, which contain a personal copy of the Delhi Communique from the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

I should be grateful if you could arrange for them to be forwarded to delegates as soon as possible.

... An additional three copies are enclosed for your records.

*Copy attached to Ramphal
to PM dated 9 Dec 1983*

Hugh Craft

Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary
Director, International
Affairs Division

23 JAN 1984



Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20250



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 January 1984

Dear Sir Arnold

Thank you so much for your letter of 10 January about the Singapore Rapid Transit Project.

I was delighted to learn that you have secured a contract worth some £40 million in connection with this project. My congratulations.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Sir Arnold Hall

285

RH
fps
Arnold Hall F.R.S., F.Eng.

Chairman

Hawker Siddeley Group PLC
18 St. James's Square,
London, SW1Y 4LJ
Tel: 01-930 6177

10th January 1984

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, F.R.S.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON. SW1

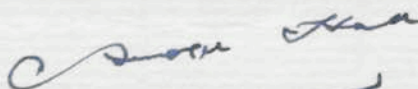
Dear Prime Minister, Part 5

I wrote to you on 17th November 1983 about the Singapore Rapid Transit Project (a copy of the letter is attached for easy reference).

This is just to let you know that we have now been selected as the supplier of the signalling and train control equipment for this project, a contract now valued at some £40 million, and to say that the company is very grateful to you for what you were able to do to assist us.

The value of the contract has risen from the £19 million mentioned in the previous letter, as Singapore decided to place both the first and second stages together, rather than the first stage only.

Yours sincerely,



A. A. HALL.

COMMONWEALTH

CHINA Pt. 7

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY



17th November 1983

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, F.R.S.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON. SW1

The coming meeting in New Delhi of the Commonwealth Heads of Government may perhaps provide opportunities for individual discussions with some of the Prime Ministers present. In the event that your programme does include a private meeting with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, I hope you may feel it useful to mention the export prospects for British companies which could arise out of the Mass Rapid Transit project on the island.

This transport system is one of the few major export projects in the railway area which is likely to go ahead in the immediate future; some contracts for civil works have already been awarded. One of the next contracts to be let will probably be for the section on signalling, for which Westinghouse Signals, which is one of our subsidiary companies, have put in what we believe to be the lowest competitive bid. The capability of Westinghouse Signals, has, I think already been demonstrated convincingly in a number of major installations. If we can obtain the Singapore contract, the United Kingdom will be in a very strong position in terms of experience and reputation to take a major portion of Mass Transit systems which are being planned in other countries.

Technically, the Westinghouse bid for the signalling in Singapore is similar to our Hong Kong contract recently executed, but incorporates further advances in microprocessor technology, in the development of which we received considerable help from the Department of Industry.

The bid, the value of which is about £19 million, covers signalling and automatic train controls, with the content approximately equally divided between work in the

United Kingdom and in Singapore.

Currently, Westinghouse have a team in Singapore engaged in technical discussions. We expect commercial discussions to be completed before Christmas. There is, I think, no doubt that an award of this contract to Westinghouse could help the bid from Metro Cammell for the rolling stock, which is valued between £80 million and £100 million.

We understand and respect the Singapore Government's reputation for the award of the business contracts strictly on commercial and technical merit and therefore appreciate the delicacy of what we are asking of you. Nevertheless, if you feel able to mention to Mr. Lee Kuan Yew your hopes for a successful conclusion of the signalling contract to a British company, namely Westinghouse Signals, we are sure it would help us.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. HALL.

COMMON WEALTH

CHS 11 Pt. 7

pa
plus Prime Minister



Handwritten initials

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

December 29, 1983

Dear Prime Minister:

I have been asked to forward to you the enclosed message from President Reagan regarding your recent letter to him on the results of the Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Calingaert".

Michael Calingaert
Charge d'Affaires

Enclosure:

CONFIDENTIAL

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 December 1983

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 29 December, with which you forwarded a message to her from President Reagan. I will lay this before the Prime Minister, who I know will be pleased to receive it.

DAVID BARCLAY

Mr. Michael Calingaert



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 December 1983

I enclose a copy of a message to the Prime Minister from President Reagan dated 23 December which was forwarded to us by the American Embassy today. It is a reply to the Prime Minister's recent letter to the President about CHOGM.

Unless we hear from you to the contrary, we will assume that no reply is necessary.

DAVID BARCLAY

R.B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Subject
cc Mater
493
CIVILIAN
A-7

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T231A/83

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1983

US Declassified

Dear Margaret:

Thank you for your letter on the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in New Delhi and its Communique.

Given the predominate "non-aligned" orientation of most Commonwealth member countries, I understand the difficulties you faced. This highlights the need to continue close consultations on Third World matters and to promote constructive dialogue with these developing nations on a bilateral and regional basis, as well as in international fora. In this regard, I agree that we must avoid an economic conference which could weaken international monetary institutions. I also have reservations with some of the specifics of Prime Minister Trudeau's recent proposals.

While we are uncomfortable with several passages in the Communique, I personally appreciate your efforts to moderate and improve the language of the original drafts. Your remarks at the Conference and later in the House of Commons were also helpful and reassuring.

In particular, I was pleased to note the strong and effective response by OECS countries to the hostile challenges of their position on the Grenada matter. You rightly emphasized that we should focus our attention on Grenada's future. Your

efforts in pointing the Communique toward an emphasis on "reconstruction", as well as your government's contributions toward economic assistance to Grenada and the rebuilding of the island's police force, are most welcome.

Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with me.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ra

The Right Honorable
Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
Prime Minister
London

5/12/83
PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 230/83



10 DOWNING STREET

cc: FCO

Master
ops

FUSE VC

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 December, 1983

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter to me of 9 November expressing your concern at the level of contributions to the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

We have both since returned from the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Delhi where, as you know, these and other important economic issues were discussed and included in the Statement on Economic Action. I was much impressed there by the strength of feeling about IDA 7 on the part of developed and developing countries alike. It is clearly widely recognised that IDA is a highly efficient means of channelling resources into the poorest countries. For this reason the UK has always been generous in its support.

The United States' contribution, as the largest single donor to IDA, is crucial. On present indications of a US contribution limited to only \$750 million for each of three years and a 25 per cent share, the Replenishment may reach only \$9 billion. As you know, we consider this is too low; and provided all donors are prepared to give the necessary support, we would favour a larger replenishment. I was happy to subscribe to the passage in our Statement on Economic Action at Delhi which called on Commonwealth donor countries to convey to all other donor countries the strength of our support for the IDA 7 replenishment.

/ As regards the

574

As regards the IMF, we have already taken the legislative action necessary to increase the United Kingdom quota under the 8th General Review. As you will know by now the United States has passed the legislation for their contribution of \$8.4 billion. This is very welcome news.

Thank you for your kind wishes which I warmly reciprocate.

Yours sincerely
Raymond Chikwa

His Excellency Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, G.C.B.

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 December, 1983

Dear John,

Type letter please

ADL 22/12

Letter from President Banda of Malawi to the Prime Minister

With my letter of 18 November I enclosed a letter from President Banda of Malawi to the Prime Minister. Although much of the ground was covered at CHOGM, President Banda would undoubtedly much appreciate a reply from the Prime Minister. I enclose a draft, with which Sir Geoffrey Howe agrees.

Yours ever,

R B Bone

R.B. (R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM: Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

TO: HE Ngwazi Dr H Kamazu Banda
Life President of the Republic of
Malawi

Your Reference

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

SUBJECT:

Thank you for your letter to me of 9 November expressing your concern at the level of contributions to the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

We have both since returned from the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Delhi where, as you know, these and other important economic issues were discussed and included in the Statement on Economic Action. I was much impressed there by the strength of feeling about IDA 7 on the part of developed and developing countries alike. It is clearly widely recognised that IDA is a highly efficient means of channelling resources into the poorest countries. For this reason the UK has always been generous in its support.

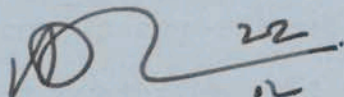
The United States contribution, ~~of course~~, as the largest single donor to IDA, is crucial. On present indications, of a US contribution limited to only \$750 million for each of three years and a 25 per cent share, the Replenishment may reach only \$9 billion

/As

Enclosures—flag(s).....

As you know, we consider this is too low; and provided all donors are prepared to give the necessary support, we would favour a larger replenishment. I was happy to subscribe to the passage in our Statement on Economic Action at Delhi, which called on Commonwealth donor countries to convey to all other donor countries the strength of our support for the IDA 7 replenishment. ^{As regards} Turning to the IMF, we have already taken the legislative action necessary to increase the United Kingdom quota under the 8th General Review. As you will know by now the United States has passed the legislation for their contribution of \$8.4 billion. This is very welcome news.

Thank you for your kind wishes which I ^{would} wholeheartedly reciprocate.

 22
12

CONFIDENTIAL



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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

19 December 1983

CHOGM

Thank you for your letter of 16 December. The following are the Prime Minister's comments on the various points you make.

As regards the last paragraph of your letter, the Prime Minister found the briefing for the last CHOGM excellent and has commented that most of it was needed. That is not to say that some condensation would not be welcome. We intend to continue with the system whereby senior members of our delegation attend daily briefing meetings with the Prime Minister.

Turning to the paper which you enclosed with your letter, the Prime Minister agrees that:

- (a) We should work for a shorter meeting, held during the Parliamentary Recess (see also my letter of today's date to Brian Fall about the Prime Minister's international commitments).
- (b) We should encourage further progress towards a briefer and more representative Communiqué.
- (c) We should stress that we are not willing to see the Commonwealth become simply another talking shop for the non-aligned.
- (d) It is not necessary for the Prime Minister to continue inviting all her colleagues to meals or even a reception (and the time saved could be better spent with smaller groups or on bilateral meetings over a meal).
- (e) We should make advance arrangements for three or four particularly important bilaterals but leave the arrangements for others to be settled sur place.
- (f) The retreat should be preserved but, in the Prime Minister's view, should be shortened. An evening and a day should be enough. Proper facilities for official back-up are desirable.

The Prime Minister is doubtful whether it would be right for Foreign Secretaries not to attend future CHOGMs. She takes the view that if foreign affairs subjects are to be the bulk of the

/ Conference's

CONFIDENTIAL

RW

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

Conference's work, Foreign Ministers ought to be there. But it may be useful to consider defining the role of Foreign Ministers more clearly. One question which arises is whether they should take from the Heads of Government some of the burden of drafting and approving the Communiqué.

A. J. COLES

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Could you indicate which
points you agree with?

London SW1A 2AH

A.F.C. $\frac{16}{12}$

16 December 1983

Dear John,

CHOGM

Handwritten notes:
Handwritten: "Handwritten" (vertical), "se", "mb" (diagonal)

You wrote on 30 November to suggest that we consider what lessons should be learnt from the recent CHOGM.

We have prepared the attached short paper, which sets out the main lessons which occur to us and suggests that we should start fairly soon preparing the ground in the hope of getting some improvement at the next CHOGM in 1985. You will see that we agree broadly with the two points in your letter, although we consider that it is worth making advance arrangements for a small number of particularly important bilaterals. There is otherwise a risk of wasting the first day.

Perhaps you would let me know in due course whether the Prime Minister agrees with the points in the paper, and whether she has others. We shall then start preparing the ground with suitable people in the Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Governments. The Foreign Secretary believes that we should undertake an early and vigorous campaign to press for a shorter meeting next time; he believes that success in such a campaign will depend essentially on enlisting some support from some other leading countries; even so he would propose the launch the campaign by discussing the matter first with Mr Ramphal.

The Australians will be useful allies; officials have told our High Commission in Canberra that Mr Hawke returned from CHOGM feeling strongly that the Meeting and the Communique had both been too long.

We would also propose to start a fairly early dialogue with the Bahamians who as hosts in 1985 will be particularly important, and who should on a number of issues be less inclined than the Indians to take a "non-aligned" view.

/The attached



*The briefing
was excellent
and most of
it was
needed.*

The attached paper does not cover the question of briefing requirements for the Conference. But we are very conscious of the mass of paper which has traditionally been produced for CHOGMs, and are considering whether this can be condensed. I should be grateful to know whether the Prime Minister had any comments on this aspect of the preparations. Senior members of our delegation found it particularly useful to be able to attend the daily briefing sessions with the Prime Minister. This enabled them to be sure of her own thinking throughout the Conference. A number of other delegations told us they went through the Conference largely unaware of what their own Heads of Government were saying and thinking.

I am copying this letter, plus enclosure, to Richard Hatfield in the Cabinet Office.

Your ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street



CHOGM 1984: Lessons for the Future

Substance

1. So far as we were concerned, the Meeting was reasonably satisfactory. Despite the pronounced non-aligned flavour encouraged by the Indians, most of the discussion between Heads of Government was sensible, and usefully spanned the political and economic spectrum. The fact that the Meeting had two specifically Commonwealth issues to address in Grenada and Cyprus provided a useful focus.
2. The personal atmosphere was particularly good, especially among Heads of Government themselves. Representatives of a number of smaller African states have told us that they were much impressed with the informality and ease of communication. This is an important bonus for the Commonwealth, and contrasts sharply with the sour comments made from time to time about the stiff and formal atmosphere at meetings of the UN, OAU and so on.
3. As usual, most of the difficulties arose over the Communique. The final version, though far from satisfactory, was shorter than its predecessor and could have been worse; and we at least began to make people concentrate on the need to have a document which reflected what was actually discussed at the Meeting.
4. Our objectives for the 1985 CHOGM should be to preserve the good points from this year's meeting, while securing further improvements. In particular:

/(a) We



- Yes (a) We should work for a shorter meeting, held during the Parliamentary recess; —very important. I cannot take so much time off again.
- Yes (b) We should encourage further progress towards a briefer and more representative Communique;
- Yes (c) We should stress that we are not willing to see the Commonwealth become simply another talking-shop for the non-aligned. Third world countries must accept the need for more give and take with the "Western" aligned members, especially over the Communique. The Secretariat should play their part in encouraging this.

Mechanics

5. Lunches. There is no need for the Prime Minister to continue inviting all her colleagues to meals or even a reception. The tradition that the British Prime Minister entertains all Heads of Delegation is now an anachronism and in any case increasingly difficult to fit into the crowded CHOGM programme. (This difficulty would be enhanced if we managed to achieve a further shortening of the next CHOGM.) The time saved could be better spent with smaller groups.

6. Bilaterals. We should identify in advance those leaders with whom it would be useful for the Prime Minister to make bilateral contacts but leave the arrangements for most of them until after arrival at the Conference. We should make advance arrangements for three or four particularly important bilaterals, on the day of arrival or the first day of the Conference itself.

7. The Retreat. This should be preserved, —but shortened so as to provide proper facilities for official back-up on the spot, if matters of substance are to be discussed and texts negotiated.

/8. The role

An evening or a day should be enough



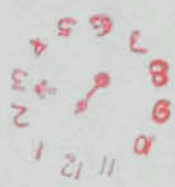
8. The role of Foreign Ministers. Twenty-nine Foreign Ministers were present at New Delhi. Six led their respective delegations; the rest did not have a clearly-defined role. The Foreign Secretary is considering how this might be improved. Unless Foreign Secretaries have a clearly useful task, there may not be much point in their attending in future.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
16 December 1983

Then there is not
much point in the
conference if it is to
be carried on exclusively
of the Foreign Affairs
ministers: Why have
an F.O.?

ms

CHQM A7



16 DEC 1983



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 December 1983

Dear Mr Ramphal,

Thank you for your letter of 9 December enclosing the New Delhi Communique and related documents.

The Heads of Government Meeting in India was indeed valuable. We shall look forward to working in due course for a successful conference in Nassau.

I was delighted that you were appointed to serve a further term as Commonwealth Secretary-General and assure you that you will have the support of Her Majesty's Government in your efforts on behalf of the Commonwealth.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Kt, GMC, QC.

889



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 December 1983

Jan John,

Type letter pl.

Lesotho

A.S.C. 13/12.

You wrote to Peter Ricketts on 30 November enclosing a copy of a letter received by the Prime Minister in Delhi from the leader of the Lesotho delegation at CHOGM. Since then Dr Jonathan has sent a further message to the Prime Minister seeking her intervention with the South African Foreign Minister when he was in London. I now enclose a draft letter for the Prime Minister's signature in reply to both the Lesotho messages.

Firstly the message of 1 December. Relations between Lesotho and South Africa are endemically difficult and characterised by deep mutual suspicion and distrust. They worsened considerably following the South African raid on Maseru last December, and our intervention with the South Africans has been repeatedly sought by the Lesotho government. We condemned the Maseru raid in forthright terms and have taken appropriate opportunities to remind the South Africans of our attitude towards their pressure tactics. But we have carefully avoided being drawn in as intermediaries.

The range of pressures the South Africans have brought to bear on Lesotho (of which Prime Minister Jonathan complains in his message) were primarily intended to force the removal from Lesotho of a certain number of South African refugees which the South Africans consider to be ANC activists planning or conducting raids into South Africa. The South Africans have been largely successful in this. The alleged ANC activists are being removed from Lesotho with UNHCR assistance.

We consider that in his message Dr Jonathan both exaggerates the extent of present South African pressures on his country and understates, probably deliberately, the progress that is being made in resolving differences through negotiations between the two governments. Reports suggest that border restrictions have now been lifted and that most at least of the arms consignments, about which Dr Jonathan complains, have been released. There have been several constructive meetings between officials from the two countries and we think that relations, at least for the moment, are now on a more even keel. Nevertheless, South Africa can be expected to reapply pressures if Lesotho fails

/to meet



to meet South African concerns. This was implicit when Mr Botha told Sir Geoffrey Howe on 2 December that the South Africans believed that ANC personnel were returning to Lesotho and that the organisation still had a functional structure there. Lesotho's recent expansion of its relations with the Communist countries has also increased South African distrust. Against this background, Sir Geoffrey recommends that the Prime Minister's reply to Chief Jonathan should express sympathy for Lesotho's problems whilst reaffirming our conviction that Lesotho and South Africa can only reach a modus vivendi through direct contact. He considers we should scrupulously avoid the role of mediator.

The Commonwealth Report. The Lesotho Government's request for a Commonwealth Mission to examine its problems, together with other uncoordinated appeals for assistance, reflect anxiety to obtain maximum international support in the face of South African pressures. The report covers well-trodden ground and fails to take account of the assistance already being provided by ourselves and other donors. Our aid programme (at about £5 million a year) is already deeply engaged in projects and manpower assistance in the fields of industry, health and agriculture, as well as some of the road improvements identified in the report. It is unlikely that in present circumstances we shall be able to provide extra resources in response to this report. However, it has been agreed at official level to allocate an additional £200,000 for Lesotho in the next financial year out of the Unallocated Reserve: we may be able to apply some of this to areas recommended in the report.

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

PRIME MINISTER

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

The Rt Hon Dr Leabua Jonathan KCOM
Prime Minister of the Kingdom
of Lesotho

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

Thank you for your message of 1 December conveyed through your High Commissioner here.

CAVEAT.....

We have been following with close and sympathetic attention the difficulties your Government faces in its relations with South Africa. The South Africans are well aware of our view that they, as the other countries in the Region, should conduct their external relations on the basis of non-violence, non-interference in the internal affairs of neighbouring states and respect for the sovereignty of those states. We have deplored South African attacks and coercive pressures against its neighbours, just as we condemn the use of violence by the ANC or any other political groups to attain their political goals. We have long been convinced of the need for contact and dialogue between the countries of southern Africa. We have therefore been encouraged in recent months to learn that there has been a series of meetings between representatives of your Government and the South Africans to discuss differences and problems between the two countries.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

/I did

I did not myself see the South African Foreign Minister when he came to London but Sir Geoffrey Howe ~~did~~ raised with Mr Botha the concerns you express in your message. Mr Botha did not agree that South Africa is creating worsening problems for Lesotho. At the same time, he said he believed that outstanding problems between his Government and your Government could be satisfactorily resolved through further negotiations, and expressed the hope that relations would continue to improve. This response leads me to hope that in spite of current difficulties, you and South Africa can, given good will on both sides, reach a settlement of your differences. I am equally convinced that this is best achieved through patient and continuing contact between your two Governments free from outside interference. We have urged the South Africans in this sense and my Government will continue to give every encouragement to this process in the hope that a satisfactory understanding can be reached.

When I was in New Delhi last month for the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, your Foreign Minister kindly sent me a summary of the report of the Commonwealth Mission ^{which} ~~with~~ Secretary-General Ramphal sent to Lesotho in August. The report is still being studied by officials but I am pleased to note that our bilateral technical assistance to your country is already mainly directed towards the sectors identified in the report as of priority. We will be looking for ways in which we may be able to respond to the report's recommendations within the framework of our existing programmes of assistance.

/I can

I can assure you that we shall continue to watch developments in your country with particular attention and that our policies will continue to be directed towards the achievement of greater stability and prosperity in the region as a whole.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

9 December, 1983.

We spoke the other day about the first draft of the Goa Declaration on International Security. I enclose a copy of this which I found among my papers. This was preceded by some notes prepared by the Commonwealth Secretary General and, in case you do not already have these, I attach them for completeness.

E. E. R. BUTLER

Michael Jay, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



cc 720

J.P.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 December 1983

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for the telegram which you sent to her in New Delhi about the Commonwealth Report "Towards a new Bretton Woods".

I enclose a copy of the Commonwealth Heads of Government's New Delhi statement on economic action. This addresses the issues raised in the report and in the two other Commonwealth economic reports prepared since the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Melbourne in 1981.

The British Government accepts much of the detailed analysis in the "Towards a new Bretton Woods" report, for example the desirability of sustained non-inflationary growth, and the need to encourage direct private investment. But the Government has strong reservations on practical grounds about the report's recommendation that a preparatory process for an International Monetary Conference should be put in hand now. When the report was discussed at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting in September, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed the formation of a Commonwealth group to work with the international financial institutions to identify changes which would command international acceptance. The Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed to set up a consultative group to promote a consensus on economic issues and report to Commonwealth Finance Ministers next year. They also asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to examine the developing country debt problem with the assistance of a group of experts. The membership of the consultative group, which includes Britain, reflects the Commonwealth's unique composition. We believe this represents a positive outcome of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

A. J. COLES

The Rt. Hon. Lionel Murray, OBE.



No
G.R. ← CLK?

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

9 December, 1983

Dear John,

Type letter pl.

PP 3
/12.

CHOGM: 'Towards a New Bretton Woods'

Thank you for your letter of 30 November about Mr Len Murray's telegram to the Prime Minister on this subject.

I now enclose a draft letter from you to Mr Murray. It has been cleared with Treasury officials.

I am copying this letter to John Kerr at the Treasury.

Yours ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM: John Coles

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO: The Rt Hon Lionel Murray PC OBE
General Secretary
Trades Union Congress
23128 Great Russell Street
LONDON WC1

Your Reference

Top Secret

Secret

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT: CHOGM: 'Towards a New Bretton Woods'

.....In Confidence

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for the telegram you sent to her in New Delhi about the Commonwealth Report 'Towards a new Bretton Woods'.

CAVEAT.....

I enclose a copy of the Commonwealth Heads of Government's New Delhi statement on economic action. This addresses the issues raised in the report and in the two other Commonwealth economic reports prepared since the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Melbourne in 1981.

The British Government accepts much of the detailed analysis in the 'Towards a new Bretton Woods' report, for example the desirability of sustained non-inflationary growth, and the need to encourage direct private investment. But the ~~British~~ Government has strong reservations on practical grounds about the report's recommendation that a preparatory process for an International Monetary Conference should be put in hand now. When the report was discussed at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting in September, the Chancellor

Enclosures—flag(s).....

of the Exchequer proposed the formation of a Commonwealth group to work with the international financial institutions to identify changes which would command international acceptance. The Commonwealth Heads of Government agreed to set up a consultative group to promote a consensus on economic issues and report to Commonwealth Finance Ministers next year. They also asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to examine the developing country debt problem with the assistance of a group of experts. The membership of the consultative group, which includes Britain, reflects the Commonwealth's unique composition. We believe this represents a ~~very~~ positive outcome of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

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9th December, 1983.

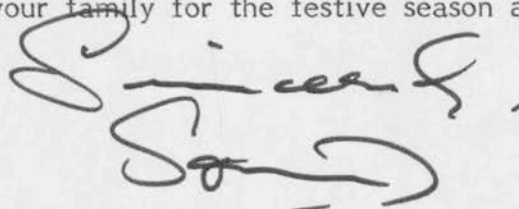
Dear Eric Kintski,

I am sending you by this letter the first printed copies of the New Delhi Communique and related documents. In the weeks ahead I will be following up on the many decisions taken and will address you on them in due course. Some action, like that pertaining to the Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus, is already in hand.

As you return to the daily round in your Capital, I hope you carry recollections of an effective Heads of Government Meeting - one, hopefully, that helped to light the way through hazardous times. Pursuing that path presents, however, a continuing challenge. Perhaps, therefore, it is on how the Commonwealth works between now and Nassau in two years time that the real judgement of success will turn. I look forward to working most closely with you as we seek to cover that ground.

I could not end without repeating what I tried to convey at the close of the meeting, namely, a deep sense of humility in being invited by you and your colleagues to serve the Commonwealth for a further term, and my promise to continue to try to be worthy of your confidence and trust. In doing so, I shall assuredly need your support.

With deep respect; with warmest good wishes for the future; and with rather special greetings to you and your family for the festive season ahead,

Sincerely,


Shridath S. Ramphal

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain & Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London SW1

**Commonwealth
Heads of
Government**

**The New Delhi
Communiqué
November 1983**



Commonwealth Secretariat

Commonwealth
Heads of Government

Meeting in New Delhi
23-29 November 1983

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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 disarmament 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 been 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.

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

Communiqué

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 communiqués 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 assist 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

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 who 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 comprehensive, 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

ability 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

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 communiqués issued by the respective Ministerial meetings. They requested the Secretariat to continue their work in the areas specified in those communiqués, 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 successful 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 that 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 should 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.



cc ECON POL: Indebtedness:
Pt 3



50

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 December 1983

TANZANIA: IMF

Thank you for your letter of 8 December.

The Prime Minister has commented that her impression from her talk with President Nyerere in the margins of CHOGM was that he was prepared to devalue the shilling again if this would secure the loan from the IMF. Mrs. Thatcher has asked whether we could enquire whether this would meet the IMF's requirements. Perhaps you could let me have a further comment in due course.

BF ||

I am copying this letter to Peter Ricketts (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

John Kerr, Esq.,
HM Treasury.

CONFIDENTIAL

LT.

cc ECON POL: Indebtedness:
Pt 3



Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

Prime Minister.

①

I think you only said to President Nyerere that you would look into the matter on your return. Do you wish to write to him?

A.J.C. 9/12.

8 December 1983

John Coles Esq.
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

Dear John,

TANZANIA: IMF

Thank you for your letter of 29 November about the Prime Minister's discussions with President Nyerere of Tanzania in the margins of CHOGM.

Tanzania has been courting the IMF, on and off, for four or five years. The last Fund mission was in the summer, but negotiations now seem to be stalled. The main difficulty is indeed exchange rate policy. The Fund do firmly believe that further substantial devaluation is necessary in order to enable local producer prices to rise to levels giving realistic incentives to farmers. We have no reason to believe that the Fund are intransigent on the details of their prescription: as with Ghana and Uganda, they should be prepared to consider phased devaluation, fiscal proxies, or a temporary multi-tier exchange rate arrangement, so long as Tanzania is committed to credible medium term objectives offering some prospect of international viability. As with most Fund programmes, however, they are insisting on substantial initial adjustment measures both as a gesture of good faith and to get the programme off to a good start.

Tanzania suffers from the familiar African problems of an extensive parallel market, leading to corruption, coupled with sensitivity about surrendering a degree of autonomy to the IMF. The Fund may be losing patience with the protracted negotiation process, and have certainly encountered difficulty in obtaining the necessary statistical information, with recent letters to the President and Economic Minister going unanswered. And I imagine that the Tanzanians are reluctant to lose face by compromising.

In the meantime, Tanzania has accumulated substantial payments arrears, approaching \$½ billion. As a significant proportion of these are owed to UK companies, it would be in our interest to persuade Tanzania to reach an understanding with the Fund. But it would set a bad precedent for us to argue that conditionality should be watered down in order to secure it. It would be obvious that the Fund had been forced to compromise because of Tanzanian intransigence, and other Fund clients - both developing countries and sovereign debtors - would not be slow to demand similarly lax terms. Moreover a poorly based programme would mean that Tanzania's need for supplementary Aid - to which we would be expected to contribute - would be that much higher. In any case, the Fund prescription for Tanzania seems broadly right.

He has devalued twice and is prepared to do so again if it will save

the loan from the I.M.F. Can we engage?

no

CONFIDENTIAL



Partly for this reason, the Chancellor is reluctant to lobby the IMF on behalf of President Nyerere. He is also conscious that such advocacy could undermine our credibility as objective and responsible members of the Fund. In any case, he is doubtful whether we would succeed.

If the Prime Minister agrees with this assessment, the Chancellor believes that it would be better for her not to write to President Nyerere just at the moment. . . . But in case she would prefer to write, I attach a draft.

I am copying this letter to Peter Ricketts at the FCO.

Yours ever,

J. O. Kerr

J O KERR

Principal Private Secretary

CONQUEROR

DRAFT LETTER TO PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA

You told me in New Delhi of your difficulties in negotiating a standby arrangement with the IMF

I am sure you are right to think in terms of a Fund programme, and the amount and pace of devaluation of the shilling will be crucial to its success. Clearly the right policies are those which make sense in the market place: if one's goods and commodities find ready export markets, that in turn makes it possible to raise domestic returns and thus enhance incentives for private producers.

Details such as these clearly need to be settled bilaterally with the Fund. But I am sure that the successful conclusion of your discussions would greatly benefit Tanzania, both in terms of direct balance of payments support and indirectly as a signal of confidence to potential investors and creditors. I shall ensure that the UK Executive Director at the IMF will consider your programme with the utmost care and sympathy when it comes before the Board.

Commonwealth : CHOSM : Pt 7



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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 December 1983

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No: T 2029/83

My dear Prime Minister,

On my return to London I write to thank you most warmly for all the arrangements made for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi and Goa. I deeply appreciated the care that was taken and the gracious hospitality which was provided, and the warmth and friendliness shown by the Indian people.

May I send you my congratulations on the constructive outcome of the summit which owes so much to the efforts of the host country and to your own distinguished chairmanship.

In renewing my thanks to you and to all those responsible for the arrangements, I send you my personal best wishes and hope that it will not be long before we meet again.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely
Rajiv Gandhi

Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi

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LEC Manager
OPS

SUBJECT



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T200/83

30.11.83

THE PRIME MINISTER

I have just spent a week in New Delhi at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. You may have seen the Communique which we issued and I thought that you might like to have some comments on the background to it.

We meet every two years in different capitals. This year in New Delhi I was very conscious of the pervasive influence of the Non-Aligned Movement's philosophy. The great majority of Commonwealth countries today consider themselves as non-aligned, and the language of the Communique inevitably reflects this.

You will have seen that we issued a Declaration on International Security. It is by no means an ideal document but you should have seen the earlier versions! I hope it will cause you no particular difficulty. We worked on it during our weekend in Goa and I got out a lot of the unsatisfactory language. It is now in pretty general terms and concentrates on the need for dialogue. I know that you support constructive dialogue - as I do - and we can point to the fact that it is the Soviet Union which is preventing it by walking out of the INF talks. The Communique also gave general encouragement to Pierre Trudeau's efforts - but we have made it clear that we have a number of doubts about his specific proposals. In particular, I do not believe that his proposal for a conference of the five nuclear powers is helpful, at least in present circumstances. He of course remains very keen on his initiative and visited China during the meeting.

/As

As regards the Declaration on Economic Action my purpose was to avoid a commitment to yet another major conference and to do nothing which would weaken existing international monetary institutions. I think we achieved this.

Our discussions over Grenada came out well. At our first meeting some very strong and hostile views were expressed by African and other countries. The OECS countries responded well and effectively, and we subsequently dealt with the passage for the Communique as some length at Goa. My own position was that we should not go over past events but look to the future - as summed up in the phrase from the Communique "reconstruction not recrimination". That is what I shall be continuing to emphasise.

The discussion on Grenada led us to consider in some depth the problems facing small states. This too is reflected in the Communique. The Commonwealth Secretary General will be undertaking a study on how best to assure the independence and integrity of those small territories which cannot defend themselves but which want to remain free. We are also working on this within our own administration in London. I am sure it is something which we must all think carefully about, and we shall keep in touch with you as our ideas develop.

In other respects the meeting covered familiar ground, which I need not bother you with. But Oliver Wright can give any clarification which your people or the State Department may want.

With best wishes.

The President of the United States of America

PRIME MINISTER

pa
DMS
5/12

CHOGM

One loose end. I promised to tell Antony Acland whether you had been able to raise with President Moi the case of the Ethiopian Princesses. Were you able to do so?

No mb

A. J. C.

Message passed to PS/Sir Anthony Acland.

DMS
5/12

1 December 1983

Commonwealth Heads of Government (Meeting)

3.30 pm

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): I will, with permission, Mr. Speaker, make a statement on the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting which I attended in New Delhi and Goa from 23 to 29 November. My right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs also attended for the first three days. I have arranged for the communiqué to be placed in the Library of the House.

Two specific matters—Grenada and Cyprus—were considered early in the proceedings. On Grenada there was a long and detailed debate. Heads of Government decided to concentrate on the future, not the past—on reconstruction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an interim civilian administration, looked forward to free and fair elections and confirmed their willingness on certain conditions to consider sympathetically Grenadian requests for assistance.

There was also a more general discussion of the practical need to give greater security to small states, many of them islands, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. The Secretary-General was asked to undertake a study of the problem. As the House knows, this is a matter to which Her Majesty's Government are also giving thought. Regional groups may have a special role to play.

With regard to Cyprus, Commonwealth leaders fully endorsed United Nations Security Council resolution 541 which deplored the Turkish Cypriot declaration of secession as legally invalid, requested the United Nations Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices and called upon the parties to co-operate fully. But it was also felt that the Commonwealth should itself try to help bring about a solution, and an action group was established to assist in implementation of the Security Council resolution. Britain is not a member of that group as we already have a particular role as a guarantor power.

Among the other specific subjects, Southern Africa was discussed at length. We considered the implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence and the present obstacles to its achievement. The concept of a conditional link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was rejected, but clearly the fact that other nations have made the linkage is material to how and when the problem will be resolved.

On more general matters, the meeting issued two declarations. The main theme of the Goa declaration on international security is that at a time of heightened tension in the world the first objective must be to re-establish a constructive dialogue between East and West, by increasing contacts and by rebuilding a climate of confidence. We support that objective.

The statement on economic action deals with current international economic problems, notes that all countries have a responsibility for pursuing prudent domestic economic policies and recognise the need for the Bretton Woods institutions to be adapted and better equipped to deal with the problems of the international economy. It was decided to establish a consultative group, on which the United Kingdom will be represented, for the purpose of

promoting wider agreement on the issues that we discussed. The group will report to Commonwealth Finance Ministers before their 1984 meeting in Toronto.

Mr. Neil Kinnock (Islwyn): I thank the right hon. Lady for her statement. We are all glad to see her on her safe return.

Will the right hon. Lady assure the House that she will be more active in fulfilling the purposes of the New Delhi communiqué than she was in pursuing the purposes listed in the Melbourne communiqué which was issued after the last conference of Heads of Government? In Melbourne the Prime Minister urged all Governments to "desist forthwith from any collaboration with South Africa which undermined the implementation of the arms embargo". However, her own Government has since then acted in precisely the opposite direction, permitting serious military collaboration with South Africa, including military radar sales.

We nevertheless welcome the Government's support for United Nations resolution 539 and the commitment in the Heads of Government communiqué to the adoption of appropriate measures under the United Nations charter should South Africa continue to obstruct the implementation of the independence plan.

There is a somewhat cryptic sentence in the statement that refers to the fact that "other nations have made the linkage" and that that

"is material to how and when the problem will be resolved." What does that sentence mean? Can the Prime Minister allay our fears that she may already be relinquishing the position that she took up at the United Nations on 28 October and at the New Delhi conference this week? Which measures may she consider to be appropriate if South Africa continues to impede progress on Namibia?

Bearing in mind how far other Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth Governments have gone in implementing the principles of the Gleneagles agreement, and recognising the fact that by far the largest number of sporting visitors to South Africa are from this country, can the right hon. Lady tell the House how she intends to give greater effect to her renewal in New Delhi of the commitment to the Gleneagles agreement?

Given the Prime Minister's support for the section of the communiqué which reaffirms support for the principles of independence and non-intervention in the affairs of other states, sovereignty and territorial integrity, may I—in a spirit of reconstruction and not recrimination—ask the Prime Minister what measure she intends to take to ensure that other countries, including the United States, accept similar commitments on independence and non-intervention?

Why was the Prime Minister so obdurate in her opposition to the widely supported initiative of Mr. Robert Muldoon for a new international conference to consider the reform of the world trade and financial institutions set up at Bretton Woods 39 years ago? Why, even when a compromise was reached on that proposal, did the right hon. Lady let it be known that she did not consider that Britain is bound by the decision of Commonwealth Heads of Government to seek an international conference with universal participation simply to review international monetary and trade problems?

Does the Prime Minister still take the same simplistic view of economic affairs that she did at the start of the New

[Mr. Neil Kinnock]

Delhi conference? Is she still lecturing people without shoes on how to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps?

The Prime Minister: This country has fully honoured the military arms embargo on South Africa. Certain equipment is suitable for both civilian and military use. Sale of that equipment did not offend the mandatory arms embargo.

The right hon. Gentleman asked about linkage. As I have said, we do not recognise a direct linkage between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia, as my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary has made perfectly clear. Other people do, and denouncing by rhetoric will not wish away the linkage. We must continue to try to persuade. The meeting of the contact group of Ministers will take place again in London in December.

We have upheld the Gleneagles agreement. It is one in which the Government cannot coerce people, even if the right hon. Gentleman would wish them to do so.

We have given our views on Grenada. This does not seem the time to go over the past, but to try to help constructively with the future. Other countries must reach their own decisions about how they honour non-intervention in the affairs of other states and of not crossing other borders.

With regard to economic affairs, the Commonwealth Finance Ministers conference was exactly in accord with my view that a contact group should be set up to consider whether any steps need to be taken to improve the existing institutions. If it reached certain conclusions, that might eventually lead to an international conference. We see no need for one at the moment. The rest of the Commonwealth agreed with me and not the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. David Steel (Tweedale, Ettrick and Lauderdale): Will the Prime Minister confirm that she disagreed with the New Zealand Prime Minister on that last point, as she disagreed with the Canadian Prime Minister on the need for a nuclear power summit and with the majority of the conference condemning the South African constitutional referendum as fraudulent on the grounds that it did not involve the majority of the population? Did she find that everyone except her was out of step?

The Prime Minister: If the right hon. Gentleman reads the economic communiqué, he will see that it fully expresses my view, and that it was agreed to by the conference as a whole. He has it wrong. After discussion, the conference accepted my view. As there are many international debt problems still to be solved, it is not surprising that many members took the view that it was far better to strengthen the authority, and adapt and extend the scope of the existing institutions, than to undermine them. That view is included in the communiqué.

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover): That is what the *Liberal News* said.

The Prime Minister: That was the view that I took at the outset. The right hon. Gentleman's other question was about South Africa. He used the word "fraudulent" about the differences in the franchise which have recently been put in a referendum to the white population. I did not

dissent from that part of the communiqué, but I would not have used the word "fraudulent". It would help matters in South Africa to go in the way in which we would like — steadily to abolish apartheid — if we were to encourage those many people in South Africa who are working precisely for that.

Mr. Julian Amery (Brighton, Pavilion): I appreciate that there is no automatic linkage between the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the Cubans from Angola, but does my right hon. Friend agree that a higher priority should be given to the withdrawal of Cubans, who are non-African, and Soviet stooges from Angola than to get the South Africans, who are Africans, out of Namibia? Did she make representations to Mr. Mugabe about the detention without trial of our friend Bishop Abel Muzorewa?

The Prime Minister: With regard to Angola and Namibia, again, one would have preferred an injunction about the withdrawal of all foreign troops, which would seem to be fair. We were not able to achieve that because certain people within the Commonwealth took a very different view. In drafting these communiqués, one has to reach a view which can be represented in them. As my right hon. Friend knows, I should have preferred the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including the Cubans, and any South Africans who may be in Angola.

I did not raise the subject of Bishop Abel Muzorewa with Mr. Mugabe. That seems to be to an internal matter for Mr. Mugabe.

Mr. Jack Ashley (Stoke-on-Trent, South): Did the Prime Minister have a guilty conscience at the conference about the fact that British overseas aid has been cut to 44 per cent. of the GDP—one of the lowest in western Europe—or did she lecture it on the need for efficiency savings?

The Prime Minister: As the right hon. Gentleman knows, our aid programme this year is about £1.1 billion. I must point out to him, although he may not like it, that the Commonwealth thanked me for once again making efforts to get the IDA round 6 moving. Without our efforts it would not have been fully replenished. The Commonwealth asked me to do the same on IDA 7.

Mr. Ian Lloyd (Havant): As there is little sign of what would be a welcome retreat as a result of his statements or actions from what is certainly the studied arrogance of the Marxist or the paranoid suspicion of the successful terrorist, what evidence can my right hon. Friend give the House of a single action to justify her saying to Mr. Mugabe, or Mr. Mugabe saying to her, that British citizens have been involved in the subversion of that sad and sorry state which has succeeded Rhodesia? If there is such evidence, and if Mr. Mugabe can make it available, will he enable us to see and study it so that we can judge its accuracy, because we have the gravest doubts about most of the disinformation which proceeds from the so-called front line states?

The Prime Minister: I am not certain which person my hon. Friend is getting at. I have said that the subject of the air force officers arose, what happened, and how it would be resolved. We must consider how best to secure the release of those people. I believe that their cases will go before the tribunal. I hope that my hon. Friend will accept that the judicial process in Zimbabwe was impeccable.

Mr. Tom Clarke (Monklands, West): Was the Prime Minister impressed by the strong feelings that apparently existed about the proliferation of nuclear weapons? If she was, what support, if any, did she give to Mr. Pierre Trudeau's initiative?

The Prime Minister: The hon. Gentleman will find a reference to nuclear proliferation in the communiqué. It is rather elliptical because some of the non-aligned states strongly took the view that they would not sign that non-proliferation agreement. They were prepared to include a sentence in the communiqué which sought to decrease the number of nuclear weapons and to prevent their further spread. We could not go beyond that.

Mr. Mark Robinson (Newport, West): I congratulate my right hon. Friend on her contribution to what, by all accounts, was a highly constructive and successful Commonwealth meeting. Did she make any specific suggestions about the restoration of democracy in Grenada in the context of how the British Government might be able to give assistance?

The Prime Minister: We should give assistance, if asked, in two ways. The first is by providing police or making arrangements for training the police. We have helped with the supervision of elections in Zimbabwe and Uganda and the Commonwealth has helped in other places. We could help with internal, non-military security and the arrangement of the elections. We have to be asked. There is an advisory council advising the governor-general and he knows that we shall be sympathetic to any claim made upon us. As my hon. Friend knows, we have just announced £750,000 of aid to Grenada to help initially.

Mr. Jeremy Corbyn (Islington, North): What was the reaction of other Commonwealth Heads of Government to the continued cut in British aid to Grenada between 1979 and 1983 and the decision to increase aid to that country following the American invasion? Does she agree that it is the business of the people of Grenada to decide their future, and when and if they should hold elections rather than President Reagan and herself?

The Prime Minister: On independence, a sum of £2 million was allocated for capital developments in Grenada. At the time of the trouble there, about £88,000 of that amount was still outstanding. We have tried to help Grenada by making another injection of aid of about £750,000. It is, of course, a matter for the governor-general, as advised by the advisory council, to determine when elections shall be held. Naturally, having had a Marxist Government since 1979, elections are a new thing there, and it will be necessary to compile all the registers effectively and reform the political parties.

Mr. Cranley Onslow (Woking): Although it is good news that the discussions at Delhi seem to have led to a wider all-round understanding of the problems of the eastern Caribbean generally and of the need to provide effective protection for the small states there against the many threats they face, will my right hon. Friend say whether she would be willing, in principle, for this country to make a significant contribution to a regional security pact? Does she accept that the British garrison in Belize makes an important contribution to the integrity of that

country, and that there can be no question of withdrawing it unless and until a similar regional security pact prevails there?

The Prime Minister: As I said in my statement, the Commonwealth is now carrying out a study of these important matters. We have created a number of very small independent states all over the world, which are incapable of defending their sovereignty. We now have to consider, following the events in Grenada, whether through a series of regional pacts we can do something to help them together to defend their sovereignty, but there are some places where that would be difficult.

I am very much aware of the enormous contribution made by the presence of British forces in Belize, both soldiers and a Harrier force. In fact, Belize is an oasis of democracy in a troubled central America, and it may be possible that that could play a part in a regional pact. It is better for us to spend some time, as I am sure my hon. Friend would agree, in fully considering the matter before reaching any premature conclusions.

Mr. J. D. Concannon (Mansfield): Now that our country's relations with Mr. Mugabe and Zimbabwe seem to be improving, may I point out to some Conservative right hon. and hon. Members who criticise the judiciary of another country, that it is not many years since the right hon. Lady was a member of a Conservative Government under whom people were declared innocent in a part of the United Kingdom, re-arrested on the steps of the court, and interned?

The Prime Minister: The right hon. Gentleman is referring to Northern Ireland. I am very much aware of the steps that were taken at that time.

Sir John Biggs-Davison (Epping Forest): While I share and applaud my right hon. Friend's concern for the white air force officers imprisoned in Zimbabwe, may I ask her whether she shares the concern of many of us for the fate of Bishop Muzorewa, who was freely elected as Prime Minister of that state in elections which were internationally observed and recognised as fair, and who now lies in imprisonment and is probably in great danger?

The Prime Minister: Yes, of course. One does not distinguish between the citizens of a country in demonstrating one's concern. I hope that that is perfectly clear.

Mr. Allan Roberts (Bootle): The Prime Minister glossed over the conflicts at the Commonwealth conference about the invasion of Grenada. Is she aware that one of the parties to that invasion, Prime Minister Seaga, is at present in the process of setting up a one-party state in Jamaica because of the method by which he has prematurely called a general election? Will the right hon. Lady undertake to ensure that if Britain participates in any Commonwealth peacekeeping force, having talked about political parties being allowed to regroup, the new dual movement will be allowed to put forward candidates in any election that takes place in Grenada?

The Prime Minister: I guess that there are many countries that would love to have a general election on their hands now, and who have never had or known what a general election means. [HON. MEMBERS: "Hear, hear."] I am certain that if we had one here today the result would be even more in our favour as a result of the Labour party's performance recently.

[The Prime Minister]

In answer to what the hon. Gentleman said about Jamaica, may I say that it is perfectly open to Mr. Seaga to call a general election. What is wrong with that?

Mr. David Crouch (Canterbury): While there is a great advantage in a meeting of 48 nations and their Prime Ministers considering problems particularly concerning themselves and the Commonwealth, is there not here an element of a lost opportunity when 48 powerful and influential nations do not issue a declaration from Delhi on the situation in the middle east, so guiding the Western world on how to solve that vital problem?

The Prime Minister: There is a section in the communiqué on the middle east. Clearly, with the situation as it is, we could not possibly have met without discussing it. We included a section on it in the communiqué, and in particular on the Lebanon, in which we called for a withdrawal of all foreign forces, except those which are there at the request of the Lebanese Government, those being, of course, the United Nations force and the multinational force, and hoped that Lebanon would again become a fully sovereign and independent country.

Mr. Dick Douglas (Dunfermline, West): Will the Prime Minister tell us about her discussion with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers about the possible linking of the START talks with the INF talks, and also matters affecting the common heritage of mankind? How did she explain to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers her Government's failure to sign the third United Nations convention on the law of the sea and her Government's attitude to the development of the Antarctica treaty?

The Prime Minister: In answer to the hon. Gentleman's question about the START talks and the INF talks, we did not discuss any possible merging of the two. I was sorry that the Soviet Union chose to walk out of the INF talks when it did.

We have made our views perfectly clear on the law of the sea. The arrangements for the mining of the seabed are not sufficient for us to sign them, and the convention could act very adversely to our interests. We have taken a correct view on Antarctica. There is another conference on it.

Mr. Nigel Forman (Carshalton and Wallington): Although I share my right hon. Friend's preference for strengthening and adapting the international economic institutions of the Bretton Woods era, was there any discussion in Delhi, or do the Government intend to press forward with proposals to give the IMF a more advanced role to help developing countries, and also to give GATT a more thorough-going role in dealing with the problem of non-tariff barriers?

The Prime Minister: The IMF has adapted extremely well and played a foremost role in solving the great debt problems. While my right hon. and learned Friend the Foreign Secretary was chairman of the interim committee, the funds available to the IMF were greatly extended. I think that the IMF is to be congratulated on the way it has tackled the problem. Without it we should never have had a resolution of the debt problems of many countries, nor the aid of some commercial banks which has been made available because of the disciplined conditions rightly demanded by the IMF as a condition of loans. After all,

one gives extra loans to a country that is in debt, not for it to carry on in the way that got it into debt, but to enable it to get out of debt and carry on by way of prudent housekeeping. So I think that has been well done.

With regard to GATT, we had a long discussion on protectionism, but it is not enough to pay lip service to protectionism. As my hon. Friend knows, the world is riddled with protectionism and the danger is that some people may try to reduce the barriers while others leave them up. Therefore, it is absolutely vital that we move together both on the tariff barriers and the non-tariff barriers.

Mr. James Lamond (Oldham, Central and Royton): In the section of the right hon. Lady's statement dealing with East-West relations she mentioned the necessity of increasing co-operation and dialogue. Can she tell us whether anyone at the Commonwealth conference asked her to explain why she defeated the object of the Geneva talks by allowing the cruise missiles to be deployed in Britain and thus increase the danger and tension not only to Europe but the whole world, including the Commonwealth?

The Prime Minister: I think that the hon. Gentleman is talking nonsense. He knows full well that during those talks, while we were trying to negotiate disarmament on intermediate weapons with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union continued to deploy one SS20 a week—

Mr. Lamond: No.

The Prime Minister:—while we were trying to negotiate their reduction. It was utterly wrong to walk out of those talks while we were just beginning to deploy cruise and Pershing. Had she agreed to dismantle her SS20s totally no cruise or Pershing need have been deployed.

Mr. K. Harvey Proctor (Billericay): What representations did my right hon. Friend receive from other Heads of Commonwealth Governments for my right hon. and learned Friend the Foreign Secretary concerning the Prevention of Terrorism Bill and in particular clause 12 of it dealing with international terrorists? I realise this is a detailed question. Perhaps my right hon. Friend will write to me if she is not in a position to reply now.

The Prime Minister: There were no representations, but if my hon. Friend will let me know the point he has in mind I will, of course, reply to him.

Mr. Nigel Spearing (Newham, South): By what means were the hopes, fears and aspirations of the people of Grenada made available to the Commonwealth conference? Is it not a fact that the general feeling was that the sooner a Commonwealth security force replaces that of the United States in Grenada, the better? Was this view transmitted to President Reagan, and on what factors does its implementation depend from the Prime Minister's point of view?

The Prime Minister: It is not for us to say now who shall go into Grenada. It is for the advisory council which advises the governor-general to express its wishes and to ask for help which it knows will be readily available; it is not for us to impose a particular force upon Grenada. Obviously the eastern Caribbean countries and the rest of the Caribbean countries are very closely in touch with Grenada and are able to transmit the views of the people

Mr. Owen Wells (Hereford and Stortford): Can my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister say whether there was any discussion at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting on the subject of subversion of constituent states of the Commonwealth? I refer particularly to the subversion of Grenada by the People's Revolutionary Army which led to the unfortunate events of the past six weeks. Did the Commonwealth Heads consider any method of preventing a recurrence?

The Prime Minister: We considered the problem. As my hon. Friend will see, the communiqué refers to both external and internal interference which is a direct reference to subversion, but it is a problem and will be considered along with the others. It is a problem that some of the small states cannot afford to ignore.

Mr. Norman Atkinson (Tottenham): Is there not something hypocritical about a Commonwealth proclamation which calls for a resumption of intercommunal talks in support of the de Cuellar initiatives when neither of those initiatives can be proceeded with until there is a withdrawal of Turkish troops and we now know that neither the British Government nor the American Government have spoken to Ankara and called for the withdrawal of Turkish troops?

The Prime Minister: I am not quite sure from where the hon. Gentleman gets that information or, indeed, whether it is correct, but I think it would be totally wrong for the Commonwealth or anyone else to do nothing in this circumstance. It may be that by getting talks going between President Kyprianou and Mr. Denktash one might be able to help to restore the unitary state of Cyprus. One cannot do it just by leaving the situation as it is.

If the hon. Gentleman looks at the full communiqué on the United Nations Security Council Resolution he will see that it was sponsored by this country and very well voted upon. It was a very good resolution. There is one other aspect, of course. Britain is a guarantor power. Under the 1960 treaty it has the duty of calling together the three guarantor powers, Turkey, Greece and ourselves, if we can manage to get the three together. If we cannot, it is possible that—[*Interruption.*] The problem is that they do not all accept the invitation to sit together.

Mr. Richard Hickmet (Glanford and Scunthorpe): First, does my right hon. Friend accept that the regime of Mr. Kyprianou is illegal under the 1960 treaty of independence? Secondly, does she accept that the root cause of the Cyprus problem has been the continuing desire of the Greeks, both on the mainland and in Cyprus, to achieve Enosis or union with Greece and the consequential persecution of the Turkish minority? Thirdly, does she accept that the Turks intervened in 1974 following the coup d'état of Mr. Nicos Sampson, a notorious murderer, organised by the Greek junta? Fourthly, did she point out to Mr. Kyprianou that his own Foreign Minister, Mr. Rolandis, resigned following the refusal of Mr. Kyprianou to negotiate without the soundings of the Secretary-General published in September?

The Prime Minister: I cannot accept quite a lot of what my hon. Friend has said. One of the reasons why the guarantee was not invoked in 1974 was the fact that Archbishop Makarios was brought down by action by the Greeks and at that time the Turks walked in. So one of the

problems was that the two guarantor powers were involved at that time. At present it would seem that we should be able to invoke the guarantor powers in the sense that we ought to be able to get the three together. Whether we can remains to be seen.

Mr. Skinner: Is the Prime Minister aware that she should not be too hard on the Liberal party leader when he asks questions about alliances and such like because while she has been away the *Liberal News* has printed an article stating that the alliance is in the knacker's yard?

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is not to do with the Commonwealth conference.

Mr. Skinner: With due respect, Mr. Speaker, it is all about the fragility of the alliance and otherwise.

On the question about updating Bretton Woods and so on, did any of the poorer Commonwealth countries just put the idea into the Prime Minister's head or into other people's heads that merely propping up a few Governments or a few more banks is no answer to all those starving millions in some of the underdeveloped countries where the kids are on matchstick legs and have potbellies? Surely there must have been some people in the Commonwealth who felt that the answer was to make sure that if any money was available in the world it should go to them rather than to allow the bankers to make even greater profits?

The Prime Minister: The poorest countries obviously need aid and it is part of the relief that priority should be given to the poorest countries. That is not always so because many people prefer to go not for them but for intermediate ones. We had a discussion about the problem the hon. Gentleman has raised. It is, of course, closely connected with population control.

Mr. John Carlisle (Luton, North): I congratulate my right hon. Friend on resisting the attempts by other Commonwealth leaders to stiffen the Gleneagles agreement and, indeed, upholding the rights of British sportsmen to play wherever they like and against whom they like. When future tours are proposed such as the English rugby tour to South Africa next year, while she will be expected to discourage the tour, would she in the same spirit give the House the categorical assurance that no undue pressure will be put upon them or individuals to prevent them from going?

The Prime Minister: The Gleneagles agreement was affirmed, it is voluntary, but I must make it clear that we genuinely discourage the rugby tour of South Africa.

Mr. Alfred Dubs (Battersea): Can the Prime Minister say whether the Commonwealth countries were agreed on policies towards Cyprus or whether some of them favour recognising the illegal regime in the north? Furthermore, does she accept that the criticism of her is not that the British Government have been doing too much but that they have been doing too little as a guarantor power? Is there not a real need—and was this need not voiced by other Commonwealth countries to her—to bring pressure to bear on the regime in Ankara without which Mr. Denktash cannot survive?

The Prime Minister: I was in touch with the President of Turkey and I indicated our views. The Government were in touch with Turkey well before the declaration because we were anxious that the declaration should not

[The Prime Minister]

be made. We did everything to prevent that from happening. Turkey is the only country which has recognised the illegal regime. None of the Commonwealth countries has recognised it and nor, as far as I am aware, has any other country. The duty under the treaty is to get the three guarantor countries together to consult together. We have twice tried to do that but so far have not been successful. The two other countries have each put conditions upon their attendance that are incompatible with each other.

Mr. Eric Deakins (Walthamstow): Does the Prime Minister agree that the Commonwealth has a useful role to play in revitalising the north-south dialogue between rich and poor countries? If so, what form does she think that that might best take?

The Prime Minister: It was obvious from the debates that one of the most valued things is Commonwealth technical co-operation. It is especially valued by the smaller states. The Commonwealth is an organisation through which one can provide that sort of help. We discussed wider issues, including IDA replenishment. The current offer of \$9 billion is clearly not enough, but I believe that the 416 billion that is desired is unobtainable.

Mr. David Alton (Liverpool, Mossley Hill): Did the Prime Minister get the chance in New Delhi to raise the issue of the readmission of Pakistan to the Commonwealth? Was she able to raise with the Indian Prime Minister the holding of a long overdue plebiscite in Kashmir? Was she able to discuss the declining number of Commonwealth students coming to our universities and colleges as a result of the introduction of full-cost fees for overseas students?

The Prime Minister: The question of the readmission of Pakistan was not raised at the conference. If Pakistan were to wish to come into the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth wished that to happen, we would, of course, support it. It is a matter for the whole

Commonwealth and not for one country. I did not discuss with Mrs. Gandhi about a plebiscite in Kashmir. I said that £46 million had been made available over three years to assist students from the Commonwealth countries to come to Britain.

Mr. Ioan Evans (Cynon Valley): The Commonwealth conference has given a clear lead on a number of issues, although it had to reach a consensus on the nuclear arms race, Grenada, Namibia, South Africa and the north-south dialogue. What action do the Government propose to take to implement the recommendations, especially the recommendation contained in the Goa declaration about improving East-West relations? Will the right hon. Lady undertake to return to the House to report on what the Government are doing?

The Prime Minister: The hon. Gentleman will be aware that I have made three speeches on lines similar to the Goa declaration. I have announced that I shall be going to Hungary in the new year. I hope that there will be far more contacts than we have had recently, both at official level and political level, and that we shall see them gradually work up in that way.

Early-day Motions

Mr. Ray Powell (Ogmore): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. On Thursdays we normally have available a copy of the full Vote so that we can see what early-day motions have been placed on the Order Paper. The Vote has not been available since half-past 12 today. Therefore, a number of us do not have copies of the full Vote. I appreciate that perhaps over 100 Conservative Members would like to see their names attached to a particular early-day motion that they might have signed. Some Labour Members would like to refer to it in business questions.

Mr. Speaker: The Vote was available earlier in the day because I saw the names to which the hon. Gentleman has referred. I shall make inquiries to ascertain why it is not available now.



Len MURRAY
9/12

J. E. K.

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1983

CHOGM: "TOWARDS A NEW BRETTON
WOODS"

I enclose a copy of a telegram which
the Prime Minister received in New Delhi
from Mr. Len Murray. *

6/F. /
I should be grateful if you could
provide a draft reply for my signature as soon
as possible.

J. COLES

Roger Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

* Dated 22 or 23/11/83. see Pt 6.



file to

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1983

CHOGM

You may well have it in mind to consider what lessons should be learnt from the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi which has just ended. I would see value in such an examination being conducted fairly soon and the Prime Minister being consulted about its results before memories fade. Perhaps you would let me have views in due course.

Meanwhile, two points occur to me immediately:-

- (a) I am doubtful about the value of the large lunches which the Prime Minister gave on the last two days of the Conference. Although these were reasonably satisfactory occasions (despite the failure of a number of guests who had accepted invitations to turn up) there can be little doubt that the Prime Minister could have spent the time more profitably at a meal with a much smaller group of Commonwealth leaders or even at a tete-a-tete meal. There is, of course, an argument for the British Prime Minister giving entertainment at some point during the proceedings but it is possible that a large reception at the outset would be the best device.
- (b) We put a good deal of effort, both before and during CHOGM, in trying to set up bilateral talks. This was only partially successful - I have explained in a separate letter that the Prime Minister was in the event not able to have many bilateral meetings, because of the Conference programme. In future, I believe that the procedure could be simplified - we could simply identify in advance those leaders with whom it might be useful for the Prime Minister to make bilateral contacts and all arrangements would then be made after arrival at the Conference venue.

A. J. COLES

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



FILE

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10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November, 1983

CHOGM: PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT

I attach a draft of the Statement which the Prime Minister proposes to make to the House of Commons tomorrow afternoon. This has been broadly approved by the Prime Minister - if you have any observations, I should be grateful to have them by not later than 0930 hrs on Thursday, 1 December.

A. J. COLES

P. Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Jo

CHOGM: Draft Statement

I will, with permission, Mr. Speaker, make a statement on the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting which I attended in New Delhi and Goa from 23 to 29 November. My right hon. Friend, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, also attended for the first three days.

I have arranged for the Communique to be placed in the Library of the House.

Two specific matters - Grenada and Cyprus - were considered early in the proceedings.

On Grenada there was a long and detailed debate. Heads of Government decided to concentrate on the future, not the past - on reconstruction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an interim civilian administration, looked forward to free and fair elections and confirmed their willingness on certain conditions to consider sympathetically Grenadan requests for assistance.

There was also a more general discussion of the practical need to give greater security to small states, many of them islands, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. The Secretary-General was asked to undertake a study of the problem.

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As the House knows, this is a matter to which Her Majesty's Government are also giving thought. Regional groups may have a special role to play.

With regard to Cyprus, Commonwealth leaders fully endorsed UN Security Council Resolution 541 which deplored the Turkish Cypriot declaration of secession as legally invalid, requested the UN Secretary-General to pursue his mission of good offices and called upon the parties to co-operate fully. But it was also felt that the Commonwealth should itself try to help bring about a solution, and an Action Group was established to assist in implementation of the Security Council Resolution. Britain is not a member of that group since we have a particular role as a guarantor power.

Among the other specific subjects dealt with in the Communique Southern Africa was discussed at length. We considered the implementation of the UN plan for Namibian independence and the present obstacles to its achievement. The concept of a conditional link between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was rejected. But clearly the fact that other nations have made the linkage is material to how and when the problem will be resolved.

On more general matters the meeting issued two declarations.

The main theme of the Goa Declaration on International Security is that at a time of heightened tension in the world the first objective must be to re-establish a constructive dialogue between East and West, by increasing contacts and by rebuilding a climate of confidence. We support that objective.

The statement on Economic Action deals with current international economic problems, notes that all countries have a responsibility for pursuing prudent domestic economic policies and recognises the need for the Bretton Woods institutions to be adapted and better equipped to deal with the problems of the international economy. It was decided to establish a consultative

group, on which the United Kingdom will be represented, for the purpose of promoting a consensus on the issues we discussed. The group will report to Commonwealth Finance Ministers before their 1984 meeting in Toronto.

The Commonwealth leaders at this meeting represented a quarter of the worlds people from every continent and many regions. The discussions were a valuable contribution to wider understanding of each others problems.



file No

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1983

CHOGM

In your letter of 15 November you recommended that we should try to arrange bilateral meetings between the Prime Minister and certain Commonwealth leaders; you also recommended that Mrs. Thatcher might speak privately to certain other Commonwealth leaders.

As you will know, the fact that the Goa retreat was turned into a communique drafting session took up much of the time which we had hoped would be available for bilateral talks. In the event, the Prime Minister only had substantial talks with Mr. Mugabe, Mr. Hawke, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Mr. Jayewardene and (though less substantial) with President Shagari. I have written separately about all these conversations.

Mrs. Thatcher did of course have many private conversations with Commonwealth leaders in New Delhi but these related mostly to the work of CHOGM and I do not propose to record what passed.

A. J. COLES

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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FM NEW DELHI 290555Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO LONDON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 979 OF 29 NOVEMBER 1983

INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
YOUR TELNO 929 : GOA DECLARATION.

THE PRIME MINISTER IS CONTENT WITH THE LINE PROPOSED IN YOUR
TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE.

WADE-GERY

NNNN



file 10

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November 1983

LESOTHO

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister received in New Delhi from the Lesotho Foreign Minister, together with the report to which he refers.

SK /
I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft reply, for signature by the Prime Minister, in due course.

A. J. COLES

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL



FILE

kw

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 November, 1983

CHOGM: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

The Prime Minister indicated in New Delhi that she wished to send a message to President Reagan describing the outcome of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

Mrs. Thatcher has since considered a draft prepared by the U.K. Delegation and has authorised the despatch of the enclosed message. I should be grateful if you could arrange for Sir Oliver Wright to deliver it as soon as possible.

E. I. DOLES

B. Fall, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SUBJECT

see Ops Master

US Declassified

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CHG 4 P47

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T200/83

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OO WASHINGTON

GRS 534

RECEIVED BY TELETYPE NO. 40		
- 2 DEC 1983		
INDEX	SEARCHED	SERIALIZED

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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 2018 OF 30 NOVEMBER

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT REAGN ON CHOGM

1. PLEASE DELIVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBING THE OUTCOME OF CHOGM.

BEGINS: I HAVE JUST SPENT A WEEK IN NEW DELHI AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING. YOU MAY HAVE SEEN THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH WE ISSUED AND I THOUGHT THAT YOU MIGHT LIKE TO HAVE SOME COMMENTS ON THE BACKGROUND TO IT.

WE MEET EVERY TWO YEARS IN DIFFERENT CAPITALS. THIS YEAR IN NEW DELHI I WAS VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE PERVASIVE INFLUENCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT'S PHILOSOPHY. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TODAY CONSIDER THEMSELVES AS NON-ALIGNED, AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE INEVITABLY REFLECTS THIS.

YOU WILL HAVE SEEN THAT WE ISSUED A DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. IT IS BY NO MEANS AN IDEAL DOCUMENT BUT YOU SHOULD HAVE SEEN THE EARLIER VERSIONS EXCLAM I HOPE IT WILL CAUSE YOU NO PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY. WE WORKED ON IT DURING OUR WEEKEND IN GOA AND I GOT OUT A LOT OF THE UNSATISFACTORY LANGUAGE. IT IS NOW IN PRETTY GENERAL TERMS AND CONCENTRATES ON THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE. I KNOW THAT YOU SUPPORT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE - AS I DO - AND WE CAN POINT TO THE FACT THAT IT IS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS PREVENTING IT BY WALKING OUT OF THE INF TALKS. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO GAVE GENERAL ENCOURAGEMENT TO PIERRE TRUDEAU'S EFFORTS - BUT WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE HAVE A NUMBER OF DOUBTS ABOUT HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS. IN PARTICULAR, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT HIS PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS IS HELPFUL, AT LEAST IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. HE OF COURSE REMAINS VERY KEEN ON HIS INITIATIVE AND VISITED CHINA

CONFIDENTIAL

DURING THE MEETING.

AS REGARDS THE DECLARATION ON ECONOMIC ACTION MY PURPOSE WAS TO AVOID A COMMITMENT TO YET ANOTHER MAJOR CONFERENCE AND TO DO NOTHING WHICH WOULD WEAKEN EXISTING INTERNATIONAL MONETARY INSTITUTIONS. I THINK WE ACHIEVED THIS.

OUR DISCUSSIONS OVER GRENADA CAME OUT WELL. AT OUR FIRST MEETING SOME VERY STRONG AND HOSTILE VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED BY AFRICAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES. THE OECS COUNTRIES RESPONDED WELL AND EFFECTIVELY, AND WE SUBSEQUENTLY DEALT WITH THE PASSAGE FOR THE COMMUNIQUE AT SOME LENGTH IN GOA. MY OWN POSITION WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT GO OVER PAST EVENTS BUT LOOK TO THE FUTURE - AS SUMMED UP IN THE PHRASE FROM THE COMMUNIQUE 'RECONSTRUCTION NOT RECRIMINATION'. THAT IS WHAT I SHALL BE CONTINUING TO EMPHASISE.

THE DISCUSSION ON GRENADA LED US TO CONSIDER IN SOME DEPTH THE PROBLEMS FACING SMALL STATES. THIS TOO IS REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE. THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE UNDERTAKING A STUDY ON HOW BEST TO ASSURE THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF THOSE SMALL TERRITORIES WHICH CANNOT DEFEND THEMSELVES BUT WHICH WANT TO REMAIN FREE. WE ARE ALSO WORKING ON THIS WITHIN OUR OWN ADMINISTRATION IN LONDON. I AM SURE IT IS SOMETHING WHICH WE MUST ALL THINK CAREFULLY ABOUT, AND WE SHALL KEEP IN TOUCH WITH YOU AS OUR IDEAS DEVELOP.

IN OTHER RESPECTS THE MEETING COVERED FAMILIAR GROUND, WHICH I NEED NOT BOTHER YOU WITH. BUT OLIVER WRIGHT CAN GIVE ANY CLARIFICATION WHICH YOUR PEOPLE OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT MAY WANT.

WITH BEST WISHES. ENDS

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CCD
NAD
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ERD
PLANNING STAFF
PS
PS LADY YOUNG
PS/MR LUCE
PS/MR RIFKIND
PS/PUS
SIR J BULLARD
SIR J LEAHY
SIR C TICKELL
MR GIFFARD
MR GARTLEDGE
MR SQUIRE
MR THOMAS

MS

Dear Ron,

I have just spent a week in New Delhi at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. You may have seen the Communique which we issued and I thought that you might like to have some comments on the background to it.

We meet every two years in different capitals. This year in New Delhi I was very conscious of the pervasive influence of the Non-Aligned Movement's philosophy. ~~Mrs Gandhi is of course the current Chairman.~~ The great majority of Commonwealth countries today consider themselves as non-aligned, and the language of the Communique inevitably reflects this.

You will have seen that we issued a Declaration on International Security. It is by no means an ideal document but you should have seen the earlier versions! I hope it will cause you no particular difficulty. We worked on it during our weekend in Goa and I got out a lot of the ~~[extreme or highly coloured or]~~ unsatisfactory language. It is now in pretty general terms and concentrates on the need for dialogue. I know that you support constructive dialogue - as I do - and we can point to the fact that it is the Soviet Union which is preventing it by walking out of the INF talks. The Communique also gave general encouragement to Pierre Trudeau's efforts - but we have made it clear that we have a number of doubts about his specific proposals. He of course remains very keen on his initiative and visited China during the meeting.

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As regards the Declaration on Economic Action my purpose was to avoid a commitment to yet another major conference and to do nothing which would weaken existing international monetary institutions. I think we achieved this.

Our discussions over Grenada came out well. At our first meeting some very strong and hostile views were expressed by African and other countries. The OECS countries responded well and effectively, and we subsequently dealt with the passage for the Communique at some length at Goa. ^{My own position was} ~~I was very keen~~ that we should not go over past events but look to the future -- as summed up in the phrase ("reconstruction not recrimination". That is what I shall be continuing to emphasise.

The discussion on Grenada led us to consider in some depth the problems facing small states. This too is reflected in the Communique. The Commonwealth Secretary General will be undertaking a study on how best to assure the independence and integrity of those small territories which cannot defend themselves but which want to remain free. We are also working on this within our own administration in London. I am sure it is something which we must all think carefully about, and we shall keep in touch with you as our ideas develop.

In other respects the meeting covered familiar ground, which I need not bother you with. But Oliver Wright can give any clarification which your people or the State Department may want.

With best wishes,

Yours ever,

Margaret.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NEW DELHI

INTERVIEW BY

THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

TO

MICHAEL BRUNSON OF ITN

ON

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29 1983

Press Office,
10 Downing Street,
London, SW1.

01-930 4433

MICHAEL BRUNSON: PRIME MINISTER, THE CONFERENCE DID NOT DO A NUMBER OF THINGS, IT DID NOT FOR EXAMPLE CONDEMN US ACTION ON GRENADA AND IT DID NOT AGREE TO A SUGGESTION FOR A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC SUMMIT AND IT SUGGESTED THAT S S ... THAT THAT WAS THE RESULT LARGELY OF YOUR INTERVENTION. 2

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, BOTH OF THOSE THINGS WERE VERY WISE. ON GRENADA WE MAY HAVE TAKEN DIFFERENT VIEWS AND THERE WERE WIDELY DIFFERING VIEWS EXPRESSED BUT WHAT WAS THE POINT IN PUTTING IN DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS WHEN THE REAL THING IS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE FUTURE FOR GRENADA. WE WANT DEMOCRACY TO BE RESTORED IN GRENADA AND TOGETHER WE DECIDED WE WOULD SEE HOW WE COULD SET ABOUT IT. MUCH WISER THAN SPENDING TIME ON REGRETTING WHAT HAPPENED AND THE OTHER ONE WAS A WORLD ECONOMIC SUMMIT. YOU KNOW, IT IS RATHER CLASSIC THAT WHEN YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, YOU CALL ANOTHER CONFERENCE OR SET UP A NEW ORGANISATION. WE'VE GOT VERY GOOD INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK AND GATT. THEY'VE CHANGED REALLY REMARKABLY AND ADAPTED TO DIFFERENT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES, THEY'VE A LOT TO DO, SOME OF THE DEBT POSITIONS OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES AREN'T SORTED OUT. IT'S MUCH, MUCH BETTER TO STRENGTHEN THEIR AUTHORITY AND THEIR SCOPE THAN TO THROW DOUBT UPON THEIR ACTIVITIES.

M. BRUNSON: DID YOU SPEND MOST OF YOUR TIME THEN SAYING 'NO', DEPRESSING THE CONFERENCE?

MRS. THATCHER: OH NO, NO, NO, IF YOU JUST SAID 'NO' YOU WOULDN'T GET ANYWHERE. YOU PUT YOUR OWN ARGUMENTS VERY FORCIBLY, OTHER PEOPLE PUT THEIR ARGUMENTS VERY FORCIBLY BUT OUR ARGUMENTS ARE SOUND ARGUMENTS, THAT'S WHY SO OFTEN THEY PREVAILED

M. BRUNSON: WHY WERE YOU NOT ABLE TO AGREE TO THE SECTION IN THE ... AS WE UNDERSTAND YOU RESERVED YOUR POSITION ... ON A SECTION IN THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH CONDEMNED AS FRAUDULENT THE RECENT REFERENDUM IN SOUTH AFRICA?

MRS. THATCHER: I DON'T THINK 'FRAUDULENT' AND I DON'T THINK ACTUALLY THAT WORD WAS USED. I THINK IT WAS A WORD CALLED 'CHAMP' - SHORTER - THAT IS NOT COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE AT ALL AND THE POINT WAS MADE IN THE REST OF THE SENTENCE.

M. BRUNSON: DO YOU NOT THINK THOUGH THE SENTENCE

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, I ALSO CAN I JUST SAY THAT ALSO PUT THE VIEW THAT A NUMBER OF US KNOW QUITE A LOT OF PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA WHO ARE WORKING VERY HARD TO GET MULTIRACIAL SPORT AND THEY SAY TO ME - ~~Look~~, EVERY TIME WE TAKE A STEP FORWARD, IT REALLY DOESN'T HELP FOR YOU TO BEAT US ABOUT THE EARS AND I AGREE WITH THEM, EVERY TIME THEY TAKE A STEP WHICH GOES IN THE DIRECTION IN WHICH WE WANT THEM TO GO, WE REALLY SHOULD BE ENCOURAGING THEM AND NOT HITTING THEM.

M. BRUNSON: ONE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT DECLARATIONS I THINK YOU MIGHT AGREE IS THE GOA DECLARATION CALLING FOR INCREASED DIALOGUE. WHAT PRACTICAL STEPS CAN YOU NOW TAKE TO FULFIL THE SORT OF WORDS THAT WERE USED IN THE GOA DECLARATION.

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK THAT BY HAVING FAR MORE POLITICAL CONTACT WITH BOTH THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND WITH THE SOVIET UNION, MALCOLM RIFKIND AS YOU KNOW WENT TO MOSCOW IN RECENT YEARS, WE DO GET THE CONTACT IN THE VARIOUS DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES AND SO ON. IT'S NOT QUITE ENOUGH, I THINK YOU NEED TO TALK LONGER. I AM GOING TO HUNGARY SHORTLY, BUT I THINK IT'S TIME THAT WE FACE TO FACE TALKED THESE THINGS THROUGH, BOTH AT OFFICIAL LEVEL BECAUSE YOU KNOW OFFICIALS DO A TREMENDOUS LOT OF THIS AND ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR GETTING A LOT MORE UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS AND AT POLITICAL LEVELS.

M. BRUNSON: BUT PERHAPS INSTEAD OF GOING TO HUNGARY SHOULD YOU NOT BE GOING TO MOSCOW?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I DON'T

THINK SO. I DON'T THINK THAT ONE SHOULD NECESSARILY ALWAYS STREAM TO MOSCOW, I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE VERY ADVISABLE IF SOME OF THEM CAME TO THE WESTERN WORLD A LITTLE BIT MORE. THEY COME TO THE UNITED NATIONS BUT I THINK THAT MR. ANDROPOV HAS NEVER SET FOOT IN A NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRY.

M. BRUNSON: ARE YOU INVITING HIM TO LONDON?

MRS. THATCHER: I'M NOT AT THE MOMENT NOR HAVE I ANY PLANS TO INVITE HIM TO LONDON BUT YOU DON'T JUST JUMP FROM SAYING YOU WANT MORE DIALOGUE AND CONTACT, YOU CAN'T JUST JUMP FROM THAT RIGHT UP TO A SUMMIT MEETING, YOU'VE GOT REALLY TO WORK AT IT FROM THE GROUND UP, AND THAT'S WHAT WE SHALL DO.

M. BRUNSON: AND ONE OF THE WAYS THAT YOU MIGHT BE DOING THAT IS TO REPLY TO HIS LETTER WHICH I GATHER WAS COINED IN EXTREME TERMS.

MRS. THATCHER: I DIDN'T FIND ANYTHING SURPRISING ABOUT HIS LETTER, I WOULDN'T KNOW ANY LETTERS THAT COME FROM THE SOVIET UNION THAT ARE++ COINED IN EXTREME TERMS. WE ARE DEPLOYING CRUISE, GERMANY IS DEPLOYING PERSHING, ITALY IS DEPLOYING CRUISE, WE'RE DOING SO BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION HAS WALKED OUT OF TALKS BECAUSE SHE HAS COMPLETED HER DEPLOYMENT OF SS20S, SHE EXPECTED US TO TALK WITH HER THE WHOLE TIME SHE WAS PUTTING SS20S UP AT ONE A WEEK AND NOW WALKS OUT MERELY BECAUSE WE'RE STARTING TO DEPLOY THE ANSWER TO SS20S, SHE IS THOROUGHLY UNREASONABLE.

M. BRUNSON: AND YET YOU WERE SAYING YOU WANT TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE, IT SOUNDS FROM WHAT YOU'VE SAID THAT IT'S GOING TO BE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH THAT DIALOGUE.

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I DON'T THINK IT'S GOING TO BE DIFFICULT AT ALL, I'D FAR RATHER PUT MY VIEW RATHER COGENTLY FACE TO FACE.

M. BRUNSON: AND YOU'LL BE DOING THAT BY REPLYING TO MR. ANDROPOV?

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, NOT FACE TO FACE BUT ON PAPER.

M. BRUNSON: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS MEETING, NEW DELHI

INTERVIEW BY

THE PRIME MINISTER
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

TO

JOHN OSMAN OF BBC RADIO

ON

TUESDAY, 29 NOVEMBER 1983.

Press Office,
10, Downing Street,
London, SW1.

01-930 4433

JOHN OSMAN: PRIME MINISTER, CAN YOU TELL ME ANYTHING AT ALL ABOUT THE LETTER YOU'VE RECEIVED FROM MR. ANDROPOV?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, WE DON'T USUALLY REVEAL CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGES, BUT AS YOU KNOW WE HAVE DECIDED TO DEPLOY CRUISE AND PERSHING MISSILES, THE SOVIET UNION UNFORTUNATELY WALKED OUT OF THE TALKS ALTHOUGH THERE'S STILL SOME TIME TO GO BEFORE DECEMBER 31ST, WE HAVE TO DEPLOY THEM BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION HAS PUT UP THE SS20S AND PUT THEM UP AT THE RATE OF ONE A WEEK, DURING THE TIME THE TALKS WERE BEING HELD, SO THEY'RE NOT NOW IN A POSITION TO SAY THAT WE, AFTER FOUR YEARS, ARE DEPLOYING OUR OWN.

J. OSMAN: HAVE YOU SENT A REPLY YET?

MRS. THATCHER: I SHALL SEND A REPLY ALMOST AS SOON AS I RETURN.

J. OSMAN: NOW AS FOR THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE ITSELF WHAT WOULD YOU REGARD AS ITS PRINCIPAL ACHIEVEMENT?

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK WE'RE VERY FORTUNATE THAT WE MET SO SOON AFTER THE GRENADA AFFAIR AND THE CYPRUS MATTER, IT GAVE A CHANCE FOR, I THINK IT WAS 33 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AND OTHERS REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN SECRETARIES, TO DISCUSS THESE THINGS TOGETHER, THEIR IMPLICATION, BOTH FOR THE CARIBBEAN AND OF COURSE FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO COME TO AN AGREED STATEMENT. ON GRENADA AS YOU KNOW WE WEREN'T GOING TO HAVE RECRIMINATIONS OR DISAGREEMENT OVER THE PAST, WE ALL SAID - LOOK, GRENADA HAS A SECOND CHANCE TO RE-ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY, LET'S SEE WHAT WE CAN DO TO HELP HER DO THAT.

J. OSMAN: THERE DO SEEM TO BE QUITE A NUMBER OF DIVISIVE ISSUES - THE MIDDLE EAST, TO SOME EXTENT GRENADA, WORLD ECONOMY, WHICH WOULD YOU HAVE REGARDED AS THE TOUGHEST OF THEM LOOKING BACK OVER THE PAST WEEK?

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK THE TOUGHEST ONE TO GET THE RIGHT AGREED COMMUNIQUE ON WAS GRENADA, BECAUSE WE HAD TO SIT TALKING IT THROUGH FOR A VERY VERY LONG TIME AND THEN WE AGREED THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIQUE YOU CAN SEE, WITH EACH NATION, GIVING ITS VIEWS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ABOUT THE PAST. NOW THE ONLY THING THAT MATTERED WAS THE FUTURE.

J. OSMAN: DO YOU SEE THE COMMONWEALTH IN FACT AS A UNIFYING FORCE, A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE OR IS IT MERELY A TALKING SHOP?

MRS. THATCHER: I SEE IT AND I THINK THIS CONFERENCE HAS BEEN VERY MUCH EVIDENCE OF THIS, AS A FORCE FOR RECONCILIATION, BECAUSE YOU CAN SEE, AS I'VE INDICATED, GRENADA WAS ONE OBVIOUSLY AND AS A MEANS OF CONTACT WITH OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND HEARING THEIR VIEWS, IT'S QUITE OBVIOUS, IF YOU'RE IN THE PACIFIC, YOU MAY HAVE A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THINGS FROM SOMEONE IN THE CARIBBEAN, OR SOMEONE FROM CYPRUS AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, OR FROM THE WESTERN VIEW. YOU ACTUALLY SIT AND TALK WITH THEM AND HEAR THOSE VIEWS. THEY MIGHT HAVE A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE CONDITIONS THE IMF ARE TRYING TO PUT ON THEM FOR LOANS, YOU ACTUALLY HEAR THEM, YOU HAVE A MUCH ENLARGED UNDERSTANDING, AND THAT IS TREMENDOUSLY HELPFUL, YOU KNOW THE WHOLE WORLD IS TALKING NOW ABOUT MORE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, WE'VE JUST HAD IT AND WE HAD QUITE A NUMBER OF DATES FOR IT AND IT REALLY DOES WORK.

J. OSMAN: YOUR JOURNEY WAS WORTHWHILE?

MRS. THATCHER: OUR JOURNEY WAS NECESSARY.

J. OSMAN: IS THERE ANY OTHER PARTICULAR POINT THAT YOU'D LIKE TO MAKE, PRIME MINISTER?

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK WE HAD TWO BIG DECLARATIONS, ONE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND, WELL, WE ALL WANT DISARMAMENT, TO BE ABLE TO GET ACROSS THE VIEW - YES, WE DO WANT DISARMAMENT - BUT NONE OF IT IS GOING TO JEOPARDISE OUR SECURITY. YOU MUST KEEP YOUR SECURITY AND YOUR WAY OF LIFE AND THEREFORE YOUR DISARMAMENT HAS TO BE BALANCED AND VERIFIABLE, AND ON THE ECONOMIC SCENE, AGAIN WE WERE ABLE TO GET ACROSS THAT HOWEVER MANY CHANGES YOU MAY DESIRE IN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND I THINK THEY'VE DONE REALLY RATHER WELL UP TO DATE, NONE OF THEM CAN WORK UNLESS WE EACH OF US RUN OUR OWN AFFAIRS IN A SOUND WAY AND THAT'S NOT ... NOT A BAD RECORD FOR ONE CONFERENCE.

J. OSMAN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH INDEED PRIME MINISTER.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NEW DELHI

INTERVIEW BY

THE PRIME MINISTER
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

TO

JOHN SIMPSON OF BBC TV

ON

TUESDAY, 29 NOVEMBER 1983.

Press Office,
10, Downing Street,
London, SW1.

01.930 4433

JOHN SIMPSON: PRIME MINISTER IT'S FAIRLY CLEAR FROM WHAT WAS SAID AT THE CONFERENCE AND WHAT APPEARS ACTUALLY IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE THAT BRITAIN HAD A FAIRLY MAJOR EFFECT, THAT YOU HAD A FAIRLY MAJOR EFFECT, ON THE WRITING OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND PERHAPS CHANGES FROM WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE LIKED.

MRS. THATCHER: WELL WE HAVE TO AGREE THE COMMUNIQUE AND YOU'RE QUITE RIGHT, FREQUENTLY IT FELT TO ME TO PUT NOT ONLY THE BRITISH VIEW BUT THE WESTERN VIEW AND I WAS HELPED IN THAT BY PIERRE TRUDEAU WHEN IT CAME TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND OF COURSE ALSO BY MR. HAWKE.

J. SIMPSON: BUT WAS IT A QUESTION OF, AS IT WERE, FIGHTING THE WEST, FIGHTING THE AMERICAN CORNER?

MRS. THATCHER: NATO WAS FIGHTING FOR THE NATO VIEW, WE ARE A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE, WE THREATEN NO-ONE, WE HAVE ALREADY AGREED THAT WE WOULD NEVER USE OUR WEAPONS EXCEPT IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK AND IT WAS TRYING TO GET ACROSS THAT ALTHOUGH YOU TALK ABOUT THE TWO SUPER POWERS, DON'T EQUATE THEM, AMERICA IS A FREE COUNTRY, A FREE SOCIETY AND MOST OF US THERE REGARD FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AS BEING THE THING FOR WHICH WE LIVE. THAT IS NOT TRUE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND I THINK IT'S A MISTAKE JUST TO TALK ABOUT THEM AS IF THEY WERE THE SAME.

J. SIMPSON: BUT WAS THAT THE KIND OF ARGUMENT WHICH PEOPLE FROM THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHICH AFTER ALL MOSTLY COMPOSE THE COMMONWEALTH PARTIES. WAS THAT THE KIND OF ARGUMENT THEY ACCEPTED . . . ?

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, NOT NECESSARILY BUT AS YOU SEE YOU FIND THAT THE COMMUNIQUE IS REASONABLY BALANCED, REASONABLY BALANCED.

J. SIMPSON: SO NO CONDEMNATION OF THE AMERICANS OVER GRENADA?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, INDEED.

J. SIMPSON: AND ALSO NO CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA . . . WELL, AT LEAST NOT SUCH A CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA AS MANY PEOPLE WOULD HAVE LIKED?

MRS. THATCHER: IN SOUTH AFRICA, YES, WE DID CALL . . . WE DID CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, WE RECOGNISE THAT MOST OF THE WORK OF THE CONTACT GROUP ON NAMIBIA HAS IN FACT BEEN COMPLETED BUT WHETHER ONE LIKES IT OR NOT THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA HAS MADE A LINKAGE WITH CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA AND WHATEVER WE SAID ABOUT IT, THAT LINKAGE WILL NOT GO AWAY. I MYSELF WOULD MUCH HAVE PREFERRED FOR THEM TO CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICAN AND CUBAN TROOPS, THAT TO ME WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH MUCH MORE EVEN HANDED BUT WE COULDN'T GET THAT THROUGH.

J. SIMPSON: TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, WAS THAT COINED IN THE KIND OF TERMS THAT YOU WOULD FIND USEFUL IN DEALING WITH THE RUSSIANS?

MRS. THATCHER: I DON'T KNOW THAT I THOUGHT ABOUT DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WE TEND TO DEAL WITH THEM THROUGH THE DISARMAMENT FORA, AMBASSADORS IN LONDON AND THROUGH DIRECT COMMUNICATION. I THINK IT SHOULD HELP TO MAKE THEM RECOGNISE THAT WE IN THE WEST AND THE COMMONWEALTH ARE VERY FIRM IN WISHING PROPERLY TO DEFEND OUR WAY OF LIFE. YES, WE WANT TO BE ABLE TO DEFEND IT AT A LOWER LEVEL OF WEAPONRY BUT WE'RE NOT GOING TO JEOPARDISE THE THINGS WE HOLD DEAR.

J. SIMPSON: YOU RECEIVED WHILE YOU WERE HERE IN GOA, YOU RECEIVED A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT ANDROPOV, DID IT CONTAIN ANYTHING NEW OR INTERESTING OR ANYTHING YOU COULD GRASP?

MRS. THATCHER: I DID NOT FIND ANYTHING SURPRISING OR UNUSUAL OR UNKNOWN IN IT BUT I WILL OF COURSE BE REPLYING TO IT.

J. SIMPSON: AND CAN WE KNOW A LITTLE BIT MORE ABOUT THE TONE OF IT...

MRS. THATCHER: I DID NOT FIND ANYTHING SURPRISING IN EITHER THE TONE OR THE CONTENTS.

J. SIMPSON: BECAUSE THERE WERE SUGGESTIONS IT WAS FAIRLY STRONG IN ITS PHRASING

MRS. THATCHER: I SUPPOSE IT DEPENDS WHETHER YOU'RE EASILY SURPRISED OR NOT.

J. SIMPSON: AT TIMES OF STRESS BETWEEN THE SUPER POWERS IN THE PAST, BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS HAVE TENDED TO SEE THAT AS A TIME FOR THEM TO STEP IN AND DO A LITTLE BIT OF HONEST BROKERING, BEING CLOSE OBVIOUSLY TO THE AMERICANS, YOU DON'T OR HAVEN'T IN THE PAST, SEEMED TO FEEL THAT THAT WAS BRITAIN'S ROLE SO MUCH.

MRS. THATCHER: I THINK YOU'LL FIND THAT EUROPE AS A COMMUNITY, IS TAKING A BIGGER ROLE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, INDEED WHAT IS CALLED A POLITICAL CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE, IT WORKS VERY WELL, IT IS VERY USEFUL AS YOU GET ISSUES EMERGING TO KNOW THAT ONCE A MONTH FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE MEETING, THAT EVERY THIRD MONTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ARE MEETING AND ALSO YOU GET TO KNOW THEM VERY WELL, SO IF YOU WANT TO GET ON THE TELEPHONE AND AGREE A LINE YOU CAN DO SO, SO YOU WILL FIND THAT EUROPE ITSELF IS TAKING A STRONGER LINE, BUT OF COURSE THE MAIN THING IS TO KEEP EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES TOGETHER IN NATO AND WE'RE VERY VERY CONSCIOUS AND I THINK THE UNITED STATES HAS SOME THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND TROOPS ON THE FRONT LINE, ON THE IRON CURTAIN LINE, THAT IS REMARKABLE, SO FAR AWAY FROM HOME BECAUSE SHE RECOGNISES THAT AS HER FRONT LINE BUT SHE WAS VERY ANXIOUS NOT ONLY TO TAKE A BIGGER ROLE FROM OURSELVES BUT TO KEEP VERY MUCH BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

J. SIMPSON: AND HAS PRESIDENT ANDROPOV'S LETTER WHICH YOU RECEIVED, DONE ANYTHING TO MAKE THE SITUATION EASIER OR PERHAPS MORE DIFFICULT?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I THINK IT'S A GREAT PITY THAT THEY DISCONTINUED THE TALKS, THEY HAVE LEFT THE DOOR OPEN TO COME BACK BUT THERE WERE SOME DAYS STILL TO GO BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR AND I JUST THINK IT'S A TRAGEDY THAT THEY WALKED OUT, BUT HAVING WALKED OUT AND REFUSED TO GO TO THE ZERO OPTION, THEN THEY'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO CRITICISE US FOR DEPLOYING THE ANSWER TO WEAPONS WHICH THEY HAVE ALREADY DEPLOYED.

J. SIMPSON: AND THE LETTER PRESUMABLY DID CONTAIN CRITICISMS ALONG THOSE LINES?

MRS. THATCHER: YOU WOULD HAVE EXPECTED IT TOO.

J. SIMPSON: CAN WE TURN, PRIME MINISTER, FINALLY TO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE ECONOMIC DEBATE, THE WORLD ECONOMY, WAS TAT COUCHED IN THE KIND OF WAY YOU LIKED, WOULD YOU REALLY HAVE PERHAPS PREFERRED NO KIND OF SERIOUS DISCUSSION ABOUT THE WHOLE SUBJECT?

MRS. THATCHER: OH YOU COULDN'T POSSIBLY COME TO A COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY OF THIS LENGTH, WITHOUT HAVING A SERIOUS DISCUSSION ABOUT THE WORLD ECONOMY, YOU JUST COULDN'T, I MEAN EVERYONE'S AFFECTED BY IT, SOME PEOPLE ARE AFFECTED BY STILL STRUGGLING FROM THE INCREASED PRICE OF OIL, THEY HAVE TO EXPORT SO MUCH MORE TO PAY FOR THEIR OIL, OTHERS ARE AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOYMENT, WE'RE ALL AFFECTED BY IT AND SO WE HAD TO DISCUSS IT UNDER TWO HEADS; ONE, CAN WE GET GREATER INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION, WHICH YOU DO THROUGH THE IMF, THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION AND WORLD BANKS AND THROUGH GATT, AND.... THAT'S ONE ASPECT AND THAT DOES NOT ABSOLVE US FROM PUTTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER BECAUSE NO INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM WILL WORK UNLESS EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES ARE WORKING PROPERLY. BUT WE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO TRY AND ADAPT THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE DONE A VERY GOOD JOB IN CHANGING TO MEET CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, RATHER THAN TO SET UP NEW ONES.

J. SIMPSON: SO IS IT FAIR TO ASSUME THAT BRITAIN WOULD REALL PREFER NOT TO SEE A NEW BRETTON WOODS STRUCTURE...?

MRS. THATCHER: I DON'T SEE.... I THINK THE TITLE TOWARDS A NEW BRETTON WOODS IS TOTALLY AND UTTERLY MISLEADING, BRETTON WOODS SET UP THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WE HAVE NOW, THEY'VE CHANGED AND ADAPTED, WE ALREADY HAVE THE INSTITUTIONS, THERE'S NOT MUCH POINT IN SETTING UP YET ANOTHER ONE, WITH YET ANOTHER GROUP OF OFFICIALS, YET ANOTHER CONFERENCE TO ATTEND. IF THERE'S ANYTHING NOT QUITE RIGHT WE SET UP A STUDY GROUP TO SEE WHAT'S NOT QUITE RIGHT AND THEN WE MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO HOW EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WILL CHANGE BUT YOU KNOW IN THE END IF YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE IMF, OR IDA, YOU'VE GOT TO REMEMBER THAT THOSE WHO LEND THE MONEY, THE DEPOSITORS AND THE LENDERS, HAVE GOT TO BE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THEY'RE GOING TO GET IT BACK AND DON'T FORGET SOME OF THE PROBLEMS THAT ARE ARISING NOW ARE BECAUSE TOO MUCH MONEY WAS LENT AND TOO MUCH MONEY WAS BORROWED, TOO QUICKLY AND THAT'S ONE OF THE PROBLEMS, IT SHOULDN'T HAPPEN AGAIN.

J. SIMPSON: NEVERTHELESS WHEN YOU'RE TALKING TO COMMONWEALTH LEADERS YOU'RE TALKING TO THE HEADS OF SOME OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, AS WELL AS SOME OF THE RICHEST, IS IT REALLY REASONABLE TO TALK TO THOSE SORT OF PEOPLE AND SAY - PUT YOUR HOUSE IN ORDER - CAN THEY AFFORD TO?

MRS. THATCHER: WELL, FOR THEM - FOR THE POOREST COUNTRIES, THAT'S REALLY TO WHOM YOUR AID IS DIRECTED AND THEY DO USE THEIR AID VERY VERY WELL, TO PROVIDE POWER STATIONS, IRRIGATION SCHEMES, SOMETHING TO HELP THEM TO GET THEIR AGRICULTURE UP TO A BETTER STANDARD AND WE ... ONE OF THE BIG ONES, I THINK THE VICTORIA DAM, IN CEYLON, FOR WHICH WE GAVE ABOUT ... OVER FIVE YEARS ABOUT £100 MILLION, THAT'S A POWER STATION AND ALSO PROVIDES IRRIGATION FOR MANY MANY PEOPLE. NOW FOR THEM THE AID IS NEEDED AND WE DID TALK ABOUT THE NEXT ROUND OF AID.

J. SIMPSON: PRIME MINISTER THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NEW DELHI

INTERVIEW BY

THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

TO

DAVID SPANNIER OF IRN

ON

TUESDAY, 29 NOVEMBER 1983

Press Office,
10 Downing Street,
London, SW1.

01-930 4433

DAVID SPANIER: PRIME MINISTER, LET'S BEGIN WITH THE FACT THAT THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE HAS JUST ENDED AND A VERY IMPORTANT PART OF IT WAS SECURITY. YOU'VE JUST RECEIVED A LETTER FROM MR. ANDROPOV BUT YOU HAVEN'T REPLIED TO IT YET.

MRS. THATCHER: INDEED WE WILL REPLY WHEN WE RETURN, BUT OBVIOUSLY I HAVE READ AND INWARDLY DIGESTED THE CONTENT. WE SHALL DEPLOY CRUISE AND PERSHING. AS YOU KNOW WE'VE MADE THAT DECISION. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THAT CHOSE TO DISCONTINUE THE DISARMAMENT TALKS. WE DIDN'T WANT THEM TO DISCONTINUE, THEY WALKED OUT AND YOU KNOW WE HAD CONTINUOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEM ALL THE TIME THEY WERE DEPLOYING SS20S AT THE RATE OF ONE A WEEK, SO THEY'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO CRITICISE US NOW AT THE END OF THAT TIME FOR DEPLOYING OUR ANSWER TO THAT. AFTER ALL WE HAVE TO HAVE SOMETHING TO DETER THEM AT ALL LEVELS.

D. SPANIER: DO YOU THINK AS FAR AS THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IS CONCERNED THAT THE QUESTION OF SECURITY HAS MADE THE WORLD A SLIGHTLY SAFER PLACE?

MRS. THATCHER: ALL OF US UNDERSTOOD FIRST THAT ALTHOUGH WE WANT DISARMAMENT PASSIONATELY BECAUSE IT WOULD BE VERY NICE TO BE ABLE TO SPEND LESS ON WEAPONS OF WAR, THAT WE MUST NEVERTHELESS KEEP OUR SECURITY. THE PURPOSE FOR ARMAMENT IS ONLY TO KEEP YOUR SECURITY AND TO DETER OTHER PEOPLE FROM ATTACKING YOU. SO, YES, YOU WANT DISARMAMENT BUT IT MEANS THAT OTHER PEOPLE HAVE TO DISARM TO THE SAME EXTENT, OTHERWISE YOU DON'T KEEP YOUR SECURITY. NOW WE ALSO DISCUSSED ONE OTHER MATTER AND AGAIN WE MANAGED TO GET OUR OWN VIEW ACROSS, SO WE HAVE TO TRY TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS... REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, FOR SECURITY OF VERY SMALL STATES, THEY CAN'T DEFEND THEMSELVES AND WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO CONSIDER THIS IN MUCH MORE DETAIL THAN WE HAVE HITHERTO.

D. SPANIER: IT IS TRUE YOU GOT THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW ACROSS ON GRENADA, VERY STRONGLY, BUT DO YOU FEEL A LITTLE BIT CONCERNED THAT AFTER ALL BRITISH POLICY HAS BEEN MUCH CRITICISED BOTH FROM THE AMERICAN SIDE AND FROM THE COMMONWEALTH SIDE, IN THE ATTITUDE WE TOOK TO THE INVASION OF GRENADA?

MRS. THATCHER: WE WOULD HAVE BEEN CRITICISED FROM BOTH SIDES, ACCORDING TO WHICH VIEW YOU TOOK. THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WE WERE ABLE TO PERSUADE EVERYONE HERE - LOOK, DON'T WASTE TIME DEBATING ABOUT THE PAST, JUST TAKE IT THAT GRENADA NOW HAS A CHANCE TO BE A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN. THE COUNTRIES IN THE CARIBBEAN TEND TO BE DEMOCRATIC, THEY DON'T MAKE NATURAL DICTATORSHIPS, THEY'RE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES. GRENADA WAS THE EXCEPTION. I'VE NEVER SAT AT A COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE WITH A DEMOCRATIC PRIME MINISTER OF GRENADA ALTHOUGH THIS IS MY THIRD. NOW LET'S JUST SAY WE'RE ALL BELIEVERS IN DEMOCRACY, LET'S DO SOMETHING WE CAN BETWEEN US TO HELP GRENADA COME TO DEMOCRACY

HEAD OF STATE AND HEAD OF GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO INVITE IN SOMEONE ELSE TO HELP THEM. AFTER ALL JULIUS NYERERE, SOON AFTER INDEPENDENCE IN TANZANIA, NOT LONG AFTER, INVITED WE BRITISH TO GO THERE BECAUSE HE HAD A MUTINY ON HIS HANDS. WE DID GO THERE, SORTED IT OUT AND HANDED IT BACK OVER TO HIM.

D. SPANIER: I THINK THAT ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT QUESTIONS AT THIS WHOLE CONFERENCE WAS THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. IS IT ONE OF THOSE ISSUES WHERE PERHAPS YOU HAVE SLIGHTLY MODIFIED YOUR VIEWS AND THAT YOU WERE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE SAYING THERE WAS SOME KIND OF A LINK OR AT LEAST A POLITICAL REALITY, IN THAT THE AMERICANS WANTED THE CUBANS TO LEAVE, WHEREAS NOW THE COMMUNIQUE DOES NOT REALLY SPECIFY THAT POINT, ON THE CONTRARY?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, WE'VE NEVER SAID AN ACTUAL LINKAGE, INDEED I THINK GEOFFREY HOWE'S SPEECH TO THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, DEALT WITH IT ACCURATELY, BUT YOU HAVE TO RECOGNISE THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE NOW BACKED US AND MADE A LINK, SO ALTHOUGH ONE'S PARTNER DOES NOT RECOGNISE ONE, IT IS THERE AND IT WON'T GO AWAY.

D. SPANIER: FINALLY, PRIME MINISTER, IF YOU LOOK BACK AT THIS CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE, A GREAT MANY WORDS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED ABOUT IT BUT NOT A LOT HAS CHANGED. WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU'VE GOT OUT OF IT YOURSELF?

MRS. THATCHER: IT'S ALWAYS USEFUL FOR 33 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, PLUS OTHER GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED BY THEIR CONSULS TO MEET TOGETHER AND TO DISCUSS THE GREAT ISSUES OF THE DAY AND THE SPECIFIC ISSUES. NOW WE DID BOTH, THE GREAT ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD ECONOMY AND THE SPECIAL ISSUES OF CYPRUS AND GRENADA AND NAMIBIA AND WE CAME TO AGREED RESULTS. IT WAS VERY VALUABLE FOR THE WHOLE CARIBBEAN TO HAVE THIS CONFERENCE AND ALSO FOR CYPRUS ON THIS SPECIFIC THING. IT WAS VALUABLE TO US ALL TO HEAR ONE ANOTHER'S VIEWPOINTS ON THE WORLD ECONOMY. OF COURSE EVERYONE WANTS MORE MONEY TOWARDS MORE GRANTS, MORE LOANS, YOU DO HAVE TO SIT DOWN AND EXPLAIN THAT YOU REALLY COULDN'T RUN A BANK . . . MERELY BY HAVING PEOPLE REPRESENTING THE OVERDRAFT SITTING ON THE BOARD, YOU KNOW, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE SOME DEPOSITORY, IT'S COMMONSENSE BECAUSE IF YOU'RE NOT CAREFUL ENTHUSIASM AND PASSIONS RUN AWAY. ALL RIGHT, YOU RECOGNISE THAT WHEN WE'RE DEALING WITH THINGS LIKE POVERTY AND HOW IN THE WORLD THEY COULD GET SOME CAPITAL IN THEIR COUNTRY, HOW IN THE WORLD THEY CAN BUILD POWER STATIONS, ROADS, GET IRRIGATION, UNLESS THEY GET SOME AID AND (INTERFERENCE)

D. SPANIER: THANK YOU, PRIME MINISTER.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NEW DELHI

INTERVIEW BY

THE PRIME MINISTER,
THE RT HON MARGARET THATCHER FRS MP

TO

MARTIN BROUGHTON OF BBC OVERSEAS SERVICES

ON

TUESDAY, 29 NOVEMBER 1983

Press Office,
10, Downing Street,
London, SW1.

01-930 4433

16. MARTIN BROUGHTON

INTERVIEWER: YOUR HOPES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH, IN WHAT WAY SHOULD IT DEVELOP TO ENCOURAGE AND MAINTAIN THE INTEREST AND COMMITMENT OF ITS MEMBERS?

MRS. THATCHER: I THOUGHT WE'D JUST HAD A VERY INTERESTING CONFERENCE AND IT ITSELF REVEALED ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THE COMMONWEALTH, THERE WE WERE, 33 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, FROM THE PACIFIC, FROM SOUTH EAST ASIA, FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN, FROM EUROPE, FROM THE CARIBBEAN, DISCUSSING THINGS OF COMMON CONCERN, DISCUSSING THE SECURITY OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US, DISCUSSING THE WORLD ECONOMY, NOT ONLY WERE WE ABLE TO REACH AN AGREED COMMUNIQUE BUT I NOW KNOW HOW SOME OF THE HEADS OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS FEEL, ABOUT CERTAIN OF THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, ABOUT HOW OTHER VERY POOR COUNTRIES WANT MORE AID AND YOU JUST HAVE A VERY MUCH BETTER VIEW OF THE WORLD BECAUSE YOU'VE SEEN IT FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE AS WELL AS YOUR OWN.

INTERVIEWER: AS AN INSTITUTION THOUGH WHAT IS REQUIRED TO KEEP IT GOING, WHAT SORT OF ENTHUSIASM, WHAT DIRECTION?

MRS. THATCHER: OH, I THINK IT'S KEPT GOING BY FIRST THE FANTASTIC AMOUNT OF TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION WE HAVE, NOW THIS MORNING IT CAME OUT FROM MANY OF THE SMALLER STATES, THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY REALLY VALUE THE AID THEY GET BY WAY OF TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION, BY TRAINING TECHNICIANS, OR BY SENDING PEOPLE OUT TO TRAIN TECHNICIANS, BY HELPING THEM TO GO INTO THE TECHNICAL AGE, THAT'S ALL DONE THROUGH THE COMMONWEALTH, WE HAVE REGIONAL CONFERENCES THROUGH THE COMMONWEALTH AND REGIONAL MATTERS AND I THINK YOU'LL FIND THAT IT WILL CONTINUE BECAUSE IT IS SUCCESSFUL AND BECAUSE THE LEVEL OF DEBATE AND DISCUSSION IS SOME OF THE MOST DYNAMIC, AND IF I SAY 'EASY' DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME, IT'S QUITE TOUGH SOMETIMES BUT WE ALL SPEAK IN ENGLISH AND WHEN YOU ALL SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE AND YOU SIMPLY DON'T HAVE TO HAVE MASSES OF TRANSLATORS THERE, YOU REALLY CAN HAVE AN ARGUMENT, I THINK ALL THIS IS VERY VALUABLE.

INTERVIEWER: AND YET SOME PEOPLE FEAR EVEN AFTER THIS LAST CONFERENCE, FEAR THAT SOME OF THE HEART IS GOING OUT OF THE COMMONWEALTH - IS THERE ANY SENSE OF THAT YOURSELF?

ARE STILL PEOPLE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH WHO SEE IT AS A BRITISH CLUB THAT WE HAVE AN EXCESSIVE INFLUENCE, DOES IT MAKE IT DIFFICULT THEREFORE FOR US TO PLAY A FULL ROLE BECAUSE OF THAT?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I DON'T THINK SO, OBVIOUSLY I HAVE TO PUT BOTH THE BRITISH AND THE WESTERN VIEW BECAUSE THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE THERE WHO ARE NON-ALIGNED, AND I THINK THAT WE MUST KEEP UP OUR OWN END AND YOU KNOW THE VIEW THAT I TAKE, WHICH IS THAT MANY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES REALLY I THINK HAVE THE WEST TO THANK FOR UPHOLDING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TO PURSUE THEIR OWN DESTINY, AFTER ALL THE SUBSIDY DOES NOT COME FROM THE WEST. I'D SAY YES, I DID HAVE TO PUT THE WESTERN VIEW AND PUT IT VERY FIRMLY, I DID HAVE TO PUT THE SOUND VIEW .. I WASN'T ALONE.... I WASN'T ALONE IN DOING THESE THINGS, TRUE THE ARGUMENT WAS SOUND BUT I COULDN'T HAVE GOT SOME OF THOSE THINGS INTO THE COMMUNIQUE UNLESS I'D BEEN HELPED BY SOME OTHERS BECAUSE THE ARGUMENTS WERE SOUND.

INTERVIEWER: YOU DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY LINGERING RESENTMENT ABOUT BRITAIN'S COLONIAL PAST, THERE STILL REMAINS IN THE COMMONWEALTH A SUSPICION THERE?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, I DON'T THINK THAT THERE'S ANY LINGERING RESENTMENT, RATHER I THINK THEY UNDERSTAND THAT IT'S THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD THAT WHAT WAS AN EMPIRE HAS REMAINED AS A FREE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDLY PEOPLES, AND THAT WAS VERY MUCH THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THEY APPROACHED IT.

INTERVIEWER: BUT THE COMMONWEALTH IS GETTING BIGGER AND MORE DIVERSE IN MANY WAYS, IS THERE A DANGER THAT IT COULD BEGIN TO LOSE ITS DIRECTION, THAT IT COULD BECOME ALMOST A SMALL UNITED NATIONS BUT WITHOUT THE INFLUENCE OF THE SUPER POWERS WITH IN IT?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, WE'RE ABOUT ... WE HAVE 33 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, WE'RE ABOUT 45/48 NOW AND MOST OF THE COUNTRIES WHO CAN COME TO INDEPENDENCE ARE ALREADY WELL ON THE WAY TO INDEPENDENCE OR THERE ARE CERTAIN REASONS WHY THEY'RE TREATED DIFFERENTLY, SO I THINK WE'RE PRETTY NEAR THE OUTSIDE MEMBERSHIP.

INTERVIEWER:

I WANTED TO QUOTE A PASSAGE FROM YOUR SPEECH AT THE BEGINNING, WHERE YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT GREAT GOALS BEING ACHIEVED BY CLEAR AND UNSHAKEABLE A COMMITMENT TO WHAT'S RIGHT AND WHAT'S TRUE, AND IT WAS THE GUIDING TONE OF THE COMMONWEALTH, IS THERE A DANGER THERE EVEN WITH THAT SORT OF IDEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OVEF-REACHING ITSELF AND BEING TOO AMBITIOUS?

MRS. THATCHER: NO, THAT WAS ... I THINK I ALSO QUOTED IN THAT SPEECH THE SINGAPORE DECLARATION ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, NOW I BELIEVE PASSIONATELY IN DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE AS YOU KNOW, SO DO MOST OF THE OTHERS THERE. BUT NOT EVERY SINGLE COUNTRY THERE IS A DEMOCRACY AND I THINK THAT WAS VERY NECESSARY TO REAFFIRM WHAT THE COMMONWEALTH STANDS FOR.

INTERVIEWER: IT MAY SEEM THAT MY QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN A LITTLE NEGATIVE ABOUT THE COMMONWEALTH BUT I'M ASKING YOU DIRECTLY PERHAPS FINALLY, WHETHER YOU SEE ANY DANGERS IN ITS WAY, ANY OBSTACLES. THINGS THAT IT HA TO CROSS OR IT MAY OBVIOUSLY FAIL?

MRS. THATCHER: I NO, I HAVE BEEN TO THREE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCES NOW, THE REMARKABLE THING IS THAT WHEN WE SIT ROUND A TABLE TOGETHER FOR FIVE OR SIX DAYS AND WE HAVE LUNCH TOGETHER AND SEE ONE ANOTHER IN THE EVENING AND WE ALL TALK SEPARATELY AS WELL AS TOGETHER, THE REMARKABLE THING IS HOW SUCH DIVERGENCE OF PERSPECTIVES CAN BE TALKED THROUGH AND WE CAN AGREE ON COURSES OF ACTION TO TAKE, YOU SEE THIS TIME THERE WERE TWO THINGS ON WHICH WE HAD TO AGREE, OF COURSES OF ACTION: GRENADA AND CYPRUS, NOT JUST DECLARTIONS BUT COURSES OF ACTION. WE DID AGREE. THAT IS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT.

PRIME MINISTER

Custom

AWKWARD QUESTIONS

Judging from my briefing of the media at 2.00pm - admittedly before they had seen the communique - the press is short of a story. This underlines the importance of presenting your case in the most positive light.

Their main concern was to find out where you had got your way and where you hadn't.

My line was that any drafting group involving 42 countries was bound to compromise and to use language in a resourceful way. Undoubtedly there were passages in the communique which we would have written differently - notably the passage on Southern Africa.

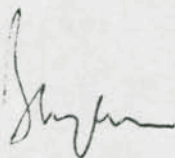
But we had felt able to sign up on everything. The drafting reserved our position where necessary. Annex I identifies our three reservations. The press are aware of these and the reasons for them.

The draft statement anticipates the media's main questions:

1. What from your point of view is the main result Hasn't the conference brought forth a mouse - or mice?
2. What has most pleased and displeased you?
3. What, if anything, have you learned?
4. Have you changed your mind on anything as a result of the discussions?
5. Are these conferences worthwhile? What changes would you like to see?
6. Whither Commonwealth?

As of now, two other questions are likely to arise:

1. Andropov's letter - line to take at Annex II.
2. Meeting with Mugabe - line to take at Annex III.



B. INGHAM

29 November 1983

The communique expresses the unanimous view of Heads of Government except in the following passages, where our position is reserved.

Southern Africa

A Para 14, second sentence: ".....the overwhelming majority of Heads of Government rejected the proposals of the South African Government for "constitutional" change....."

We could not go along with those who condemned the constitutional proposals out of hand; we think it necessary to suspend judgement on them.

Middle East

B Para 21, final sentence: ".....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....."

We cannot agree to the two phrases underlined.

Law of the Sea

C Para 34. The first sentence is unanimous. All the rest begin "Most Heads of Government" or "There was a widespread view". Having taken a decision not to sign the Convention, we could not agree to these sentences.

LETTER FROM ANDROPOV

Line to take:

I received a letter dated November 24 from Mr Andropov through diplomatic channels.

It is not our practice to reveal the contents of confidential exchanges.

[A reply will be sent in due course].

MEETING WITH MUGABE

Line to take:

I met Mr Mugabe for an hour over drinks last Friday. Mr Mugabe asked that the meeting should be a private one and so we did not reveal it had taken place. I understand reports of it have now been published in Zimbabwe.

In a frank but friendly discussion Mr Mugabe brought me up to date on developments in Zimbabwe.

I did mention to Mr Mugabe the officers who are still in detention in Zimbabwe and he is, of course, fully aware of our views.

PRESS CONFERENCE, RADIO AND TV

I have put the media on an hour's notice for a press conference should the Conference effectively end at lunchtime. We should however try to avoid those press conferences being held by Mrs Gandhi/Mr Ramphal and by Mr Trudeau on his return from China (fixed for 6.00pm).

As I mentioned in my minute to you of last night, we shall not be able entirely to confine your press conference to British journalists. There will, for example, be a number with American outlets so there will be interest in the extent to which the Commonwealth has gone anti-American or has been prevented from doing so.

The news left in the communique is as follows:

- Cyprus, where we need to defend language which is rather harder than our resolution at the UN;
- Grenada, about which there is a great deal of interest in how conflicting views have been reconciled;
- Southern Africa; and, of course,
- the extent to which you have reserved your position by such phrases as "Most Heads of Government". (I am having a note prepared on this).

The main problem in presenting this conference to paint your contribution as a positive rather than a blocking role. This has been achieved over International Security and to a large extent over the international economic scene and we have emerged as resourceful drafters.

The attached speaking note attempts to put the most positive gloss on your contribution, and that of your officials, and I think you should use it as a short opening statement if you agree with it.

Another reason for saying a few opening words on these lines is to meet head on questions about your view of the Commonwealth and the value of these biennial conferences.

Needless to say, the speaking note reflects the line I have been taking in the score or so briefings I have given over the period of the conference.

Finally, just a reminder about the mechanics.

We have arranged for the press conference to be held in the main drawing room with the door as background. Still photographers will be to your left and TV to your right.

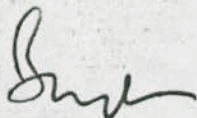
Both radio and tv will record the press conference but I have arranged for you to give short (4-5 minutes) news interviews to BBC Radio and IRN, BBC TV and ITN in the library next door.

In addition BBC Overseas Services would like to put 2-3 questions to you on the future of the Commonwealth - its potential and problems - for a programme they are making at the conference. They have already interviewed Mrs Gandhi, Mr Muldoon and Mr Lee Kuan Yew and are trying to arrange to interview African leaders.

I have said provisionally that you will do this.

I have however rejected a bid for an interview by Indian TV. I think 5 interviews on the trot are enough. Agree?

Attached is the draft speaking note.



B. INGHAM

29 November 1983

This has been an extremely hard working conference - over 10 hours of discussions on our weekend off, you will recall - and it has been a useful and valuable seven days we have spent in New Delhi and Goa.

Mrs Gandhi, our host, has kept our noses to the grindstone. The outcome in terms of words is two Declarations - one on international security from Goa and the other on economic action from here in New Delhi; and a separate communique on a host of other subjects, not all of which have been discussed in depth but which reflect the concerns of the 42 countries taking part.

That leads me to the first point about this Conference. It is an unrivalled opportunity for leaders representing a quarter of the world's people - from countries large and small, developed and developing, rich and very poor - to talk to each other in a common language. To express their hopes, their fears - and, yes, their frustrations.

For me, the Conference brings into much sharper focus the preoccupations of a host of countries reaching into all four corners of the earth.

For that reason alone I find this week we spend together every two years - and this is my third Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting - a valuable institution.

But learning is also a two-way process. And so the Conference is also an opportunity.

And I have seized the opportunity it has afforded to get over the British - and sometimes the Western - point of view with vigour and I believe some effect. For example:

On International Security the Commonwealth knows how passionately I want to see both nuclear and conventional disarmament on a balanced and verifiable basis; security at a much lower level of armaments, if we can get it; and our determination to pursue a dialogue with Russia to that end.

On economic action our conviction that improvement starts at home; on the prime importance of pursuing prudent domestic economic policies; but our recognition of the need to help on the poorest as we in the UK do - two-thirds of our aid goes to the 50 poorest countries; and our conviction that the world cannot be improved by new institutions or conferences but by making existing institutions, which haven't done a bad job at all when you think of the turmoil of the last 10 years, work more effectively.

On Southern Africa where time and again my officials and I have sought to get over the point that problems like linkage cannot be washed away by words; we have to find practical solutions to problems as we are, for example, to help Namibia to the independence we all want for her.

On Grenada where after some very moving contributions from the small Eastern Caribbean states I sought to put recrimination to rest; to prepare ourselves to help Grenada find a happier democratic future; and more generally to address ourselves to the serious practical issue of how we can offer protection to small, vulnerable States.

This is one of the many tasks the Commonwealth has set itself as it leaves New Delhi.

I hope next time we meet together in 1985 we can legitimately say that the world is a more secure, safer, more prosperous place in which to live.

For this, in spite of all our differences of perception and view, is what the Commonwealth seeks.



rec Econ P81 Indebtedness
A3

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

29 November 1983

Dear John,

Tanzania: IMF

The Prime Minister today had a brief conversation with the President of Tanzania in the margins of CHOGM. Mr. Nyerere said that the IMF were now seeking another devaluation of the Tanzanian currency on top of the two which he had had to carry out already. He urged the Prime Minister to consider this matter and use her influence with the IMF.

The Prime Minister said that she would look into this question on her return. I should be grateful for advice.

I am copying this letter to Peter Ricketts (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

Yours ever

John Kerr.

John Kerr, Esq.,
H.M. Treasury.

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIME MINISTER

YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE TOMORROW

You have agreed to give a press conference in the main drawing room at the Residence tomorrow evening at 7.00pm. We expect about 30, largely but not exclusively British journalists, to attend. We shall bring them by bus to the Residence for 6.50pm.

We intend that you should sit at a table with the main door as a back-drop and with the journalists seated in front of you. A few still photographers will attend; they will be to your left. BBC and ITN tv cameras will be to the right.

Radio and tv will most likely record the press conference but I have said that you will give the usual short news interviews (4-5 minutes) afterwards to BBC Radio, IRN, BBC TV and ITN. These interviews will be done next door in the library.

I will give you a brief for the press conference tomorrow afternoon when news coverage in Britain is clearer. We shall keep you posted on news from home up to 7.00pm.

Additionally BBC Overseas Services have asked if at the end of the four interviews they could put to you two or three questions for a feature they are making at the Conference on the Commonwealth - how do you see its future - its potential and its problems? They claim to have already interviewed Mrs Gandhi, Mr Muldoon and Lee Kuan Yew and are trying to get one or two Africans.

Content to do the usual four radio and tv interviews plus BBC Overseas Services?

Yes - if throat holds out,

Finally, the High Commissioner would very much like you to give an interview to Indian Television before you leave but there has been no time in your programme and the only opportunity would arise tomorrow evening after the press conference. However I think that five interviews on the trot are more than enough. Content not to respond to Indian Television's request?

Will see - if throat holds out
not

B. Ingham

B. INGHAM
28 November 1983

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Letter to Mrs. Gandhi

We spoke yesterday about a letter from the Prime Minister to Mrs. Gandhi, following up their bilateral on 22 November. You kindly provided a draft.

I enclose a letter signed by the Prime Minister. I should be grateful if the High Commission could arrange for its delivery and for the FCO to be informed.

AJC

28 November, 1983

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 929 OF 28 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY FOR PS/PRIME MINISTER AND PUS

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Lee Foreign Pol: East West relations

RECEIVED
 29 NOV 1983
 DUPLICATES

OF LETTER
 OF ENCLOSURES
 LOCATION

✓ Prime Minster.

Agree this line?

A-S-C-29/11

GOA DECLARATION: EAST/WEST AND ARMS CONTROL

1. SUBJECT TO THE VIEWS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN BRUSSELS, AND WITH AN EYE ON POSSIBLE REACTIONS IN WASHINGTON. WE PROPOSE THAT THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE SHOULD TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE IF QUESTIONED ABOUT THE GOA DECLARATION IN THE HOUSE ON 29 NOVEMBER. THIS WOULD ALSO SERVE AS GUIDANCE TO FCO NEWS DEPT IN RESPONDING TO PRESS ENQUIRIES.

POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

2. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS MADE CLEAR IN A NUMBER OF SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS, FOR EXAMPLE IN HER GUILDHALL SPEECH ON 14 NOVEMBER, THAT HMG WANT A BETTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND ARE READY TO PURSUE A SENSIBLE DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE PRIME MINISTER HERSELF HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO VISIT HUNGARY EARLY NEXT YEAR. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF DIALOGUE FOR ITS OWN SAKE. THE POINT IS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND TO RESTORE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. THAT IS ALSO THE MESSAGE OF THE GOA DECLARATION.

IS THIS A TIME OF CRISIS?

3. CERTAINLY TRUE THAT THE PRESENT STATE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS IS A MATTER FOR SERIOUS CONCERN. MANY ASPECTS OF THIS, INCLUDING A SOVIET MILITARY BUILD UP, INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, POLAND AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS NECESSARY TO DEAL COOLLY AND AS CONSTRUCTIVELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS ON THE AGENDA. BUT SUCCESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE WEST ALONE. PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE SOVIET RESPONSE. THE SOVIET WALK-OUT FROM GENEVA IS A STEP IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.

MR TRUDEAU'S INITIATIVE

4. WE FULLY SHARE HIS BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS. BUT, AS HE KNOWS, WE HAVE SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE PRACTICALITY OF SOME OF HIS SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS.

FIVE POWER NEGOTIATIONS (IF PRESSED)

5. SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PREMATURE AT THIS STAGE. THE FIRST PRIORITY MUST BE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO NEGOTIATE REDUCTIONS IN THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS. WE THEREFORE REGARD IT AS ESSENTIAL THAT THE RUSSIANS SHOULD SOON RETURN TO THE INF TALKS AND THAT THEY SHOULD NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN THE START TALKS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS.

HOWE

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THE NEW DELHI STATEMENT
ON
ECONOMIC ACTION

Mr. Goldsmith
Sir R. Amstutz
PUS
Sir J. Leahy
Mr. Thomas
Mr. Amisew

Mr. Goldsmith
Deputy Secretary

Jeremy 12/28/4
two under the
tables copies -
not to be
revealed we have
them until issued
to the press later
this evening.
Terry
28/11

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 been superimposed on deepseated 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 Report

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.

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 & 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.



bc EFA
Sir A. Auckland
Sir R. Wade-gery
(distributed to India)

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

28 November 1983

For Peter,

CHOGM: MALTA

The Foreign Minister of Malta raised with the Prime Minister at her lunch for Commonwealth Heads of Government today the problem of bombs and wrecks in Maltese waters. The Prime Minister said that she could not improve on the offers we had made to solve this problem but she would look into it again on her return. She could make no promises. Dr. Trigona said that he hoped that we would not propose a further mission of enquiry. What was needed was practical action to remove the bombs and wrecks.

I sat next to Dr. Trigona at the luncheon. He said that he was greatly concerned to improve bilateral relations between Malta and the UK generally. But at present he was a lone voice in his Cabinet when he talked in these terms. He would be able to swing opinion in favour of a rapprochement with Britain if we could now take practical action over the bombs and wrecks problem. He did not wish to go over the legal issues again nor was he asking us to improve on the offers we had made. But he hoped that we could very shortly send to Malta a wreck removal team and a bomb removal team, the latter to deal with bombs under grain silos which, I understood, were under construction. At a later point in the conversation he said that the grain silos would begin to be used soon, whether there had been disposal work or not. (He did not say so but implied that in these circumstances we would be responsible for any damage.)

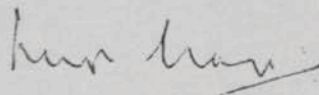
I said to Dr. Trigona that I could not go one iota beyond what the Prime Minister had said. She had said that we would examine the matter again and we would do so. He asked whether we would then send a message to him through the Maltese High Commission. I said I did not want to be committed on procedure. When we had looked into the matter, and if we had any message to send, we would get it to him by appropriate means. He then asked whether I could visit Malta. I said that I did not think this would be helpful. We would do these things through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

/ This was a

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI 1983

FOR THE INFORMATION OF DELEGATIONS

... Attached for your information is the GOA DECLARATION
ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY agreed by Heads of Government at
their weekend Retreat and released in Goa yesterday,
27 November 1983.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

28 November 1983

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 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 disarmament 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

From: PUS

Date: 28 November 1983

Mr Coles ✓ *AR 23*
" "cc: Sir R Armstrong
Sir J Leahy
Mr Thomas
Mr Goldsmith

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

- A
1. The Committee met for some six hours dealing for most of that time with Southern Africa. Sir John Leahy will be sending you a separate minute covering that passage.
- B
B
C
D
2. Apart from that the Committee took paragraphs on:
- (a) South-East Asia;
 - (b) Indo Chinese refugees;
 - (c) The Law of the Sea; and
 - (d) An introduction to the political section of the communique.

/ These draft passages are attached.

3. There are no problems over (a) and (b), the former being agreed between India and Singapore and both having the support of Australia and New Zealand as well as Malaysia.

4. The paragraph on (c) (Law of the Sea) is, I think, entirely acceptable. I made it clear that the British Government had taken a decision not to sign the Convention and while members of the Committee might not agree with that position they had to take it into account. Only the first sentence therefore represents a consensus by Heads of Government and uses the wording of the Melbourne communique. All the other sentences adopt the formula "most Heads of Government" thereby excluding us.

5. The introductory paragraph went through a number of permutations. The Secretariat draft was unsatisfactory and the Indians and Australians together agreed a much better formulation acceptable to us. At the end of the session, Guyana with some considerable support insisted

/on



on the inclusion of the phrase "including economic aggression and coercive economic measures" (underlined in the attached draft). This does not properly fit into the paragraph and is not of course referred to in the Goa declaration. I recommend therefore that the Prime Minister should ask for its deletion on the grounds that it is not appropriate for the introductory paragraph of the political section.

6. Otherwise I recommend that these passages can be approved.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Antony Acland". Below the signature is a horizontal flourish line.

Antony Acland

Heads of Government reviewed a number of important current international issues. They were encouraged to find much common ground. In view of the overriding importance of issues relating to security, disarmament and the maintenance of peace and the increasing tendency towards interference and intervention by political and economic means, including economic aggression and coercive economic measures, 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.

FROM: Sir J Leahy
DATE: 28 November 1983

Mr Coles

CC: Sir R Armstrong
PUS
Mr Ingham
Mr Goldsmith

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

As expected the passage on Southern Africa in the Communique took up more of the time of the Drafting Committee than anything else. The original draft, which had been prepared by the Secretariat, was not too bad and we could have agreed to it with only one or two changes but in the event the African, Indian and some Caribbean representatives were intent on "hotting it up" ^{and} we ran into a lot of trouble. Apart from pressing for more colourful language about the South Africans, they were intent on trying to get the two Commonwealth members of the Contact Group (Canada and ourselves) to measure our distance from the Americans and to bring pressure to bear on the Americans to drop linkage etc. They were also insistent on condemning the recent constitutional changes introduced by the South African Government as fraudulent and designed to "entrench and strengthen apartheid", even though as I discovered later there was hardly a person in the room, apart from myself, who had even read the constitutional proposals. With some help from the Canadians and by dint of a hard slog we were able to get some amendments made to meet these difficulties. I would not wish to pretend, however, that the resultant text is satisfactory: far from it, it is not the sort of language that we would dream of putting our name to in any other circumstances.

You may like to draw the Prime Minister's attention to the following particular points:

2.) Paragraph 4 (Heads of Government expressed their indignation ...)

"Acts of aggression" (third line) and "which endangered international peace and security" (^{seventh} ~~ninth~~ line), came close to the language of Chapter VII of the UN Charter which we normally try to avoid but

I think we can probably wear these phrases, and do not suggest that the Prime Minister need challenge them. The paragraph is, of course, thoroughly unbalanced in that it makes no attempt to recognise that there are other sources of violence in Southern Africa ie that perpetrated by the "Liberation Movements".

3rd Paragraph ("Heads of Government ^{recalled} ~~recorded~~ their view"...)

14 We spent a lot of time on this paragraph, because we thought it quite wrong to go along with those who condemned the constitutional proposals out of hand. It is not that we approve of them but merely that we think it necessary to suspend judgement about what they portend, as Sir Geoffrey Howe explained in his recent speech to the RCS. Hence, the formula, "the overwhelming majority of Heads of Government", which indicates divided opinions.

4th Paragraph ("Heads of Government were of the view that only the eradication of apartheid"...)

15 This is a new paragraph inserted by the Africans. We abstained on a similar formula not long ago in the United Nations because we did not think it right to try to prescribe to the South Africans the precise form that new constitutional changes should take, ie there could conceivably be some other constitutional arrangement than one man one vote. However, as we did not have the possibility of recording an abstention on this occasion, we thought it right to go along with the majority despite our reservations.

5th Paragraph ("Heads of Government agreed that Namibia...")

16 The last sentence of this paragraph follows closely the wording of the final paragraph of the UN Security Council Resolution for which we recently voted in the United Nations. Although in a sense it foreshadows sanctions it is careful not to commit us to them, and I believe we can live with it.

6th Paragraph ("In support of SCR 539)(1983)...")
Last sentence but one

16 This is another ~~paragraph~~ ^{passage} inserted by the Africans. As originally drafted it urged the other members of the Contact Group to try to exercise their influence on the Americans to drop linkage.



We succeeded in getting it amended to this relatively innocuous form.

7th Paragraph ("Heads of Government re-affirmed their commitment to uphold...")

17

This paragraph on sport is more or less all right. We would have liked to have had the words "with satisfaction" removed from the last sentence, since the English member of the Federation (the Commonwealth Games Council for England) abstained on the CGF's new code of conduct, together with the New Zealand Association. However, the New Zealand Association thought that it was not worth making a fuss about and since the wording of the sentence fell short of actually endorsing what the CGF had done we went along with it.

8th Paragraph ("In the continuing struggle"...))

18

This was a paragraph inserted by the Africans, as a follow-up to Sir L Pindling's suggestion in the Executive Committee session this morning. The original wording referred specifically to propaganda conducted by South Africa and its friends in the United States and other Western Industrialised countries. We got it changed and though I do not much like it I think we can live with it.

2 remaining paragraphs

19/20

There are no problems about these.

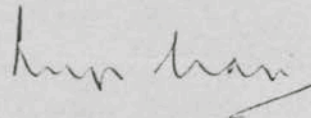
Leahy
John Leahy

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

Attached are draft paragraphs of the Communique to be put before Heads of Government at the Executive Session later today. These are prefaced by the Goa Declaration and the New Delhi Statement already approved by Heads of Government.

Please note that the Communique paragraphs on International Economic Co-operation and Commonwealth Functional Co-operation will be subject to possible revision at a meeting of the Committee of the Whole (Economic) at 11.00 a.m. today in Committee Room G in the light of discussions in the Executive Session on economic issues and functional co-operation. The section on functional co-operation (paras 35-59) covers items remitted to the Committee of the Whole and are included on the assumption that Heads will endorse the recommendations of the Committee.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

29 November 1983

COVERING SECRET

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

COVERING SECRET

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.

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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 been superimposed on deepseated problems of poverty and hunger.

Since we last 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 and rising protectionism.

The Report

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 & 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

DRAFT FINAL 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 and Nevis who 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, and the increasing tendency towards interference and intervention by political and economic means including economic aggression and coercive economic measures 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 assist 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 repression 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 immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and an end to all forms of assistance to the UNITA dissidents. 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 previous 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 sham 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 who 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 true facts about apartheid. 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 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 question of Palestine and stressed the need to intensify efforts for the achievement of a comprehensive, 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 [self-determination and] 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, 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 sovereign rights of Lebanon, and expressed solidarity with the efforts of the Lebanese people and Government to restore stability and peace to their country.

Southeast Asia

24. Heads of Government were gravely concerned that since the discussion in the 1981 Melbourne Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and the 1982 Suva Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, tension in Southeast 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 CHOGM Communique and endorsed the position adopted in the Suva CHOGRM Communique 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 to fully 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.

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 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 the 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 they noted the strong opposition to the proposals for the dumping and storage of nuclear waste material in the Pacific. They shared the continuing concern within the region over nuclear testing.

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

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SECRET

three Commonwealth Expert Groups on these subjects and commended them to member governments to take into account in determining policies and actions.

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. With this in view they have set up a Commonwealth consultative group at high level to pursue the matter. The details are contained in the "New Delhi Statement of Economic Action" by Heads of Government, 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 endorsed the communique issued by the respective Ministerial Meetings. They requested the Secretariat to continue their work in the areas specified in those communique, paying particular attention to the debt problems of low income countries; concessional and private capital flows; trade issues affecting developing countries, especially commodity problems and protectionism; the special problems of disadvantaged states; the problems of unemployment; food production and international food security issues.

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COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

38. 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, welcomed the successful introduction of a new planning framework for the Fund.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

39. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, strengthened by increased contributions from all member countries, had restored its programme activity to the levels attained in 1978/79. 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 that the Fund's resources would be adequate to meet the forward planning programme targets recently approved by its Board of Representatives.

Commonwealth Stamp Issue

40. Heads of Government welcomed the satisfactory financial outcome of the special Commonwealth stamp issue. The Committee recommended that Heads of Government should request the Secretary-General to prepare 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 should be considered by the meeting of Senior Officials to be held in 1984.

Student Mobility

41. 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.

42. 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

43. 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.

44. 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 activities during the next biennium.

Commonwealth Scientific Co-operation

45. 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

46. 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.

47. They noted with satisfaction the continued progress of the 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.

48. 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, commerce, and under the law special attention should be given to programmes in these areas.

Food and Agriculture

49. 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.

50. 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 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.

Employment

51. 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 had reached the point where 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. 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.] [They asked the Secretariat to continue to monitor the issue of the management of technological change and as appropriate bring the policy issues involved to the attention of the Employment/Labour Ministers' Meeting.]

The Commonwealth Foundation

52. 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.

53. 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.

54. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Foundation's total income in 1982/83 had slightly exceeded the Lusaka target of f1.1 million through careful investment of funds awaiting disbursement, although in no single year since 1979 had government contributions fully 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 f1.46 million for the period 1984/85 to 1985/86, recognising that the target might not be reached in 1984/85.

Commonwealth Cultural Co-operation

55. 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.

56. They noted that the Commonwealth Foundation intended a modest increase in its support for activities in this field.

57. 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.

58. 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

59. 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.



✓ For A/C or return

COMMONWEALTH
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
New Delhi 1983

LESOTHO

Madam Prime Minister,

28th November, 1983.

On the instructions of my Prime Minister the Rt. Hon. Dr. Leabua Jonathan, who, with regret was not able to attend the present Heads of Government Commonwealth Summit, due to pressing matters of State at home, I have the honour to present to you a Confidential Summary of Report on Lesotho by the Commonwealth Secretariat on his behalf for your kind consideration.

The study, which was necessitated by the constant destabilisation of our country and other neighbouring states by the Republic of South Africa, has suggested areas of assistance which would help Lesotho to withstand, somewhat, the pressure from South Africa.

/2.....



COMMONWEALTH
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
New Delhi 1983

LESOTHO

28th November, 1983.

I should be most grateful if Your Excellency would examine the Report with a view to deciding, within your means, on the area or areas your Government would be willing to assist Lesotho.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

EVARISTUS RETSELISITSOE SEKHONYANA
FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF
LESOTHO

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Great Britain.

FIVE 841



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

28 November, 1983

Dear Mrs. Daysh,

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 27 November with which you enclosed the Memorandum of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council. The contents of your letter and the accompanying Memorandum have been noted.

Yours sincerely

A. S. Cole.

Mrs. Zena Daysh



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

28 November, 1983

see Sri Lanka Int
SIT 2
✓ Sri Robert Wade
to press
(retain)
HLL

SJG 25/11

- ✓ 1. Copy for me to keep PR (to speak to the Rasgotia)
- 2. Minister (this was very much at my prompting)
- 3. HFC
- 4. The Staff

Sri Lanka

During the retreat for Commonwealth Heads of Government in Goa, the Prime Minister had a talk with the President of Sri Lanka about the Tamil problem.

RWT
28/11

The Prime Minister told me afterwards that she had raised the subject largely with a view to being helpful to Indian efforts to bring about a solution. The main point which she made to President Jayewardene was that it was desirable to offer proposals which would separate the moderates from the extremists. But that implied a proposal which the moderates could accept. Mrs. Thatcher did not get the impression that President Jayewardene had in mind any clear ideas on this point. He was very worried about his own position and said that both his Cabinet and many of his people were opposed to his position on the Tamils.

The Prime Minister advised him informally to keep talking and play the issue long. President Jayewardene appeared to accept this advice but the Prime Minister was conscious of having put the words in his mouth.

Also during the Goa retreat the Prime Minister had a brief discussion with Mr. Parthasarathy and Mr. Natwar Singh. I do not know how much she told them of her talk with President Jayewardene but she commented to me afterwards that she had found Mr. Parthasarathy's approach reasonable.

AJC

P. F. Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Top copy on
India Relations
Pt 3



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T198/183

cc MASTER
OPS

India Relations

THE PRIME MINISTER

28 November, 1983

My dear Prime Minister

During our most useful preliminary talk when I had the pleasure of calling on you the day before the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting opened, I referred rather briefly to two bilateral points: the modernisation of the Durgapur steel plant; and GEC's bid for the captive power station for Balco. I did not want to take time going into detail when we had so much to discuss of immediate concern in the CHOGM context. But it may be helpful if I send you now this letter in amplification since both points are of considerable importance for our bilateral relations.

When we met in September last year you and I sketched out a basis for Indo-British cooperation on the then proposed new steel plant at Daitari. Given the subsequent postponement of that project, we would be very interested in replacing it with a cooperative venture on a similar scale for the modernisation and possible expansion of the Durgapur steel plant, originally built with British assistance. We would be prepared to offer comparable financing, including aid, to support a substantial supply of British capital equipment. If I am right in thinking that this project is of major importance and priority from India's point of view, it would be a magnificent context for cooperation between us, in an area where British technology is known to be a world leader, and for the extensive utilisation of aid funds.

/ The offer

SH

The offer by GEC to construct a captive power station for Balco's smelter at Korba, which I also mentioned, has been backed by a financing package including capital and local cost aid. GEC have quoted what I understand are very competitive terms as regards both delivery period and price. I hope therefore that their tender will be given fair and favourable consideration by the Government of India. Their success would be a crucial factor in achieving the aim (on which our officials have been working together so constructively) of ensuring that our current year's aid allocation to India is fully and satisfactorily utilised. It would also be an excellent way of maintaining GEC's currently very active interest in the Indian market, notwithstanding their disappointment over their failure to win the telephone exchanges contract earlier this year.

There is another matter which did not arise in our discussion but which I should also like to mention. I think it would add a further valuable dimension to Indo/British relationships if we could resuscitate the practice of periodic non-official conferences on matters of current interest, involving leading Indian and British intellectuals, writers, politicians and other opinion formers. If you agree that such exchanges would be useful, I hope you will encourage the appropriate people on your side to talk to our High Commissioner about the best way to proceed. He was instructed to put forward some of our own ideas on this subject to your people earlier this year; but our minds are entirely open and flexible on detail and we shall much look forward to hearing your ideas.

Yours sincerely

Pengarn Datta

Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi

High Commissioner
Mr Coles

File 28/11

I have told the time details.

A. S. C. 28/11

INDIA INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR 1983

1. The Trade Fair was brought to a formal close this morning by the Chairman, Mr Mohammad Yunus, at a ceremony held at Pragati Maidan. A number of awards were given to participants, including one for Excellence in Display by Foreign Exhibitors. No gold medal was awarded, but a silver medal was presented jointly to the UK and the Netherlands. Mr Ian Martin of the COI accepted a citation and boxed medal from Mr Yunus with a large press corps in attendance.

R C Samuel

28 November 1983

R C SAMUEL

cc: Mr Beetham



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

MR. THOMAS

SINGAPORE

The Prime Minister had a talk with the Prime Minister of Singapore in the margins of CHOGM this afternoon. It was devoted entirely to the question of Hong Kong.

I had let Mrs Thatcher have a note on the problem of Soviet use of Singapore to acquire sophisticated technology and she had this point in her mind. But she told me afterwards that she had felt it necessary to concentrate on the Hong Kong issue.

I therefore very much doubt whether it will now be possible for the Prime Minister to raise the technology question with Mr. Lee Kuan Yew during CHOGM - you may wish to think of other means of bringing the matter to his attention. I have little doubt that, if the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary so recommended, the Prime Minister would be prepared to send Mr. Lee Kuan Yew a suitable message.

AJC

28 November 1983

JR VC

bc Sir A. Acland
(done in I)

cc Singapore Relations

HAK

NDL $\frac{28}{u}$
h-a

From: BUS

Date: 28 November 1983

Sir J Leahy

cc: PS/No 10✓
Sir R Armstrong
Mr Squire
Mr Goldsmith
CAFD
SAFD

MR SAM NUJOMA

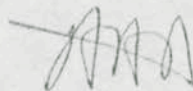
1. As arranged, I saw Mr Nujoma in the Conference Centre this morning. He was accompanied by a member of his Executive Committee whom I had met in Luanda and who is, I think, responsible for foreign affairs.
2. Mr Nujoma spoke with considerable passion and no doubt with a good deal of exaggeration. His message was simple: pressure must be brought on South Africa to implement the UN Resolutions on Namibia and the only countries who could do it were the United States and Britain. Britain, however, was reluctant to use her influence because of her commercial interests and investment in South Africa. Britain paid lip service to UN Resolutions, but was unwilling to do anything to see them implemented. He referred to the supply of radar to South Africa which he said was being used to direct South African planes to attack Angola. He compared the struggle against South Africa with the struggle against Hitler and Mussolini. He said that Britain would be seriously judged by history for the failure to make the South Africans shift their position, and this would not be forgotten by future generations of Africans.
3. The whole question of the Cubans and linkage was irrelevant. It was for the independent government of Angola to decide who they wanted in their country. He pooh-pooh'ed the idea of an African or regional force to replace the Cubans to give the Angolans some security. He repeated that it was entirely for the Angolans to decide.

/4. I

4. I countered all this as best I could. I said that we did our best individually and through the Contact Group to influence the South Africans. We thought it right to maintain a dialogue with them and Mr Botha was coming to London as part of his European tour. We firmly supported the UN Resolutions calling for the independence of Namibia and we wanted to see them implemented. We did not accept the validity of linkage and that was made clear by our votes in the UN. Nevertheless, the problem of the Cubans was a reality. We were scrupulous in not supplying arms to Africa. The radar equipment was for peaceful purposes. Mr Nujoma must give us credit for our de-colonisation policy. If we were in sole charge of Namibia and were in the driving seat, Namibia would be independent like Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe and all our other territories. In this case, however, we were not solely responsible and were not in the driving seat, and our influence was ^{not} paramount but we did our best. Mr Nujoma did not seem impressed!

5. He said that he would be touring Europe in December visiting Spain, Italy, Germany (but not France); he had an invitation from friends in Britain and would be there probably from 19 to 22 December. During that time, he would like to call on the Prime Minister or Sir Geoffrey Howe so that they could hear his views. I of course made no commitment at all but merely said that I noted his plans. He will be in contact with our Embassy in Luanda or High Commission in Lusaka to give firm details.

6. Finally, he said that he was grateful for the scholarships which had been offered to some of his people, but would like more.



Antony Acland

P.S. Mr Nujoma maintained that appalling things were being done by the South Africans to destroy Namibia. People were being oppressed and many were being killed. He said that poison gas mortar shells had been used in certain places. Wild life and livestock were being driven away. The coasts were being greatly over-fished so that stocks were now totally depleted - and more in this vein.

Statement on Economic Action

Private Secretary
from

J. Thomas

1. The working party finally agreed the text ad referendum.
2. The final version is, I believe, acceptable to us.
3. The opening para. on an international conference now reads:

"We believe that the situation calls for a comprehensive review of the international monetary, financial and relevant trade issues. A 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."

J. Thomas
28/11

C H G M

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PS

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/PUS

HD/CCD

HD/UND

HD/NEWS DEPT

HD/SAD

HD/CONFERENCE SECTION, PROTOCOL DEPT

RESIDENT CLERK

MR FREELAND, LEGAL ADV. WH21

MR FIFOOT, LEGAL ADV. WH20

Mr Goodall

Mr O'Neill

Mr Martin

Mr Colvin

D I O

Sir R Armstrong

CABINET OFFICE

PS/ No. 10 DOWNING STREET

*Pa
Dubs
29/11*

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FM NEW DELHI 281600Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 976 OF 28 NOVEMBER 1983

M.H.P.T.

CHOGM : NEW DELHI STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC ACTION

1. TEXT OF STATEMENT FOLLOWS. BEGINS.

** THE NEW DELHI STATEMENT ON ECONOMIC ACTION, 28 NOVEMBER 1983.

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

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 BEEN SUPERIMPOSED ON DEEPSEATED 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 REPORT

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 COMMENT 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

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 URGE 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 WILL BECOME EFFECTIVE BY 1 JULY 1984. THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE AN EXPANDED RECEIPT 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 URGE THE COMMONWEALTH DONOR COUNTRIES TO CONVEY TO ALL OTHER DONOR COUNTRIES THE STRENGTH OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THE IDA WITH 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

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 (SEMICOLON) GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE AND MUTUAL INTERESTS MAKE RENEWED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH SUCH RELATIONS IMPERATIVE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WAY IN WHICH THE COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONS AS, 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.

ENDS

WADE-GERY

PRIME MINISTER

A.S.C. 25/11

"TODAY" PROGRAMME

You were worried this morning about the contrast between the awful weather - gales, heavy rain - in the South of England and your weekend in Goa.

I don't think you should be too concerned, because I have portrayed Goa as a most untypical retreat, with more than 10 hours of substantive discussion. You will have been seen on TV visiting the British cemetery. And Press Office in London tell me that you have been getting very positive coverage on radio and tv for the weekend's work.

However, you might find the opportunity to express your concern for the victims of the gale damage; and to underline the extent to which Goa was a hard working weekend.

You will see from the attached note by Iain Murray (in your box last night) Brian Redhead will ask if you find this sort of gathering beneficial and informative.

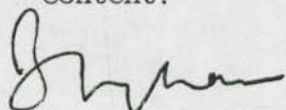
It may help you to know that over the weekend I have been making the point that these Commonwealth conferences give you an unrivalled opportunity to get over the British - and Western - point of view to a large slice of the non-aligned. It does them a great deal of good to hear it from the horse's mouth - and manifestly has great effect as the Goa Declaration shows. In short, these conferences are an opportunity too good to miss - and you don't miss an opportunity.

This brings in its train the question - yes, but what does Mrs Thatcher learn from others? Answer: their worries and concerns.

Two organisational points:

1. as the FCO are not here I must get a run-down from Sir Robert Armstrong of the morning's session in order to brief the press immediately afterwards. I do not believe Brian Redhead will let you down, cheeky chappy though he is. Iain Murray will therefore accompany you to the broadcast and back to the Residence;
2. Linda is getting a rundown of the news headlines before the broadcast.

Content?



B. INGHAM
28 November 1983

"TODAY" INTERVIEW - MONDAY 28 NOVEMBER 1983

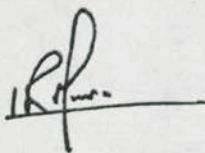
The interview will take place live at 12.35pm in the studio of India Radio which is in the Media Centre adjoining the Conference Hall - it will last 5 minutes. The Media Centre is a 2-3 minute walk from the Hall and either Mr Ingham or myself will be on hand to take you there.

Brian Redhead, the presenter, is totally flexible on timing and if necessary is prepared to interrupt the 7.00am news broadcast for the interview if you arrive earlier. Mr Redhead fully understands the timing problems and appreciates your need to hurry away to welcome your lunch guests.

He wants an informal chat rather than an interview with you and intends to put 4 questions along the following lines:

- have the Heads of Government had a fruitful morning in the Conference?
- is the Goa Declaration simply a sign that the Heads of Government have reached agreement amongst themselves or does it actually signal something to the outside world?
- the document "Towards a New Bretton Woods" is too important to be left on the shelf and the formulation of the Action Group recognises this. Will that Group bring an international monetary conference nearer to reality and have your own views on the need for such a conference altered during this Meeting?
- X - do you find this sort of gathering beneficial and informative?

Content?



IAIN MURRAY
27 November 1983

Grenada & Cyprus final communique as with PM.

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OO NEW DELHI (CHOGM DELEGATION)

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CONFIDENTIAL

FM HARARE 281000Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 946 OF 28 NOVEMBER

INFO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI (FOR LEAHY WITH CHOGM DELEGATION)

MIPT: PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MR MUGABE

1. IT IS CLEAR FROM THE REPORTS THAT THEY WERE BASED ON BRIEFING BY A MEMBER OF MUGABE'S PARTY, MOST PROBABLY MANGWENDE. THIS IS IRRATING, PARTICULARLY GIVEN MUGABE'S APPARENT EARLIER WISH THAT THE MEETING SHOULD BE KEPT ENTIRELY PRIVATE. THEY ARE TYPICALLY SLANTED TO PORTRAY MUGABE AS HAVING STUCK TO HIS GUNS AND THE PRIME MINISTER AS HAVING MADE EXCUSES FOR HER ACTIONS. THE STORY THAT MANGWENDE ADVISED AGAINST MY MEETING MUGABE IS OF COURSE A FABRICATION.

2. I HOPE THAT WE CAN STICK TO THE LINE IN PARA 2 OF NEW DELHI TELNO 935. HOWEVER ANNOYING THESE REPORTS MAY BE, IT IS POSSIBLE TO INTERPRET THEM, AT LEAST IN PART, AS FACE-SAVING PREPARATION FOR AN EARLY ZIMBABWEAN "CONCESSION" OVER THE REMAINING AIR FORCE OFFICERS. IF SO, THAT CAN ONLY BE WELCOME.

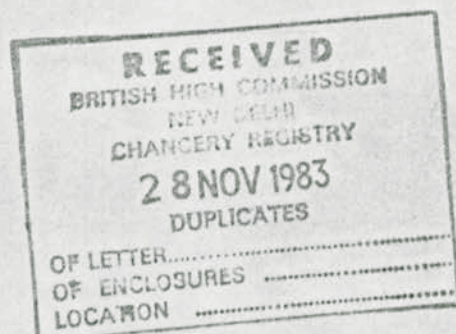
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OO NEW DELHI (CHOGM DELEGATION)

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FM HARARE 280950Z NOV 83
TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 945 OF 28 NOVEMBER
INFO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI (FOR LEAHY WIBH CHOGM DELEGATION)

NEW DELHI TELNO 935: **PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MR MUGABE**

1. THE LOCAL PRESS HAS OVER THE WEEKEND CARRIED REPORTS FROM DELHI OF THE MEETING, UNDER THE HEADLINES "PM AND THATCHER DISCUSS PROBLEMS" AND THATCHER TALKS WERE 'FRANK'. A REPORT ON SATURDAY SAID THAT BRITAIN AND ZIMBABWE HAD AGREED THAT EACH HAD TO RESPECT EACH OTHER'S RIGHT TO RUN ITS OWN AFFAIRS. THE PRIME MINISTER IS SAID TO HAVE EXPLAINED THAT SHE FELT SHE HAD HAD TO REPLY TO QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ABOUT THE AIR FORCE OFFICERS. HER REMARKS HAD BEEN PUBLISHED AND THAT HAD LED TO THE STRAIN IN RELATIONS. MUGABE HAD EMPHASISED THAT WHAT ZIMBABWE DID ACCORDING TO HER OWN LAWS WAS HER OWN BUSINESS. THE TWO LEADERS HAD PARTED ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT "THERE SHOULD BE MUTUAL RESPECT" BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.
2. TODAY'S REPORT, AGAIN BY THE HERALD'S REPORTER IN NEW DELHI, SAYS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER ASSURED MUGABE THAT SHE HAD NOT PERSONALLY ASKED THE IRISH PRIME MINISTER TO RAISE THE DETENTION OF THE AIR FORCE OFFICERS WITH MUGABE: "IT NOW BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS DONE BY LOWER-ECHELON BRITISH OFFICIALS, WITHOUT MRS THATCHER'S KNOWLEDGE". MUGABE IS REPORTED TO HAVE TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT IT WAS THIS REVELATION WHICH HAD INFURIATED HIM AND PROVOKED HIM TO ACCUSE HER OF MEDDLING IN ZIMBABWE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. I AM SAID TO HAVE MET MUGABE - AGAINST MANGWENDE'S ADVICE - "TO SPEAK TO THE LETTER" FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MUGABE. THE MEETING HAD BEEN STORMY AND I HAD EMERGED "SHAKEN". THE REPORT GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD EXPLAINED THAT SHE HAD BEEN BOUND TO REPLY TO WEEKLY QUESTIONS IN THE COMMONS: SHE HOPED THAT, ARMED WITH MR MUGABE'S EXPLANATIONS, SHE WOULD NOW BE ABLE TO ANSWER "MORE FORTHRIGHTLY THAN IN THE PAST, WHEN SHE HAD SOMETIMES TO EVADE THE QUESTION".
3. MANGWENDE IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE MEETING HAD BEEN "FRANK" AND HAD STRAIGHTENED OUT MANY ISSUES WHICH HAD CLOUDED BILATERAL RELATIONS.

4. SEE MIFT.



CHOGM
NEW DELHI - 1983

TRANSCRIPT OF THE CHOGM PRESS BRIEFING BY THE
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL, MR. SHRIDATH S. RAMPHAL
WHILE RELEASING THE GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY, AT THE MEDIA CENTRE, GOA AT 2.30 PM
ON NOVEMBER 27, 1983

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Members of the Press and especially those of the media in Goa, I thought I should come to the Centre before we left Goa and say a word or two, which I know the Heads of Government themselves would have liked to say if they had a chance of meeting you before going back to New Delhi. And that first of all is the word of very deep appreciation of the authorities and the people of Goa. Anyone who has been involved with the Retreat, whether in terms of the arrangements at Fort Aguada or the arrangements for the media here in town, I think now I have a little idea of how much care and thoughtfulness and the great measure of creativity that has gone into the preparations. Heads of Government from the Commonwealth are very deeply appreciative. It has been a retreat of very considerable satisfaction. They had the thrill of Goa itself, they have been enormously satisfied with the facilities available for them at Fort Aguada, and they have worked very hard. They won't complain that they worked hard; if there was an area of complaint, it might have been that the Secretary General and the Chairman have driven them a little hard. But they have not only worked hard, they have worked well and successfully. In a way, Goa has been good for the Commonwealth. It has been good for the Heads of Government Meeting. We had already been making significant progress when we left New Delhi - and I think all of you would have had a scent of the success of those discussions in terms of

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RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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their frankness, the level of intellectual stimulation, the feelings that the leaders had that they really were talking about serious and important matters and finding the points of convergence. At Goa, all that went much further forward and they were able to advance the basis of consensus for the communique on various important issues. On some of those, you must just await the Communique. But on one of them I am in a position to be more definitive with you. You will recall that the Conference opened in its plenary session on Wednesday afternoon with a debate on world political trends. And that I have explained to everyone in a Banquet meeting that this would hopefully be an occasion on which Commonwealth leaders would not be so immersed in the specific trouble spots and troubled issues of the world but be reflective about the state of the world, sharing their concerns, their anxieties about the dangers of confrontation, of the fragility of international order and the heightened tensions that are now affecting heads of government and peoples and that they would want to give expression to this and they would want to explore what they could do to help. Well, in Goa, they pursued these conversations and as they leave Goa, because they will be in another few minutes, they have authorised me to make available to you what in Commonwealth annals, I am glad to say, we will hereafter describe as the Goa Declaration on International Security. And I would like to read it to you and I know that the Centre will make copies of it available to you as soon as possible. And this is the Declaration unanimously agreed to by Commonwealth Heads of Government and I release now, as I say we call it the Goa Declaration on International Security and it is as follows:-

Contd....3/-

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.

Contd....2/-

RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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4. 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.
5. In all these pursuits we emphasise the supreme importance of political will. We, therefore, welcome Prime Minister 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.
6. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on disarmament 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.
7. 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

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RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

8. 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.

9. 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.

10. 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

Q: Can you elaborate on the Study Group you have referred to?

A: Well, you will recognise that the Declaration says that we have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues, that is separately dealt with in our Communique. And when we go to talk about the Communique on Tuesday, I would prefer to dilate on that.

Q: Would you please elaborate on your concept of collective security? How would you bring it about?

A: Well, what they have said in the Declaration is that the Commonwealth countries will play their part in helping the international community to make a proper response to the United Nations Secretary General's call. You know that in 1982 and again in 1983, the UN Secretary General reported to the General Assembly and called directly and strongly for strengthening of collective security as was envisaged in the Charter, calling the international community back to the **concept** that the world has to be made free for all in terms of collective efforts.

Q: Not clear (About Mr. Trudeau's proposed visit to China).

A: I know nothing of another visit over the week end. I saw Trudeau this morning. He, of course, has played an enormous part in the evolution of the ideas that have found a mention in this Declaration. He will be in a position to take it as he goes to Beijing. My understanding is that he will be back in New Delhi tomorrow.

RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

Q: How difficult was it to get the Commonwealth leaders to avoid denouncing the United States' invasion of Grenada and to avoid having any mention of Grenada in the Declaration?

A: I have said not one word in this about Grenada and how does your question arise?

Q: How do you reach the position where no word of Grenada is mentioned?

A: This is confined, let me make it very clear that this has nothing to do with Grenada. The conclusions of the conference on Grenada will be a part of the Communique. I would not like any inferences to be drawn and if they are, they will be drawn inaccurately and wrongly. The absence of any mention of Grenada here implies that the Conference has not been able to reach any agreement. That agreement has to be reached and will form a separate part of the Communique which you will have on Tuesday.

Q: Will there be a separate communique on Grenada?

A: We are going to have a Communique supplemented by a Declaration and the conclusions on Grenada will form part of the Communique.

Q: Would this Declaration prevent, in your view, any future invasion of small states?

A: Well, how do you prevent people acting in illegal ways, acting in wanton ways. Not even the Charter of the United Nations has prevented aggressions. But what this Declaration does, well I hope and expect that the Communique

RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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will do, is to heighten awareness of the various problems and needs of small states both in the area of security and in the area of development. And this question, of course, has been brought to the fore-front by the developments in Grenada. The New Delhi meetings, the discussions there and here in Goa have both provided an opportunity. It is significant that this statement on international security was not confined to the problems of big countries; the Commonwealth leaders have taken care to draw attention to the special vulnerability of small states.

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"TODAY" INTERVIEW - MONDAY 28 NOVEMBER 1983

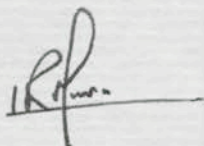
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- do you find this sort of gathering beneficial and informative?

Content?



IAIN MURRAY
27 November 1983

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL

Charitable Trust No: 272018

Please Reply to:

63 CROMWELL ROAD
LONDON, SW7 5BL
Telephone: 01-373 6761

27th November 1983

The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher M.P.
Prime Minister
Britain.

Dear Prime Minister,

Commonwealth - Informed coordinated administration

Through the agreement of the Secretary-General, Mr S.S. Ramphal, and the Chairman, Mrs Gandhi, of CHOGM, the Memorandum of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC) was circulated to delegations in the first additional papers, last Friday.

CHEC has much for which to thank India for recognising the pioneering work of CHEC in almost its fullest form; Britain has provided the background from which much of its knowledge base has been derived. I think you will have noted that the Indian Prime Minister summed it all up in her Opening Address in which she suggested Commonwealth might 'harmonise the natural environment with the social institutions, emphasising the role of the individual in the action'. Mrs Gandhi reiterated this human ecology thinking in her NAM address when I was visiting India in March of this year.

But existing Commonwealth structures of support are able to give only very modest encouragement to human ecology. In the Commonwealth Secretariat our voluntary and non-governmental aspects positively count against us, whilst the Commonwealth Foundation, our main support, has to hold these multi-disciplinary programmes, working across the board, strictly in line with those bodies concerned with specialised professions.

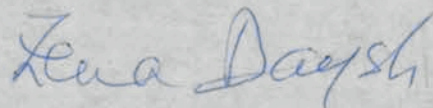
Even so, the dynamic, indigenously based programmes of CHEC are making a major impact in countries like Kenya, where 100,000 nomads are being settled in an ecological, cultural framework of training and small scale industry.

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The time is ripe for CHOGM to advise the widening of the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Foundation mandates, so that they can all cooperate, openly, on an informed base of coordination, sensitised and guided by ecological principles, culturally and socially founded.

Britain's voice, as ever, can influence powerfully the constructive. Without reference in the Final Communique, little further Commonwealth wide progress can be made. The summary attached, of the papers circulated last Friday, point the way to the ways and means which can widen present day administration and action.

Yours sincerely,



Zena Daysh
Executive Vice-Chairman

Summary extract from the (official) circulated documents, November 26th 1983:

'CHEC - ITS PLACE AND PURPOSE
IN THE COMMONWEALTH'

Over the past twenty years, the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC) has filled a gap in Commonwealth activities; the Council has provided informed administrative coordination and stimulated the development of indigenously-based, pioneering human ecology programmes, in the field and at academic and communication levels, supported by national executive administration. Through CHEC's activities in the name of Commonwealth, unique understanding of the relationships between people's culture, social institutions and the changing environment has evolved.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government, 1983, have a pressing opportunity to identify further, national needs in terms of economic objectives and ecological goals. The nucleus of Commonwealth-wide programmes and administration, developed in complementarity by CHEC, await, and depend upon, Governments of the Commonwealth in Delhi agreeing support to enable CHEC to better serve their national and Commonwealth interests.

Measures are required encompassing multiple approaches that are the essence of any national situation. To strengthen the official Commonwealth approaches entails the widening of CHEC's existing multi-level and multi-sectoral networks, crucial to providing expertise and advice to assist the establishment, or strengthening, of existing regional centres, consultant groups and informed members at local levels.

WIDER BASE OF COOPERATION

Because of the Commonwealth Secretariat's role in coordinating much of the funding for mutual aid programmes, it is timely to decide the means of closer integration and coordination of activities between CHEC and the Secretariat. Such an association might follow the lines

adopted in the past for the Commonwealth Science Council and the Commonwealth Youth Programme, and should encompass the spanned potential of the Commonwealth Secretariat's new Human Resources development group - whilst basing the programme on the overall and fundamental principles of human ecology, inherent in CHEC's activities.

The present ties with the Commonwealth Foundation and the Foundation's interest in the Professional centres, might also with advantage be incorporated with CHEC's growing regional activities to assist the cooperation envisaged.

This cooperation entails:

- i. promoting more active recognition, study and action towards human ecology principles in development at government level, reaching out, with the aid of CHEC, towards more comprehensive public participation;
- ii. enabling government departments and other agencies to organise coordinating centres, collaborating with CHEC, for applying human ecological principles to development.

Cooperation with the United Nations

Germane to this wider support is the invitation of the United Nations ESCAP Environmental Coordinating Unit (Bangkok) to CHEC, to co-sponsor a Ministerial Level Meeting on the Environment, Asia and the Pacific, in 1985.

In line with CHEC's Commonwealth programme of conferences, seminars and workshops, CHEC is considering holding the Seventh Commonwealth Conference on development and Human Ecology, to be a pan-Commonwealth meeting, at Ministerial level, in 1984, preparatory to the ESCAP meeting.

ESCAP are presently seeking collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat to assure that the official Commonwealth plays its important part in support of, and supported by human ecological interests and concepts.

The experience of the Commonwealth Heads of Government is sought urgently to bring together the various levels of Commonwealth interests toward improved action on the human situation and the ecological processes.

26th November 1983
New Delhi

Commonwealth Human Ecology Council
London SW7 5BL

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,
Delhi, 23rd - 30th November 1983

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL
(CHEC)

ITS PLACE AND PURPOSE IN THE COMMONWEALTH

London - September 1983

Add. I & II

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL
(CHEC)

ITS PLACE AND PURPOSE IN THE COMMONWEALTH

An Independent Institution

From the first Commonwealth Conference on Development and Human Ecology in Malta in 1970, to the present time, the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council has been instrumental in promoting the cause of human ecology in the Commonwealth. Immediately after the Human Settlements Conference in Vancouver in 1976, in which CHEC played a leading role, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 1977 had before them alternative ways of recognising CHEC and its place in the institutional framework of Commonwealth affairs, namely:

- i. a formal linking of CHEC into the Commonwealth Secretariat as an integral unit to promote human settlements and human ecological policies, research activity, education and dissemination of information, or
- ii. the strengthening of CHEC as an independent institution to work alongside government institutions in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth Secretariat and other world agencies and the non-governmental voluntary bodies.

The second of these alternatives was implicitly followed. The independence of CHEC is its strength, but the intervening years have shown the need of closer liaison with, and increased support from, the official Commonwealth.

In promoting studies and action in human ecology, CHEC acts as a mediator between government and government, government and the professions, and between the academic world and the practical realm of business. Above all, because human ecology makes no sense unless its ultimate practitioners are people, CHEC's non-governmental status enables the Council to harness the interest and cooperation of the lay public in many countries.

Nevertheless, CHEC's close association with the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat is, at the present time, more essential than ever. The fact that the Commonwealth Secretariat has, since CHOGRM, Fiji, 1982, set up its own Human Resources Development Group gives evidence enough of its recognition of the need to place the human being at the centre of development.

Broader Public Participation

The uppermost need today and in the future is, and will be, for broader public knowledge and participation to engender community awareness and facilitate cooperation and combined activities. The human ecology message must be taken to all who, when informed, can best help themselves. All levels of economic activity and social order must be included.

Given adequate resources, CHEC can carry the message in a unique way more extensively throughout the Commonwealth, working directly with governments, as well as with community and non-governmental groups towards a wider and deeper public response and cooperation.

The Next Steps Forward

CHEC is aware of the privilege it enjoys in being accredited to the CHOGRM Meetings over the past decade and is grateful for the support of its work and the confidence shown by governments during this period. The current level of funding of £10,000 per annum is insufficient to meet the needs of the modest planned programme, as described in Addendum I, if the Council is to succeed in its efforts to increase the level of awareness throughout the Commonwealth. Given the urgency of the task before it and the commitment expressed by governments to integrate ecological considerations into economic and social developments, more resources must be made available to the Council if its activities are to have a greater impact.

Because of the Commonwealth Secretariat's role in coordinating much of the funding for mutual aid programmes, it may now be timely to consider the merits of closer integration and coordination of activities between CHEC and the Secretariat. Such an association might follow the lines adopted in the past for the Commonwealth Science Council and the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

The present ties with the Commonwealth Foundation and the Foundation's interest in the Professional Centres, might also with advantage be incorporated with CHEC's growing regional activities to assist the cooperation envisaged.

Governments may wish to consider how best the strength of CHEC can be utilised in carrying this important programme forward, so that the Council can serve them and their peoples to even better purpose by:

- i. promoting more active recognition, study and action towards human ecology principles in development at government level, reaching out, with the aid of CHEC, towards more comprehensive public participation;
- ii. enabling government departments and other agencies to organise coordinating centres, collaborating with CHEC, for applying human ecological principles to development and to do so by:
 - (a) applying to CHEC direct, and
 - (b) making specific requests to the Commonwealth Secretariat for CFTC aid.

CHEC Secretariat,
63 Cromwell Road,
London SW7 5BL.

September 1983

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL

C H E C

P R O G R A M M E 1984 - 1986

Elements and Activities

Introduction

The Commonwealth today is well-placed to launch an international initiative using existing CHEC machinery to stimulate, coordinate and forward global ecological and environmental awareness and action.

The Council has a Commonwealth-wide base from which this objective can be achieved. The accompanying paper entitled 'CHEC - Its Place and Purpose in the Commonwealth' states the case and suggests the means.

Programme Elements

CHEC is concerned to assist the broadening and strengthening of Commonwealth activities to ensure that human ecological issues are taken into account during decision-making at government and non-government levels.

The Council suggests that the following elements form the basis of its on-going programme:

- i. An autonomous human ecology institution, closely associated with the present official Commonwealth administration and possibly having a similar relationship to that enjoyed by the Commonwealth Science Council and the Commonwealth Youth Programme with the Commonwealth Secretariat.
- ii. Linkages to be maintained and further developed with the Commonwealth Foundation.
- iii. National groups to identify and coordinate CHEC concerns.
- iv. Local community groups assisted by local government to initiate projects and disseminate information.

- v. Studies, reviews and assessments of the ecological components of development.
- vi. Community-based projects to improve human conditions, whilst maintaining an ecological balance.
- vii. Courses, training programmes and appropriate curricula concerned with human ecology, for all levels of educational institutions.
- vii. Information and knowledge on human ecological issues as they affect social, economic and cultural development.

Programme Activities

1. Human Ecology Networks

CHEC aims to strengthen its present Commonwealth-wide linkages, networks and human ecology programmes. At the present time CHEC has a base in twelve Commonwealth countries which embrace all regions; the Council intends to fulfil its mandate by establishing further centres where they are needed.

With a strengthened CHEC headquarters, the interaction between the national, regional and inter-regional activities will be made more effective.

Estimated cost: Rising to £50,000 p.a.
after three years

2. Project Development

This category includes research, studies, reviews and assessments of the human ecological situations in various contexts. Examples of the work envisaged are:

- (a) The assessment of the ecological implications of development at any level.
- (b) The identification of advances being made in integrated projects for wider application and the review of constraints in terms of understanding the subtle inter-dependence inherent in healthy ecological development.

Building on CHEC's and others' existing experience, community-based projects are crucial elements in these activities and are implemented according to the urgency of people's needs. Projects are developed in a cultural/ecological setting. They are basically concerned with education and training to promote self-reliance through

cottage industries; soil husbandry and increased production; tree cultivation; cooperative marketing and other ecological mechanisms.

Estimated cost: Rising to £65,000 p.a.
after three years

3. Education and Training

Courses in human ecology have already been established in collaboration with CHEC in four major Commonwealth universities which have regional and international functions. The Council's work is linked to thirty further Commonwealth universities through which CHEC will continue to advise on curricula at university and school levels and will assist in the development of appropriate training courses. CHEC will continue to support these and other more community-oriented training courses to increase skills and capabilities at the local level, particularly those based upon local expertise.

Estimated cost: Rising to £50,000 p.a.
after three years

4. Information and Communication

CHEC will enlarge its work in disseminating information through the CHEC Information Service and related activities. It both sponsors and publishes research findings, conference and seminar proceedings, bibliographies, journals and books. The Council is now involved in the production of a series of human ecology films by leading international film-makers.

Estimated cost: Rising to £20,000 p.a.
after three years

5. Administration

CHEC headquarters will be strengthened to enable it to carry out the specific projects in this programme, catalysing and supporting action through regional and national human ecology units and continuing to collaborate fully with Commonwealth Governments and other Commonwealth organisations, the United Nations and other national and international agencies.

Estimated cost: Rising to £40,000 p.a.
after three years

TOTAL BUDGET: RISING FROM £100,000 FIRST YEAR TO
£200,000 THIRD YEAR

THE COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL
(CHEC)

The Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC) emerged in the 1960's as a pioneering organisation of institutions and individuals committed to promoting a human ecological approach to development. The basic objectives are concerned with linking knowledge from different sectors to development actions which embody the principles of human ecology; human responsibility and the harmonious inter-relationship of human beings and the environment. On a practical level these mean understanding the connections between people's livelihood, natural resources, environmental protection, public health, social welfare and religious and cultural traditions.

As a non-government organisation, CHEC seeks to influence those in government and other organisations to ensure that ecological issues are fully considered during the planning and implementation stages of development programmes and projects. The Council operates flexibly at both government and non-government levels and important areas of involvement include:

- community based projects and research;
- education and training programmes and the development of appropriate academic curricula;
- dissemination of information throughout the Commonwealth and beyond;
- establishment of contacts for the promotion of human ecological concerns.

Members of the council are active in a wide range of academic and applied disciplines and are representative of the Commonwealth. The Executive Vice-Chairman, based in London with a small administrative team, maintains the impetus for continuing progress in the increasingly important field of ecologically aware development.

Sir Hugh W. Springer, KCMG, CBE,
Chairman

Mrs Zena Daysh,
Executive Vice-Chairman

CHEC Secretariat,
63 Cromwell Road,
London SW7 5BL.

September - 1983

From: Zena Daysh, Executive Vice-Chairman

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL (CHEC)

*HUMAN ECOLOGY INFORMED COORDINATED ADMINISTRATION

Ecology seen from a cultural standpoint

The Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC) has for twenty years filled a gap for Commonwealth, providing informed administrative coordination, stimulating the development of human ecology programmes, at field, academic and communication levels, supported by national executive administration.

Through CHEC's activities, in the name of the Commonwealth a unique understanding of the relationship between people's culture and the changing environment has evolved, and pioneering programmes have been established.

The Commonwealth Heads of Government, 1983, have a pressing opportunity to identify further, national needs in terms of economic objectives and ecological goals. The nucleus of Commonwealth wide programmes and administration developed by CHEC await, and depend upon, the Governments of the Commonwealth in Delhi agreeing support to enable CHEC to better serve their national needs.

Measures are required encompassing multiple approaches that are the essence of any national situation. To strengthen the official Commonwealth approaches entails the widening of CHEC's existing multi-level and multi-sectoral networks, crucial to providing expertise and advice to assist the establishment of, or strengthening existing, regional centres, consultant groups and informed members at local levels.

* Extracted from the circulated documents of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council, London SW7 5BL.

WIDER BASE OF COOPERATION

Because of the Commonwealth Secretariat's role in coordinating much of the funding for mutual aid programmes, it is timely to consider the merits of closer integration and coordination of activities between CHEC and the Secretariat.

The close ties which exist between The Commonwealth Foundation and CHEC and the recent creation of the Secretariat's Human Resources Development Group, open the way for wider-based cooperation which will arm the future Commonwealth to embrace and serve the fundamental principles of human ecology.

These deal with the interdependence of and the interaction between human activity, religious precepts and cultural traditions, natural resources, public health, education and environmental protection.

Germane to this wider support is the invitation to CHEC of the United Nations ESCAP Environmental Coordinating Unit (Bangkok), to co-sponsor a Ministerial Level Meeting on the Environment, Asia and the Pacific, in 1985.

In line with CHEC's Commonwealth programme of conferences, seminars and workshops, the Council is planning a pan-Commonwealth Meeting, at Ministerial Level, preparatory to the ESCAP meeting - Seventh Commonwealth Conference on Development and Human Ecology, in 1984. India may host.

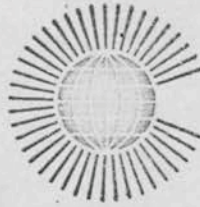
ESCAP are presently seeking collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat to assure that the official Commonwealth plays its proper part, in support of, and supported by human ecological interests and concepts.

A decision is urgently required to be taken now, to allow an attack on the problems world wide, in a human and cultural ecological framework. Integration of administration of relevant Secretariat parts, CHEC and relevant programmes of the Commonwealth Foundation.

(Sgnd. Zena Daysh)

23 November 1983

Media Centre
CHOGM, New Delhi



COMMONWEALTH
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI 1983

27 November 1983

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The attached paper is being circulated at
the request of the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe.

Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

THE COMMON ECONOMIC CRISIS: ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE
R.G. MUGABE, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF
ZIMBABWE, (NOVEMBER 28, 1983), NEW DELHI

1. The world economy is in the middle of a prolonged and deepening economic crisis which threatens the future of all nations - small or big, North or South, within or without the Commonwealth. While the world economic crisis has been exacerbated by the longest and most pervasive economic recession since World War II, its causes underlie a fundamental trend.
2. As we know, the recession has not been without severe costs to all countries, developed and developing. Industrial economies have experienced high rates of unemployment, (record) low levels of capacity utilisation, an almost collapse of fixed investment, high rates of inflation, record and fluctuating levels of interest rates, and unstable exchange rates.
3. In the case of developing countries, the recession has deepened an already existing crisis originating from a series of major external disturbances in the world economy and which began in early 1970. These included sudden and sharp swings in prices of primary commodities, food and energy, rapid increase in prices of manufactured goods from developed countries, sharp decline in the demand for the exports of developing

countries to developed countries, the collapse of prices of primary commodities and substantial deterioration in terms of trade for primary commodities, the sharp rise in variable interest rates, and the rising trend in protectionism in industrial economies.

4. To ease the costs of adjustment to this new international economic environment, developing countries inevitably build up external indebtedness the burden of which was made heavier by their resort to commercial loans at inappropriate rates of interest because the international financial system had a drastically low international liquidity. The sharp rise in interest rates, the shortening of loan maturities and the threat by commercial banks to withdraw necessary additional financial support became enormous problems for some of our countries. What appears curious is that in spite of all these problems within it, the international financial system was able to protect growth in non-oil developing countries in 1974-75. This, however, was not the case in 1980-82 when the weakness of the system tended to magnify rather than attenuate the impact of external disturbances.

5. The effect of these developments on growth and economic development for most non-oil developing countries has been dramatic and in many cases disastrous. In response to lower export earnings, increased indebtedness and the heavy debt service burdens, the

significantly lower capital inflows and reduced access to capital markets, the inadequate and unsuitable financial resources to finance adjustments, most non-oil developing countries had little choice but to cut imports drastically.

As a result investment and development programmes (upon which future prosperity critically depend) were severely curtailed, shelved or completely abandoned. Unemployment, underemployment and excess capacity all reached record levels with severe consequences on previous attempts to reduce income inequality.

6. Standards of living (already at or below subsistence levels) for most people in developing countries stagnated or declined. For example, output per capita was stagnant in 1980, declined by 2% in 1981 and further declined by more than 3% in 1982. For many of the least developed countries (most of which are in Sub-Saharan Africa and a number of which are members of the Commonwealth) the situation is made desperate by the simultaneous decline in agricultural output (partly due to adverse weather conditions), deterioration in terms of trade and substantial decline in the real value of development assistance. The conditions for the absolute poor (estimated at about 800m) in Africa, Asia and Latin America, have deteriorated further while prospects for improvement in the near term are at best poor.

7. Madame Chair the problems I have outlined above are not in dispute - generally - and I would wish not to emphasize them further. What I would like to underline is the fact that they have created a crisis in the international economic system which is A COMMON CRISIS for all of us. It would be a mistake, in my view to conceive and partition these problems as, on one hand, problems of the North and, on the other, problems of the South. The commonness of these problems and issues is a particular and important example of the interdependence of the world economy about which we all agree.

8. I do of course recognise, that we all have different roles and responsibilities in causing and solving the Common Crisis. The international financial, monetary and trading system has its own role and responsibilities and, I may add, that there is wide agreement here and elsewhere that there is much room for its improvement, if not for its entire transformation. The North/South - dialogue - the process of negotiating and resolving the Common Crisis - has its own role and responsibilities. My own assessment is that the negotiating process is a major part of the problem and solution to the Common Crisis.

I am glad to note that this view is shared not only by colleagues here but also by the group of experts who prepared the report on "The North/South Dialogue; Making it Work".

9. Reference has been made to the need for pursuing internal policies and measures geared towards maximisation of the use of our resources. I am only too conscious, Madame Chair, of roles and responsibilities of national governments in improving their macro and micro-economic policy frameworks. We in Zimbabwe have, for example, not only adopted a three-year socio-economic plan to reconstruct, rehabilitate and transform our economy, but

we have also taken some very bold and, we believe, appropriate domestic/^{remedial}measures affecting the exchange rate, public expenditures, subsidies, promoting exports etc. to improve our macro and micro-economic framework. But we remain fully conscious that if:

- a) the world economy does not recover;
- b) the volume of world trade continues to decline;
- c) commodity prices do not recover;
- d) financial resources are not adequate to finance the required adjustments;
- e) interest rates on international capital markets are not brought down and stabilised;
- f) exchange rates are not stabilised;
- g) the price of oil is not stabilised; and of course if
- h) the rains do not come; then

all our efforts will not achieve the results envisaged.

10. Madame Chair, I say this not only because of our limited experience in Zimbabwe, but also from the observation of other developing countries. As you are aware, it has been shown (by none other than the IMF) that between 1978-81 the \$66 billion deterioration in the current account balance - of - payments of non-oil

developing countries was attributed to the following factors:

- a) 33% deterioration of terms of trade;
- b) 33% higher interest payments; and
- c) 25% increase in oil prices.

That leaves less than 10% for all other factors including, of course, domestic policies. The domestic policies which play a much larger role in contributing to the Common Crisis are those of the major industrial countries primarily because of the impact of such policies on the international economy.

11. Madame Chair, the Commonwealth deserves to be commended for seriously and professionally addressing in an intergrated manner the three critical issues of global concern before us - protectionism, the negotiating process on North/South issues and the problems of international financial and trading system.

12. The initiative by the Commonwealth in these three critical areas is welcome. The three studies before us make significant contributions and the groups of experts can be congratulated for a job well done. Considered as interrelated pieces of a whole, these studies form a basis for moving forward in grappling with world economic issues.

13. I agree with the experts that in order to make progress on North/South issues the negotiating process itself needs to be improved and transformed so that both the South and

the North should take different and flexible approaches and attitudes to world economic and financial issues. Confrontational approaches for their own sake, on one hand, and failure to recognise the reality of the new world and its interdependence, on the other, will not get us very far. Equally we must recognise the necessity for effective co-ordination, consultation and communication at international and group levels.

14. We all recognise the significant growth in protectionism and its adverse impact on the economies of, especially, developing countries. We also appreciate the value and problems of preferential and special arrangements and limitations in the machinery (ie. GATT) governing international trade. We, in Zimbabwe, support the broad thrust of the study on protectionism, especially its emphasis on the need to improve the overall predictability, transparency and non-discriminatory nature of the trading system.

In view of this we would urge that:

a) agricultural protection and NTMs generally still need to be brought under codes of practice capable of effective implementation; this area should be addressed urgently;

b) a satisfactory mechanism for the settlement of disputes be sought; and

c) agricultural trade be brought more fully within the purview of GATT.

15. On the question of money, finance and trade which were competently discussed by our group of experts we would agree with their conclusion that while "there have been some successes in international co-operation in the post-war period there have also been failures. New problems have arisen which have pointed out systematic difficulties". We accept the recommendations of the experts to improve and strengthen the international financial, monetary and trading system. The system needs to be strengthened by providing it with adequate financial resources in the form of:

- a) IMF quota increases with unchanged access limits;
- b) enlargement of General Agreements to Borrow (GAB) with broadened access;
- c) replenishment of IDA VII and increased World Bank lending; and
- d) movement towards agreed aid targets of ODA (of 0.7% of GNP).

16. The system needs to be improved by:

- a) reform of IMF conditionality;
- b) regular review of the IMF system of quota increases

and allocation;

- c) introducing guidelines for exchange rate stability;
- d) increasing co-ordination of macro-economic policies;
- e) dismantling trade barriers and stabilising commodity prices;
- f) encouraging multilateral discussions on trade, and
- g) introducing symmetry in balance - of - payments adjustments as between surplus and deficit countries and strengthening the role of the IMF in the overall adjustment process.

17. In addition to improving and strengthening the Bretton Wood institutions there is, equally, the need to reform and transform the basis for the policy decision-making process of the IMF and the World Bank to accommodate what our experts have recognised as the change in the international socio-economic system since the 1940s.

18. We endorse the idea of a conference but would urge that while related trade issues should be addressed emphasis should be on money and finance. This, we believe, will avoid diversion of attention on the critical

money and finance matters. We support the idea of an action group by the Commonwealth to assist the preparation process for the conference. We would, however, add that to be effective the group would need the strongest political support from the Commonwealth as a group of nations and would need to consult all other international efforts also preparing for the conference.

19. Finally I would like to underline two additional points - the need for a sustainable strong and sustainable world economic recovery and the need to take immediate steps to alleviate the debt problems of, especially, the poorest countries.

RM/rt/

00 UKMIS NEW YORK

GRS 240

CONFIDENTIAL

FM DELHI 271050Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TEL NUMBER 964 OF NOVEMBER 27
RPTD FOR INFO TO WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, AND
UKMIS NEW YORK.

FOR RESIDENT CLERK FROM PUS.

1. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN GOA HAVE NOW AGREED A DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THE TEXT AS I AT PRESENT HAVE IT IS IN MIFT. THERE MAY BE SUBSEQUENTLY SOME SMALL CHANGES OR TIDYINGS UP.
2. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT ARE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ISSUING IT AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER IT WILL BE PUBLISHED FROM GOA BEFORE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RETURN TO DELHI THIS EVENING. AS WITH PREVIOUS AGREED TEXTS HOWEVER IT IS BOUND TO START TO LEAK OUT, BUT IT SHOULD NOT (NOT) OF COURSE BE RELEASED IN LONDON UNTIL CONFIRMATION OF PUBLICATION IS RECEIVED FROM HERE.
3. THE DECLARATION IS ALMOST CERTAINLY BASED ON A COMBINATION OF INDIAN DELEGATION AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT DRAFTING. IT WENT THROUGH SEVERAL STAGES. THE FIRST DRAFT WAS MUCH MORE ALARMIST AND HIGHLY COLOURED. IT TENDED TO EQUATE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES TO AN UN-SATISFACTORY DEGREE AND WAS MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS, THUS CALLING IN QUESTION THE NON-INCLUSION OF THE BRITISH INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DETERRENT IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRIME MINISTER PLAYED A LEADING PART IN TONING DOWN THE UNDESIRABLE FEATURES OF THE EARLIER DRAFTS. THE PRESENT DECLARATION IS BY NO MEANS PERFECT BUT LARGELY STICKS TO GENERALITIES AND DOES NOT CONTAIN SPECIFIC POINTS WHICH NEED CAUSE US TOO MUCH DIFFICULTY.
4. FURTHER COMMENT WILL BE SENT AS NECESSARY AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S RETURN FROM GOA.
5. PLEASE ENSURE THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE SEES THE TEXT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. PLEASE ALSO CONSIDER WHETHER IT NEEDS TO BE REPEATED MORE WIDELY BEARING IN MIND THAT IT WILL BE IN THE MEDIA FAIRLY SOON AND THAT WE SHALL HAVE TO SEND GUIDANCE ON THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN ANY CASE BEFORE TOO LONG.

WADE-GERY

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI 271108Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 965 OF 27 NOVEMBER.
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS NEW YORK.

FOR RESIDENT CLERK FROM PUS

MIPT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:

DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. 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 CONCERN AND OUR HOPES FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH WHICH AFFECT THE WAY WE ANALYSE AND JUDGE EVENTS, IT IS OUR PERCEPTION THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WORLD'S MAJOR MILITARY ALLIANCES IS IN DANGER OF BECOMING MORE CONFRONTATIONAL. IN THE CONTEXT OF GREATLY HEIGHTENED TENSIONS AND A CONTINUING BUILD UP OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, CIVILISED SOCIETY ITSELF COULD BE THREATENED. NONE OF OUR COUNTRIES OR PEOPLES WOULD BE INSULATED FROM THAT FATE.
2. WE ARE ALARMED BY INCREASING DISREGARD FOR THE MORAL AND LEGAL PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE CONDUCT OF STATES AND 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.
3. 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.
4. 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 IF A CLIMATE OF CONFIDENCE IS TO BE REBUILT IN PLACE OF THE PREVAILING ONE OF FEAR AND MISTRUST.
5. IN ALL THESE PURSUITS WE EMPHASISE THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL WILL. WE THEREFORE WELCOME PRIME MINISTER 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 THOSE EFFORTS AND OTHER EFFORTS IN ALL APPROPRIATE WAYS.
6. AS PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI HAS SO CONSISTENTLY EMPHASISED, THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN SECURING WIDER PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT IS THE REVERSAL 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

EMPHASISED, THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN SECURING WIDER PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT IS THE REVERSAL 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.

7. 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 SHOULD BE TAKEN TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM AND TO IMPROVE ITS CAPACITY TO FULFIL THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CHARTER.

8. 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 SEPERATELY 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 UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL'S CALL FOR A STRENGTHENING OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN KEEPING WITH THE CHARTER.

9. MEETING HERE IN INDIA WE CANNOT EMPHASIS TOO STRONGLY OUR BELIEF THAT THE ETHIC OF NON-VIOLENCE MUST BE AT THE HEART OF ALL EFFORTS TO ENSURE PEACE AND HARMONY IN THE WORLD. THAT ETHIC REQUIRES A CLOSE ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. ONLY BY SUCH A COMMITMENT ON ALL SIDES WILL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE ENJOY AN ENVIRONMENT OF TRUE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

10. 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.

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CONFIDENTIAL



Ferry

COMMONWEALTH
HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI 1983

27 November 1983

... Following consultations between the Chairperson and the Secretary-General the attached copy of a letter from the Rector of the UN University to the Prime Minister of India is circulated for the information of Heads of Delegation.

Hugh Craft

Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
Delhi



THE UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

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国際連合大学

〒150 東京都渋谷区千駄ヶ谷2-15-1 東武ビル29F
TELEPHONE 03 490 2811

HE Shrimati Indira Gandhi
The Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi
INDIA

12 September 1983

Dear Madame Prime Minister,

Further to my letter to you of August 24 1983, I have much pleasure in bringing to your attention the World Institute for Development Economic Research (WIDER) which the UN University is seeking to establish under its medium-term strategy of institutional development to help make a distinctive contribution to the solution of problems of the global economy.

I shall be most grateful if you would give this Institute your personal endorsement and commend it to the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their forthcoming meeting in Delhi on November 23 1983, for their support.

The concept and rationale for such an institute was arrived at as a result of intensive, worldwide consultations between the UN University and leading economists and experts including many from the Commonwealth. Twenty-four of these experts met in London early in 1982 under the chairmanship of Dr Ralf Dahrendorf, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, to consider the problems of the global economy and the response the UN University could make to them and recommended the creation of WIDER by the UN University. These experts included economists like Professor Amartya Sen, Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford University, Dr K N Raj, Centre for Development Studies, Kerala State, India, Professor Paul Streeten formerly of Oxford and now Director of the Centre for Asian Development Studies, Boston University, Dr Assar Lindbeck, University of Stockholm, Dr Dragoslav Avramovic, UNCTAD Geneva, Dr Rodrigo Botero Montoya of Bogota, Colombia, Dr H Onitiri, UNDP Zimbabwe, Dr Jozsef Bognar, Hungary and Dr Jozef Pajestka of Poland. (A list of the participants in the London Meeting and other documents providing the necessary detailed information on WIDER are attached in the accompanying annexes.)

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Professors Amartya Sen, Paul Streeten and Dr Dragoslav Avramovic have served as senior consultants for the UN University and have assisted the UN University in preparing the project proposal and in drawing up a list of subjects on which the initial programme of work of the Institute could be based. The participants agreed that existing research and analysis has failed to explain the rapid transformation of international economic realities or to provide reliable guides for economic policy. Much work goes on in national economic institutes and international agencies in following the course of the crisis in the world economy and its effects. What is lacking, however, is depth of analysis and a co-ordinated effort; and while valuable theoretical contributions have recently been made, little has been done in exploring the new theoretical insights and on their stimulation and cross fertilization.

The specific contribution of WIDER will thus be to bring a fresh general approach to the global economic and social problems. WIDER's approach will include: a) a global focus rather than a purely national, inter-governmental or inter-national one; b) a comprehensive and integrated treatment, in the sense that all relevant branches of knowledge will be brought to bear on the solution of practical problems irrespective of the barriers of existing disciplines or sub-branches of knowledge, such as trade, aid, capital flows, money, migration; c) special attention paid to the impact of national economic policies on the world community and of international events and actions on the fate of national communities; d) an emphasis on the impact of events and policies on poor people everywhere in the world.

WIDER is envisaged thus as a small, pluralistic inter-disciplinary group of scholars undertaking high-quality, non-advocacy research and training as outlined above, and in particular, young scholars drawn from the various regions of the world, North, South, East and West, will work at the Institute and within a worldwide network of collaborating institutions, learning both subject matter and methodology which they would then be able to apply in research efforts and policy-making in their home countries.


WIDER is to be financed through an earmarked endowment fund estimated at some US\$50 million, in keeping with the principal funding pattern of the UN University as a whole. Several governments, foundations and agencies have expressed serious interest in contributing to its establishment. The Brandt Commission, in its second report, Common Crisis, (see page 144/145) recommended WIDER for international support.

The Government of the Netherlands has decided to provide a location for WIDER and has made a generous offer of a building and other physical facilities in Maastricht, the capital of the province of Limburg in south-west Holland and a contribution of US\$13 million to its endowment fund (making altogether a total package of US\$20 million). The UN University is now holding negotiations with the Dutch Government on the details of this offer; the second and concluding round of these negotiations is to take place in Tokyo in early October. The UN University must then seek to raise some US\$30-40 million from the rest of the world to place the financing of WIDER on a secure and guaranteed footing.

The UN University has been in continuous consultations with the Commonwealth Secretariat concerning WIDER and its Secretary General, HE Mr S. S. Ramphal, has shown much personal interest at all stages of our exploration of this project. He and I agree that endorsement by the Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries will be of incalculable benefit to our explorations and will greatly assist the University in mobilizing the necessary worldwide moral and financial resources for the effective and early realization of the Institute.

I should therefore be most grateful if you could give WIDER your personal endorsement and commend it to the Commonwealth Heads of Government for their support at their forthcoming meeting in Delhi on November 23 1983. WIDER's global focus and approach and the potential contribution it can make towards the solution of North-South problems within the world economic system are especially relevant to some of the major preoccupations of the Commonwealth nations, as the timely publication by the Commonwealth Secretariat of its study, "Towards a New Bretton Woods", makes clear.

I am most grateful for your continuing interest in the UN University and the support of the Government of India and Indian scientists and scholars for its work. Please accept, Madame Prime Minister, the assurances of my highest consideration.


Soedjatmoko
Rector

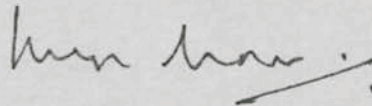
FORS

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

FOR THE INFORMATION OF DELEGATIONS

The attached paper is being circulated at the request of the Deputy Prime Minister of Jamaica.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

27 November 1983

BACKGROUND NOTES FOR A STATEMENT
BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHEARER
ON THE WORLD POLITICAL SCENE
CHOGM NEW DELHI 1983

International peace and security and the work of international institutions responsible for their maintenance are clearly of major contemporary concern.

It is widely acknowledged that the Security Council has not fulfilled satisfactorily the role envisaged in the Charter and that its prestige and authority have, especially in recent years, been considerably eroded. In the past two years the Secretary General of the United Nations in his Report on the work of the United Nations Organisation has brought this forcefully to the attention of the international community. The situation, as he has presented it, is that member states are straying from their obligations under the Charter which prohibits the use of force and enjoins members to settle disputes by peaceful means. States have been resorting to unilateral action and avoiding the use of the United Nations where conflict situations arise and even for certain peacekeeping arrangements. Resolutions of the Security Council are often defied or ignored and the powers given to the Security Council under the Charter to apply enforcement measures are seldom used. In short, the system of collective security envisaged under the Charter is far from becoming a reality and is continually being undermined by

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the action of states. The Secretary General sees the need for strengthening multilateral institutions, particularly the Security Council and has encouraged the adoption of new and imaginative approaches to the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The most urgent need is to revitalise and reconstruct the Charter system of collective security.

The most fundamental problem in this regard is that the expectation of Great-Power cooperation for the maintenance of international peace and security at the time the Charter was drafted was quickly demolished. In the immediate post-war period with the cold-war confrontation between the two major powers. The collapse of the basic assumptions on which the Charter was based meant that the Security Council came to be used by the major powers to protect and promote their national interests at the expense of broader interest of international peace and security (which they nevertheless oftentimes deemed to be coterminous with their own interests). A necessary consequence has been the legitimate recourse to other measures to do what the Security Council cannot now do.

Proposals for a more effective Security Council that call for reform of the structure and work procedures of the Security Council do not get to the core of the problem. The Secretary General has urged that there should be more systematic and less last-minute use of the Security Council. The Council should maintain an active monitoring of situations that could lead to a breach of the peace and initiate discussion with parties concerned

before/....

before a situation of crisis arises. This would involve the Council in more "preventive" diplomacy and the Secretary General could be effectively used in offering good offices for negotiations between parties to any dispute. In addition, the Secretary General could make more use of his own powers under Article 99 to initiate Council action. Other procedural reforms designed to develop the potential for consensus of action are also helpful.

I concur generally in the analysis of the situation presented by the Secretary General. Jamaica has stated its concern and has stressed the need for strengthening the multi-lateral institutions particularly the Security Council. Jamaica supports the adoption of procedures whereby the Council and the Secretary General would become more involved in acting to prevent problems from reaching crisis proportions.

Some proposals affecting the structure of the Council do not really contribute to its effectiveness. Some countries seek an expansion in the current membership to provide greater representation for Third World countries. This has the advantage of providing a more equitable distribution of seats, but that is about all. Other proposals concern the abolition or modification of the veto power of the permanent members. In practical terms these proposals are unlikely to reach any where because of the unyielding opposition of the Permanent Members who themselves would have to agree for any change to take place affecting the veto.

Resort/....

Resort to the General Assembly using the procedures of the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution has not proven worthwhile. Although an apparently attractive option, its real result is another rhetorical flourish. Here, as in the Security Council, what is important is a fair measure of consensus, including the agreement of the Permanent Members, on action to be adopted through this procedure and the willingness and capacity to do so.

There are perhaps three issues that need to be alluded to. They are -

1. the often indiscriminate and unnecessary recourse to the Security Council (yet a state's right to call on the Council should not be circumscribed);
2. the continued failure to develop the procedures envisaged in Articles 43 and 44 of the Charter (the difficulties are known but should there not be a renewed effort?)
3. the engagement of the prestige and interest of the Superpowers (and their alliance systems) in every conceivable dispute.

The Commonwealth can indicate and publicise its support for the United Nations system and call on states in particular the Permanent Members of the Security Council, to adhere to their Charter obligations and responsibilities and to cooperate fully in making the Council better able to deal with the current critical situation facing the world. But we need to try to do a bit more.

One/....

One of the paradoxes of contemporary life is that the increasing power and strength of the Super Powers have made conflict among smaller countries more likely and more frequent. As the major powers become more powerful they become less able to control regional conflicts. One hundred and forty wars and ten million dead since the Second World War are a grim testimony of the "efficacy" of the nuclear balance. In this situation the international security system built on the ashes of the Second World War offers less and less hope. Whether we speak of Chad or of South East Asia, of Afghanistan or Western Sahara, of Central America or Southern Africa, the picture is the same. The United Nations system has not been able to go beyond passing resolutions which are themselves of neither literary nor historical value. The regional institutions and arrangements, whose role is recognised by the United Nations Charter, are themselves handicapped by the same malaise. Nevertheless, we must note with some appreciation the efforts of the OAU and the ASEAN to deal with the problems that are bedevilling their respective regions. But the very limited successes achieved underscore the point.

I do not know how it will be possible to persuade the Super Powers to delink their prestige and assumed vital interests from all the conflicts around the world. But some delinking has to take place.

Not every conflict, not every internal dispute or attempt at changes is of interest or ought to be of interest to the Superpowers. There is no reason why their prestige and pride ought to be so lavishly engaged.

The CHOGM, in addition to dealing with the points raised, may seek to encourage the return to a multilateralism which understands the distinction between the larger interests of the international community and the more narrowly conceived national interests of its constituent members. The retreat from multilateralism needs to be halted.

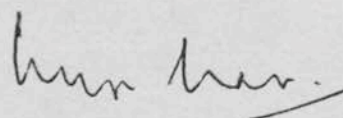
In this vein I support the initiatives undertaken by Prime Minister Trudeau to get the nuclear weapon states to deal at the highest political level with the task of arms control and disarmament. So important is the issue of the arms build up both nuclear and conventional and concomitant arms trade that new imaginative ways are needed to secure verifiable arms reduction and control. No one will be satisfied with proposals which are in effect onesided and therefore detrimental to perceived security interests. Hence a careful nurturing of a climate of confidence and trust is indispensable.

FERS

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI 1983

FOR THE INFORMATION OF DELEGATIONS

.... The attached amendments to pages 33 and 34 of the Directory of Delegations is being circulated at the request of the Delegation of Malaysia.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

27 November 1983

LIST OF MALAYSIAN DELEGATION

1. The Hon'ble MUHAMMAD GHAZALI SHAFIE,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Malaysia. - Leader of Delegation
2. Ambassador Tan Sri ZAKARIA HJ. MOHD. ALI,
Secretary-General,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Malaysia. - Member
3. Mr. RAZALI ISMAIL,
High Commissioner of Malaysia
to India. - Member
4. The Hon'ble WAN ABU BAKAR
Member of Parliament,
Malaysia. - Member
5. The Hon'ble Datuk WIRA AHMAD NORDIN,
Member of Malacca State
Executive Council,
Malaysia. - Member
6. The Hon'ble Pengiran Laila Kanun
Di Raja Pengiran BAHARIN Bin
Pengiran Haji ABAS,
Special Adviser. - Member
7. Mr. ABDUL KADIR Hj. MOHAMAD,
Under Secretary
(General Affairs),
Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Malaysia. - Member
8. Mr. Chong Ngian Yet,
Deputy Director,
International Trade
Division,
Ministry of Trade and
Industry, Malaysia. - Member
9. Mr. LIM JOCK SENG,
Special Adviser - Member
10. Mr. MOHAMED MUSA,
Special Assistant to
the Minister of Foreign
Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Malaysia. - Member

11. Mr. A. GANAPATHY, - Member
Counsellor,
Malaysian High Commission,
India.
12. Mr. SYED MESTADDIN BIN SYED ABDULLAH - Member
Counsellor,
Malaysian High Commission,
India.
13. Miss RAJMAH HUSSEIN, - Member
Principal Assistant
Secretary,
Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Malaysia.
14. Mr. Abdul Jabar bin Mohd, - Member
First Secretary,
Malaysian High Commission,
India.
15. Mr. Salman Ahmad, - Member
Second Secretary,
Malaysian High Commission,
India.
16. Mr. V. Rada Krishnan, - Member
Second Secretary,
Malaysian High Commission,
India.

DRAFT SPEAKING NOTES FOR USE BY THE PRIME MINISTER DURING
THE DISCUSSION OF THE ECONOMIC ITEM OF THE AGENDA

cc

Mr. Butler ✓
Sir R. Armstrong
Sir A. Acland
Mr. Ainscow
Mr. Goldsmith

1. In our Commonwealth approach to these great international economic issues, I believe we must be guided by some basic propositions.
2. We need to restore a sense of multilateral economic cooperation.
3. We must proceed by way of a consensus. All of us have our own legitimate interests to consider. We have to take full account of each other's preoccupations.
4. We must be realistic in what we, as a Commonwealth, attempt. We need practical results, not endless debates and conferences.
5. We should draw on the work done by the three reports before the Conference, and, not least, follow the advice on improving our negotiating methods.
6. Our domestic economic policies must be consistent with our international economic policies. We cannot have the benefits of an interdependent open trading system if we all go our own way.
7. We must build upon and adapt our international financial

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and economic institutions and mechanisms. We must ensure that they have adequate resources. We must ensure that they operate flexibly. We must not undermine confidence in the capacity of those institutions to do their job. We must strengthen the linkage between the handling of financial and trading issues and recognise the interdependence between the two. /we must explore the means of promoting a greater convergence between our respective financial and economic policies.

8. Britain is determined to work, for the common good, on these lines.

9. It will not, therefore, surprise you to know that we welcome much of the analysis in the report "Towards a New Bretton Woods". We have long advocated the central importance of achieving sustained non-inflationary growth; and the need to encourage direct private investment. We act on the basis that, in our aid and trading policies we share an obligation to give priority to helping the poorest. We base our policy on the imperative of maintaining an open international trading system. We want to see interest rates come down. We recognise the reality of economic interdependence and we endorse the dominating theme of the report that in shaping our

/financial

financial and economic policies, we must work towards an international consensus.

10. In our work together on the international economic agenda, we are also resolved to ensure that our international institutions and mechanisms operate efficiently to serve all our interests. It is quite right that we should examine these instruments of our economic well-being both critically and constructively.

11. The techniques of international financial management are in fact evolving and adapting all the time. The IMF has been developing a central role in the management of debt. The effective resources of the Fund last year were greatly enlarged while Sir Geoffrey Howe was Chairman of the Interim Committee. The links between the institutions themselves are becoming much closer. And the Helleiner report has suggested other areas where we need to consider further change.

12. Britain will play its full part in this process. Last May, at Williamsburg, the Economic Summit partners invited their Ministers of Finance to define the conditions for improving the international monetary system and to consider the part which might, in due

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course, be played in this process by a high-level international monetary conference.

13. The Helleiner report similarly suggests that an international conference could be the culmination of a process of careful preparation. And it was on this basis that Commonwealth Finance Ministers welcomed the Report when they discussed it at Trinidad in September.

14. I agree on the need for careful study of these issues by our governments. And I can agree with the New Zealand Prime Minister's proposal that a Commonwealth group should be set up to consult with other members of the international community about the trade and payments system. We must, of course, be sure that there exists a genuine consensus within the Commonwealth on how we should follow up the ideas in the studies submitted to us. And this, I suggest, should be the first task of the group.

15. It may be that, as the culmination of the process of consultation and if all were so agreed, an international conference could be appropriate. But I would not want to commit myself to an international monetary conference at this stage. We all know

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how difficult it is to reach agreed conclusions at global meetings where so much is at stake. We must be careful lest we tie ourselves now to a procedure which might, in practice, delay the very ^{major work} reforms we want to see. The other report before us, "The North-South dialogue: Making it Work", usefully calls our attention to the desirability of getting away from unworkable conferences ^{and negotiating methods} on a massive scale.

16. I believe that we in the Commonwealth can help to improve international economic cooperation. We can act together to keep our trade open; to press for lower interest rates; for adequate resources for the international financial institutions. We have much to contribute to strengthening the framework of economic partnership and getting away from sterile confrontation. In this joint process, Britain will play its full part.



From: PUS

Date: 27 November 1983


Mr Coles *my m.*

cc: Sir R Armstrong
Sir J Leahy
Mr Goldsmith

THE COMMUNIQUE

1. You may like to have a report on where we stand.
2. The self-denying ordinance on length and subject matter rapidly broke down. More and more delegations argued for the inclusion of their pet subject and we shall end up with a list nearly but not quite as long as that at Melbourne. Most delegations are only interested in their own hobby-horses and happily go along with extreme language proposed by other delegations in relation to their pet subjects. As a result we have found ourselves arguing on nearly every item against language which is unnecessarily extreme or which represents a significant advance on the Melbourne communique. We have had little or no help from the Australian and New Zealand delegations. The Canadian delegation has shown occasional signs of life but on issues of importance to them rather than to us. The Nigerian representative has been restrained and sensible but there are a lot of vocal and quasi-professional communique drafters who enjoy the argument: Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Jamaica and Malaysia are fairly prominent in this respect. The Indian delegation is silvery-tongued and fairly unscrupulous in getting India's interests in.
3. The following passages have been agreed ad referendum to Heads of Government:
 - (a) Introduction - no problem.
 - (b) Afghanistan - satisfactory.
 - (c) Central America - not very good but we toned it down a fair bit without much support from anyone else.

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- (d) Guyana - satisfactory.
- (e) Indian Ocean - unsatisfactory. We fought a battle against allcomers about the inclusion of the date. Australia was content with the text. Perhaps the saving grace is that Heads of Government call upon all the Governments concerned "to reach agreement....." This is really a best endeavours clause and though the Americans and indeed we ourselves do not like the idea of a Conference in 1984 or 1985 unless the terms of reference are properly agreed, I doubt if the Prime Minister should try to re-open the matter.
- (f) South Pacific - largely similar to Melbourne. Not unduly hostile to the French. We got out much worse reference to nuclear testing and dumping of nuclear waste.
- (g) Middle East.- as always a long wrangle. A pretty awful text in terms of language - but acceptable in terms of substance. The PLO "on an equal footing" is qualified by "most" Heads of Government and our position is thus reserved. The Canadians object to a reference to self-determination which we could accept and this ~~now~~ may have to be dealt with by Heads of Government.
- (h) Mediterranean.- not a very good text which somewhat advances Malta's position in the CSCE. We got out three unsatisfactory references and no-one else was interested.
- (i) Belize - just all right. We got out a reference to a British commitment to preserve Belize's security.

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/ The texts of all these are attached. It is not clear in what order they will appear.

4. Still to come, we have:

- (a) Law of the Sea - I have firmly said that we will not agree to any text urging signature of the present Convention. We will probably have to have a paragraph with the "most Heads of Government" formula.
- (b) Cambodia/Kampuchea - largely a dual between India on the one hand and Malaysia and Singapore on the other. We need not be involved.

Possibly

- (c) South-East Asian refugees - if included, a similar text to the Melbourne communique.

And of course

- (d) Southern Africa/Namibia - this will be long and difficult and we are already on notice from the African delegations that this is what really interests them.

/ 5. With all these subjects included we must consider again whether to try to have a reference to the Falklands. I attach a possible text. I - or probably more successfully the Prime Minister in the Heads of Government Meeting - might be able to bounce it through, but I am apprehensive that we are bound to face a call for negotiations. Those who voted with Argentina in New York are among the most vocal in the Committee - India, Malaysia, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Guyana. Unless the Prime Minister feels that the absence of the Falklands from the communique will be

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adversely noted and would cause difficulty in Parliament and the press at home, my recommendation remains to leave it alone and to rest on the United Nations General Assembly result.

Antony Acland

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Antony Acland

FALKLANDS

Commonwealth Governments had the opportunity to express their views on the current situation over the Falklands in the recent debate and vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the context of their anxiety over the special needs of small territories and consistent with their respect for the principle of self-determination, Heads of Government affirmed their support for the people of the Falklands Islands to live in freedom and security.

SECRET

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

Draft Final 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 and Nevis who 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.

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AFGHANISTAN

Heds 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. Heds of Government noted with approval the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged their continuation.

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CENTRAL AMERICA

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 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.

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GUYANA

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.

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INDIAN OCEAN

Heads of Government again voiced their disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of littoral and hinterland states and the 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.

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FM NEW DELHI 271100Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 963 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE SOUTH PACIFIC AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT:

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 FOMU MEMBER STATES AND THAT FURTHER
CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN PURSUANT TO THIS INITIATIVE.
FURTHERMORE THEY NOTED THE STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSALS FOR
THE DUMPING AND STORAGE OF NUCLEAR WASTE MATERIAL IN THE PACIFIC.
THEY SHARED THE CONTINUING CONCERN WITHIN THE REGION OVER NUCLEAR
TESTING.

WADE-GERY

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FM NEW DELHI 271052Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 962 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT:

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 QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND STRESSED THE
NEED TO INTENSIFY EFFORTS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE,
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 (SELF-DETERMINATION AND) 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, MOST HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR
VIEW THAT LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE,
MUST BE INVOLVED ON AN EQUAL FOOTING IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A
SETTLEMENT.

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.

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF
LEBANON, AND EXPRESSED SOLIDARITY WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE
LEBANESE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT TO RESTORE STABILITY AND PEACE
TO THEIR COUNTRY.

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FM NEW DELHI 271047Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 961 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT :

THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN AT THE CONTINUING TENSIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ACCUMULATION OF MILITARY 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 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 INTER-RELATED 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.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 960 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT . FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON BELIZE AGREED BY SENIOR
OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT :

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.

WADE-GERY

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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.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. 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.

5. In all these pursuits we emphasise the supreme importance of political will. We therefore welcome Prime Minister 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.

6. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on disarmament 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.

7. 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.

8. 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.

9. 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.

10. 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

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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.

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. Our people have suffered from economic stagnation and unemployment. World trade has declined. The international financial system has been further weakened by the debt crisis. 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 been superimposed on deepseated problems of poverty and hunger. *Redl > 2/11/83*

Since we last met in Melbourne there have been some signs of recovery. But the recovery remains narrowly-based 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.

Report

In seeking to understand the origins of these problems, and in seeking solutions, we have noted with appreciation the report "Towards a New Bretton Woods" which was first submitted to Finance Ministers at their meeting in Port-of-Spain in September, and on the account of their discussion given to us by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. We commend the authors on their report which has made a valuable contribution to the search for solutions.

National
and
Inter-
national
policy.

While acknowledging our responsibility for pursuing prudent domestic economic policies, we are deeply conscious of the crucial international dimension to our problems. There is the impact made by the domestic policies of major countries on the well-being of others. It is within the international domain that mutually acceptable principles governing trade and financial flows must be found. We share a common belief that Bretton Woods institutions should be better equipped to help cope with the full magnitude of the global crisis. The Bretton Woods 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 from the international financial institutions. We believe

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that these institutions must develop and adapt. They must be used to sustain resource flows to developing countries. In particular we recognise the need for increasing concessional flows to poorer developing countries, especially the least developed.

Reform

We recognise some differences on 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. The Non-Aligned Summit has proposed an International Conference on Money and Finance for Development with universal participation. The Williamsburg Summit has decided to undertake a study of the international monetary system by Finance Ministers and the part which a high level international monetary conference might in due course play in this process.

We believe that the situation calls for comprehensive examination of the trade and payments system. A process of preparatory consultation is needed to clarify the areas of agreement. At the appropriate time all the countries affected must be directly involved in the discussions and decision making. It may thus emerge that an international conference with universal participation will be desirable.

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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

A Short Win

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 7th Replenishment. We stress the need for IDA 7 to be completed urgently to ensure that the Seventh Replenishment 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.....to convey to all donor countries the strength of our support for the IDA 7 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.

The Process

B. Lowy

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 an intergovernmental group at the level of..... composed of..... assisted by the Secretary-General, for the purpose of promoting a consensus on the issues covered by this Statement, and consulting as appropriate on the most effective way of taking action on the basis of agreed priorities. We also ask the Group to report to Finance Ministers in good time before they meet next year in Toronto.

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TEXT OF DRAFT PROPOSED BY INDIA

1. THE WORLD TODAY IS DEVIDED INTO EXTREMES OF AFFLUENCE AND POVERTY, OVER-PRODUCTION (OVER-PRODUCTION) AND HUNGER(.) THE CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS WHICH DEVELOPED OUT OF THE IMBALANCES IN SOME MAJOR INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES HAS NOW BECOME TRULY GLOBAL(.) IN MANU DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IT HAS LED TO ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND RISING UNEMPLOYMENT WHICH IS SOUGHT TO BE OVERCOME THROUGH RESTRICTIVE AND PROTECTIONIST POLICIES WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR IMPACT ON OTHER COUNTRIES(.) INEVITALY(IENVITABLY) WORLD TRADE HAS DECLINED(.) IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHOSE ECONOMICS ARE SPECIALLY VULNERABLE, THE ECONOMIC CRISES HAS LED TO INTOLERABLE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICITS MOUNTING DEBT BRUDENS, DECLINE IN EXPORTS AND WORSENING TERMS OF TRADE(.) THE SITUATION IS AGGRAVATED BY THE DECLINE IN THE FLOW OF RESOURCES(.) MANU OF THESE COUNTRIES ARE ON THE BRINK OF DESASTER(.)
2. THE PRESIDENT CRISIS HAS DEMONSTRATED THE INADEQUACY OF EXISTING STRUCTURES TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT(.)ADHOC (AD HOS) AND AND PIECEMEAL SOLUTIONS ARE NO LONGER SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE CRISIS(.) A COHERENT AND INTEGRATED APPROACH IS NECESSARY(.) THE REACTIVATION OF GROWTH IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST BE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THIS APPROACH(.) IMMEDIATE MEASURES ARE NEEDED IN SEVERAL AREAS ESPECIALLY A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN I D A (.) SPECIAL EMPHASIS MUST BE PLACED ON ENABLING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PARTICULARLY THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, TO SOLVE THEIR ACUTE PAYMENT AND DEBT PROBLEMS WITHOUT INTERRUPTING THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROCESS(.) THE BASIC NEEDS OF FOOD AND ENERGY ENHANCED ACCESS TO MARKETS AND FAIR PRICES FOR COMMODITIES MUST BE ENSUED AND IMMEDIATE MEASURED TO DISMANTLE TRADE BARRIERS IMPLEMENTED(.)
3. THERE IS NOW INCREASING AWARENESS OF THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT AND REFORMoTHE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL AND MONETARY SYSTEM(.) THE PRESENT INSTITUTIONS WERE CREATED AKMOST 40 YEARS AGO AND SINCE THEN A NUMBER OF CHANCES HAVE OCCURED IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM(.)
4. THE COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS REALISING THIS AT THEIR MEETING IN 1982 CONSTITUTED AN EXPERT GROUP TO STUDY AND COMMENT ON THESE MATTERS(.) THAT GROUP HAS SUBMITTED A REPORT CALLED " TOWARDS A NEW BRETDON WOODS" IN WHICH IT IS CLEARLY RECOGNISED THAT THERE ARE MANY DEFICIENCIES IN THE SYSTEM (.) THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT HAS PROPOSED AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND HAS PROPOSED AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MONEY AND FINANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT WITH UNIVERSAL PARTICIPATION(.) THE WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT

HAS DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE AS A STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM BY FINANCE MINISTERS AND THE PART WHICH A HIGH LEVEL INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE MIGHT IN DUE COURSE PLAY IN THIS PROCESS(.) WORK AND STUDIES ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE ALSO BEEN COMMISSIONED BY OTHER ORGANISATIONS(.)

5. WE RECOGNISED THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENCES ON THE NATURE OF CHANGES REQUIRED(.) WE BELIEVE THAT CONSCIOUS EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO HARMONISE THE DIFFERENT POSITIONS AND TO FIND AN ACCEPTABLE WAY OF MOVING FORWARD(.) ALL THE COUNTRIES TOGETHER WOULD NEED TO MEET AT A CONFERENCE TO DECIDE ON THE CHANGES TO BE BROUGHT ABOUT WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE PRECEDED BY A GREAT DEAL OF PREPARATION TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONCERNS OF ALL(.) WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR MORE INTENSIVE WORK AT THE LEVEL OF GOVERNMENTS TO PROMOTE A CONSENSUS ON THESE ISSUES, INCLUDING PREPARATORY PROCESS AND THE SCOPE AND MODALITIES OF THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE(.) THE COMMONWEALTH AS A FORUM, WHICH INCLUDES INDUSTRIALISED AS WELL AS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN PROMOTING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH ON THESE ISSUES (.) WE HAVE ACCORDINGLY DECIDED TO ESTABLISH AN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL GROUP AT THE LEVEL OF SENIOR OFFICIALS AND TO BE ASSISTED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREPARING MORE DETAILED SUGGESTIONS IN THIS REGARD.

.....

OUTLINE FOR DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. Shared sense of crisis.. Apprehension about state of world order. Despite differences of approach, common perception that ^{powerful / nuclear} super power confrontation is assuming new and menacing dimensions. Danger of complete breakdown in communication between antagonists. Build up of nuclear arsenals threatens human annihilation.

2. General breakdown of stability and order in international community and increasing disregard of moral and legal principles which should govern conduct of states.

3. First objective is resumption of genuine political dialogue between super powers so as to lead to relaxation of tension.

4. Need to increase human contacts and political confidence-building measures at various levels of governments and peoples.

5. Importance of political will recognised and emphasised by all. Prime Minister Trudeau's call for new political dimension to international security welcomed. Support for his approach that more effective dialogue must take place among nuclear weapon powers.

6. Pre-condition of progress on de-nuclearisation world-wide is halting and reversal of nuclear arms race between super powers. The link between disarmament and development is also relevant. ??

7. Crisis of confidence in multilateral approach to international affairs. Renewal of support for United Nations. Importance of taking carefully considered and practical measures to make organisation better able to fulfill objectives of Charter.

8. Concern at vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference. These countries though unable to defend themselves are members of international community which has obligation to provide effective guarantees for their territorial integrity and independence. Consideration should be given to appropriate action responsive to the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter.

9. The ethic of non-violence is at the heart of ensuring peace and harmony in the world and of pursuing conflict resolution through adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement and the non-use of force.



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

You agreed with Robert Wade-Gery the other day that, following your call on Mrs. Gandhi on the day before CHOGM opened, you would send her a letter about two or three bilateral points.

I attach a letter which Robert has prepared and which you may care to sign.

A.J.C.

27 November 1983

PRIME MINISTER

"The New Delhi Declaration on International Security"

I dictated to New Delhi the draft which you are to discuss this morning and Sir Antony Acland and Sir Robert Armstrong have been carefully through it.

They have suggested some specific amendments which I have marked on the attached copy; and they have made the following general points:

- (i) This version is better than previous ones, particularly on the British deterrent and what is said on that aspect in this version does not cause them any worries.
- (ii) But the general tone of the statement is still too alarmist, particularly in the opening paragraph.
- (iii) The draft is still too critical of the US and NATO; and suggested amendments to the second sentence of paragraph 1 does something to correct that.
- (iv) There could still be more reference to the threat of subversion, but they welcome the reference to "interference" as well as "external attack" in para 8.
- (v) As a general point, as the statement is revised, you will want to keep at the fore-front of your mind how the result will look in the House of Commons and the British press in relation to the line you have taken on these matters in your statements and speeches.

F.R.B.

27 November 1983

PART 6 ends:-

Sir A Aelund to AJC 26.11.83

PART 7 begins:-

AJC to PM 27.11.83

