

S
810

PREM 19/1431

35/19

PART 9

SECRET

MT

Confidential Filing

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Bahamas 1985

COMMONWEALTH

PE 1: MARCH 1979

PE 9: JUNE 1984

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
18.6.84		X					
28.11.84							
29.11.84							
5.2.85							
4/2/85		Part 9 Ends					
16.5.85		PREM 19/1431					
30.5.85							
7.6.85							
10.6.85							
21/6/85							
22.8.85							
27.8.85							
9.9.85							
12.9.85							
12.9.85							
15.9.85							
16.9.85							
24.9.85							
25.9.85							
26.9.85							
27/9/85							
30.9.85							
3.10.85							
7.10.85							
13.10.85							

PART 9 ends:-

CAP to FCO 13.10.85

PART 10 begins:-

FCO to CAP 14.10.85.

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
OD(85) 17	17.7.85
OD(85) 9	13.5.85

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 *A Wayland*

Date *19 November 2013*

PREM Records Team

RESTRICTED

file

DJG



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

13 October 1985

Dear Peter,

CHOGM: ATTENDANCE BY THE ANC

The Prime Minister has noted Lusaka telegram number 427 reporting that Oliver Tambo will be "present at CHOGM". Colin Budd's letter of 11 October makes clear that a number of nationalist leaders will be present in Nassau at the time of CHOGM, but not involved in any of its meetings. The Prime Minister would like to be sure that it is not the intention to invite Tambo or other nationalist leaders to any CHOGM functions. Perhaps John Johnson could explore intentions on this at the preliminary meeting of senior officials.

Yours sincerely,

Colin Budd

Charles Powell

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

BM

RESTRICTED
[AMENDED DIST]
8-10-85

GRS 50

RESTRICTED
FM LUSAKA
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 427
OF 080825Z OCT 85
INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA

*Prime Minister
You will have to
be careful of
him at receptions
etc.
Ch*

CHOGM: ATTENDANCE BY THE ANC

1. I WAS TOLD LAST NIGHT (BUT PERHAPS YOU KNOW THIS ALREADY) BY THABO MBEKI THAT OLIVER TAMBO AND AN ANC DELEGATION WILL BE PRESENT AT CHOGM AT THE PERSONAL INVITATION OF MR PINDLING AND WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF RAMPHAL. TAMBO WILL FLY DIRECT FROM ADDIS AND WILL NOT TRAVEL WITH KAUNDA'S PARTY AS HE IS FIRST VISITING CUBA BEFORE ARRIVING IN NASSAU.

GORHAM

*Present at
CHOGM? -
Pindling can't
just invite
Non-Communist
Members to
CHOGM functions?
Who he invites to
in his office
but not to
CHOGM*

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

SOUTHERN AFRICA
STANDARD(PALACE)
S AF D
OADS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
SOUTHERN AFRICA

UND
NAD

ECDs
SOVIET D

MR J R J JOHNSON
CABINET OFFICE

RESTRICTED

CONFIDENTIAL



Prime Minister
CD 15/11
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 October 1985

Dear Charles,

CHOGM: Attendance By National Representatives

You may like to be aware that, as on past occasions, there will be a number of nationalist leaders present in Nassau at the time of the CHOGM, who will seek to draw attention to their causes. Three of whom we are aware are:

Sam Nujoma

President of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)

Yann Celene Uregei

so-called Vice-President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the "Kanak Republic" (FLNKS) - New Caledonia

Oliver Tambo

President of the African National Congress (ANC) - South Africa (with other members of the ANC delegation).

None of these people should, of course, attend any of the formal sessions at CHOGM, as it is clearly established Commonwealth practice that these are open only to the representatives of fully independent states. They will, however, be mingling in the margins and it is possible that one or other may try to contact the Prime Minister or other members of the delegation between sessions.

As the Prime Minister knows, Sam Nujoma has been present at several previous CHOGMS. Mr Uregei is accompanying the Vanuatu delegation (at the invitation of Prime Minister Lini) to both the UNGA and the CHOGM. Lini is determined to press the Kanak case before world opinion and at suitable international fora.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Michael Start (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

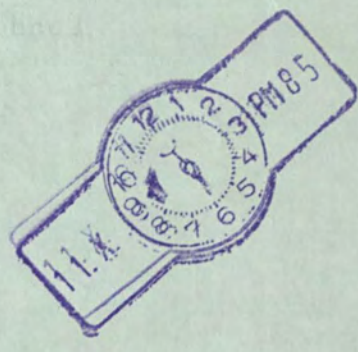
(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

U.S. AIR MAIL

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE





FILE

67

cc: ODA
FCO

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

11 October, 1985

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 1 October, and for sending her the Council's paper "Human Ecology, The Bond and Purpose of Progress".

I understand that you would be interested to discuss your paper with the Prime Minister in Nassau. I am afraid that the Prime Minister's time will be entirely taken up with the Heads of Government meeting. But if you would like to make contact with the British Delegation at the Nassau Beach Hotel, Room 656, they will try to arrange for you to have a word with a senior member of the Prime Minister's delegation.

(C.D. Powell)

Mrs. Zena Daysh.

d



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 October 1985

MALAYSIAN PROJECTS

Thank you for your letter of 8 October suggesting that the Prime Minister write to Dr. Mahathir proposing that they discuss recent problems over contracts at CHOGM.

It will not be practicable for the Prime Minister to write before Dr. Mahathir leaves for CHOGM. But I am sure she will want to have the proposed discussion. Could you please ensure that we get a brief by 14 October at latest.

I am copying this letter to Colin Budd (FCO), Richard Allan (Transport) and Martin Dinham.

C D Powell

Matthew Cocks, Esq.,
Department of Trade and Industry.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 October 1985

I am writing to thank you for your letter of 9 October to the Prime Minister about Shell's negotiations on oil and gas arrangements with Brunei. I shall show this to the Prime Minister as soon as she returns from Blackpool. I am confident, however, that she will want to raise the problem with the Sultan in the margins of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and have asked for full briefing to be prepared for her.

(Charles Powell)

P.F. Holmes, Esq.

ea



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

ack 9 October 1985

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Chairman of Shell about the position in negotiations between his company and the Brunei Government over the oil and gas arrangements. He asks the Prime Minister to raise these problems with the Sultan of Brunei in the margins of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

I should be grateful for a draft reply which the Prime Minister could send before her departure. She will, I am sure, want to agree to raise the matter. It would also be helpful to have a brief prepared for the Prime Minister's use with the Sultan.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Geoff Dart (Department of Energy).

(Charles Powell)

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

✓
16

P. F. HOLMES

TELEPHONE:
01-934 5611

SHELL CENTRE
LONDON
SEI 7NA

9th October, 1985

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP,
No. 10 Downing Street,
London SW1.

Dear Prime Minister,

As you are aware from your April visit to Brunei, the Brunei Government requested in October 1984 a review of their oil and gas arrangements. These negotiations have been protracted and are not going very well. I therefore thought you ought to know the present position prior to any conversations you may have with the Sultan at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

The upstream (or producing) oil and gas arrangements which involve Brunei Shell Petroleum (jointly owned by the Government and Shell) had been last modified in 1983 following protracted negotiations. The downstream (or liquefaction and trading) gas arrangements involving Brunei Liquefied Natural Gas and Brunei Coldgas (jointly owned by the Government, Shell and Mitsubishi) were last modified in 1980/81.

The Government team in the negotiations has been advised by Shearman and Sterling (lawyers) and A.D. Little (energy consultants). The principle lawyer, Mr. R.A. MacCrindle, Q.C. has acted as the Government's main spokesman. The Government team has not shifted from their initial view that the arrangements are and have been too generous to the private investor.

Naturally, we have watched the evolution of the stresses and strains within the Royal Family. We have been concerned that the Government team appears to lack clear guidance from the Sultan and thus falls into the hands of their advisers whose interests are in a short term success and not in the long term welfare of Brunei. Despite our firm conviction that the current terms are fair and comparable with those in Indonesia and Malaysia, we have made an attempt to make some concessions in the hope that this will help restore harmony between the Government and ourselves. These overtures were rejected and thus we felt we had no choice but to seek an audience for our Regional Co-ordinator (Mr. K.A.V. Mackrell) with Prince Jefri and an audience for my colleague Mr. J.H. Choufoer with the Sultan.

I understand that Mr. Mackrell has spoken to Sir William Harding at the Foreign Office and that you are being briefed by them on events in Brunei. We fully understand the wider British interests in Brunei, and welcome the excellent co-operation given by the British High Commissioner in Brunei.

SM02033

If the opportunity were to arise with the Sultan, I would hope you could reassure him that Shell have, and are, giving the Government's views very serious examination. However, the international energy market situation, the proximity of the recent reviews with Government, and the danger of creating precedents which could be used elsewhere give little room for manoeuvre. Moreover the current Brunei terms are comparable with those in Indonesia and Malaysia. I am concerned that some of the younger elements, maybe egged on by their advisers, have unrealistic expectations.

Brunei has benefitted in Japan from the Government's record for stability and consistency. It would be a pity if its privileged position in the Japanese market and the very important extension of the current LNG arrangements were to be endangered by any unreasonable stance. I should add that our concerns are shared completely by Mitsubishi.

I hope the above clarifies the present situation for you.

Yours Sincerely,

Peter Holmes



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

Adk | 9 October 1985

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Council of Turkish Cypriot Associations asking her to receive a delegation from their Council before the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

You will not be surprised to know that it will not be possible for the Prime Minister to do this, but you may wish to consider offering them a hearing from a senior FCO official. May I leave it to you to reply direct please.

(Charles Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

✓

Original copy damaged

**THE COUNCIL OF
TURKISH CYPRIOT ASSOCIATIONS (UK)**

121, WARHAM ROAD
HARINGEY LONDON N.4

TEL: 01-340 9586
01-693 4114

9th October, 1985

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
10, Downing Street
LONDON, SW1.

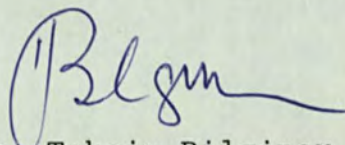
Dear Prime Minister,

We have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a letter we have recently addressed to Her Majesty the Queen, regarding the plight of the Turkish Cypriot people who have been effectively disenfranchised from the Commonwealth.

In view of the sensitivity felt amongst thousands of Turkish Cypriots who are proud of being both U.K. as well as Commonwealth citizens, we would be very grateful if you would kindly consent that a representative delegation of our Council were accorded the opportunity, if possible before the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference to be held at the Bahamas, to meet you in person and seek your valuable guidance on a matter of historic importance to the Turkish Cypriots. No doubt we are fully aware that any policy decision on this matter rests entirely with Her Majesty's Government.

Please accept Prime Minister, the assurances of our highest consideration and respect.

Yours Obediently,



Dr. Tahsin Bilginer
Chairman of the Council
Executive Committee.

ENCS.

THE COUNCIL OF TURKISH CYPRIOT ASSOCIATIONS (UK)

121, WARHAM ROAD
HARINGEY LONDON N.4

TEL: 01-340 9586
01-693 4114

8th October, 1985

Your Majesty,

We have the honour to submit that the Council of the Turkish Cypriot Associations in the U.K. represents the Turkish Cypriot Community resident in the United Kingdom, and in this submission, also represented are our affiliated organisations in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The Council requests your gracious consideration and understanding of the case of almost three hundred thousand Turkish Cypriot Commonwealth citizens on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at the Bahamas. We address Your Majesty in your capacity as the Head of this august body. We respectfully submit that we have been denied either a hearing or participation at Commonwealth meetings although both the United Nations and the Organisation of Islamic Conference have enabled our voice to be heard at their meetings. We have also addressed the Commonwealth Secretariat in this regard several years and have argued that the Commonwealth should not be seen arguing on behalf of only one community of a Commonwealth country, particularly as the issue concerns the two Commonwealth communities of Cyprus, namely The Turkish and Greek Cypriots, whose respective equal political status is not only the basis of the recent U.N. initiatives on Cyprus but also guaranteed under the 1960 Agreements of which Your Majesty's Government is a guarantor power.

We would further submit that the Commonwealth Secretariat under the leadership of its Secretary General has recently published a pamphlet captioned "Vulnerability: Small States in the Global Society," the contents of which undoubtedly establish the partisan view of the Secretary General. We would therefore regretfully state and place on record that the Turkish Cypriot Community has no confidence in the person of the Secretary General who has systematically crusaded against the Turkish Cypriot Community despite the decades of oppression and suffering of our people in the island.

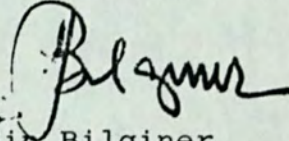
We have taken the liberty of addressing this appeal to Your Majesty as Commonwealth citizens who stand deprived of our rights in our parent organisation, the Commonwealth. We also take this opportunity of expressing your deepest gratitude to Your Majesty's Government for Britain's historic role during the dark days of ENOSIS, when thousands of Turkish Cypriot together with British families were massacred on the island. The Turkish Cypriot people have found a safe sanctuary - thanks to

.../2

the legitimate intervention by Turkey in 1974 when the whole of the Turkish Cypriot people faced imminent danger of total extinction -for the first time in their long history, and we now sincerely seek to contribute towards peace and stability not only on our island but also in the region. We feel that it is our right to be heard at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, and appeal to Your Majesty for your gracious intervention.

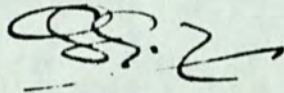
We remain,

Yours Obediently,



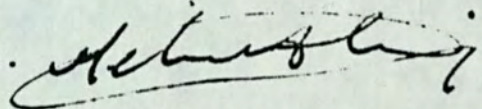
1. Dr. Tahsin Bilginer
Chairman of the Council Executive
Committee
The Council of Turkish Cypriot
Associations in U.K.

2.

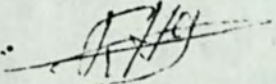


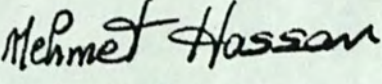
Mustafa Gençsoy
Chairman
Cyprus Turkish
Association.

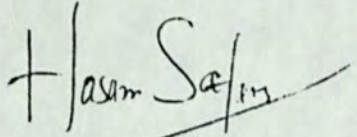
3.

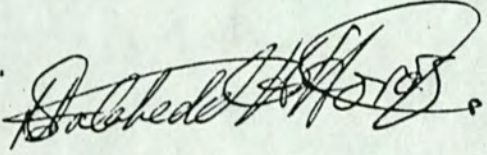


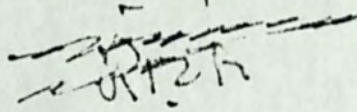
Metin Hüseyin
Anglo Turkish Cultural
Association.

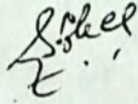
4. 
Ramadan H. Güney
Chairman
U.K. Turkish Islamic Trust.

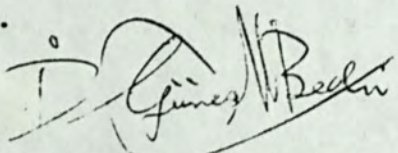
5. 
Mehmet Hasan
Chairman
Turkish Community
Football League.

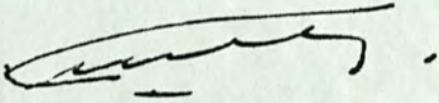
6. 
Hasan Safer
London Islamic Turkish
Association.

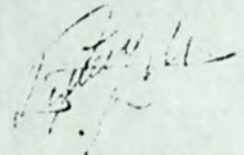
7. 
M.S.H. Horoz
Britain-Turkish Committee.

8. 
Fevzi Ali Riza
Turkish Cypriot Cultural
Association.

9. 
Şener Gökçe
Ergazililer Association.

10. 
İsmail Güneş Bedri
Chairman
U.K. Turkish Islamic Youth
Organisation.

11. 
Rasih Işıkman
Turkish Youth Education
Culture and Art Society.

12. 
Arif Tahir Erişen
General Secretary
Mehmetcik Turkish Association.

②



From the Minister for Trade

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
LONDON SW1H 0ET

Telephone (Direct dialling) 01-215) 5144
GTN 215) 5144
(Switchboard) 215 7877

COMMERCIAL IN CONFIDENCE

Charles Powell Esq
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

8 October 1985

mn

*Prime Minister
I think you will
want to raise these
issues with Dr.
Mahathir at CHOGM.
I have asked for a
brief.
CDD
2/11.*

Dear Charles

MALAYSIAN PROJECTS

Thank you for your letter of 24 September to Mike Gilbertson about Hawker Siddeley's request for ATP support for their bid to supply locomotives to Malaysian Railways.

My Minister shares the concern which the Prime Minister has expressed about the Malaysian Government's handling not only of the locomotive order pursued by Hawker Siddeley, but of other contracts. So far as the former is concerned, Mr Channon has already exchanged correspondence with the Malaysian Minister of Finance. Furthermore, Hawker Siddeley have now been told they are only fourth on price after resubmitting their bid with slightly increased ATP support. We do not, therefore, consider it appropriate to ask the Prime Minister to make representations now about this case, although she may wish to raise it in her talks with Dr Mahathir next week.

The other principal contracts currently outstanding in Malaysia involve Rolls Royce and Biaters. Rolls Royce recently lost an important order for aircraft engines to Pratt and Whitney, having clearly been the leading contender. The decision appeared to have been influenced largely by political reasons, even though it is defended on commercial grounds. The Minister of Finance was probably responsible, although it is difficult to believe that Dr Mahathir would not have been well aware of it. Rolls Royce are now pressing a claim for compensation relating to conditions in a contract for engines supplied earlier, but the Malaysians have indicated that too much fuss or delay over this would make it very difficult for them to award to Biaters an important £500 million rural water supplies contract (a project with UK content of £240 million on which we have offered Aid and Trade Provision support). It is up to Rolls Royce to decide how to handle the



commercial aspects of this case, though clearly it is in their own interest not to sour further their relations with the Malaysians unnecessarily.

Understandably, Biwaters are concerned that representations by HMG might be harmful to their prospects. But these developments are nevertheless sufficiently worrying for my Minister to express the hope that the Prime Minister could raise them with Dr Mahathir when she meets him in Nassau next week. If so, he suggests she could write in general terms to him now to prepare the way for such a discussion and to prevent him from pleading ignorance of the circumstances. Our High Commission in Kuala Lumpur is content, and I attach a draft.

I am copying this letter to Colin Budd (FCO), Richard Allan (Transport) and Martin Dinham (ODA).

Yours

Matthew Cocks

MATTHEW COCKS
Private Secretary to the
Minister for Trade (Paul Channon)



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 October 1985

I enclose a copy of a letter from Lord Lewin about a project to restore the wartime operations room in Malta which the Maltese Prime Minister may raise with the Prime Minister at CHOGM. It would be helpful if a note on this could be included in the official briefing.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

(C.D. Powell)

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

BM



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

8 October 1985

I am writing to thank you for your letter, addressed to Nigel Wicks, about the possibility that Mr. Bonici may raise with the Prime Minister at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting a project to restore the wartime operations room at Lascarts. It was very helpful to have forewarning of this and I will ensure that the Prime Minister is briefed. I know that she will be grateful for your thoughtfulness.

(C.D. Powell)

The Lord Lewin, K.G., G.C.B., M.V.O., D.S.C.

BM

RESTRICTED



Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

8 October 1985

C Powell Esq
No 10 Downing Street

EDP
P/x.

Dear Charles,

CHOGM BRIEFING: SPEAKING NOTES

/ 1 As requested in your letter of 3 October, I enclose revised "speaking notes" on the three subjects of Small States, Drugs, and Terrorism and Hijacking.

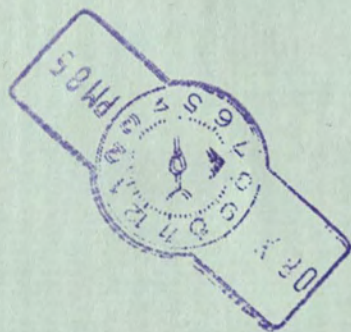
/ 2 These speaking notes are part of the Category A briefs called for by the Cabinet Office. To avoid further delay we have asked the Cabinet Office to circulate the respective supporting briefs separately, without the speaking notes (or Ministerial statements as they are called in the briefing list). I enclose "spare" copies of those three briefs now, in advance of the proper numbered copies which you will be receiving later from the Cabinet Office, because you may find them helpful in considering the texts of the statements.

/ 3 In the case of Brief A3 - Small States - I also enclose a copy of the Commonwealth Consultative Group's report "Vulnerability: Small States in the Global Society". You said in your letter that the Prime Minister would want to comment on whatever procedural proposal for handling this report is likely to be before the meeting at Nassau. We have consulted the Commonwealth Secretariat, and at present they have no procedural proposal in mind. As the supporting brief makes clear, the various recommendations in the report will have to be studied in detail, in the light of the discussion by Heads of Government.

RESTRICTED

Postage and Government Office

London W1V 2XJ





RESTRICTED

4 In the case of Brief A4 - Drugs - we have taken account of your suggestions on what the Prime Minister might wish to say. The speech has been re-cast in a more positive tone, recommending practical action by the Commonwealth Secretariat and a continued, informal review of the drugs situation in a Commonwealth context. We have considered with the Home Office, who are the lead department, your suggestion that the Prime Minister should propose the establishment of a further formal drugs group. For a number of reasons we decided that this should not be included in the speech.

5 There are numerous existing international and regional groups in which discussions on drugs take place and already there is a real danger of duplication and dissipation of effort. The creation of a new, Commonwealth, group would detract manpower and resources from existing bodies which we and other Commonwealth countries support, and would in practical terms have very limited achievable objectives.

6 Moreover, smaller Commonwealth countries could interpret any proposal for a meeting to discuss the drugs problem in a Commonwealth context as an indication of our willingness to provide drug-related financial and technical assistance. Our ability to do so is severely restricted by financial and manpower limitations, of which the Prime Minister is aware. And without probable practical results there is a danger that the proposed meeting will be viewed by the Commonwealth and others as no more than an empty political gesture.

7 Instead we have suggested that the Prime Minister might propose that the Secretariat be tasked with exploring what the Commonwealth can do in a practical way to help in the fight against drug trafficking and abuse, possibly through the use of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation. I hope that this meets your concern.

RESTRICTED

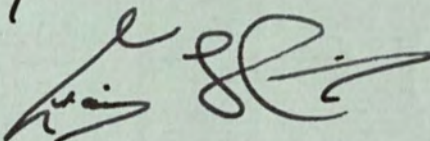


RESTRICTED

8 The speaking note on Terrorism and Hijacking (Brief A5) contains additional passages on what we would like to see done in the field of aviation security, and about relations between governments and the media.

9 The revised and much expanded draft for the Prime Minister's reply to the toast at the Bahamas' Government dinner will follow as soon as possible.

10 I am copying this letter to Michael Stark, Cabinet Office.

Yours ever,


E Jenkinson
Assistant Private Secretary

RESTRICTED

GRS 1500

UNCLASSIFIED

FM SEOUL

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELNO 232

OF 080300Z OCTOBER 85

INFO IMMEDIATE UKDEL IMF/IBRD WASHINGTON, UKMIS GENEVA

INFO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK

CHOGM folder

IMF/IBRD ANNUAL MEETING: DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE.

FOLLOWING IS PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

BEGINS:

1. THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE HELD ITS TWENTYSEVENTH MEETING IN SEOUL, KOREA, ON OCTOBER 7, 1985 UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF HIS EXCELLENCY GHULAM ISHAQ KHAN. MR. A.W. CLAUSEN, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD BANK, MR. J. DE LAROSIERE, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, AND MR. FRITZ FISCHER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE, PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING. OBSERVERS FROM A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND SWITZERLAND ALSO ATTENDED.
2. THE COMMITTEE HEARD A REPORT FROM THE IMF MANAGING DIRECTOR ON THE INTERIM COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS ON THE WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.
3. THE COMMITTEE CONTINUED A DISCUSSION BEGUN IN APRIL CONCERNING THE IBRD'S LENDING PROSPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ITS FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS. THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR AN EXPANDED ROLE FOR THE BANK IN HELPING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IMPLEMENT POLICIES DESIGNED TO PROMOTE EFFICIENCY AND MOBILIZE DOMESTIC SAVINGS AS THEY CONTINUE TO ADJUST TO THE ADVERSE EXTERNAL ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. THE COMMITTEE CONCLUDED THAT ALL COUNTRIES NEED TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TOWARD SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH. THE COMMITTEE FURTHER AGREED THAT MANY HEAVILY INDEBTED COUNTRIES HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN THEIR ADJUSTMENT EFFORTS, BUT NOTED THAT SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES REMAIN. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE COMMITTEE STRESSED THAT SUSTAINED GROWTH IN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, OPEN MARKETS, TOGETHER WITH GREATER STABILITY IN THE EXCHANGE MARKETS AND LOWER INTEREST RATES, ARE NECESSARY TO FURTHER ADVANCE PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH IN SUCH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, THE COMMITTEE AGREED THAT THERE WERE OTHER ELEMENTS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO STRENGTHEN GROWTH PROSPECTS SEMICOLON COMPREHENSIVE STRUCTURAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES, PROVISION OF SUBSTANTIAL NET NEW RESOURCES BY COMMERCIAL BANKS, AND ENHANCED PARTICIPATION OF THE MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS AND THE IMF. THESE ELEMENTS MUST BE CLOSELY INTEGRATED, WITHIN A CONSISTENT FRAMEWORK, IF THE GOAL OF GROWTH IS TO BE ACHIEVED IN THESE COUNTRIES. THE COMMITTEE CONCLUDED THAT IN THIS SITUATION THE WORLD BANK HAS AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN RESTORING GROWTH AND REQUESTED THAT BANK MANAGEMENT PREPARE, FOR CONSIDERATION AT THE APRIL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, A REPORT FOCUSED ON HOW SUSTAINED GROWTH CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED IN THESE COUNTRIES.

4. THE COMMITTEE REVIEWED THE RESPONSE OF BANK MANAGEMENT TO ITS REQUEST FOR FIVE-YEAR PROJECTIONS OF BANK LENDING, I.E. A THREE-YEAR LENDING PROGRAMME (FY 86-88) OF U S DOLLARS 40-45 BILLION, RISING TO AN ANNUAL LEVEL IN FY 90 OF BETWEEN U S DOLLARS 16.5 AND U S DOLLARS 20 BILLION. THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED ITS STRONG SUPPORT FOR A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF THE BANK'S LENDING PROGRAMME IN ORDER FOR IT TO RESPOND MORE EFFECTIVELY TO THE NEEDS OF ITS BORROWING MEMBERS AND TO STIMULATE THE FLOW OF CAPITAL FROM OTHER SOURCES.

5. THE COMMITTEE DISCUSSED THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXPANDED LENDING PROGRAMME PROPOSED BY MANAGEMENT FOR THE RESOURCES OF THE BANK. MINISTERS AGREED THAT THE BANK SHOULD BE PROVIDED WITH THE CAPACITY TO INCREASE ITS QUALITY LENDING AND THAT THE BANK SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRAINED BY LACK OF CAPITAL OR BORROWING AUTHORITY IN MEETING FUTURE DEMAND. THE COMMITTEE CALLED UPON MANAGEMENT TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD ON PROPOSALS THAT WOULD ENABLE THE BANK TO MEET ITS RESOURCE REQUIREMENTS OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A GENERAL CAPITAL INCREASE, AND TO REPORT ON PROGRESS AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE.

6. THE REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON CONCESSIONAL FLOWS, COMPRISING REPRESENTATIVES FROM EIGHTEEN DEVELOPING AND INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES, WAS PRESENTED TO THE COMMITTEE BY ITS CHAIRMAN, PROFESSOR JOHN P. LEWIS. THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED ITS APPRECIATION FOR THIS IMPORTANT REPORT AND UNDERLINED THE CONSENSUS REACHED IN IT ON AID EFFECTIVENESS, PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR AID, AND AID VOLUME. THE COMMITTEE RECALLED ITS AGREEMENT REACHED LAST APRIL THAT FOR THE LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES INCREASING ODA FLOWS DESERVES THE HIGHEST PRIORITY AND EXPRESSED ITS SUPPORT FOR THE TASK FORCE REPORT. IT URGED THAT THE REPORT AND ITS SUGGESTIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY ALL GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED. IT CALLED ON THE WORLD BANK TO TAKE THE LEAD IN FOLLOWING UP ON THE TASK FORCE'S CONCLUSIONS AND TO REPORT TO FUTURE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE MEETINGS ON PROGRESS ACHIEVED.

7. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND WHICH EMPHASISED THE NEED FOR INCREASED AID FLOWS TO POOR COUNTRIES, THE COMMITTEE HEARD A REPORT ON THE MID-TERM REVIEW OF IDA-7 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IDA DEPUTIES, FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING ON OCTOBER 5, 1985. THE COMMITTEE URGED THAT A SUCCESSFUL AND ADEQUATE EIGHTH REPLENISHMENT OF IDA CAN BE ACHIEVED BY SEPTEMBER 1986 FOLLOWING THE TIMETABLE ESTABLISHED BY THE DEPUTIES.

8. THE COMMITTEE NOTED THE REPORT FROM THE IMF MANAGING DIRECTOR CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE INTERIM COMMITTEE ON THE USE OF IMF TRUST FUND REFLOWS. THE COMMITTEE WELCOMED THE INITIATIVES PROPOSED THAT WOULD CONCENTRATE THE USE OF THOSE RESOURCES IN LOW-INCOME COUNTRIES WITH PROTRACTED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS IN SUPPORT OF PROGRAMMES TO PROMOTE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND GROWTH IN A MEDIUM-TERM FRAMEWORK. IN THIS REGARD, THE COMMITTEE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF CLOSER COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE FUND AND THE BANK WHILST AVOIDING CROSS-CONDITIONALITY.

9. THE COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO REVIEW THE ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IT EXPRESSED ITS PLEASURE THAT THE BANK'S SPECIAL FACILITY FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA HAD BECOME EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1985 WITH OVER U S DOLLARS 1.2 BILLION IN ANTICIPATED CONTRIBUTIONS, AND NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT SEVERAL CREDITS HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE BY THE FACILITY IN ITS FIRST THREE MONTHS.

10. THE COMMITTEE NOTED WITH GREAT CONCERN THE INCREASING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA WHICH FACE SEVERE DEBT, AND MORE GENERALLY, RESOURCE PROBLEMS. IT WELCOMED THE EMERGING CONSENSUS THAT THE USE OF THE IMF TRUST FUND REFLAWS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS. THE COMMITTEE ALSO AGREED THAT CONTINUED BROAD-BASED ADJUSTMENT EFFORTS, INCLUDING STRUCTURAL REFORMS, AS WELL AS ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONAL FLOWS, ARE NEEDED FOR THESE COUNTRIES TO RECOVER AND RESUME PER CAPITA INCOME GROWTH. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE COMMITTEE URGED THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF TO IMPROVE THE COOPERATION IN DEVELOPING SOUND AND CONSISTENT ADVICE ON POLICIES DESIGNED TO REDUCE POVERTY AND PROMOTE GROWTH IN THESE COUNTRIES. THE COMMITTEE ALSO REQUESTED THAT WORLD BANK MANAGEMENT PREPARE A STUDY FOCUSED ON THE RESOURCE PROBLEMS OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA FOR DISCUSSION AT THE NEXT COMMITTEE MEETING.

11. THE COMMITTEE WAS INFORMED BY THE GATT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE ISSUES. THE COMMITTEE REITERATED ITS CALL FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS TO RESIST PROTECTIONISM AND WELCOMED THE UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT RECORDED IN RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN THE GATT CONCERNING PREPARATIONS FOR THE PROPOSED ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. IT INVITED THE GATT DIRECTOR-GENERAL TO CONTINUE TO KEEP IT INFORMED ABOUT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

12. THE MINISTERS NOTED THAT, PURSUANT TO THE CONSENSUS REACHED AT THE APRIL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE MEETING, THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF THE WORLD BANK HAD PREPARED THE DRAFT CONVENTION ESTABLISHING THE MULTILATERAL INVESTMENT GUARANTEE AGENCY (MIGA) WITH A VIEW TO ENHANCING THE FLOW OF CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY FOR PRODUCTIVE PURPOSES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. MOST MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE CONVENTION HAD BEEN TRANSMITTED TO THE BANK'S BOARD OF GOVERNORS RECOMMENDING THAT IT NOW BE OPENED FOR SIGNATURE BY INTERESTED GOVERNMENTS. MOST MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE CONVENTION WOULD BE SIGNED AND RATIFIED BY INTERESTED MEMBERS IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE AGENCY TO START OPERATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

13. THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE NOTED THAT A PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE INTERIM COMMITTEE ON THE REPORTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM PREPARED BY THE GROUP OF TEN AND THE GROUP OF TWENTYFOUR. IT WELCOMED THE COMMITMENT OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE WITH A VIEW TO SEEING TO WHAT EXTENT ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE FOR COOPERATION ON MATTERS PERTAINING TO DEVELOPMENT.

14. MINISTERS EXTENDED THEIR DEEPEST SYMPATHY TO THE MEXICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT FOLLOWING THE TRAGIC EARTHQUAKE THAT HAS CAUSED SUCH GREAT HUMAN LOSS AND SUFFERING. THEY CALLED UPON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO GIVE ITS STRONG SUPPORT TO ALLEVIATING THE EFFECTS OF THE DISASTER.

15. THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED ITS APPRECIATION TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA FOR THEIR WARM HOSPITALITY AND FOR THE EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS PROVIDED FOR ITS MEETING.

16. THE COMMITTEE AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON APRIL 10-11, 1986 IN WASHINGTON, D C FOR AN EXTENDED SESSION.

ENDS.

TEXT OF ECONOMIC SECRETARY'S INTERVENTION AND DELEGATION REPORT OF MEETING FOLLOW BY SEPARATE TELEGRAMS.

SPRECKLEY.

MONETARY
ERD



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Charles,

Letter from the Executive Vice-Chairman of the Commonwealth
Human Ecology Council

You wrote on 3 October, enclosing a letter to the Prime Minister from the Mrs Zena Daysh, Executive Vice-Chairman of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council. We have also seen a copy of Sir Percy Cradock's minute of 4 October, saying that Mrs Daysh was seeking a brief meeting in Nassau with the Prime Minister or the senior FCO official accompanying her there.

I enclose a draft reply to Mrs Daysh offering her the opportunity to talk to an official in the British Delegation at Nassau. We will ask Sir Crispin Tickell whether he would be willing to take this on when he returns from a visit abroad.

I am copying this letter to Jonathan Lingham (ODA).

Yours ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

PS/No 10 ~~ilster~~

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Mrs Zena Daysh
 Executive Vice-Chairman
 Commonwealth Human Ecology Council
 63 Cromwell Road
 London SW7 5BL

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 1 October, and for sending her the Council's paper "Human Ecology, The Bond and Purpose of Progress".

CAVEAT.....

I understand that you would be interested to discuss your paper with the Prime Minister in Nassau. I am afraid that the Prime Minister's time will be entirely taken up with the Heads of Government meeting. But if you would like to make contact with the British Delegation at the Nassau Beach Hotel, Room 656, they will try to arrange for you to have a word with a senior member of the Prime Minister's delegation.

EDJ

Enclosures—flag(s).....

[CF. Please bring a copy of this enclosure to Nassau].

CONFIDENTIAL

(80)

ECH



bc PC.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 October 1985

SOUTH AFRICA AT CHOGM

B/F
The Prime Minister has read over the weekend the Foreign Secretary's minute of 4 October setting out the action being taken to manage the South African issue in the run up to CHOGM and at the meeting itself. I think it would now be helpful to have the gist of paragraphs 9 and 10 transformed into a full speaking note which the Prime Minister could draw on at the various points when the issue is raised during CHOGM. I realise that it is to some extent already covered in the statement on the World Political Scene. Nonetheless it would be useful to have all the points drawn together in one continuous and well argued statement.

(Charles Powell)

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

CST

as from Counsel

Lower Lifford

Woodbridge IP13 6DL

Tel: Eyke (0394) 460781

6th October 1985



CDP to see

Dear Mr Wickes:

If the Prime Minister has any conversation with Mr Mifond Bonici, the new Prime Minister of Malta, during the coming Commonwealth meeting, it is possible that he will raise with her a project to restore the wartime operations room at Lascaris as part of the National War Museum, and it might be useful for her to have a brief.

The idea was born in conversations between Mintoff and James Callaghan at a similar meeting in 1978, but it went into limbo during the period of difficult relations between our countries. Bonici has adopted a policy of conciliation, and the agreement of HMCG to deal the wrecks in Grand Harbour has made a major contribution.

In July I was asked by the Maltese government, through the High Commissioner in London, Mr Cassar, to go out and advise on the Operations Room project. Mr Cassar knew of my earlier involvement,

in 1978, as First Sea Lord, I had a hand in sending out some experts to write a report, and he also knew that I had other wartime connections with Malta. I went, for five days, in August, and at a meeting with Mr Bonici and his Foreign Minister, the decision was taken to go ahead with the project. For my part I undertook to seek the help and advice of the Imperial War Museum and the Royal Air Force Museum. This I have done, and both the Chairman of Trustees and the Directors have expressed their enthusiastic readiness to assist.

I also advised Mr Bonici on the management that I thought would be necessary to complete the restoration by August 1986, which was his aim. The Maltese businessman that I recommended should be put in charge of the project, Mr Valentin Buge, has taken a firm grip and I have every confidence that he will be successful. I am acting as the link between him and our Museums.

My visit coincided with the anniversary of the ~~convoy~~ convoy to Malta in August 1942, Operation Pedestal, which arrived (the five surviving ships out of fourteen) on the 15th August, the Feast of Santa Maria, and

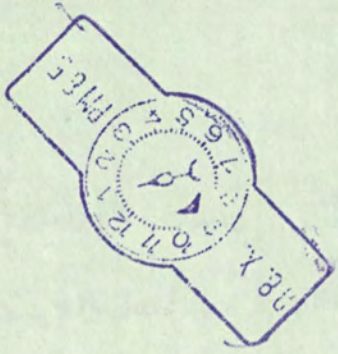


in Malta the convoy is known as the Santa Maria
convoy. At my meeting with him, Mr Bonici decided
that the anniversary - which fell on the next day - should
be marked by an official ceremony at the National
War Memorial, at which the Deputy Prime Minister
and I laid wreaths. This was significant because it
was the first official recognition of the war in Malta
since our final withdrawal in 1979.

I'm sorry to write at such length and in
manuscript about a very minor matter in Commonwealth
Conference terms, but it might be helpful to have
this information tucked up your sleeve!

Yours sincerely

Lucy Ferris



COMMERCIAL

ADVANCE COPIES

22

IMMEDIATE

ADVANCE COPY

SOUTHERN AFRICA

PS
 PS/MR RIFKIND
 PS/PUS
 MR FERGUSSON
 SIR J FREELAND
 MR JOHNSON
 MR O'NEILL
 HD/SAFD
 HD/CAFD
 HD/UND
 HD/NEWS DEPT
 RESIDENT CLERK

MR CLG MALLABY, CABINET OFFICE

PS/NO 10 DOWNING STREET

MR HUMFREY, SAFD.

15.11.84

041445Z OCT
 GRS 550
 RESTRICTED
 FM PRETORIA
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELNO 376
 OF 041445Z OCTOBER 85

*Print Answer
 please see over
 page. CDP*

FOR HUMFREY, SAFD, FROM LEWIS

COMMONWEALTH ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SA

1. WE GIVE BELOW, AS BEST WE CAN, ANSWERS TO YOUR QUERIES ABOUT ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN SA AND COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES:

(A) AIR SERVICES: THE FOLLOWING AIRLINES HAVE AGREEMENTS TO OPERATE SERVICES IN POOL WITH SA AIRWAYS: AIR BOTSWANA, AIR MALAWI, AIR MAURITIUS, AIR ZIMBABWE, LESOTHO AIRWAYS, ROYAL SWAZI NATIONAL AIRWAYS, ZAMBIA AIRWAYS. SA ALSO HAS AN AGREEMENT TO TRAIN AIR ZIMBABWE CREW IN FLIGHT SIMULATOR TRAINING.

(B) KRUGERRANDS: NO FIGURES ARE RELEASED FOR SALES OF KRUGERRANDS TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. HOWEVER IT IS KNOWN THAT THE BULK OF KRUGERRAND SALES HAVE TRADITIONALLY GONE TO THE USA (SOME TWO THIRDS OF SALES WORLDWIDE) AND THE FAR EAST. SALES TO THE USA FOR THE FIRST 6 MONTHS OF THIS YEAR ARE ESTIMATED TO HAVE BEEN WORTH 80 MILLION US DOLLARS (CONSIDERABLY DOWN COMPARED WITH SALES FOR THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR WHICH AMOUNTED TO 480 MILLION US DOLLARS), AND THE US GOVERNMENT HAVE NOW OF COURSE, STOPPED KRUGERRAND SALES, AS HAS AUSTRALIA. SALES TO THE NEW COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES ARE LIKELY THEREFORE TO BE MINIMAL.

(C) TRADE FIGURES: AGAIN THE SA AUTHORITIES DO NOT PUBLISH TRADE FIGURES FOR ALL INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. FIGURES FOR AFRICA AND ASIA ARE GIVEN FOR THE CONTINENTS AS A WHOLE. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE LISTED BELOW THE LATEST FIGURES AVAILABLE, AS BEST WE CAN. THESE ARE THE TOTALS FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY-MAY 1985, IN RAND TERMS (FIGURES IN BRACKETS ARE FOR THE SAME PERIOD IN 1984, TO SHOW RECENT CHANGES):

1. IMPORTS FROM SA:

AFRICA	693,563,833	(360,773,852)
ASIA	2,101,757,347	(1,146,911,600)
SRI LANKA	11,302,775	(8,968,758)
CYPRUS	503,373	(180,799)
MALTA	2,352,623	(N/A)
CANADA	73,700,315	(58,676,024)
AUSTRALIA	77,603,866	(75,424,955)
NEW ZEALAND	5,527,670	(3,954,286)

AUSTRALIA	77,603,866	(75,424,955)
NEW ZEALAND	5,527,670	(3,954,296)
UK	819,484,442	(464,413,432)
11. EXPORTS TO SA:		
AFRICA	161,075,697	(160,884,351)
ASIA	1,306,223,502	(1,532,784,828)
SRI LANKA	9,391,164	(11,338,327)
CYPRUS	31,147	(30,254)
MALTA	193,914	(248,082)
CANADA	101,168,120	(78,438,231)
AUSTRALIA	115,778,976	(73,037,610)
NEW ZEALAND	9,844,206	(9,646,219)
UK	1,080,696,236	(914,239,141)

2. THE SIGNIFICANT POINT ABOUT TRADE FIGURES IS THAT IN ALMOST ALL CASES, THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN IMPORTS FROM SA. IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1985 THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE ALMOST DOUBLED THEIR IMPORTS FROM SA.

3. SA ALSO HAS BILATERAL PREFERENTIAL TRADE AGREEMENTS WITH BOTH ZIMBABWE (RENEWED AFTER INDEPENDENCE) AND MALAWI. THE FORMER COVERS MAINLY EXPORTS OF FURNITURE, TEXTILES, FOODSTUFFS, TOBACCO AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE FROM ZIMBABWE. THE LATTER IS LESS EXTENSIVE AND COVERS LIVESTOCK, CEREALS, GROUND NUTS, RICE, TOBACCO, WOOD, AND SOME CLOTHING AND SHOES FROM MALAWI.

4. SA MAINTAINS AGREEMENTS WITH SRI LANKA AND MAURITIUS FOR THE PURCHASE OF TEA, WHEREBY SA AGREES TO BUY A CERTAIN FIXED PERCENTAGE OF PRODUCTION IN BOTH COUNTRIES. UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH SRI LANKA, THE MAJOR OF THE TWO, SA IMPORTED 11.4 MILLION RANDS WORTH OF TEA IN 1983, AND 25.4 MILLION RANDS WORTH IN 1984.

5. THE ONLY OTHER READILY AVAILABLE INFORMATION WE HAVE CONCERNING TRADING ARRANGEMENTS (INCLUDING TRANSPORT, ELECTRICITY SUPPLY, AND CUSTOMS UNION RECEIPTS) HAVE ALREADY BEEN SUPPLIED TO YOU, AND WERE USED IN THE REPORT ON 'ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN SA AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES' WHICH YOU RECENTLY SENT TO US.

MOBERLY

YYYY

POHPAN 1624

NNNN



PM/85/86

PRIME MINISTERSouth Africa at CHOGM

1. We agreed that I would let you have a note on the action being taken to manage the South African issue in the run-up to CHOGM and at the meeting itself.
2. We have already taken a series of steps to prepare the ground. I saw Ramphal on 17 September, and you have of course seen him today. While in New York, I discussed South Africa with Shultz, Perez de Cuellar, with the Singapore Foreign Minister, the Indian Minister for Commerce, and Geoffrey Palmer, as well as having a brief word with Nyerere, and a further discussion in the Ten. I had useful talks with Mulroney and Clark in Ottawa on 27 September, and here with Eugenia Charles and Geoffrey Palmer on 2 October. I have also had a meeting with all the Commonwealth High Commissioners to explain carefully our approach to CHOGM.
3. We are clearly right to have no illusions about the extent to which events in South Africa and changing attitudes elsewhere have radically altered the terrain on which the debate will take place. A key feature of course has been the shift in the US position. A prime purpose in my discussion with Shultz was to buttress the assurances we have had from the US Administration that President Reagan would still veto the UN mandatory sanctions, even if they cover those measures which the Administration have accepted. At the same time, though the decision to associate ourselves with the Community statement was not an easy one, we have successfully held off Article 113 proposals. This joint position has strengthened our hand in the Commonwealth and more widely, as well as giving the lie to accusations that we are totally isolated among the industrialised countries.

/ 4.

No we incorporate it into World Affairs not

*Prime Minister
Re Foreign Secretary's
Strategy for dealing
with South Africa at
CHOGM.*

*CDP
4/4*

sup 2



4. There is no doubt that the vast majority of Commonwealth countries will want to make South Africa the centrepiece of CHOGM. The strong underlying trend will be to press hard for the meeting to come out with some evidence of further pressure being exerted on South Africa, though some will be prepared for this pressure to be procedural rather than substantive. Within this general framework, however, there is a growing awareness that measures we have already taken are more extensive than was thought by many countries inside the Commonwealth and elsewhere. I have taken every opportunity to ram this point home. Eugenia Charles, Mulroney and Clark have said they accept that fullscale mandatory economic sanctions are not a feasible aim for CHOGM.

5. On the other hand, the Australians have told us that Bob Hawke will push for "full" mandatory sanctions and will propose that a group of experts should be set up to see how financial investment restrictions could be implemented effectively. Kaunda apparently told the Canadians that Zambia is proposing a "package of measures" to be debated at CHOGM. Mahathir has let it be known that he is attending CHOGM for the first time specifically to press for action against South Africa. Alexander's intervention at the meeting of Commonwealth High Commissioners, precisely echoing that of the Indian Commerce Minister in New York, indicated that the Indian delegation will adopt their usual moralising tone, though Rajiv Gandhi himself may be more amenable to sensible argument.

6. As regards some form of positive action, the Canadians have been looking at variants of the Commonwealth Contact Group idea. They have talked about sending delegations to the Front Line States or holding discussions with representatives of various groups from South Africa somewhere outside South Africa. They are also keen to work with us on encouraging businesses to use the Code of Conduct

/ to promote



to promote peaceful change. But Mulroney in his letter to you is seeking our views on some "minimal additional measures". The Australians are talking about setting up a group of "eminent persons" to promote plans for constitutional reform. At the same time, there is a constituency in the Commonwealth from whom we have received heartening support on a number of issues. Many of these will be looking for ways of working with us for a reasonable outcome on South Africa. They will want to avoid a dangerous split in the Commonwealth. But they will only be disposed to stay with us if they consider that their views on South Africa have been taken fully into account.

7. There are various further steps we will be taking before CHOGM. You of course are preparing a message^{*} to President Botha. We have now instructed all our posts to make one last round of lobbying in Commonwealth capitals to emphasise that we want and are ready to take part in a reasoned and constructive discussion, but that we are not going to be pressurised into any trade or economic boycotts. You will be able to reinforce this when you see Rajiv Gandhi next week. We are getting material ready to make the more positive presentation of our policy which we agreed on at your seminar. We shall be letting you have recommendations for a number of messages which you might send to selected Commonwealth Heads of Government shortly before CHOGM begins. And we are preparing a set of draft statements, and glossary of previous Commonwealth statements, to have up our sleeves.

8. Once we get to Nassau, I suggest that we will need to pursue our strategy on three fronts: in the Heads of Government meetings; in your bilaterals and at the Retreat; and in the discussions between Foreign Ministers and officials. Your conversations and bilaterals with key leaders like Rajiv Gandhi, Mulroney, Kaunda,

/ Lee Kuan Yew,

* Now despatched.



Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir and Hawke will be of crucial importance in shaping the way the discussions go. I think the task of Foreign Ministers and officials will be to try to absorb the polemics, and the idiocies of communique-drafting, in such a way as to leave you as clear a field as possible for a rational and realistic debate at the Heads of Government level. So we shall need to keep very closely in touch on all three fronts to make sure we are giving you the maximum support all round. As you know well, the key meetings are likely to be those at your Retreat where, after the initial skirmishing, the outlines of an acceptable outcome may well have to be hammered out.

9. At the Heads of Government discussions themselves, I suggest we should base our presentation on the following elements:

- (a) We want rational and realistic discussion, in the tradition of the Commonwealth, of our shared objectives: the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa through peaceful change.
- (b) You can repeat - what I know is particularly effective - your profound condemnation of apartheid and your deep commitment to the principles and practice of racial harmony and equality.
- (c) You can rehearse the impressive list of measures which we have already taken and point out the strong, unflinching line you have taken with President Botha.
- (d) So the debate is not about ends, it is about means - and whether the means chosen will be effective. Each Member State must make up its own mind in accordance with its own circumstances and policies what further measures it thinks would help achieve the agreed ends, without driving the South African Government in the opposite direction.

/ (e)



- (e) Market forces have a key role to play. We should not shield South Africa from these pressures. They are much more effective than Government-imposed sanctions from outside, since the resulting pressures can be seen to have been caused directly by the actions of the South African Government themselves.
- (f) So CHOGM should focus on the wide measure of agreement already existing on objectives, the impressive list of voluntary national measures which have already been taken - and the progress so far achieved in persuading President Botha to move towards reform - leaving the choice on further means of influencing the South African Government to the judgement and conscience of each nation.
- (g) The Commonwealth can be assured that we will live up to our promises to the letter: there is no gap between rhetoric and reality in our case.
- (h) The next step is clearly to incorporate black South Africans into the process of government, though a lot of thought is needed on the precise mechanism. We have a number of positive measures which we think would help to promote peaceful change.
10. As I explained on Tuesday, I suggested that we should be cautious about putting forward all the specific ideas set out below, until we have had a chance to see how the discussion develops. The possibilities, taking account of some of the Canadian ideas, include:
- (i) A special liaison group between those Commonwealth Foreign Ministers whose Governments have diplomatic representation in South Africa (the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, Malawi) and the Commonwealth Ministers of the Front Line States, together with Swaziland and Lesotho. This should function as a Commonwealth Contact Group. Its aim should be to encourage all communities in South Africa towards negotiation and peaceful change.

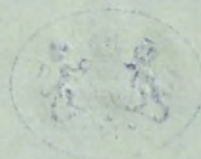
/ (ii)



- (ii) The establishment of Commonwealth-sponsored conferences, to which senior representatives of a wide spectrum of South African opinion from all communities would be invited.
- (iii) The commissioning and publishing of work by respected academics and constitutional experts on possible constitutional futures for South Africa, ways of promoting dialogue and other politically constructive themes.

11. If we can kick the debate off on these lines, we stand a chance of arriving in the end at an acceptable outcome for us. The discussions will be anything but easy, and some of the Commonwealth leaders will require careful handling. But I do not believe that, despite all the obvious difficulties, we should conclude that the chances are hopeless and that we are doomed to a sterile confrontation. You and I have both expended a great deal of time and effort in building up strong personal relations with Commonwealth leaders. These should prove a considerable asset on the day. These efforts are clearly worthwhile bilaterally, and they will be just as worthwhile when we have to deal with them collectively in Nassau.

13. I hope we will get a chance to discuss all this some time next week .



GPS 1380
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister

FM COLOMBO

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 667

OF 040540Z OCTOBER 85

INFO PRIORITY UKDEL IMF/IBRD WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, SEOUL, *These issues*
ROUTINE CANBERRA, OTTAWA, WELLINGTON, LAGOS, NEW DELHI. *at CHOGM.*

(CULL)

COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS MEETING : MALDIVES 1985

COP.

FOLLOWING FROM DELEGATION

SUMMARY

1. DESPITE A PROVOCATIVE AND IRRESPONSIBLE INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL, DISCUSSION WAS WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS CALM, ALMOST RELAXED. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEMBER COUNTRIES WERE ON PREDICTABLE LINES WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OPTING FOR A GLOOMY ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AND PRESSING FOR MORE HELP WITH THE DEBT ISSUE, MORE CONCESSIONAL FLOWS AND LESS CONDITIONALITY. THE SECRETARIAT TRIED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO PROMOTE A NEW "MECHANISM" FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES MAINTAINED THEIR MORE OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE WORL ECONOMY BUT STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ADJUSTMENT AND KEPT TO THEIR ESTABLISHED STRATEGY ON DEBT AND ODA. POSITIVE CONCLUSIONS WERE, HOWEVER, AGREED ON EXPANDING THE ROLE OF THE IBRD, INCLUDING THE NEED FOR A GCI, ON IDA 8, IMF ACCESS LIMITS AND THE USE OF THE IMF TRUST FUND. THERE WAS ALSO AGREEMENT ON A STRONGLY WORDED PASSAGE ON PROTECTIONISM AND A WELCOME FOR THE RECENT G5 AGREEMENT. A NEUTRAL FORMULA WAS AGREED ON FOLLOW UP TO THE G10 AND G24 REPORTS. THERE WAS LITTLE DISCUSSION ON SDRS.

DETAIL

2. SOUTH AFRICA WAS REFERRED TO BRIEFLY ON THREE OCCASIONS BUT THE ONLY CRITICAL NOTE, FROM BOTSWANA, ACCUSED THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF HIDING BEHIND THE ARGUMENT THAT SANCTIONS WOULD DAMAGE THE ECONOMIES OF FRONT LINE STATES.

CONFIDENTIAL

/ 3

3. THE COMMUNIQUE COVERS FAMILIAR GROUND, OFTEN REFLECTING LAST YEAR'S WORDING, AND MAKES NO CONCESSIONS OF SUBSTANCE ON DEVELOPING COUNTRY DEMANDS. TEXT IN MIFT. COPIES OF LITTLER'S (UK) SPEECH AND RAMPHAL'S BY SAFE HAND TO FCO (ERD) ON 7 OCTOBER.

4. RAMPHAL OPENED WITH A DEMAGOGIC ADDRESS CALCULATED TO APPEAL TO THE HARDLINERS AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH. HE SAID THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY WAS HEADING FOR SERIOUS TROUBLE. THE LEVER REPORT HAD BEEN RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE DEBT PROBLEM WILL REMAIN UNRESOLVED SO LONG AS DEBT SERVICE RESTED ON TRADE SURPLUSES. SUCH AN APPROACH WAS UNSUSTAINABLE AND REPRESENTED AN "ILLUSION OF DEBT REPAYMENT". HE QUOTED THE PRESIDENT OF PERU'S VIEWS ON DEBT WITH APPROBATION ON TWO OCCASIONS. DEBT PAYMENTS WERE STRANGLING THE EFFORTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO REHABILITATE THEIR ECONOMIES.

5. RAMPHAL WENT ON TO REFER IN SCEPTICAL TERMS TO THE RECENT G5 AGREEMENT. HE ENDORSED THE PROPOSAL OF THE AFRICAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT FOR A DEBT CONFERENCE INVOLVING CREDITORS, DEBTORS AND THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. HE URGED THE CASE FOR DOUBLING THE WORLD BANK CAPITAL AND A REAL INCREASE IN THE FUTURE OF IDA REPLENISHMENTS.

6. HE LOOKED FORWARD TO A "NORTH-SOUTH ENCOUNTER AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL" IN NASSAU AND HE WENT ON TO RECOMMEND THAT COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS SHOULD SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL THAT THE G10 AND G24 REPORTS SHOULD NOW BE THE SUBJECT OF JOINT CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

CURRENT WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

7. FEW SPEAKERS WERE INCLINED TO FOLLOW RAMPHAL'S MORE UNBALANCED PRONOUNCEMENTS. BUT THE AFRICANS (SIERRA LEONE, LESOTHO, BOTSWANA AND TO A LESSER EXTENT ZIMBABWE (CHIDZERO)), THE CARIBBEANS (ST LUCIA, GRENADA AND GUYANA) AND BANGLADESH TOOK THE LINE THAT THE ECONOMIC NEWS WAS ALL BAD: DEBT, CONTRACTION OF TRADE, COLLAPSE OF COMMODITY PRICES AND DECLINING FINANCIAL FLOWS. CHIDZERO SUPPORTED RAMPHAL IN CALLING FOR A NEW PROCESS OF DIALOGUE. HIS REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS OF A RAPIDLY RISING

²
CONFIDENTIAL

/ BIRTH

BIRTH RATE AND FALLING AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT WAS NOT TAKEN UP BY OTHER SPEAKERS. NOR WAS THERE MUCH MENTION OF THE SHORTCOMINGS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS A CONTRIBUTORY FACTOR IN THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES. DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CALLED INSTEAD ON THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY GERMANY AND JAPAN, TO PROVIDE THE EXTRA DYNAMISM WHICH THE WORLD ECONOMY NOW REQUIRED.

8. LITTLER EXPLAINED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT G5 AGREEMENT ON INTERVENTION TO REDUCE THE DOLLAR'S VALUE. HE TOOK ISSUE WITH THE PESSIMISM DEVELOPED BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND CITED THE COLLECTIVE G5 VIEW THAT WE NOW HAD THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH BASED ON THE MAINTENANCE OF SOUND FINANCE. THERE REMAINED HOWEVER UNCERTAINTIES AND RISKS STEMMING FROM FISCAL AND EXTERNAL IMBALANCES AND ASSOCIATED EXCHANGE RATE MISALIGNMENTS. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING EARLY AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE GATT PREPARATORY NEGOTIATIONS AS A MEANS OF WARDING OFF THE DANGERS OF PROTECTIONISM.

9. THE DEBT PROBLEM WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO RESOLVE BUT WE HAD MADE GOOD PROGRESS IN CONTAINING IT. INDIVIDUAL DEBTOR COUNTRIES DESERVED HIGH PRAISE FOR THEIR COURAGEOUS POLITICAL DETERMINATION IN FACING ECONOMIC REALITIES. THERE WAS A NEED FOR GREATER EFFORTS BOTH IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND IN THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE VERY POOR. BUT THEIR PROBLEMS AND THE WIDER PROBLEMS OF MANAGING THE WORLD ECONOMY COULD NOT BE FULFILLED BY ANY ONE GROUP OF COUNTRIES. THEY NEEDED THE FULL CO-OPERATION OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITY.

10. CANADA AND AUSTRALIA ENDORSED THIS LINE. NEW ZEALAND (DOUGLAS) IN A REMARKABLY PAROCHIAL SPEECH POINTED OUT THE ADVANTAGES OF SELF SUFFICIENCY AND URGED OTHERS, LIKE NEW ZEALAND, TO GRASP THE NETTLE OF ECONOMIC CHANGE.

11. DAIN ZAINUDDAN, MINISTER OF FINANCE MALAYSIA EXPRESSED READINESS TO CO-OPERATE WITH THOSE WHO ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF INTER-DEPENDENCE AND DELIVERED A CLEAR THREAT OF MEASURES WHICH WOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST MALAYSIA'S TRADING PARTNERS WHO DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR ACTIONS THAT THEY DID NOT.

3
CONFIDENTIAL

/IMF

12. FOLLOWING A CAREFULLY ARGUED PRESENTATION BY DE MEL (MINISTER OF FINANCE SRI LANKA) AND A RAMBLING STATEMENT BY SEAGA (PRIME MINISTER JAMAICA) THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARGUED FOR THE URGENT NEED FOR AN INCREASE IN REAL TERMS IN AID FLOWS BY MEANS OF A GCI AND NEW RESOURCES FOR IDA. INDIA AGAIN CALLED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CONFERENCE. THERE WAS WIDESPREAD RESENTMENT AGAINST IMF CONDITIONALITY, AGAINST THE PRESENT CRITERIA FOR GRADUATION AND AGAINST THE ANNUAL ROUND AT THE PARIS CLUB. KALU (FOREIGN MINISTER NIGERIA) CALLED, WITH WIDE SUPPORT, FOR A BROADER AND LONGER TERM VIEW TO BE TAKEN BY THE BANK AND FUND.

13. LITTLER SAID THAT WE SUPPORTED PRESENT LEVELS ON ACCESS AT THE IMF. THE IMF TRUST FUND SHOULD BE USED TO BENEFIT THE POOREST COUNTRIES, POSSIBLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH IBRD FINANCING. BUT CONDITIONALITY SHOULD NOT BE RULED OUT BECAUSE OF THE NEED FOR SWIFT ACTION AND TO AVOID WASTING SCARCE RESOURCES. ON IBRD FINANCING, WE SHOULD PRESS NOW FOR RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO EXPAND RESOURCES AVAILABLE BY A FUTURE SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN IBRD CAPITAL RESOURCES. EVEN BEFORE SUCH CAPITAL INCREASE WAS AGREED, THE BANK COULD AND SHOULD STEP UP ITS TEMPO OF LENDING TO, SAY SDR 15 BILLION A YEAR OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS. THERE WAS A NEED TOO TO START DISCUSSION ON IDA 8 BUT HE DOUBTED IF IT WAS REALISTIC TO PROPOSE A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN REAL TERMS. NOT EVEN IDA MANAGEMENT WERE THINKING OF THAT. BUT INCREASED RESOURCES BEYOND THE LEVEL OF IDA 7 WOULD BE NEEDED. THE NEXT STEPS IN DISCUSSION OF THE G10 AND G24 REPORTS WOULD BE THE EXECUTIVE BOARDS OF THE IMF AND, WHERE APPROPRIATE, OF THE IBRD. HE WAS SCEPTICAL ABOUT THE NEED FOR ANY NEW MACHINERY.

THIRD WINDOW OF THE IBRD

14. IN AN AWKWARD EXCHANGE BETWEEN JAMAICA, CANADA AND GUYANA, SEAGA AGAIN ASKED FOR A THIRD WINDOW DESIGNED, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SAY AS MUCH, TO HELP JAMAICA. THE CANADIANS APPEARED TO DRAW BACK FROM THIS PROPOSAL WHICH MR MULRONEY HAD RAISED AT THE LONDON SUMMIT, AND GUYANNA OPPOSED IT. SEAGA SEEMS UNLIKELY TO MAKE MUCH FURTHER HEADWAY.

4
CONFIDENTIAL

/CFTC

CFTC

15. WE ARE REPORTING SEPARATELY TO ODA ON DISCUSSION OF CFTC PLANNING PROFILE. THIS IS NOW REGARDED AS APPROVED SUBJECT TO AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES, AND IT GOES FORWARD TO CHOGM AS THE BASIS FOR AN APPEAL TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MULTI-YEAR PLEDGES FOR THE EXPANDED PROGRAMME. CANADA REAFFIRMED HER COMMITMENT, BOTSWANA JOINED THE GROUP OF "MAJOR DONORS" WITH A PLEDGE OF £100,000 A YEAR AND WE REAFFIRMED BRITAIN'S READINESS TO PROVIDE 30 PER CENT OF PLEDGE INCOME.

COMMUNIQUE

16. MUCH OF THE COMMUNIQUE REPEATS LAST YEAR'S WORDING BUT THE INITIAL DRAFT OUTLINE CALLED FOR "A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN IDA FUNDS IN REAL TERMS", AN INCREASE IN WORLD BANK LENDING TO A LEVEL OF "MORE DOLLARS 20 BILLION A YEAR BY 1990" AND AN INCREASE IN FUNDING FOR THE BANK'S SPECIAL FACILITY FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. WE SUCCEEDED IN HAVING ALL THESE REMOVED OR WATERED DOWN.

17. AT THE MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION, THE UK SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED AN UNHELPFUL PROPOSAL BY BANGLADESH FOR AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE RECENT OAU CONFERENCE. WE DEFLECTED AN ABSURD PROPOSAL FROM GRENADA THAT THE IMF ITSELF SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO SURVEILLANCE. CHIDZERO PRESSED FOR A PARAGRAPH CONDEMNING THE IBRD FOR SEEKING CROSS-CONDITIONALITY WITH THE IMF AND THE IMF FOR A TENDENCY TO BECOME A CREDIT-RATING AGENCY. LITTLER ARGUED THAT SUCH WORDING COULD UNDERMINE THE EFFORTS OF THE IMF AND IBRD TO STIMULATE CONTINUED COMMERCIAL BANK LENDING. CHIDZERO EVENTUALLY WITHDREW HIS PROPOSAL IN RETURN FOR A COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT STUDY OF THE PROBLEM FOR NEXT YEAR'S CFMM.

⁵
CONFIDENTIAL

/LOCATION

CONFIDENTIAL

LOCATION OF NEXT YEAR'S CFMM

18. ST LUCIA'S OFFER OF HOSPITALITY WAS IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED.

STEWART

YYYY

(REPEATED AS REQUESTED)

FCO PLEASE PASS TO HM TREASURY:

FINANCIAL

ERD

S A F D

CCD

SAD

NAD

SPD

WAD

6
CONFIDENTIAL

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED
 FM CANBERRA
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELNO 686
 OF 040630Z OCTOBER 1985
 INFO PRIORITY PRETORIA, OTTAWA, WELLINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

YOUR TELNO 930: CHOGM: SOUTH AFRICA

1. I AM SEEING MR GEOFFREY YEEND, SECRETARY TO THE CABINET, ON 8 OCTOBER TO GO OVER THE GROUND ONCE MORE.

2. THE PRIME MINISTER, MR HAWKE, RECORDED AN INTERVIEW WITH THE BBC'S 'WORLD AT ONE' ON 3 OCTOBER. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE INTERVIEW HAS ALREADY BEEN BROADCAST IN BRITAIN, BUT THE TRANSCRIPT HAS BEEN RELEASED AND THE INTERVIEW HAS ALREADY BEEN GIVEN WIDE MEDIA COVERAGE HERE.

3. THE FULL TEXT FOLLOWS BY FAX TO REEVE, SAFD. THE POINTS WHICH HAVE BEEN HIGHLIGHTED HERE ARE: A) MR HAWKE'S REMARK, IN RESPONSE TO THE SUGGESTION THAT BRITAIN WOULD STAND OUT AGAINST MANDATORY SANCTIONS, THAT 'BRITAIN MAY HAVE TO COME TO THE REALISATION THAT WE LIVE IN 1985 - BRITAIN NO LONGER RULES THE WORLD'; B) HIS ALLEGATION THAT 'THE BRITISH ATTITUDE IS DETERMINED TO A VERY CONSIDERABLE EXTENT BY HIS PERCEPTIONS OF HIS ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN TERMS OF THE VERY SUBSTANTIAL INVESTMENT IT HAS IN SOUTH AFRICA,' AND (C) HIS ASSERTION THAT 'WE ARE HERE DEALING WITH ISSUES WHICH TRANSCEND AN ASSESSMENT OF A COMMERCIAL BALANCE SHEET.'

4. MR HAWKE ENDS THE INTERVIEW BY SAYING THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO 'PAIN BRITAIN INTO A CORNER,' BUT THAT HE WILL BE TRYING TO EXPLAIN TO THE MEETING, PARTICULARLY TO BRITAIN, THAT 'THERE ARE CERTAIN MORAL CONSIDERATIONS HERE WHICH TRANSCEND EVERYTHING ELSE. HE WILL ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE BRITAIN THAT 'IT IS MUCH MORE LIKELY THAT THE WHOLE OF THE REST OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS RIGHT AND THAT THEY ARE NOT.'

LEAHY

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

SOUTHERN AFRICA
 STANDARD(PALACE)
 S AF D
 OADS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
 SOUTHERN AFRICA

UND
 NAD

ECDs
 SOVIET D

MR J R J JOHNSON
 CABINET OFFICE

RESTRICTED

M/s 2. DAYSH
14/10



SM

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

ack 3 October 1985

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Vice-Chairman of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council.

I should be grateful for a draft reply.

(C.D. Powell)

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PR

CONFIDENTIAL

13861 - 1

FM FCOLN TO NEDEL
031630Z OCT
GRS 1333

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELNO 930

OF 031630Z OCTOBER 85

AND TO IMMEDIATE ACCRA, BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, BANJUL, BELMOPAN,
BRIDGETOWN, CANBERRA, COLOMBO, DHAKA, DAR ES SALAAM, FREETOWN,
GABORONE, GEORGETOWN, HARARE, HONIARA, KAMPALA, KINGSTON,
KUALA LUMPUR, LAGOS, LILONGWE, LUSAKA, MASERU, MBABANE, NAIROBI,
NASSAU, NICOSIA, OTTAWA, PORT LOUIS, PORT MORESBY,
PORT OF SPAIN, SINGAPORE, SUVA, VALLETTA, VICTORIA, VILA,
WELLINGTON.

INFO ROUTINE PRETORIA, WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, ROME, UKREP
BRUSSELS, THE HAGUE, LUXEMBOURG.

LOBBYING OF COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE
CHOGM

1. IT IS CLEAR THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE THE MAJOR TOPIC FOR
DISCUSSION AT CHOGM. THERE IS A NEED FOR FURTHER LOBBYING OF
COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN THE RUN UP TO NASSAU.
2. OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE AT CHOGM MUST BE TO AVOID A DAMAGING
SPLIT AMONG THE COMMONWEALTH. THE DANGERS OF SUCH A RIFT WILL
BE MUCH GREATER IF OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES COME DETERMINED
TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA SOLELY IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.
HMG HAS SET ITS FACE FIRMLY AGAINST ANY AGREEMENT TO ADOPT
ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AND COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE UNDER
NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE PRIME MINISTER'S DETERMINATION NOT TO
ALTER OUR POLICY IN THE FACE OF PRESSURE AT CHOGM.
3. OUR APPROACH AT CHOGM WILL BE TO STRESS THE COMMON GROUND
WHICH IS SHARED BY ALL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES IN REJECTING
APARTHEID AND IN RECOGNISING THE NEED FOR URGENT AND FUNDAMENTAL

1

CONFIDENTIAL

/POLITICAL

CONFIDENTIAL

13861 - 1

POLITICAL REFORM. WE INTEND TO EMPHASIZE THE POSITION OF THE COMMONWEALTH AS A GROUPING WHOSE MEMBERS INCLUDE A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHICH FOR GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REASONS HAVE CLOSE AND COMPLEMENTARY LINKS TO THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS TO THE CHURCHES, BUSINESS ETC. WE WOULD POINT TO THE OPPORTUNITY WHICH THIS GIVES FOR HAVING A WELL-INFORMED AND REALISTIC DISCUSSION OF HOW COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES CAN CO-OPERATE TO PROMOTE THE DIALOGUE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IS VITAL TO ANY PROCESS OF POLITICAL REFORM.

4. PLEASE THEREFORE SPEAK URGENTLY TO YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT, AT THE LEVEL YOU DEEM MOST APPROPRIATE, WITH THE AIM OF INFLUENCING THE LEADERS OF THEIR DELEGATION, AND THE BRIEFING WHICH IS BEING PREPARED FOR THEM. WE MUST AIM TO PERSUADE THEM TO COME TO CHOGM PREPARED FOR AN OPEN-MINDED AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBLE POLICIES WHICH COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES CAN FOLLOW TOWARDS THEIR COMMON OBJECTIVES ON SOUTH AFRICA, AND RECOGNISING THAT THE UK CANNOT BE PRESSURISED INTO AGREEING TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. YOU MAY LIKE TO DRAW AS APPROPRIATE ON THE ARGUMENTS IN PARA 8 BELOW.

5. (FOR OTTAWA, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON). THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE OLD COMMONWEALTH WILL BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT. THE CANADIANS SEEM REASONABLY DISPOSED TO BE HELPFUL (OTTAWA TELNOS 575 AND 578) BUT THE AUSTRALIAN APPROACH OF PUSHING FOR MANDATORY SANCTIONS AND ESTABLISHING AN EXPERTS GROUP ON IMPLEMENTING FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS IS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT INDIA IN PARTICULAR IS AIMING TO DIRECT PRESSURE PRIMARILY AGAINST BRITAIN. YOU SHOULD STRESS THE DANGERS OF A DESTRUCTIVE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE REST OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THIS WOULD HURT BOTH SIDES AND HELP ONLY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. IT MUST BE ACCEPTED THAT INDIVIDUAL COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT MEANS TO ADOPT IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR OWN PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES AND POLICIES, IN PURSUING THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

6. (FOR LUSAKA, HARARE, DAR ES SALAAM, LILONGWE, GABORONE,

2

CONFIDENTIAL

/MASERU,

CONFIDENTIAL

13861 - 1

MASERU, MBABANE). THE ATTITUDE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S COMMONWEALTH NEIGHBOURS WILL ALSO PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART AT THE CONFERENCE. YOU WILL WISH TO TAILOR YOUR APPROACH TO THE LOBBYING WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY UNDERTAKEN. WE HOPE THAT THE MORE MODERATE OF YOUR CLIENTS WILL INJECT A MUCH NEEDED NOTE OF REALISM INTO THE DISCUSSION AND BE PREPARED AT LEAST IN PRIVATE, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH ECONOMIC SANCTIONS COULD HAVE FOR THEM.

7. (FOR ALL). PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN DISCRETIONARY. THIS TIME WE EXPECT ALL COMMONWEALTH POSTS TO LOBBY THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS AND REPORT REACTIONS. (YOU SHOULD INFORM US IMMEDIATELY BY TELEGRAM IF THERE IS SOME OVER-RIDING REASON WHY YOU WOULD CONSIDER THIS IMPRACTICAL OR UNADVISEABLE).

8. I) BRITAIN GENUINELY SEEKS FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PRIME MINISTER PERSONALLY ABHORS APARTHEID. SHE HAS MADE HER VIEWS KNOWN FORCEFULLY TO PRESIDENT BOTHA ON THIS AND IN A WAY WHICH WE BELIEVE PLAYED A PART IN MOVES SUCH AS THE RECENT CANCELLING OF THE FORCED REMOVALS OF BLACK COMMUNITIES FROM KWANGEMA AND DRIEFONTEIN. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO WHAT WE REGARD AS FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

II) THE COMMONWEALTH SHARES OBJECTIVES OVER SOUTH AFRICA IE ABOLITION OF APARTHEID: END TO REPRESSION: NEED FOR A POLITICAL DIALOGUE LEADING TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM: ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHICH COMMANDS THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE.

III) BRITAIN HAS TAKEN STEPS TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT REFORMS MUST BE MADE. FOR MANY YEARS WE HAVE TAKEN A MORE RESTRICTED APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICA THAN SOME OF OUR WESTERN PARTNERS. WE HAVE NO MILITARY COOPERATION, NO ARMS TRADE, NO COLLABORATION FOR NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT, MILITARY OR CIVIL, (THE FRENCH HAVE BUILT TWO NUCLEAR REACTORS), NO EXPORTS OF CRUDE OIL AND STRICT CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT OF SENSITIVE EQUIPMENT. WE HAVE NOW JOINED OUR EC PARTNERS IN AGREEING A PACKAGE OF MEASURES CONSOLIDATING AND ADDING TO THESE RESTRICTIONS NOTABLY BY RECALLING MILITARY ATTACHES.

IV) BRITAIN MAKES A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO BLACK

3

CONFIDENTIAL

/ADVANCEMENT

~~-4-~~
CONFIDENTIAL

ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES (OVER POUNDS 1.5 MILLION IN 1985/86) AND OTHER ASSISTANCE. BRITISH BUSINESSES IN SOUTH AFRICA CREATE JOBS FOR OVER 100,000 BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS ON WHICH PERHAPS HALF A MILLION PEOPLE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY DEPEND. THEY ALSO HAVE A GOOD RECORD OF IMPLEMENTING THE EUROPEAN CODE OF CONDUCT FOR BUSINESSES. THE CBI HAS GIVEN ITS SUPPORT TO THE RECENT EFFORTS OF SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE AND REFORM.

V) WE REMAIN DETERMINED TO USE THE UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY OUR MANY DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC AND PERSONAL LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA TO PRESS FOR REFORM. THESE OPPORTUNITIES WOULD BE LOST IF BRITAIN DISENGAGED FROM SOUTH AFRICA AS SOME ARE MISGUIDEDLY PRESSING US TO DO.

VI) HMG IS FIRMLY OPPOSED TO ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. OUR REASONS HAVE BEEN SPELT OUT ON MANY OCCASIONS (EG THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S SPEECH OF 23 JULY TO THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY). IN BRIEF WE BELIEVE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WOULD A) NOT (NOT) LEAD THE SAG TO MAKE REFORMS: INDEED THEY COULD WELL BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE WITH THE WHITE COMMUNITY. B) WOULD INCREASE BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT AND WORSEN CYCLE OF FRUSTRATION, VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION. C) WOULD REDUCE ECONOMIC GROWTH WHICH HAS BEEN MAJOR SOURCE OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT. D) WOULD HAVE POTENTIALLY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBOURS. SELECTIVE ECONOMIC MEASURES WOULD BE JUST ECONOMIC SANCTIONS WRIT SMALL - WILL EITHER HAVE NO IMPACT (IN WHICH CASE POINTLESS) OR ARE OPEN TO THE SAME OBJECTIONS. IN ANY CASE MARKET FORCES ARE AT PRESENT EXERTING THEIR OWN TELLING PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA AND UNLIKE GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS THESE CANNOT BE DISMISSED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS 'FOREIGN BULLYING'. OUR COMMONWEALTH PARTNERS SHOULD BE UNDER ABSOLUTELY NO (NO) ILLUSIONS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS PREPARED TO CHANGE HER POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. VII) WE BELIEVE THAT THE COMMONWEALTH CAN ACHIEVE CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME ON SOUTH AFRICA AT CHOGM. THIS WOULD SEEK TO BUILD ON THE HISTORICAL, PERSONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LINKS WHICH SEVERAL COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES HAVE WITH THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC

COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A THOROUGH AND CONSIDERED EXCHANGE ON THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONCERTED AND POSITIVE COMMONWEALTH ACTION ON THESE LINES.

HOWE

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING STREET]

SOUTHERN AFRICA
STANDARD(PALACE)
S AF D
OADS

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
SOUTHERN AFRICA

ECDs
SOVIET D

UND
NAD

MR J R J JOHNSON
CABINET OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL



file

27

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 October, 1985

CHOGM: SOUTH AFRICA

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of Canada about the handling of South Africa at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. As you will see, Mr. Mulroney suggests that it will be necessary to agree to minimum additional measures against South Africa. He also seeks an early bilateral with the Prime Minister in Nassau.

I should be grateful for a draft reply as soon as possible which sets out firmly our views on the handling of CHOGM at the UN. We are, I believe, awaiting a minute from the Foreign Secretary on this subject.

(C.D. Powell)

C. Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL



*cc PC.
Sue.
cc FD.*

Ref. A085/2532

MR POWELL

Prime Minister's Briefing Meeting for CHOGM:

Monday 14 October at 5.00 pm

Thank you for your minute of ~~27~~ September. The following Ministers and officials have now been invited to attend the meeting:

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary

Sir Robert Armstrong

Sir Antony Acland

Sir Percy Cradock

Sir Crispin Tickell

Mr R G Lavelle, Treasury

Mr A Tickener

~~Mr R Williams~~, Department of Trade and Industry

Mr E A Fergusson, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

2. Mr Lavelle also suggested that the Economic Secretary, Treasury (Mr Stewart) who will be attending the Seoul meetings might have a useful contribution to make at the meeting.

3. Would you like me to invite him? (He will be available at that time).

**
TEL
Ros.*

||

*ver pers
cd*

Rosalind Mulligan

ROSALIND MULLIGAN

3 October 1985

Commonwealth: CHOCAM Pt 9.



GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA



file R
LO3 A7E

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

3 October 1985

CHOGM: SPEAKING NOTES

I have seen the speaking notes so far submitted for the Prime Minister's use at CHOGM and have a number of immediate comments:

1. The Special Needs of Small States

I think that the Prime Minister would say that this is "guff". In any remarks she makes she would want to refer first and in specific terms to the added risks to security that come from being small. She would then want to pick out particular proposals and recommendations from the report and link them specifically to what the United Kingdom is already doing or prepared in future to do. She will also want to comment on what ever procedural proposal for handling the Secretary-General's report is likely to be before the Meeting.

2. Drugs

This has a lot of good material in it. What it lacks is a firm proposal on the specific outcome we would like to see from CHOGM itself, i.e. a statement, declaration or some such, proposing the establishment of a group to monitor developments. The content is for you and the Home Office to settle, but I am sure that the Prime Minister will want to make a specific proposal.

3. Terrorism

Once again, the Prime Minister will want more substance than is contained in this speaking note. She will want to list specific actions which the Commonwealth or its individual members should take. She will also want to mention the idea in her speech to the American Bar Association about depriving the terrorists of the oxygen of publicity.

A general point which applies to all three of these speaking notes is that they need to be less declaratory and hortatory, and directed more to arguing

/a case

- 2 -

a case in clear and logical sequence. And since they are speaking notes, the sentences need to be speakable.

4. Reply to the Toast at the Bahamas Government's Dinner.

I really don't think this is adequate. It would surely be appropriate for the Prime Minister to speak for at least 7 to 8 minutes and more imaginatively. Let's have more about the Bahamas and more about the Commonwealth.

J I should be grateful for improved versions of all these speaking notes by the evening of 8 October.

I am copying this letter to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

CHARLES POWELL

E. Jenkinson, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

SUBJECT cc Master
ops

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T.169A/85

Copied to SOUTH AFRICA:
Relations: Pt 7.

mf

Prime Minister ~~SECRET~~ (2)

A letter from Mr. Mulrooney
feeling your views on the
handling of South Africa at
CHOGM. He expects minimum
additional measures against
South Africa to be necessary.

October 2, 1985

SECRET

A draft reply is in
preparation.

CD 1
3/x

Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, M.P.
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London

Dear Margaret:

The whole issue of South Africa has been much in my thought during these past weeks. Your High Commissioner in Ottawa will no doubt have been reporting on the numerous measures our government has taken recently to impress upon the South African government how urgent it is to introduce basic changes to bring about an end to apartheid. I was extremely pleased, therefore, to have had the opportunity of a preliminary exchange of views with Geoffrey Howe last Friday afternoon. I explained to Sir Geoffrey our thinking and was grateful to have had his insight regarding your own government's position. Nevertheless, following our meeting I thought it would be useful if I were to share with you my perceptions.

Canadians cannot but consider unacceptable, a regime founded on racist principles. The maintenance of apartheid over thirty-five years in the face of the consistent opprobrium of the international community does not augur well for the South African government's willingness to bring significant changes within a reasonable time-frame. There are certain limited goals which we consider as indispensable to any process of peaceful change. They include the dismantling of the legal underpinning of apartheid and an opening of negotiations, involving black leaders who enjoy wide support, aimed at majority rule with some form of constitutional protection of minority rights.

It is vital, I believe, that the South Africans should realize that effective reform can no longer be delayed. Developments in their own country and internationally have greatly accelerated, and a failure to move more quickly will expose their

Right Honourable
Margaret Thatcher, M.P.

-2-

SECRET

country to grave dangers now and in the future. For my part, I see no prospect of reversing the international momentum towards further economic measures against South Africa or reducing its isolation, unless the South African government introduces basic reforms.

I know that you too are reflecting on this question and its importance for the Commonwealth as we approach the Nassau meeting. I appreciate the measures which your government has recently announced and am certain that other Commonwealth members have taken careful note of them. We must expect, however, that most Commonwealth members will be looking for far more ambitious measures to reflect global condemnation of systematic racial discrimination in South Africa. In speaking for Canada I will be obliged to make clear our own support for the progressive application of economic and political pressure on South Africa.

Against this background, South Africa looms very large on our agenda for the forthcoming Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). I hope that we can remain in close touch on the question, in view of our joint commitment to the success of the Nassau meeting and its implications for the future of the Commonwealth. All participants will be deeply conscious of your own exceptional contribution to an equally critical CHOGM in 1979. It is my earnest hope that you will once again provide the Commonwealth with leadership that will enable all members to feel proud of their achievements.

At the end of the day, I realize that we may not have the same appreciation of what is an outcome acceptable to the Commonwealth as a whole. At the outset, however, I hope very much that we can maintain the frankest dialogue; in that expectation I very much hope we will be able to discuss this and other issues on the CHOGM agenda as early as possible following our arrival in Nassau. In the meantime, I hope you will let me have your views on how we can use the Bahamas meeting to encourage reasonable progress in South Africa while maintaining the integrity of the Commonwealth.

I would be particularly interested in learning whether your government could subscribe to some minimum additional measures which the Commonwealth could unanimously adopt in Nassau. Such a gesture would provide a sense of purpose and lend cohesion to our unique Commonwealth assembly. What is more, it could well be the only way of avoiding far more radical proposals. Obviously,

...3

Right Honourable
Margaret Thatcher, M.P.

-3-

SECRET

all states are free to take whatever steps they believe best fulfill their foreign policy objectives. However, the combination of a list of commonly agreed measures, coupled with additional measures unilaterally imposed by individual members, would appear to be a reasonable and effective way of expressing common purpose, while preserving maximum freedom of individual national action. I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

Brian



hle

SLW

CF

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 October 1985

CHOGM: UK EXPORTS TO THE BAHAMAS

Thank you for your letter of 2 October asking whether the Prime Minister could be quoted as taking a personal interest in the sale of British aircraft to BahamasAir.

I am sure that the Prime Minister would be content with this.

(C. D. POWELL)

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

LS

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 October 1985

Dear Charles,

CHOGM: UK Exports to the Bahamas

The single most significant prospect for UK exports to the Bahamas is the sale of seven aircraft to BahamasAir, the Bahamas national airline, for a contract value of £21 million. Negotiations are well advanced for the sale, by Shorts, of four 30-seat SD 330 and three 36-seat SD 360 aircraft. The package would include the 'buying back' of BahamasAir's existing four British-made BAe 748s for US\$6 million. We understand that Shorts is the only British bid seriously under consideration.

Our High Commissioner in Nassau has suggested it would be helpful if he could tell the Bahamians that the Prime Minister was taking a personal interest in the sale.

I should be grateful if you would let me know whether the Prime Minister is agreeable to this proposal.

Yours,
L V Appleyard
(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY COUNCIL

Charitable Trust No: 272018

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

The Rt. Hon, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher
Office of the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1

1 October 1985

Dear Prime Minister,

R3

CHOGM - Bahamas, October 16 - 22, 1985

.....
I have pleasure in sending you the Paper of the Commonwealth Human Ecology Council (CHEC), "Human Ecology: The Bond of Purpose and Progress"; submitted to CHOGM 1985, through the offices of the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.

CHEC has been encouraged that the British Government is supportive of certain environmental issues, particularly in regard to wildlife and resource development, and is collaborating with the official Commonwealth in these matters.

We know, also, that though not explicit in its proposals to Commonwealth, the British Government is responsive and supportive to the wider, overall social, ecological and participatory aspects of social and economic development.

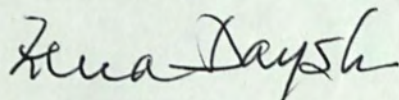
Human ecology programmes have the potential (proving so in many areas of the Commonwealth), to bring about more direct and effective cooperation between government and non-government and voluntary movements and to improve human well-being in the widest context.

CHEC's proposals in its Action Programmes and Action Centres in the enclosed Paper, backed up by 25 years of work in the Commonwealth, in education, applied research and community programmes of improvements, are congruous with and supportive of the aspirations of both the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

...2/.

Your decisive personal support to guide future Commonwealth administration and support toward cooperation on this wider base would be of the utmost importance.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Zena Daysh". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Zena Daysh (Mrs.)
Executive Vice-Chairman

enc.

Cb

CHEC

COMMONWEALTH HUMAN ECOLOGY
COUNCIL

CHOGM, BAHAMAS, 1985

HUMAN ECOLOGY: THE BOND OF PURPOSE AND PROGRESS

Eight years ago, in 1977, CHEC made a proposal to CHOGM, London, which in the light of subsequent events and the opportunity today for the Commonwealth to give a lead in international cooperation and environmental renaissance, has proved a remarkably sound prophecy.

The proposal in 1977 enunciated the need to secure the future by:

- (i) Taking human ecological considerations into account in the provision and establishment of human settlements and all other aspects of development policies in the Commonwealth;
- (ii) Administrative and executive machinery within the Commonwealth to promote and facilitate these considerations;
- (iii) Joint action by governments and non-governmental organisations at national and international levels in the interests of human ecological and human settlements policies;
- (iv) A coordinated outlook and action between the world agencies (UN, WHO, UNESCO, UNEP, UNDP, FAO) and non-governmental agencies concerned with human ecology;
- (v) An informed but essentially non-professional body to coordinate the professions in the Commonwealth in the interests of human settlements and ecological objectives;
- (vi) The Commonwealth playing its full part in worldwide regional development in the interests of ecological understanding and advance.

I. CALL FOR ACTION

The tides of world opinion, generated and moved by the current crisis in development and worsening of human environmental degradation, reinforce and widen the call for action made in 1977. In particular, CHEC would call the attention of CHOGM to:

A. THE CASE FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL PARTICIPATION

The pressing case for cooperation in policy making and action between non-governmental and voluntary organisations and governments now declared by:

- (1) The Commonwealth Secretary-General on June 18th 1985 in London;
- (2) The Commonwealth Foundation and its current proposal for regional liaison links of non-governmental organisations;
- (3) The policy for non-governmental recognition made by unofficial Commonwealth Associations meeting at the Royal Commonwealth Society in London;
- (4) The United Nations Declaration made by ESCAP, Bangkok, to enable progress to be made in environmental policy;
- (5) The call of the World Health Organisation for the promotion of community health care;
- (6) The renewed drive for improved human settlement policy by HABITAT;
- (7) The participation aims of the World Commission on Environment and Development;
- (8) The urgent need for more flexible economic policies in the Third World as urged by the World Bank.

B. ACTION TO PROTECT AND IMPROVE THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

declared by:

- (1) ESCAP, Bangkok, 1985;
- (2) World Commission on Environment and Development;
- (3) The paper from the British Government to the Commonwealth senior officials' meeting 1985, on international cooperation and environment concerned with wild life and resource development;
- (4) World Health Organisation's 'Health for All' by AD 2000 and Health Through Human Ecology Programmes;
- (5) HABITAT's renewed drive for action and policy of human settlements.

C. ROLE OF COMMONWEALTH IN WORLD AFFAIRS

The need for international cooperation between developing and developed countries in economic development and environmental enhancement which, in the light of the current United Nations crisis, the Commonwealth can meet.

II. A BOND OF PURPOSE AND PROGRESS

Each of these acknowledged needs could lead to self-defeating policies and actions for want of an all-embracing bond of purpose to guide and sustain progress.

CHEC believes that bond could and should be provided by human ecological aims and policies. The Commonwealth Governments acting jointly with non-governmental organisations should seize the initiative and give the international lead now looked for.

III. ACTION PROGRAMME

Commonwealth action should have wide expanding horizons, and within them, an immediate programme.

Suggested Action

- (i) To overhaul all economic development policies and identify or reappraise the impact of them on the use of natural resources and on the condition, participation and response of the community immediately affected.
- (ii) To review all environment policies, if any, and reassess the aims and the degree to which local, non-governmental intelligence has been used in framing and fulfilling them.
- (iii) To record and monitor the number and functions of non-governmental organisations concerned with the well-being of the environment and human living conditions and the quality of life.
- (iv) To determine the extent to which past and present development plans and projects have aimed at immediate, short-term economic benefits and disregarded long-term environmental and human ecological damage.
- (v) To modify the established practice of categorising nations into 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' and 'developing'; and to introduce into the categories the criterion of human ecological health.
- (vi) To encourage local communities to become self-reliant and independent of central government largesse, control and command over local affairs.

- (vii) To review teaching and training so as to provide a place in curricula for the ideas and application of human ecology related to orthodox teaching courses and training methods.
- (viii) To identify, register and monitor all non-governmental organisations and their activities - including corporations, charities, private companies and institutions - so as to understand how, when and where they affect human environmental development and conditions.
- (ix) To investigate how traditional institutions, determining land tenure, family relationships and the social and political chains of command affect the use of human and other resources.

IV. ACTION CENTRES

An action programme on these lines would cohere in all its parts by virtue of the human ecological bond of purpose and would carry the participation of voluntary and non-governmental bodies into policy-making and execution. It should be based upon Commonwealth regional Human Ecology Centres. These would advise and assist in the making and execution of policies, international linkages and the promotion of education and research. We suggest that the first of these experimental centres should be set up in the South Pacific and in Malta.

CHEC held its first Commonwealth Conference on Development and Human Ecology in Malta in 1970 (following seven years of research, cultural, social and economic, in the now well-known Malta Case Study), and from that time forward, using the base of this national work, Malta has been an active crucible of ideas and actions, worked jointly by government and non-governmental interests.

CHEC's fifth Commonwealth Conference on Development and Human Ecology, held in New Zealand in 1975, laid a basis for regional cooperation in the South Pacific. This led the way for human ecological considerations in relation to urban development and community programmes of participation.

CHEC's long experience and innate wisdom of the human ecological imperative and the special relevance of the Council's work to the character and aims of such a programme, and, in particular, CHEC's long association with Malta and the South Pacific, underlie these proposals.

Therefore, CHEC would propose that these two areas, Malta and the South Pacific, should be the initiating locations for Human Ecology Centres. Such an initiative would fit into the proposed regional linkage programme of the Commonwealth Foundation and provide firm foundations for the Commonwealth Secretariat's aim to widen the Small Island Studies programmes.

CHEC Secretariat
63 Cromwell Road
London SW7 5BL

24 September 1985

RESTRICTED

cc 10
SH



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

1 October 1985

Miss R Mulligan
APS/Sir Robert Armstrong
CABINET OFFICE

CABINET OFFICE
A 7814.
2 OCT 1985
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No.

Mr Powell

Dear Ros,

CHOGM: SPEAKING NOTES

There is one additional speaking note which I did not mention in my letter yesterday but which No 10 may nevertheless like to see. It is the note for the Prime Minister's use in reply to Sir Lynden Pindling's toast to his guests at the dinner on Thursday 17 October.

/ I attach the draft speaking note.

Yours sincerely,

E Jenkinson
Assistant Private Secretary

RESTRICTED

Prime Minister

It falls to me on behalf of your guests to reply to your toast, and it gives me pleasure to do so. It is perhaps particularly appropriate that we should gather for our deliberations so shortly after Discovery Day (October 12) when your country marked its discovery by Christopher Columbus nearly 500 years ago (1492). Columbus is reported to have written home: "The beauty of these islands surpasses that of any other land as much as the day surpasses the night in splendour". Like him, I and my colleagues have discovered the beauty and charm of your lovely country. Your tourist literature tells us that over the years the Bahamas has been considered a paradise for pirates at one end of the scale to millions of tourists at the other. I think now you can add Commonwealth Heads of Government to that long list of admirers. I am less sure about which end of the scale you would wish to include us.

Prime Minister, the location for our conference is a perfect one and its organisation is a tribute to all those who have been involved. The Commonwealth is frequently and rightly regarded as a family. We have all been made to feel very much at home by the Bahamas branch of that family.

In thanking you for your hospitality this evening I would ask your guests to raise their glasses to the health and prosperity of the people of the Bahamas.

010
A COPY OF MESSAGE HAS BEEN
ENTERED IN 'T' BOOK
T 169A/85 DATED
2.10.85



CANADA

PRIME MINISTER · PREMIER MINISTRE

SECRET

K1A 0A2

October 1, 1985

Already seen
by PM
CDP
Z/K

Dear Margaret,

The whole issue of South Africa has been much in my thoughts during these past weeks. Your High Commissioner in Ottawa will no doubt have been reporting on the numerous measures our Government has taken recently to impress upon the South African Government how urgent it is to introduce basic changes to bring about an end to apartheid. I was extremely pleased, therefore, to have had the opportunity of a preliminary exchange of views with Geoffrey Howe last Friday afternoon. I explained to Sir Geoffrey our thinking and was grateful to have had his insight regarding your own Government's position. Nevertheless, following our meeting I thought it would be useful if I were to share with you my perceptions.

Canadians cannot but consider unacceptable, a regime founded on racist principles. The maintenance of apartheid over 35 years in the face of the consistent opprobrium of the international community does not augur well for the South African Government's willingness to bring significant changes within a reasonable time-frame. There are certain limited goals which we consider as indispensable to any process of peaceful change. They include the dismantling of the legal underpinnings of apartheid and an opening of negotiations, involving Black leaders who enjoy wide support, aimed at majority rule with some form of constitutional protection of minority rights.

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
10 Downing Street
London
England

It is vital, I believe, that the South Africans should realize that effective reform can no longer be delayed. Developments in their own country and internationally have greatly accelerated, and a failure to move more quickly will expose their country to grave dangers now and in the future. For my part, I see no prospect of reversing the international momentum towards further economic measures against South Africa or reducing its isolation, unless the South African Government introduces basic reforms.

I know that you too are reflecting on this question and its importance for the Commonwealth as we approach the Nassau meeting. I appreciate the measures which your Government has recently announced and am certain that other Commonwealth members have taken careful note of them. We must expect, however, that most Commonwealth members will be looking for far more ambitious measures to reflect global condemnation of systematic racial discrimination in South Africa. In speaking for Canada I will be obliged to make clear our own support for the progressive application of economic and political pressure on South Africa.

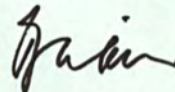
Against this background, South Africa looms very large on our agenda for the forthcoming Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). I hope that we can remain in close touch on the question, in view of our joint commitment to the success of the Nassau meeting and its implications for the future of the Commonwealth. All participants will be deeply conscious of your own exceptional contribution to an equally critical CHOGM in 1979. It is my earnest hope that you will once again provide the Commonwealth with leadership that will enable all members to feel proud of their achievements.

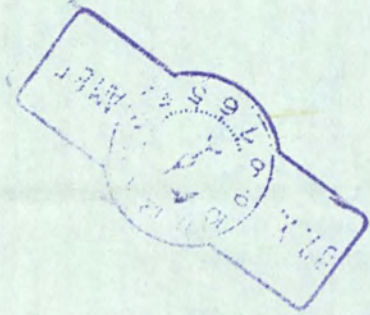
At the end of the day, I realize that we may not have the same appreciation of what is an outcome acceptable to the Commonwealth as a whole. At the outset, however, I hope very much that we can maintain the frankest dialogue; in that expectation I very much

hope we will be able to discuss this and other issues on the CHOGM agenda as early as possible following our arrival in Nassau. In the meantime, I hope you will let me have your views on how we can use the Bahamas meeting to encourage reasonable progress in South Africa while maintaining the integrity of the Commonwealth.

I would be particularly interested in learning whether your Government could subscribe to some minimum additional measures which the Commonwealth could unanimously adopt in Nassau. Such a gesture would provide a sense of purpose and lend cohesion to our unique Commonwealth assembly. What is more, it could well be the only way of avoiding far more radical proposals. Obviously, all states are free to take whatever steps they believe best fulfill their foreign policy objectives. However, the combination of a list of commonly agreed measures, coupled with additional measures unilaterally imposed by individual members, would appear to be a reasonable and effective way of expressing common purpose, while preserving maximum freedom of individual national action. I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. J. ...".



Post Office
Department

Washington, D.C.

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

30 September 1985

Miss R Mulligan
APS/Sir Robert Armstrong
CABINET OFFICE



Mr Powell

Dear Ros.

CHOGM: SPEAKING NOTES

We spoke this morning about the timetable for the submission of speaking notes for use by the Prime Minister. We agreed that I should send you now the notes which we have already prepared and that the remainder should follow on Thursday 3 October.

There are to be six speaking notes:

- A1 World Political Scene: Global Trends and Aspects
- A2 Southern Africa
- A3 The Special Needs of Small States
- A4 Drugs
- A5 Hijacking and Terrorism
- A6 World Economic Issues

I attach A3, A4 and A5. A1 and A2 will follow on Thursday. I understand that A6 is being sent to you direct by the Treasury.

Yours sincerely,
E Jenkinson

E Jenkinson
Assistant Private Secretary

cc: Miss A Rutherford
APS/Sir P Middleton

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT

PMVJ (85) A3

Copy No.

3 October 1985

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NASSAU 16 - 22 OCTOBER 1985

THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF SMALL STATES

Briefing by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PREPARED STATEMENT OF UK POLICY

1. I congratulate the Secretary-General and his Consultative Group on a comprehensive and illuminating report.
2. The special problems that affect small states must concern the whole international community. Their vulnerability can be a threat to all our security. Their welfare is a concern to us all. We have a shared responsibility to lessen that vulnerability. We need to

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

work together to strengthen our defences.

3. The Commonwealth is well-placed to accept this responsibility. Of our 49 members 27 fall into the "small states" category. There is an impressive fund of first-hand experience that we can draw on in tackling this problem, as in so many others.

4. Britain was among the first to contribute an analysis of the problem and to make specific suggestions for enhancing the security of small states. We recognised that the danger can take many forms: military attack; involvement in the military conflicts of neighbouring states; or covert subversion. We urged that our aim above all must be to encourage preventive measures. We must assist small states through regional co-operation. We must provide manpower and technical aid; training and assistance. We must keep up cultural, educational and diplomatic contacts. We must promote commercial development and investment.

5. I am pleased to see that the Secretary-General's report reaches many of those same broad conclusions. But it takes matters much further in its analysis and recommendations. There are many imaginative and

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

practical ideas that deserve thorough study. The first-hand experience injected by the representatives of small states in the Group has been especially valuable.

6. I look forward to hearing the views of colleagues from the smaller states represented here today. We must then consider in more detail how the recommendations made in the report can best be put into practice. For the benefit and security of all our nations.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT

PMVJ(85) A.4

COPY NO

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING,
NASSAU, 16-22 OCTOBER 1985

DRUGS

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PREPARED STATEMENT OF UK POLICY

1. Drug trafficking and abuse is one of the most serious evils facing our society today. It is a threat on so many levels. It ruins the lives of hundreds of thousands of our young people. It brings misery and heartbreak to their families. It is all such a waste. As Heads of Government we have a duty to do all we can to stamp out this evil.

2. It does not just cause distress to individuals. The criminal activities associated with drug trafficking are a threat to the whole fabric of society, and to the economic and political stability of some nations. The

CONFIDENTIAL

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

effects can be seen in the increase of crime on our streets and of lawlessness. Illicit profits flooding into the market can distort the whole economic balance of a country. And the threat to political stability grows as those who make their fortunes from drugs determine to protect their operations at any cost.

3. The Commonwealth has a part to play. Some of our members are among the world's smallest countries, have finely balanced economies, and are particularly vulnerable to the malign economic and political influence of drug trafficking. Other larger Commonwealth members, with more complex societies and economies, are also vulnerable. And they present a richer, more rewarding target for the traffickers. It is futile to argue whether the wealthy countries at the end of the trafficking chain or the producer countries are to blame for the drugs crisis. It is a problem which we all share and against which we must unite.

4. There are no simple solutions. The problem must be attacked from a variety of angles. We must stop people from producing drugs, by providing alternative sources of income and by enforcing laws prohibiting production. We must catch and punish the traffickers. We must persuade our young people not to become involved in drugs. And we must help those who are already addicted, so that they

lead normal healthy lives.

5. These are formidable tasks. We need mutual help and international co-operation. In our bilateral and multilateral contacts, with each other and with non-Commonwealth countries, we should put drugs on the agenda. When considering international aid, whether as donors or recipients, we should take account of the importance of tackling the drugs menace. This need was recognised at the Economic Summit in Bonn, after which our experts came up with a number of specific measures. One good idea was that international financial organisations should be encouraged to examine ways of promoting assistance to countries involved in drug production or trafficking. We in the Commonwealth should support this suggestion. We should press such organisations to take full account of the drugs threat in their activities. In other ways too international co-operation is vital. The United Nations have begun considering a new international convention against drug trafficking. My Government has made positive suggestions about the convention's contents. We would particularly like to see measures to facilitate the international tracing, freezing and forfeiture of the proceeds of drugs crimes and the extradition of drug traffickers.

6. We must also use our legal systems to attack the

traffickers. In the United Kingdom we have recently increased the maximum penalty for trafficking in heroin and other dangerous drugs to life imprisonment. And we will shortly be introducing legislation to deprive drug traffickers of the proceeds of their crimes.

7. One of the prime concerns of the Commonwealth is to improve the lives of our people and the prospects of our children. The scale of the drug problem threatens those aims. We must meet it with determination to take solid and practical measures. Together we shall fight it. And we shall win.

CONFIDENTIAL

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT

PMVJ (85) A5

COPY NO.

3 October 1985

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NASSAU
16 - 22 OCTOBER 1985

TERRORISM AND HIJACKING

Brief by Foreign and Commonwealth Office

PREPARED STATEMENT OF UK POLICY

1. The past two years have seen an alarming increase in international terrorism. Many of us here today have suffered at the hands of terrorists, some of us personally. In particular since we last met, we have suffered the tragic loss of Indira Gandhi. A futile, senseless murder. Despite the enormous resources which have been allocated to the fight to counter terrorism, real progress has been slow. This is partly because there are no easy answers; but also partly because the very nature of the open society will always offer the terrorist a degree of freedom of operation he cannot find elsewhere. Thus while redoubling our efforts to deter and inhibit him, we must be equally conscious of the imperative of safeguarding the individual liberties and freedom so precious to us.

CONFIDENTIAL

2. Increased physical security measures and the exchange of information and intelligence on terrorists and terrorist groups provide a basis for progress. Co-operation and co-ordination between our respective police and security organisations is already good but these existing links must be maintained and developed. However, if we are to succeed, more is needed. This is where the international community as a whole and the Commonwealth in particular has a role to play. We must make it clear that in dealing with terrorists, we will make no concessions to those who resort to the bomb and the bullet. Concessions made in the face of threats and intimidation may produce short term gains; but in the long run the real cost is plain for all to see.

3. We must also make it clear that there can be no safe havens for the terrorist. He must have nowhere to plan his attacks; nowhere to obtain arms, weapons and support; and nowhere to run to after committing his evil deed. The Commonwealth as a whole has a good track record on these points. Let us reaffirm these basic principles and urge others to follow our lead.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. There are other areas where widespread international co-operation can prove effective and again where the Commonwealth can play a leading role. The framework for international co-operation against terrorism already exists. International Conventions covering terrorist attacks on Civil Aviation, Internationally Protected Persons and the Taking of Hostages, have found widespread acceptance. But not all states including some represented here, have become party to, or ratified these conventions. We should work for their universal adoption together with adherence to the principles set out earlier. I very much hope our communique can reflect this.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

TO BE USED ONLY IF ANNOUNCED DURING VISIT TO UNITED KINGDOM OF MR RAJIV GANDHI : Have reached agreement with Indian Government to extend provisions of Suppression of Terrorism Act to India. Will help with extradition, allow for prosecution in United Kingdom of Indians for crimes committed in India. Stand ready to explore possibility of extending Act to cover other Commonwealth countries.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Commander 159

CHOGM

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

MISS MULLIGAN

PRIME MINISTER'S BRIEFING MEETING FOR CHOGM

Thank you for your minute of 26 September. Would you please invite Mr Lavelle in place of Sir Geoffrey Littler and the appropriate DTI Deputy-Secretary in place of Mr Channon.

Charles Powell

27 September 1985



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

26 September 1985

Dear Secretary-General.

Many thanks for your letter of 20 September about the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting which reached me on my return from the Middle East.

I should be very happy to introduce the discussion of the World Political Scene at the meeting, and honoured to reply to the Bahamas Prime Minister's toast to his guests at the dinner on 17 October.


Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Mr. Shridath Ramphal, AC, Kt, CMG, QC.

BM

oo .

CC/SH.



Ref. A085/2468

MR POWELL

Prime Minister's Briefing Meeting for CHOGM

Thank you for your minute of 25 September.

2. I apologise for troubling you again about this but I discover that three of the proposed invitees will be unable to attend; Mr Channon will be leaving for Bangkok, Mr Raison will be abroad at the UNESCO Conference and Sir Geoffrey Littler will be abroad.

3. Would you like me to invite any substitutes?

4. Those able to attend are as follows:

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary

Sir Robert Armstrong

Sir Antony Acland

Sir Percy Cradock

Sir Crispin Tickell

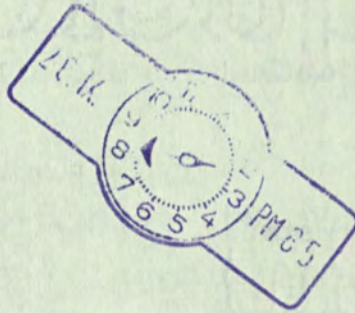
Mr E A J Fergusson

Carl Bowdery .

ROSALIND MULLIGAN

(Approved by Miss Mulligan and
signed in her absence)

26 September 1985



CC: H.



From the Secretary of the Cabinet

Charles

PM's Briefing for CMOGMS

I sent you a minute about
the invites for this yesterday.

Sir A Arnold's office have
now said that they'd

also like Ewen Ferguson
to attend as well.

would you be content
with this?

Ros Murray
(Assistant Private Secretary)

26.9.85

Yes Told RTA's
Office 2619.

*copy for
have you seen?*

SUBJECT
*cc OPS
master.*
R5/10



TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS
President's Office.

**PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE**
SERIAL No. T167c/85

25 September 1985

Your Excellency,

I have just returned from New York after yet another round of talks which the Secretary-General of the United Nations initiated shortly after the State of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed in November 1983. The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting is only weeks away, and I feel it only fair and proper that, as Commonwealth citizens, our position should be heard and understood in the most direct manner on this very important occasion. The Turkish Cypriot community has a population of almost 300,000 living in various Commonwealth countries. Both the UN and the Organisation of Islamic Conference have already made it possible for us to participate in many of their activities, and which in turn has enabled all concerned to examine the issue of Cyprus much more clearly and objectively than hitherto.

I would request that the Commonwealth Heads of Government provide me the opportunity of consulting and addressing them while they are at Nassau to attend the Meeting. I have no doubt that our Greek Cypriot colleagues will recognise this proposal as a major step towards peace and stability in our region.

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

Rauf R. Denktas
(Rauf R. Denktas)
President.

H.E. The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister
Westminster
London
U.K.



cc SH
cc PC

Ref. A085/2439

MR POWELL

BF 11

Prime Minister's Briefing Meeting for CHOGM:
Monday 14 October 5.00 pm

We spoke the other day about invitees for the Prime Minister's briefing meeting for CHOGM. You suggested the following Ministers and officials:

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary
The Minister of State, Department of Trade and Industry,
Mr Channon

Sir Robert Armstrong
Sir Antony Acland
Sir Percy Cradock
Sir Crispin Tickell
Sir Geoffrey Littler

2. I have consulted Sir Antony Acland's office about the list and they have suggested that Mr Raison should be invited, but that it is arguable whether or not Mr Channon need be. Would you like me to invite Mr Raison and/or Mr Channon?

ROSALIND MULLIGAN

25 September 1985



FILE

Rog

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

MISS MULLIGAN

PRIME MINISTER'S BRIEFING FOR CHOGM

Thank you for your minute of 25 September about the Prime Minister's briefing meeting for CHOGM. I agree to those listed, including both Mr. Raison and Mr. Channon.

(C.D. Powell)
25 September, 1985

ca



Hanson Trust PLC

CDQ
GR:

Office of the Chairman

180 Brompton Road, London SW3 1HF
Telephone (01) 589-7070 Telex 91.72.02

Strictly Private & Confidential

September 24, 1985.

Dear Mr Powell

Many thanks for your letter of September 23, 1985, and I look forward with interest to hearing the result of the Prime Minister's conversation with Mr. Mulroney (on the question of my meeting him).

Sincerely

Hanson

Charles Powell, Esq.,
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

Directors: Lord Hanson (Chairman) D. N. Rosling (Vice-Chairman)
B. A. Hellings A. Hagdrup M. G. Taylor A. G. L. Alexander C. G. F. Harding
J. H. Pattison D. C. Bonham Sir Gordon Booth KCMG CVO E. D. Collins (USA)
Associate Directors: D. H. Clarke (USA) A. R. Cotton



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

24 September 1985

CHOGM - COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT PAPERS

Thank you for your letter of 23 September.
I confirm that I am content to receive the
Secretariat papers with the briefs on
7 October.

Charles Powell

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

085



10 DOWNING STREET

23 September 1985

From the Private Secretary

Dear Colin

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

The Commonwealth Secretary General has written to the Prime Minister to invite her:-

(a) To introduce the first substantive item of the meeting - World Political Scene: Global Trends and Prospects - draft agenda item No.3(a). He suggests her introductory remarks should last some 15-20 minutes.

In but rejected - see
CDP-740 3/10

(b) To reply to the Bahamas Prime Minister's toast to his guests coupling it with a toast to the Bahamas at Sir Lynden Pindling's dinner on 17 October.

The Prime Minister has agreed to both requests. I should be grateful if work could be put in hand on drafts. You are anyway working on a speaking note on the world political scene though it will now need to be rather more lengthy than originally envisaged. I should be grateful if both drafts could reach me by 4 October.

I am copying this letter to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely

Charles Powell

Colin Budd Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 September 1985

CHOGM: BILATERALS

Could you please add Lee Kuan Yew to the list of Heads of Government with whom the Prime Minister would like a formal bilateral.

I am copying this letter to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

Charles Powell

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

DB

Covering CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 September 1985

Dear Charles,

CHOGM - Commonwealth Secretariat Papers

With his letter to the Prime Minister of 4 September (copy enclosed), Mr Ramphal submitted a list of the documentation the Commonwealth Secretariat would be preparing to support the CHOGM Agenda. We are now receiving these papers as they are issued.

For earlier CHOGMs you have required six sets of the Secretariat documents and have preferred to receive them all together after the last paper has issued rather than piecemeal. Unless you tell us otherwise, we shall take it that your requirements and preference on this occasion are unchanged.

The Cabinet Office are planning to get the CHOGM briefing to you by 7 October. If you agree, we will forward the sets of the Secretariat papers to arrive at the same time.

*Yours ever,
Colin Budd*

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Covering CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

C.152/13/4

~~SECRET~~

4 September 1985

In my letter of 12 June 1985 I set out, in general terms, the issues that appeared to be emerging as Agenda items for the forthcoming Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau. Having had the benefit of your replies and of a number of personal consultations, I now have pleasure in enclosing a Draft Agenda for your consideration. A list of background papers that the Secretariat will distribute is also enclosed; in accordance with the established guidelines on style and format, documentation will be kept to a minimum.

It has been agreed that the conventional structure of the Agenda should be followed, namely, three broad and flexible headings encompassing your specific subjects of concern. In the Introduction to my Report for the period 1983-85 which will be with you shortly, I have offered some reflections on developments since New Delhi. I hope that the following comments by way of annotation of the Draft Agenda will prove useful in your preparations.

1. OPENING SESSION

The Opening Session will be in the afternoon of Wednesday, 16 October, at 1530 hours in the Theatre of the Cable Beach Hotel. It will be held in the presence of a large number of invited guests and the media. After Prime Minister Pindling's address of welcome and my own remarks there will be a limited number of speeches in reply. This Session should take a little over an hour.

The formal photograph of Heads of Delegation will follow immediately.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

My customary Press reception where you will have an opportunity to meet representatives of the Bahamian and world media gathered in Nassau for the occasion will be at the Royal Bahamian Hotel nearby, at 1730 hours.

By way of a slight variation on past practice, the new Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, will, on behalf of India as the immediate past host Government, offer an informal lunch for Heads of Delegation and other senior representatives and their spouses at the Cable Beach Hotel at 1300 hours before the Opening Session.

2. ORDER OF AGENDA AND STYLE AND FORMAT

Senior Officials will have met as usual on the day before the Opening to discuss the Order of Agenda and related administrative and procedural matters. Their report will be available for consideration by Heads of Government at the commencement of your first Session on the morning of Thursday, 17 October.

Also available for consideration at that Session, or some other time specially assigned, will be a Note from me on the style and format of Heads of Government Meetings, mainly reflecting discussions at the Senior Officials' Meeting in Barbados in December 1984.

3. WORLD POLITICAL SCENE

(a) Global Trends and Prospects

At each of the last two Meetings, Heads of Government have drawn attention to the decline in the global political environment. In the Goa Declaration on International Security, the New Delhi Meeting called for concerted effort in rebuilding a climate of confidence in place of the prevailing fear and mistrust. Since then the environment has shown some small improvement with the two super powers demonstrating a willingness to move arms control from the back-burner and to resuscitate dialogue over a wider area. However, the 'star wars' scenario has brought an ominous dimension to the arms race, to negotiations and to the fears of ordinary people in many parts of the world. Overall, mutual mistrust and belligerence continue to characterise East-West relations and to hamper the quest for international harmony and accord. The United Nations has proclaimed 1986 as the 'Year of Peace'. At Nassau, you will want to consider together how the hope

CONFIDENTIAL

of peace can be fulfilled both through a renewal of the thrust of the Goa Declaration and by practical steps for strengthening international peace and security despite a climate of continuing super power rivalry.

High among the concerns of many Commonwealth leaders is the lack of progress on disarmament. World arms expenditure is now of the order of 1000 billion dollars per annum - 2 million dollars per minute. Even for developing countries, military expenditure is rising and that at a time of acute economic difficulty. The NPT Review Conference is being held in an atmosphere of deep cynicism with no prospect of the super powers complying with their obligations under it. The frank discussion of these matters at New Delhi offered many insights, some of which were reflected in the Goa Declaration. Can the Commonwealth go further at Nassau?

Many Heads of Government will be going on from Nassau to New York to participate in the 40th anniversary session of the UN General Assembly. I am sure you will want to use the Nassau Meeting to reaffirm the Commonwealth's commitment to the United Nations as the central instrument for world peace and security and for international co-operation. But you may wish to go further and examine whether the Commonwealth can work more coherently together offering, as one Prime Minister has expressed it to me, "its own particular strengths at bridge-building across the divisions of various blocs, in support of the international negotiating process."

Such a commitment would be important as the trends to contraction in international dialogue and drift from multilateral action noted at New Delhi continue. The vision that inspired the San Francisco Conference 40 years ago and the spirit of internationalism prominent in the early years of the United Nations have been dimmed. International co-operation, once taken axiomatically as an essential human goal, is being effectively eroded if not openly questioned. Some of these trends have been underlined by contemporary experience touching on the lives of people in both developed and developing countries: famine and starvation in Africa; unemployment and economic uncertainty in industrialised and newly industrialising countries; a debt crisis that casts a shadow well beyond Latin America; acute economic difficulties in most parts of the developing world. Yet, the widespread public concern over the threat of a 'nuclear winter' and the outpouring of human compassion for Ethiopia have been timely reminders that peace and development remain high in the priorities of people throughout the world. Their aspirations can be met only by sustained and effective international co-operation.

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

Concern persists on some issues that bear heavily on specific Commonwealth countries and their regions but carry implications for all. The situation in Cyprus is again delicately poised; Heads of Government will wish to consider it and the future role of the Action Group on Cyprus set up in New Delhi. The issues of decolonisation and nuclear testing in the South Pacific remain unresolved but have evolved since New Delhi. The South Pacific Forum, for example, recently endorsed a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. Pressures persist on the territorial integrity of Belize and Guyana. Beyond the Commonwealth, but not without direct implications for Commonwealth countries, are the situations in Afghanistan, Central America, Kampuchea, the Middle East and Southern Africa (dealt with in detail later). Commonwealth leaders, particularly those within the regions of conflict, will wish to share their concerns and ideas. There is also a general wish to discuss in a political context the alarming increase in the menace of illicit drugs and to canvass initiatives that might counter it. Nassau can also provide opportunities, including informal and bilateral ones, for exchanging views on aspects of 'terrorism' that are of immediate concern to a number of Commonwealth leaders. And there is a wider question still of disrespect for humanitarian norms that you might wish to discuss.

(b) Southern Africa

Your responses to my earlier letter and my recent personal contacts with many Commonwealth leaders have confirmed that for the Commonwealth as a whole the issue of apartheid South Africa is one of central and crucial concern; that it touches the very heart of the Commonwealth's political and ethical rationale; and, as such, must occupy a place of prominence on your Agenda. I am sure that all Commonwealth leaders at Nassau will be guided by a wish to be steadfast in commitment to the principles and traditions of action forged by Commonwealth discussions over many years; by a shared determination to secure quickly the dismantling of apartheid; and by a conviction that nothing less would permit the Commonwealth to be true to itself.

At New Delhi, Commonwealth leaders unanimously agreed that apartheid was "the root cause of repressions and violence in South Africa and of instability in the region". The sharp deterioration of the situation in Southern Africa since the previous Meeting in Melbourne has accelerated after New Delhi - and in ways which overwhelmingly confirm the identification of apartheid as the core evil. The rising tide of anger against the injustice of apartheid, of which Commonwealth leaders spoke in New Delhi, has now spilled over; and is being followed, as predicted, with further repression and brutality

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

directed against the African majority. These events have led to virtually universal revulsion in the international community and a like demand for economic sanctions against South Africa designed to compel a genuine dialogue leading to the dismantling of apartheid. The Western Contact Group's efforts on Namibia have virtually collapsed. The view is widely held that "constructive engagement" has, if anything, encouraged intransigence in Pretoria. At New Delhi, Commonwealth leaders were unanimous in saying, in the context of Namibia, that if South Africa continues to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435 "the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations would have to be considered".

At Nassau, you will have before you the report of the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa which has already strongly backed the call for economic sanctions. But while the Commonwealth remains united in its goals for Southern Africa, Commonwealth support for economic sanctions has not been unanimous, with Britain expressing reservations on their effectiveness. Many Commonwealth countries have, of course, voluntarily applied economic sanctions against South Africa for a long time. But, overall, the situation in South Africa is evolving more quickly and, in some respects, more unpredictably than anyone had foreseen. It may well be that at Nassau the Commonwealth will have a rare opportunity really to grasp the situation and act as a stimulus for effective international action.

It should be a source of encouragement that, despite all difficulties, agreement and a high measure of statesmanship have characterised Commonwealth achievement at the summit on Southern Africa issues, right from South Africa's effective expulsion in 1961 to the Lusaka Accord on Zimbabwe in 1979. The Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, the Gleneagles Agreement, the Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice, the termination of the Simonstown Agreement, the Lancaster House process on Zimbabwe's independence, and the Commonwealth's role in relation to the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa: all attest to the Commonwealth's political capacity to find the means of fulfilling its common will, nowhere better expressed by Commonwealth leaders than at Melbourne in 1981, "that it was the solemn and urgent duty of each of their governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by the adoption of effective measures against it and to assist those struggling to rid themselves of it".

There are also other specific matters in the complex of Southern Africa issues calling for particular attention. Paramount among these are developments in Namibia (which

CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET

waits to become the Commonwealth's 50th member), including the establishment of an "interim administration" in Windhoek in defiance of Security Council Resolution 435. They also include South Africa's repeated aggressions against neighbouring countries, particularly Lesotho and Botswana; the Gleneagles Agreement which, despite massive South African efforts to frustrate it, remains an effective instrument of South Africa's isolation; and the mandate you gave at New Delhi in relation to Commonwealth efforts at countering South African propaganda.

(c) Small States

The Commonwealth's long-expressed concern with the problems of small states was underlined in New Delhi when you asked me to undertake a study of their special needs, including specifically their security needs. The result is the Report: VULNERABILITY: SMALL STATES IN THE GLOBAL SOCIETY, prepared by a Consultative Group of distinguished Commonwealth personalities which will be before you in Nassau. It reaches out to new frontiers of internationalism and is both innovative and practical. It lays emphasis on the integral nature of the various problems - political, strategic and economic - that contribute to the inherent vulnerability of small states and explores viable approaches to addressing these problems at national, regional and international levels. The report gives considerable attention to the economic needs of small states and on these aspects Commonwealth leaders will have the benefit of at least initial reactions from Finance Ministers, who will have canvassed them a fortnight earlier at their Meeting in the Maldives. The report puts forward many constructive recommendations and Nassau will provide an opportunity for you to consider what practical steps might be taken at appropriate levels, but especially through collective Commonwealth action, to alleviate the problems and improve the prospects of the many small states within the Commonwealth's membership.

4. WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES

No separate sub-items are envisaged; but Commonwealth leaders might wish the broad discussion of economic matters to include the following main issues:

- Recovery

Since New Delhi, there has been some strengthening of the recovery in industrial countries, with inflation remaining under control. However, in recent months the recovery has been slowing. This has serious implications - for employment, poverty, debt management, adjustment, and for the international

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

financial and trading system. In the context of sustaining recovery, there has been widening recognition of the need for greater surveillance and policy co-ordination, particularly in respect of the policies of major countries. In any event, there is the need for continuing progress in domestic policy adjustment on the part of developing countries.

In discussing these matters at Nassau you will wish to take account of the final Report from the Consultative Group on International Economic Action of eight countries which was set up in New Delhi. The Group made a notable contribution to the holding of extended meetings of the Interim and Development Committees earlier this year. However, these meetings left many of the issues unresolved. The Group of 10 and the Group of 24 have now prepared separate reports on the international monetary system containing many proposals for reform. An important opportunity arises at Nassau for the Commonwealth to offer guidance on a practical way forward in terms of both the issues for, and the process of, negotiation.

- Financial Flows

An issue of major concern is the adverse trend in net capital flows to developing countries. Even countries in sub-Saharan Africa whose economies have been shattered by recent circumstances face a sharp decline in resource transfers. Already the International Monetary Fund is taking from sub-Saharan Africa more financial resources than it is currently contributing to it.

Current developments point strongly to the urgent need to secure real increases in the lending programmes of the IBRD, IDA and IMF to provide adequate support for adjustment efforts; this in turn calls for decisions to be taken on a general capital increase from the World Bank, expanded resources for regional development banks, increasing the volume and effectiveness of IDA, enlarged access to IMF resources and adequate guarantee arrangements to encourage increased private flows - equity and loan capital. In all of this you will wish to take account of the Finance Ministers' Meeting in the Maldives and the annual Meetings of the IMF and the World Bank in Seoul; you may also wish to discuss how the Commonwealth itself might contribute further through its own technical co-operation programmes in such areas as access to capital markets, policy development on private foreign direct investment, and economic adjustment including the negotiation of programmes with the IMF and the World Bank.

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

- Debt

The report on THE DEBT CRISIS AND THE WORLD ECONOMY, by a Group of Commonwealth Experts under the chairmanship of Lord Lever, which was commissioned at New Delhi, urged action to remove the high risks involved in the present situation and to ensure a resumption of positive flows to indebted countries. Finance Ministers, who considered the report in 1984, endorsed the general objective of maintaining and enlarging, wherever possible, the net transfer of resources to developing countries. They accepted that the debt problems of many low-income countries, arising in particular from official debt, needed special attention. The Lever Report remains highly relevant, particularly since the debt problems of low-income countries, to which it makes a notable contribution, have now become even more urgent. The recent OAU Summit devoted to economic issues has called for an international conference on African external indebtedness involving debtors and creditors.

- Economic Crisis in Africa

Specially critical problems confront many Commonwealth countries in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly those faced with drought and desertification. Some of these problems, like the improvement of domestic economic policy and population control, are subsumed under other elements of this Item. However, as a result of discussions among Commonwealth Senior Officials last December, an inter-governmental group of 10 countries, assisted by Secretariat missions to capitals, has explored areas of practical Commonwealth 'gap-filling' assistance. The Group's Report: AFRICAN AGRICULTURE: BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE, offers recommendations for action by both the international community and the Commonwealth. You will wish to take account of them in your general discussion. Agenda Item 5 (Commonwealth Functional Co-operation) is appropriate for considering specific action that might be taken by the Secretariat, including the CFTC.

- Trade

There is concern on all sides at the danger of a breakdown in the multilateral trading system, arising from protectionist pressures and the drift to bilateralism. A new round of trade negotiations could give impetus to the much needed effort to restore trade liberalisation, but real difficulties exist over the relative emphasis to be given to outstanding issues and new areas such as services. Other trade policy issues also require attention, such as the trend towards more restrictive and discriminatory schemes under the Generalised System of Preferences and the urgent need for a liberalised new Multi-Fibre Arrangement. Commonwealth

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

governments have a large interest in these matters, particularly in traditional areas such as textiles, garments, agriculture, processed products and non-tariff barriers generally. There is scope for Commonwealth co-operation in assisting member countries generally, or specific groups such as small states, to prepare for any future discussions on these issues.

- Technology

Assuming vital economic and social importance are the rapid advances in technology. In considering these developments you will have the benefit of a recent report on the management of technological change prepared by a Working Group first requested by Commonwealth Employment/Labour Ministers and then by you at New Delhi. Their Report: TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE: ENHANCING THE BENEFITS, devotes attention to the economic and social impact of technology and examines ways in which technology policy might be improved. In exploring avenues for future action, the report points to the scope for Commonwealth co-operation.

- Women

Similarly relevant to Commonwealth co-operation, but of wider significance also, is the more central involvement of women in the development process. Commonwealth Ministers in charge of Women's Affairs met recently in Nairobi and have drawn attention to the contribution women can make to growth and development, both in the context of their conclusions on Commonwealth co-operation and more generally.

- Population

At New Delhi, Commonwealth leaders paid some attention to the population problem. World population is likely to go up by 2 billion in the next 25 years, with almost all the increase in the developing world, which will then have 80 per cent of the world's population. By the year 2000, Africa's population will have tripled since 1960. These increases have much significance for urban as well as rural policy in the countries themselves - but have relevance for all countries. The world now has some 250 cities of over a million people each, of which 100 are in developing countries. By the end of the century there could be 440 such cities, with 300 in the developing world. Commonwealth leaders might wish to reflect on the implications of these projections and carry forward the discussion on population begun in New Delhi.

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET
CONFIDENTIAL

5. COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

Practical co-operation in many fields, largely directed to fulfilling development objectives, is a hallmark of the Commonwealth connection. Despite scepticism about the effective delivery of multilateral aid, Commonwealth programmes, projects and technical assistance generally continue to be favourably assessed. You may wish to reaffirm the value you place on such practical collaboration. As in the past, most of the specific topics under this Item (other than the CFTC) may be remitted to the Committee of the Whole for initial consideration.

(a) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

With its wide range of technical assistance projects and its ability to respond rapidly without loss of efficiency, the CFTC continues to serve the Commonwealth well. And it does so with all too modest resources - just £22.7 million allocated in 1984/85 for assistance to 52 countries. At a time when developing country governments are faced with retrenchment in many sectors, it is all the more necessary to ensure that the Fund's resources are sufficient to maintain the momentum necessary to meet current Commonwealth expectations and needs.

A good example of the latter is afforded by the Report AFRICAN AGRICULTURE: BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE, mentioned under 4 (Economic Crisis in Africa), which puts forward a number of recommendations for Commonwealth Secretariat action and for CFTC assistance. Some funding for these has been approved in principle by the CFTC Board of Representatives and they are now at various stages of discussion and implementation. They illustrate, however, the need for the CFTC to have the resources to meet such challenges. I hope that Commonwealth governments at Nassau will ensure the provision of resources adequate to meet, at the very least, already agreed targets.

(b) Employment/Labour and Technological Change

As mentioned under 4 (Technology), the Working Group Report: TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE: ENHANCING THE BENEFITS, proposes enlarged Commonwealth co-operation. Information exchange, advisory work, training, the exchange of personnel, and the use of new technologies to promote education are all envisaged. Following on the conclusions of the New Delhi meeting, Employment/Labour Ministers have already agreed that the Commonwealth Industrial Training and Experience Programme (CITEP) should be established in July 1986 and administered within the CFTC.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

(c) Women and Development

The United Nations Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women in Nairobi in July was marked by the constructive contribution of Commonwealth participants to its success. It also enabled Commonwealth Ministers with responsibility for Women's Affairs to meet for the first time. The Nassau Meeting will wish to take account of the outcome of their deliberations, including the proposal for regular meetings of Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs, a Secretariat policy statement, and a modest increase in the resources available to the Secretariat's Women and Development Programme.

(d) Commonwealth Youth Programme

1985 has been International Youth Year, and the Commonwealth Conference of Young People, held in Ottawa in June, has called for action to facilitate the increased participation of young people in the decision-making processes that bear on their future. The recommendations of the Ottawa meeting will be before you in Nassau, when you will have the opportunity also to review the resource position of the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

(e) Commonwealth Student Mobility

Heads of Government, since the Meeting in 1981, have viewed with concern the decline in student mobility and educational interchange consequent on the introduction of full-cost fees in some major receiving countries. In this context, they have welcomed the work of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility. The Committee's Fourth Report: COMMONWEALTH STUDENT MOBILITY: A WAY FORWARD, which makes important recommendations for reversing the decline, will have been considered by Ministers of Education at a specially convened meeting in Sofia on 6 October 1985. The issue of student mobility has important implications for Commonwealth relations and the Commonwealth's future; Heads of Government will wish to consider the Standing Committee's proposals in the light of the conclusions which Education Ministers reach in Sofia.

(f) Commonwealth Science Council

As foreshadowed in New Delhi, an Expert Group established by the Commonwealth Science Council has issued its Report: SCIENCE FOR TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT. The report provides a broad framework for enhancing scientific and technological co-operation in the Commonwealth over the next decade. It was considered in detail by the Council at its meeting in Ottawa last September. Against this background,

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

Heads of Government will wish to consider the prospects for enlarging scientific co-operation including co-operation on environmental issues such as wildlife.

(g) Commonwealth Foundation

The Foundation continues to discharge a most valuable role. It has faced up to the challenge of its enlarged mandate in an innovative way. Its future work programme, outlined in its Memorandum, envisages significant new steps in strengthening the relationships between the official and unofficial Commonwealth. The Memorandum also deals with the financial implications of its work over the next biennium.

(h) Other Matters of Functional Co-operation

(i) International Year of Shelter for the Homeless

The Government of Sri Lanka has asked that the issue of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless be placed on the Agenda, and has submitted a background paper which will be before the Meeting for consideration.

(ii) Consular Arrangements

A Report by Commonwealth Consular Officials reviewing consular arrangements between Commonwealth countries established since 1973 will be before the Meeting.

(iii) The Commonwealth and Non-Governmental Organisations

Among the many links which contribute to the vitality and closeness of the Commonwealth connection are those provided by what is often called the 'unofficial Commonwealth'. Central to its success is the network of non-governmental organisations which make an immensely valuable contribution, both at the national and international level, in a wide variety of activities. Perhaps the time has come to consider how further recognition and encouragement may be given with a view to strengthening the role of the unofficial Commonwealth.

(iv) Financial Contributions

At the Barbados Meeting of Senior Officials the matter of outstanding contributions to

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth Science Council and the Commonwealth Youth Programme budgets was raised. The situation remains unsatisfactory. This matter, and the related proposal to increase the Secretariat's Working Capital Fund, are to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of Finance Ministers and their comments will be before the Nassau Meeting.

One final point. This year marks the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Secretariat - a decision which derived from needs perceived by Commonwealth leaders themselves. As with the Commonwealth association itself, we can, I believe, claim some modest success for the Secretariat as an institution. If so, it is chiefly because of the consistent interaction with it of Commonwealth governments and people in a spirit of helpfulness and trust. I need hardly stress that its sustained relevance and effectiveness are dependent on your continuing guidance, encouragement and support. I hope that this commemorative aspect of your Meeting in Nassau will be auspicious to your consultations. Nassau can be a testing time for the Commonwealth; but because it offers opportunities no less than challenges it can be a time of achievement and strengthening as well.

With deep respect,

Shridath S. Ramphal

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NASSAU - 1985

DRAFT AGENDA : DOCUMENTATION

1. OPENING SESSION
2. ORDER OF AGENDA AND STYLE AND FORMAT
3. WORLD POLITICAL SCENE
 - (a) Global Trends and Prospects
Note by the Commonwealth Secretary-General
on the work of the Action Group on Cyprus
(HGM(85)4)
 - (b) Southern Africa
Report of the Commonwealth Committee on
Southern Africa (HGM(85)5)
 - (c) Small States
VULNERABILITY : SMALL STATES IN THE
GLOBAL SOCIETY
Report of a Commonwealth Consultative Group
4. WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES

Memorandum by the Secretary-General on World Economic
Issues (HGM(85)6)

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTION
Final Report of a Commonwealth Consultative Group

THE DEBT CRISIS AND THE WORLD ECONOMY
Report of a Commonwealth Group of Experts

AFRICAN AGRICULTURE : BUILDING FOR THE
FUTURE
Report of a Commonwealth Action Group

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE : ENHANCING THE BENEFITS
Report of a Commonwealth Working Group

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

5. COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION
TENTH REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (a) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation
Memorandum by the Commonwealth Secretary-General (HGM(85)7)
AFRICAN AGRICULTURE : BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE
 - (b) Employment/Labour and Technological Change
TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE : ENHANCING THE BENEFITS
 - (c) Women and Development
The Commonwealth and Women and Development
Memorandum by the Commonwealth Secretary-General (HGM(85)8)
 - (d) Commonwealth Youth Programme
Memorandum by the Commonwealth Secretary-General (HGM(85)9)
 - (e) Commonwealth Student Mobility
COMMONWEALTH STUDENT MOBILITY : A WAY FORWARD
Fourth Report of the Standing Committee on Student Mobility
Memorandum by the Commonwealth Secretary-General (HGM(85)10)
 - (f) Commonwealth Science Council
SCIENCE FOR TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT
Report of an Expert Group
Note by the Commonwealth Secretariat (HGM(85)11)
 - (g) Commonwealth Foundation
Memorandum by the Chairman and Governors of the Commonwealth Foundation (HGM(85)12)
 - (h) Other Matters of Functional Co-operation
 - (i) The International Year of Shelter for the Homeless
Memorandum by the Government of Sri Lanka (HGM(85)13)
 - (ii) CONSULAR ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES
Report of Commonwealth Consular Officials (HGM(85)14)

~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

(iii) The Commonwealth and Non-Governmental
Organisations
Note by the Commonwealth Secretariat
(HGM(85)15)

(iv) Financial Contributions
Note by the Commonwealth Secretariat
(HGM(85)16)

CONFIDENTIAL

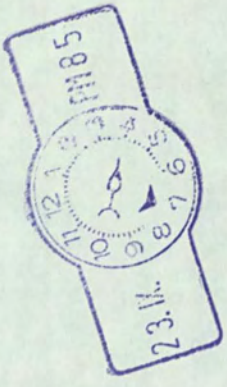
~~SECRET~~
CONFIDENTIAL

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NASSAU - 1985

DRAFT AGENDA

1. OPENING SESSION
2. ORDER OF AGENDA AND STYLE AND FORMAT
3. WORLD POLITICAL SCENE
 - (a) Global Trends and Prospects
 - (b) Southern Africa
 - (c) Small States
4. WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES
5. COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION
 - (a) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation
 - (b) Employment/Labour and Technological Change
 - (c) Women and Development
 - (d) Commonwealth Youth Programme
 - (e) Commonwealth Student Mobility
 - (f) Commonwealth Science Council
 - (g) Commonwealth Foundation
 - (h) Other Matters of Functional Co-operation
 - (i) International Year of Shelter for the Homeless
 - (ii) Consular Arrangements
 - (iii) The Commonwealth and Non-Governmental Organisations
 - (iv) Financial Contributions
6. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE
7. OTHER BUSINESS
8. COMMUNIQUE

CONFIDENTIAL



file



085

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 September 1985

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 5 September and to say that she hopes to see Mr. Mulroney at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in the Bahamas in mid-October.

Charles Powell

08

The Lord Hanson

STRICTLY PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL
MARLBOROUGH HOUSE · PALL MALL · LONDON SW1Y 5HX

CCPC ①

*This means
who speaks - where
had better do them.
not*

*Prime Minister
Agree to reply to
the Toast at Sir
Lynda Lindley's
dinner on 17
October?
CDP
2/9.*

20 September 1985

Dear Mrs Thatcher.

Thank you for your helpful letter of 27 August about the Agenda for Nassau. I have tried to reflect in full measure your views and those of other Commonwealth leaders in the annotated Draft Agenda letter which I sent you and all Heads of Government on 4 September. We are all keenly anticipating the opportunity presented in Nassau for the kind of open discussion that imbues Commonwealth Summits with a special potential, and I know that your colleagues are looking forward to your own participation.

←

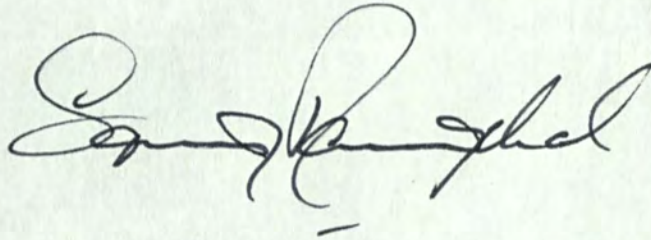
Global political questions will be at the forefront of the discussions and I know that it will be of profound interest to everyone to have at first hand your considered views. May I, therefore, respectfully invite you to introduce, in remarks of about 15 - 20 minutes' duration, the first substantive Item of the Meeting - WORLD POLITICAL SCENE: Global Trends and Prospects - Draft Agenda Item No. 3(a). I also count, of course, on your special contribution to the discussion on Southern Africa, which I have asked Kenneth Kaunda to introduce, as well as to what I hope will be an in depth discussion of World Economic Issues.

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

In addition, may I ask if, at Sir Lynden Pindling's dinner on Thursday 17 October, you would be agreeable to reply to the Prime Minister's Toast to his guests coupling with it a Toast to The Bahamas. As in the past, I would expect the after dinner speeches to be carried live by the media.

I very much hope you will be able to agree to both my requests. It would be of great help if we could have your response as early as is convenient to you.

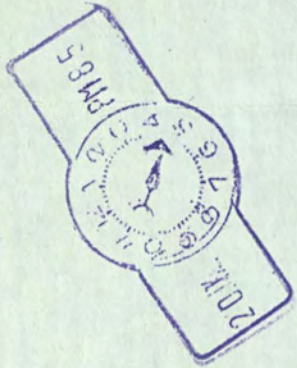
With deep respect and regards.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Shridath S. Ramphal', written in dark ink.

Shridath S. Ramphal

C' WERTH : C1050m

R 9



CONFIDENTIAL



CM.

70 WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AS

01-233 8319

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO

PS(85) 19

16 September 1985

Dear Private Secretary,

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Nassau:
16-22 October 1985

This letter sets out the briefing arrangements for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau on 16-22 October 1985.

The list of briefs to be prepared, with an indication of Departmental responsibility, is at Annex A. Instructions on format are at Annexes B and C. Departments should apply the guidance in sub-paragraph (b) of Annex B as appropriate, ie for those briefs which may be drawn upon in a meeting, where a succinct summary of Points to Make can be made use of.

Category A briefs, ie the prepared statements by the United Kingdom should be drafted in speech form for statements that will take around 10 minutes to deliver.

Ninety copies of each brief should be sent as soon as they are ready to Mr A S Victory (tel no 233 7343) in Committee Section, Cabinet Office, who should be consulted about any technical points arising. All briefs should reach the Cabinet Office by close of play on Thursday 3 October.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to Sir Antony Acland, Sir Peter Middleton, Sir Brian Cubbon, Sir Kenneth Stowe, Sir Michael Quinlan, Sir Clive Whitmore, Sir Brian Hayes, Sir Michael Franklin, Mr T M Heiser, Sir Peter Harrop, Sir David Hancock, Mr R J Andrew, Sir Crispin Tickell and to Charles Powell at No 10.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ROSALIND MULLIGAN
Assistant Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

LIST OF BRIEFS FOR COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING,

NASSAU 16 - 22 OCTOBER 1985

Category A. Subjects requiring prepared Ministerial Statements by the United Kingdom

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul-tation With</u>
A1	World Political Scene: Global Trends and Prospects (including "retreat from internationalism").	FCO	
A2	Southern Africa	FCO	Department of Environment Treasury ODA
A3	The Special Needs of Small States, (including Eastern Caribbean security)	FCO	MOD
A4	Drugs.	FCO	DHSS Home Office
A5	Hijacking and Terrorism (including activities of foreign political activists; international conventions on aviation security).	FCO	Home Office

A6
C29AAD

World Economic Issues

Treasury

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Category B. Briefs for Use in Formal Sessions

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul-tation With</u>
B1	Steering Brief.	FCO	
B2	Procedural Matters inc. agenda, style and format, communiqué, timing and venue of next meeting	FCO	
<u>POLITICAL ISSUES</u>			
B3	East-West Relations and International Security.	FCO	
B4	Arms Control and Disarmament (inc. NPT).	FCO	
B5	Strengthening the role of the United Nations.	FCO	-
B6	Cyprus.	FCO	MOD
B7	Problems in South Pacific:- (a) Decolonisation of New Caledonia	FCO

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

	(b) Nuclear Free Zone (including ships' visits).		DOE MOD
B8	Territorial Disputes	FCO	MOD
	(a) Belize		
	(b) Guyana		
B9	Problems in West and East Asia	FCO	MOD
	(a) Afghanistan.		
	(b) Iran/Iraq.		
	(c) Middle East.		
	(d) South-East Asia. especially Cambodia.		
B10	Central America.	FCO	
B11	Falkland Islands.	FCO	MOD
B12	Adherence to the Geneva Conventions	FCO	MOD
B13	Southern Africa	FCO	ODA/DTI/ Treasury
	(a) Namibia		
	(b) South Africa (internal and external)		

	(c) Sanctions		
	(d) Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa		
B14	Sporting Contacts	FCO	DOE
	(a) Gleneagles		
	(b) The XIII Commonwealth Games, 1986, Edinburgh		
B15	UNESCO	FCO	ODA
<u>WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES</u>			
B16	World Economic Situation and Prospects.	Treasury	FCO
B17	Commonwealth Consultative Group on International Economic Action	FCO	Treasury DTI
B18	Financial Flows to Developing Countries (including replenishment of IDA VIII)	ODA	FCO Treasury
B19	Relations with Developing Countries (including Protectionism/GATT/Trade/Debt/ United Kingdom Aid Policy/Aid to the Public Sector (and to the Private and Marketing Sectors)	FCO	ODA Treasury DTI

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

B20	"The Debt Crisis and the World Economy". (The Lever Report.)	Treasury	FCO DTI
B21	African drought, famine and food aid, including Commonwealth Action Group on the Economic crisis in sub-Saharan Africa.	ODA	FCO
B22	Population and Development.	ODA	-

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

Category C. Background Briefs to be Available in Delegation Secretariat

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul-tation With</u>
<u>COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION</u>			
C1	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation.	ODA	FCO
C2	Management of Technological Change.	Department of Employment	FCO
C3	Women and Development.	ODA	FCO
C4	Youth Affairs, including Commonwealth Youth Programme.	ODA	FCO
C5	Student Mobility (including Student fees).	FCO	ODA DES
C6	Commonwealth Science Council (inc. report on Science for Technology for Development; and International Co-operation on Environmental Problems)	ODA	DES DTI FCO Dept of Environment ...
C7	Commonwealth Organisations	FCO	ODA
	(a) Commonwealth Secretariat (inc. 10th Report of the CSG; Marlborough House and Budget)		
	(b) Commonwealth Foundation		

C29AAE

- (c) Commonwealth Institute
- (d) Non-Governmental Organisations
- (e) Financial contributions (inc. to Commonwealth Secretariat and Working Capital Fund; Science Council; Youth Programme)

C8	International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.	FCO	Department of Environment
C9	Consular Arrangements in Commonwealth Countries.	FCO	
C10	UNLOSC.	FCO	Treasury
C11	Hong Kong (including Travel Documents).	FCO	
C12	Indian Ocean Zone of Peace.	FCO	
C13	Extradition and Transfer of Prisoners.	Home Office	FCO
C14	European Community Issues	FCO	MAFF/ODA/ Treasury
C15	New World Information Communications Order.	FCO	-

C29AAE

C16	Pakistan and the Commonwealth	FCO	
C17	Southern African Development Co-ordination Committee	ODA	FCO
C18	Nationality, Immigration, Race Relations and Other United Kingdom Domestic Legislation Affecting Commonwealth Citizens.	Home Office	FCO
C19	Commonwealth Countries (salient bilateral issues)	FCO	ODA/ Treasury

C29AAE

THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT FORMAT SHOULD BE FOLLOWED CAREFULLY

All briefs should be laid out in the same way with a top page in accordance with the specimen layout at Annex C. Those preparing briefs should pay particular attention to ensuring that the following instructions are fully observed:

Content

- (a) Briefs should be concise. Each brief should whenever possible be no more than two sides long.
- (b) The main body of each brief should where appropriate include: a very brief statement of the United Kingdom Objective (normally no more than a couple of lines); a concise list of Points to Make; and a factual Background section which distinguishes clearly between information which can be freely used and information which should not be disclosed.
- (c) Briefs should be complete and self-contained with all the information required on that particular subject.

Layout

- (d) Briefs should be typed in double spacing, using both sides of the paper. Pages should be numbered at the foot of each page.
- (e) As shown in the specimen at Annex C, the top page only of each brief should contain the following details: the symbol and number of the brief in the top left-hand corner (eg PMVJ(85) A10) with the date of circulation below; a copy number in red at the top right-hand corner; the visit heading; the title of the brief (in capitals) and the name of the Department responsible.
- (f) At the foot of the last page and on the left-hand side, briefs should bear the name of the originating Government Department and the date of origin.

Reproduction

- (g) Briefs should be reproduced throughout on plain white paper, with each page bearing a security classification at top and bottom (as in Annex C). Care should be taken that the reproduction method employed results in clear readable copies.
- (h) It is important that, on arrival at the Cabinet Office, briefs should be complete in all detail - collated, stapled and copy numbered and ready for immediate circulation.

Updating

- (i) If late developments require a brief to be amended or updated, a revise should be prepared. It should be set out in the form described at (e) above, with the brief number amended to show that it is a revise (eg PMVJ(85) A10 (Revise)). Subsequent revises should be numbered (eg PMVJ(85) A10 (Revise 2); etc). If it is a question of adding material to the brief rather than revising its existing contents, an addendum may be prepared, in the form described at (e) above with the brief number (eg PMVJ(85) A10 Addendum) and title to which it relates at the top of the front page. The Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet should be informed when a revise or addendum is in preparation and also about corrigenda to briefs.

- (j) Additions to the list of briefs in Annex A require the authorisation of the Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Cabinet.

[CLASSIFICATION]

ANNEX C

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

[Leave
1½"
margin]

PMVJ(85) [Serial No as specified in Annex A] COPY NO [in red]

[Date]

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NASSAU
16-22 OCTOBER 1985

[SUBJECT] [Insert subject in capitals]

Brief by [name of originating Department, eg Foreign and
Commonwealth Office]

[At foot of last page on left-hand side:-]

[Originating Government Department, eg Foreign and Commonwealth
Office or Department of Energy, not a subordinate section or
division]

[Date of origin]

[CLASSIFICATION]



10 DOWNING STREET

MR POWELL

Sonny Ramphal has confirmed
for 1700 hrs on 3 October.
I have asked the FCO for a
brief.

CR

16 September, 1985



File

207

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 September, 1985

The Prime Minister has agreed to see the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sonny Ramphal at 1700 hrs on Thursday, 3 October.

I should be grateful if you could provide a brief for this meeting.

(Caroline Ryder)

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

CONFIDENTIAL

lie

EC

ELBANV

bc PC



10 DOWNING STREET

15 September 1985

From the Private Secretary

CHOGM: BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

Thank you for your letter of 9 September conveying the Foreign Secretary's recommendations on the bilateral contacts which the Prime Minister should undertake at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau.

The Prime Minister agrees to hold formal bilaterals with Mr. Hawke, Mr. Mulroney, President Kaunda, Mr. Mugabe and President Babangida if he is present. She does not want to seek a formal bilateral with Mr. Lange. Were Dr. Mahathir to attend, the Prime Minister would want a bilateral with him, but I gather this is unlikely.

The Prime Minister agrees that she should make a point of speaking privately during CHOGM to President Masire, President Jayewardene, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and the Sultan of Brunei. She also agrees to accept President Ershad's invitation to lunch on 17 October.

(Charles Powell)

Len Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

dr

NOT -> Appts?



~~CF~~ not CF

Ref. A085/2340

MR NORGROVE

To keep with
Hanson Trust pps.

DLS
19/9.

Lord Hanson wrote on 5 September asking Sir Robert Armstrong to forward the enclosed letter (which he has not opened) addressed to the Prime Minister, together with some background papers.

Background papers destroyed
MS

CST 7/10/85.

M C STARK

13 September 1985

~~Prime Minister~~ 2

I have kept back most of the background papers (1984 annual report, brokers' circulars etc etc).



BM

70 WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AS

01-233 8319

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO

Ref. A085/2342

12 September 1985

Dear Eric

CHOGM: List of Briefs

Charles Powell has written to tell me that the Prime Minister is unlikely to need to be bothered with a number of the briefs listed in your letter to me of 9 September for CHOGM (for instance, those on Commonwealth Functional Co-operation, number B27-28).

This prompts me to enquire whether the number of briefs proposed might not be reduced. I know (from personal experience) that last year the CHOGM delegation found the weight of briefs supplied pretty daunting. Since then new arrangements for briefing the Prime Minister have been introduced (see Sir Robert Armstrong's letter of 12 February to Sir Antony Acland) which were intended to cover CHOGM too. It was recognised that CHOGM would require rather more subject briefs than other meetings: but surely not 103 separate briefs as is apparently proposed!

Might I leave it to you to consider whether the number might conveniently be reduced? Possibilities might include reducing the 30 country briefs into a paragraph or so for each country in a handful of regional briefs; and cutting out or combining some of the functional co-operation and background briefs. Needless to say, there is only any point in doing this if the material itself is reduced in length.

Charles Powell has asked that the proposed speaking notes for the Prime Minister should be submitted to No 10 well ahead of the other briefs, since they are likely to need amendment and rewriting. I suggest therefore that you aim to get these forward in time to reach No 10 by the end of the month.

I am copying this letter to Charles Powell.

yours ever

Michael

(M C Stark)

Private Secretary

Eric Jenkinson Esq



10 DOWNING STREET

10 September, 1985

From the Private Secretary

CHOGM: LIST OF BRIEFS

I have seen a copy of Eric Jenkinson's letter to you of 9 September setting out the briefing requirements for CHOGM. It is a daunting list, and I doubt whether the Prime Minister need be bothered with, for instance, those on Commonwealth Functional Co-operation (B27-B38).

One particular point which occurs to me is that we shall want to clear the proposed speaking notes with the Prime Minister so that they can be finalised before we depart for Nassau. In the light of experience, they are likely to need amendment and re-writing. It would be helpful, therefore, to have these in No.10 well ahead of the other briefs.

(C.D. Powell)

R. Hatfield, Esq.
Cabinet Office.

ea

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

9 September 1985

R P Hatfield Esq
PS/Sir Robert Armstrong
Cabinet Office
70 Whitehall
LONDON SW1A 2AS

c- Mr Powell

CABINET OFFICE	
A	3171
9 SEP 1985	
FILING INSTRUCTIONS	
FILE No.	

Any comments on the
suggested lists of
briefs

Carl 9/9.

Dear Richard,

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING (CHOGM):
16-22 OCTOBER: AGENDA AND LIST OF BRIEFS

I enclose the original letter (and two additional copies nos 38 and 39) from the Commonwealth Secretary-General to the Prime Minister and other Heads of Government, circulating the draft agenda for the meeting together with his explanatory comments. In accordance with our usual practice, Mr Ramphal's letter and enclosures graded "Secret" by the Commonwealth Secretariat are being treated as "Confidential" for our purposes.

In Sir Antony Acland's absence, I attach a suggested list of briefs prepared on the basis of Mr Ramphal's draft agenda and cleared with other Whitehall Departments. I should be grateful if you would obtain agreement of No 10 to the list before you issue the formal briefing call.

We have tried to ensure that the number of briefs is the necessary minimum. As in 1983, the Prime Minister and senior members of the delegation will be issued only with Category A and B briefs. Officials at Nassau will be alert to anticipate which of the Category C and D briefs held in the Delegation Secretariat may be needed at short notice.

CONFIDENTIAL



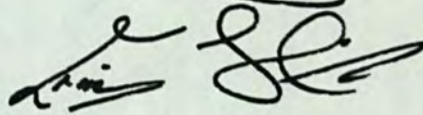
CONFIDENTIAL

The selection of Category A briefs is based on our judgement of the subjects on which the Prime Minister might want to make a substantial intervention. Please let me know as soon as possible if the list should be amended in any way. We have been told informally by the Commonwealth Secretariat that Mr Ramphal does not have it in mind this year to ask the Prime Minister to respond to the Address of Welcome, as she has done on previous occasions. The reason is the limited time available. This is, however, not yet definite and we may therefore prepare a draft speech in case it is needed. We do not know whether Mr Ramphal will ask the Prime Minister to lead off the discussion of any particular agenda item. If he does, additional statements may be necessary.

The Category B briefs broadly follow the headings for discussion proposed by Mr Ramphal and will be prepared in the new format described in Sir Robert Armstrong's letter of 12 February to Sir Antony Acland. The Category C briefs cover other subjects which may come up and Category D briefs are for use in bilateral meetings.

In her letter of 4 September, Ros Mulligan agreed that the briefs should reach the Cabinet Office on 3 October, and No 10 by 7 October before the Delegation Secretary leaves with the advance party for Nassau on the 9th. There will of course be arrangements to up-date fast moving subjects right up to the time of the meeting. We would hope, however, to send as many as possible of the Category C and D briefs out in advance to Nassau.

I am sending copies of this letter, plus a copy of the proposed list of briefs, to colleagues in those Ministries and Departments who have a direct contribution to make to the briefs. They already have copies of Mr Ramphal's letter.

Yours sincerely,


E Jenkinson
Assistant Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL



Copy Recipients:

PS/Mr T M Heiser CB, Department of the Environment
PS/Sir Peter Harrop KCB, Department of the Environment
PS/Sir Michael Quinlan KCB, Department of Employment
PS/Sir David Hancock KCB, Dept of Education and Science
PS/Sir Brian Cubbon GCB, Home Office
PS/Mr R J Andrew CB, Northern Ireland Office
PS/Sir Brian Hayes KCB, Department of Trade and Industry
PS/Sir Peter Middleton KCB, HM Treasury
PS/Sir Crispin Tickell KCVO, Overseas Development Admin
PS/Sir Clive Whitmore KCB CVO, Ministry of Defence
PS/Sir Kenneth Stowe KCB CVO, Dept of Health and Social
Security
PS/Sir Michael Franklin KCB CMG, Ministry of Agriculture,
Fisheries and Food

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT LIST OF BRIEFS FOR COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING,NASSAU 16 - 22 OCTOBER 1985Category A. Subjects requiring prepared Ministerial Statements by the United Kingdom

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul-tation With</u>
A1	Prime Minister's Response to Address of Welcome (for use if invited to respond).	FCO	
A2	World Political Scene: Global Trends and Prospects (including "retreat from internationalism").	FCO	
A3	Southern Africa	FCO	Department of Environment Treasury ODA
A4	The Special Needs of Small States, (including Eastern Caribbean security)	FCO	MOD DHSS
A5	Drugs.	FCO	Home Office
A6	Hijacking and Terrorism (including activities of foreign political activists; international conventions on aviation security).	FCO	Home Office
A7 C29AAD	World Economic Issues	Treasury	

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Category B. Briefs for Use in Formal Sessions

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul- tation With</u>
B1	Steering Brief.	FCO	
B2	Agenda and Style and Format.	FCO	-
B3	Communiqué, Timing and Venue of Next Meeting.	FCO	-
<u>POLITICAL ISSUES</u>			
B4	East-West Relations and International Security.	FCO	
B5	Arms Control and Disarmament (inc. NPT).	FCO	
B6	Strengthening the role of the United Nations.	FCO	-
B7	Cyprus.	FCO	MOD
B8	Problems in South Pacific:- (a) Decolonisation of New Caledonia	FCO	

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

	(b) Nuclear Free Zone (including ships' visits).		DOE MOD
B9	Belize.	FCO	MOD
B10	Guyana	FCO	
B11	Problems in West and East Asia:-	FCO	
	(a) Afghanistan.		
	(b) Iran/Iraq.		MOD
	(c) Middle East.		
	(d) South-East Asia. especially Cambodia.		
B12	Central America.	FCO	
B13	Adherence to the Geneva Conventions	FCO	MOD
B14	Falkland Islands.	FCO	MOD
<u>Southern Africa</u>			
B15	Namibia.	FCO	ODA
B16	South Africa including Destabilisation; Sanctions and Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa	FCO	ODA DTI Treasury

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

B17	Sporting Contacts	FCO	DOE
B18	UNESCO	FCO	ODA

WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES

B19	World Economic Situation and Prospects.	Treasury	FCO
B20	Commonwealth Consultative Group on International Economic Action	FCO	Treasury DTI
B21	Financial Flows to Developing Countries (including replenishment of IDA VIII)	ODA	FCO Treasury
B22	Relations with Developing Countries (including Protectionism/GATT/Trade/Debt/United Kingdom Aid Policy/Aid to the Public Sector (and to the Private and Marketing Sectors)	FCO	ODA Treasury DTI
B23	"The Debt Crisis and the World Economy". (The Lever Report.)	Treasury	FCO DTI
B24	African drought, famine and food aid, including Commonwealth Action Group on the Economic crisis in sub-Saharan Africa.	ODA	FCO
B25	Population and Development.	ODA	-

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

B26	EC issues	FCO	MAFF ODA Treasury
-----	-----------	-----	-------------------------

COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

B27	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation.	ODA	FCO
B28	Management of Technological Change.	Department of Employment	FCO
B29	Women and Development.	ODA	FCO
B30	Youth Affairs, including Commonwealth Youth Programme.	ODA	FCO
B31	Student Mobility (including Student fees).	FCO	ODA DES
B32	Commonwealth Science Council (inc. report on science for Technology for Development)	ODA	DES DTI FCO Dept of Environment
B33	International Co-operation on Environmental Problems.	Department of Environment	FCO ODA
B34	Commonwealth Foundation.	FCO	ODA
B35	International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.	FCO	Department of Environment
B36	Consular Arrangements in Commonwealth countries.	FCO	

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

B37	The Commonwealth and non-Governmental organisations	FCO	ODA
B38	Financial Contributions (inc to Commonwealth Secretariat and Working Capital Fund; Commonwealth Science Council; Commonwealth Youth Programme)	FCO	ODA

C29AAE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Category C. Background Briefs to be Available in Delegation Secretariat

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul- tation With</u>
C1	Non-Aligned Movement.	FCO	-
C2	Organisation of African Unity	FCO	
C3	UNLOSC.	FCO	Treasury
C4	Hong Kong (including Travel Documents).	FCO	
C5	Indian Ocean Zone of Peace.	FCO	
C6	BIOT (including Diego Garcia).	FCO	
C7	United Kingdom Economy.	Treasury	-
C8	Current Situation in Northern Ireland.	NIO	FCO
C9	Extradition and Transfer of Prisoners.	Home Office	FCO
C10	New World Information Communications Order.	FCO	-
C11	Antarctica	FCO	
C12	Human Rights.	FCO	Home Office

C29AAF

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

C13	Commonwealth Secretariat (10th Report of the CSG. Marlborough House and Budget).	FCO	ODA
C14	Commonwealth Institute	FCO	-
C15	Commonwealth Employment Ministers Meeting.	Department of Employment	FCO
C16	Environmental Issues.	Department of Environment	FCO
C17	Commonwealth Defence Science Organisation.	MOD	FCO
C18	Commonwealth Tele- communications Organisation.	FCO	-
C19	Pakistan and the Commonwealth.	FCO	
C20	Special Members.	FCO	ODA
C21	Dependent Territories in the Caribbean	FCO	-
C22	Headship of the Commonwealth.	FCO	-
C23	Future of CHOGRMs and other Regional Meetings	FCO	
C24	Southern African Develop- ment Co-ordination Conference.	ODA	FCO

C29AAF

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

C25	Nationality, Immigration, Race Relations and Other United Kingdom Domestic Legislation Affecting Commonwealth Citizens.	Home Office	FCO
C26	Proposed Commonwealth Stamp Issue 1988.	DTI	ODA
C27	XIII Commonwealth Games 1986, Edinburgh	FCO	DOE
C28	Commonwealth Cultural Co-operation	FCO	FCO

CONFIDENTIAL

Category D: Individual Country Briefs

<u>Brief No:</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Lead Department</u>	<u>In Consul-tation With</u>
D1	Overall 'Bilaterals' Brief	FCO	
D2	Australia.	FCO	-
D3	Bahamas	FCO	ODA
D4	Bangladesh.	FCO	ODA
D5	Belize (Bilateral Issues only).	FCO	ODA
D6	Botswana/Lesotho/ Swaziland	FCO	ODA
D7	Brunei.	FCO	ODA
D8	Canada.	FCO	-
D9	Caribbean Islands:- Antigua and Barbuda/ Bahamas/Barbados/Dominica/ Grenada//Jamaica/St Kitts and Nevis/St Lucia/ St Vincent and the Grenadines/Trinidad and Tobago.	FCO	ODA
D10	Cyprus (Bilateral Issues only).	FCO	ODA
D11	The Gambia.	FCO	ODA Treasury

CONFIDENTIAL

D12	Ghana.	FCO	ODA
D13	Guyana (Bilateral issues only)	FCO	ODA
D14	India.	FCO	ODA
D15	Kenya.	FCO	ODA
D16	Malawi.	FCO	ODA
D17	Malaysia.	FCO	ODA
D18	Maldives.	FCO	ODA
D19	Malta.	FCO	ODA
D20	Mauritius/Seychelles.	FCO	ODA
D21	New Zealand	FCO	-
D22	Nigeria.	FCO	ODA Treasury
D23	Pacific Islands:- Fiji/Kiribati/Papua New Guinea/Solomon Islands/Tonga/Vanuatu/ Western Samoa.	FCO	ODA
D24	Sierra Leone.	FCO	ODA
D25	Singapore.	FCO	ODA
D26	Sri Lanka.	FCO	ODA

CONFIDENTIAL

D27	Tanzania.	FCO	ODA
D28	Uganda.	FCO	ODA
D29	Zambia (including helicopters).	FCO	ODA Treasury
D30	Zimbabwe.	FCO	ODA



FILE

R7

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 September, 1985

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING:AGENDA

I enclose a copy of a letter to the Prime Minister from the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth giving an annotated agenda for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting on 16-22 October. No reply appears to be called for and you will no doubt be incorporating the letter into the briefing for the Meeting.

(C.D. Powell)

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

PRIME MINISTER

①

CHOGM: BILATERAL MEETINGS

The Foreign Secretary recommends formal bilaterals with:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Mr. Hawke	[✓]	[]
Mr. Mulroney	[✓]	[]
[Mr. Lange]	[]	[✓]
President Kaunda	[✓]	[]
President Babangida (if present)	[✓]	[]
Mr. Mugabe	[✓]	[]

[You will of course just have seen Mr. Gandhi.]

The only additional candidate, if he attended, would be
Dr. Mahathir. - *J. V. V.* [] []

He also recommends that, although you do not need to have formal bilaterals, you should seek out during the meeting (and notably the Retreat):

- ✓ President Masire of Botswana
- Prince Bhekimpi of Swaziland
- President Ershad of Bangladesh
- ✓ President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka
- ✓ Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore
- ✓ The Sultan of Brunei
- President Kyprianou of Cyprus

Finally, he recommends that you should accept President Ershad's invitation to lunch on 17 October, not least as a means of heading off his request for an official visit in 1986. [] []

These all seem sensible if time-consuming recommendations.

CDP

9 September, 1985.

JD3ACP

cc m/f
/

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

9 September 1985

Dear Charles,

CHOGM: Bilateral Contacts with the Prime Minister

The Prime Minister will not this year be offering entertainment in Nassau. The Foreign Secretary considers that it would therefore be particularly useful to arrange in advance a small number of formal bilateral meetings with other Heads of Government.

Sir Geoffrey suggests that we should try to arrange early meetings for the Prime Minister with the three "old" Commonwealth leaders, Mr Mulroney, Mr Hawke and Mr Lange. Southern Africa will clearly be a major topic with each. In addition, Sir Geoffrey feels we should also arrange bilateral meetings with President Kaunda of Zambia and Mr Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and President Babangida of Nigeria, should he attend. The Prime Minister will of course have had full discussions with Mr Gandhi before CHOGM. I attach a short background note (Annex I) on the importance of each of these to current British interests, with an indication of topics which it might be particularly useful for the Prime Minister to raise.

Additionally, Sir Geoffrey considers that the Prime Minister might usefully make a point of speaking privately during CHOGM to the following:

△ /
 President Masire of Botswana
 Prince Bhekimpi of Swaziland
 President Ershad of Bangladesh
 President Jayewardene of Sri Lanka
 Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore
 The Sultan of Brunei
 President Kyprianou of Cyprus

/ Sir Geoffrey does not believe that formal bilaterals are necessary with any of these; private conversations during the Retreat weekend would be sufficient. I attach a separate note (Annex II) on what the Prime Minister might hope to achieve from these conversations.

In practice, of course, the Prime Minister will be able to meet all the Heads of Government informally at the various functions, and some, like President Kyprianou, will make a point of getting in touch with her. The purpose of this letter is to

/ identify ...



identify those who in present circumstances are of particular importance to us, and who should not be missed for a reasonably substantial talk.

If the Prime Minister agrees to these suggestions, we shall go ahead and try to arrange meetings with those mentioned.

There is one invitation for the Prime Minister. It is from President Ershad of Bangladesh, who has invited her to luncheon on 17 October, which will be attended by several Heads of Delegations. There is a good case for the Prime Minister to accept this invitation.

In July President Ershad enquired whether it would be possible for him to visit Britain this October. The short notice made this impossible. However, he has since said that he would like to pay an official visit to the UK next year. Given the plans that we already have for State and official visitors next year, such a visit would be very difficult before 1987. Against this background, acceptance of President Ershad's luncheon invitation would make it easier to stave off an official visit until 1987, and would also encourage President Ershad to maintain his present receptivity towards British and Western concerns over, for example, the Falklands and Afghanistan, despite Bangladesh's formal non-alignment.

/ You might also find it useful to have the enclosed note of the bilateral meetings the Foreign Secretary will be seeking, and the lunches he proposes to give for Commonwealth Foreign Ministers (or equivalent) at the opening of the UN General Assembly in New York at the end of September and at Nassau. Taken together with the recommendations for the Prime Minister's bilaterals, this table shows the overall pattern of Commonwealth contacts prior to, and at, CHOGM.

Yours ever,
L V Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street



ANNEX I

HEADS OF DELEGATION WITH WHOM THE PRIME MINISTER
MIGHT AIM TO HAVE FORMAL BILATERALS AT CHOGM

- MR HAWKE:
(Australia) Last met PM at New Delhi CHOGM in 1983. To discuss Southern Africa and small states (particularly in the Pacific). Bilaterally, to press our case and argue for a co-ordinated response by both governments to the Report of the Royal Commission on British Nuclear Tests.
- MR MULRONEY:
(Canada) Last met PM in April 1985. To discuss Southern Africa, Namibia (Contact Group), and small states; generally to keep in touch with our closest Commonwealth partner. Mr Mulroney's office has already requested a bilateral with the PM.
- MR LANGE:
(New Zealand) Last met PM on 4 March 1985. To discuss Southern Africa and small states; and most importantly to press again for a change in New Zealand's policy on ship's visits.
- NIGERIA: Although it is not known who will represent the new Nigerian Government, it will be a high priority to have a top-level discussion with them, on both CHOGM (especially Southern Africa) issues and on bilateral matters. Nigeria matters to us; we cannot afford to miss the opportunity for contact.
- PRESIDENT
KAUNDA:
(Zambia) Last met PM in March 1983. Will be senior Front Line State leader present. To enable PM to seek Kaunda's understanding of our policy over South Africa and to encourage his own pragmatic approaches to regional questions (thus following up the visit by the Prime Minister's special emissary in April); to reassure him of our continued support during Zambia's economic difficulties, whilst stressing the need to reach/adhere to agreement with the IMF.
- MR MUGABE:
(Zimbabwe) Last met PM in July 1984. To stress the difficulties which any unconstitutional moves over creation of a one-party state, or over abolition of the white seats, would cause us (and other Western countries); to encourage internal reconciliation; and to try to persuade him of the wisdom of our policies in Southern Africa.



ANNEX II

LEADERS TO WHOM THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT SPEAK
PRIVATELY DURING THE RETREAT WEEKEND

- PRESIDENT MASIRE:
(Botswana) Last met PM in May 1984. To discuss our attitude to South Africa, given backdrop of recent attack on Gaborone, and our subsequent support for Botswana. President Masire is sympathetic, though not openly supportive, of our policy on sanctions. He might be encouraged to play helpful part in CHOGM discussions.
- PRINCE BHEKIMPI:
(Swaziland) Has never met PM. He asked to visit UK on 11 or 28 October, but neither dates were convenient to us; a private talk at CHOGM would help overcome Swazi sensibilities. To press the Prince to openly oppose economic sanctions against South Africa at CHOGM; to thank for support over Falklands.
- PRESIDENT ERSHAD:
(Bangladesh) Last met PM in New Delhi, 1983. Has asked for an exclusive bilateral with PM (as well as inviting her to a luncheon). A promise of a talk during the Retreat would probably satisfy him. To encourage him to maintain his present pro-Western inclinations and his enthusiasm for the Commonwealth; and in his present intention to return Bangladesh to democratic rule. It might help to stave off pressure for an early visit to UK, which will be difficult to arrange before 1987. Large aid programme in Bangladesh.
- PRESIDENT
JAYEWARDENE:
(Sri Lanka) Last met PM in April 1985. If President attends CHOGM bilateral would provide opportunity to discuss the inter-communal problem; also to encourage maintenance of pro-Western stance.
- MR LEE KUAN YEW
(Singapore) Last met PM in April 1985. No substantive bilateral business needs to be discussed but Lee would welcome a further opportunity to exchange views on international issues. His views carry weight in ASEAN and in the NAM. He was reportedly disappointed at having failed to secure a bilateral with PM at New Delhi in 1983.

/...



THE SULTAN
OF BRUNEI:

Last met PM in April 1985, when she encouraged Sultan to attend his first CHOGM. Personal contact with the Sultan is crucial in protecting our commercial, military and political interests in Brunei; to encourage constitutional reforms in the interests of stability; private talk would enhance Sultan's standing within the Royal family at home.

PRESIDENT
KYPRIANOU:
(Cyprus)

Last met PM in March 1985. Kyprianou is quite likely to ask for a (Cyprus) bilateral, but should at least be given a private talk during the retreat; to review progress on the UN Secretary-General's initiative on Cyprus and to impress upon him need for active co-operation.



ENTERTAINMENT/BILATERALS PROPOSED FOR CHOGM 1985

Country	Head of Gvt or Leader of Delegation	Foreign Minister or Equivalent
Antigua and Barbuda		
Australia	PM-formal bilateral	
The Bahamas		FS - Nassau Lunch
Bangladesh	PM - Retreat	*FS - UNGA Lunch
Barbados		FS - Nassau Lunch
Belize		*FS - Nassau Lunch
Botswana	PM - Retreat	FS - Nassau Lunch
Brunei	PM - Retreat	FS - Nassau Lunch
Canada	PM-formal bilateral	FS - UNGA Lunch
Cyprus	PM - Retreat	FS - Nassau Lunch (or else bilateral)
Dominica	FS - Nassau Lunch	
Fiji		
The Gambia		
Ghana		
Grenada		FS - bilateral
Guyana		FS - bilateral
India		FS - bilateral FS - UNGA Lunch
Jamaica		FS - bilateral or Nassau Lunch
Kenya		FS - Nassau Lunch
Kiribati		
Lesotho		FS - bilateral
Malawi		
Malaysia		FS - Nassau Lunch
Maldives		FS - Nassau Lunch
Malta		



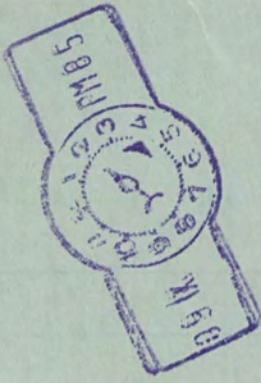
Country	Head of Gvt or Leader of Delegation	Foreign Minister or Equivalent
Mauritius		*FS - Nassau Lunch
New Zealand	PM - formal bilateral	
Nigeria	PM - formal bilateral	FS - bilateral FS - UNGA Lunch
Papua New Guinea		
St Christopher and Nevis	*FS - Nassau Lunch	
St Lucia	FS - Nassau Lunch	
St Vincent and the Grenadines	FS - Nassau Lunch	
Seychelles	FS - formal bilateral	
Sierra Leone		FS - bilateral
Singapore	PM - Retreat	FS - UNGA Lunch
Solomon Islands		
Sri Lanka	PM - Retreat	*FS - UNGA Lunch
Swaziland	PM - Retreat	
Tanzania		FS - UNGA Lunch (*FS - Nassau Lunch)
Tonga		
Trinidad and Tobago		FS - Nassau Lunch
Uganda		FS - bilateral (to be confirmed)
Vanuatu		
Western Samoa		
Zambia	PM - formal bilateral	*FS - UNGA Lunch
Zimbabwe	PM - formal bilateral	

PM = Mrs Thatcher

FS = Sir G Howe

* Reserve List

Retreat = informal talk during retreat weekend





Prime Minister
 Would you wish
 to do this? I see
 some risks in a
 letter. But you
 could mention it
 orally to Mr. Mulroney
 when you see him at C/O G.M.
 Agree?
 Yes not CDR/12.

Hanson Trust PLC

Office of the Chairman

180 Brompton Road, London SW3 1HF
 Telephone (01) 589-7070 Telex 91.72.02

Strictly Private & Confidential

September 5, 1985

My dear Prime Minister:

Would you help me with a personal introduction to the Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney?

In the new political climate developing there, I am keen to see Hanson Trust develop activities in Canada along the lines we have been able to pursue so successfully in the past twelve years in the United States. I believe strongly this would be of real benefit to Canada as well as to the United Kingdom's economy.

As you will know, in the United States, under the leadership of my partner Sir Gordon White, we have been able to build up from very small beginnings in 1973 to the point where our US activities now have an annual turnover approaching \$2 billion and last year produced profits of some \$125 million, all on an original investment of \$3,000 and involving NO other outflow of UK funds.

Sadly, restrictions on foreign investment have totally prevented us from developing in Canada. There is certainly no shortage of opportunities as I know from the fifteen years I lived there. However, I am convinced from conversations I have had recently with leading Canadian bankers that it will need a real thrust right from the top if the hopes being expressed of attracting foreign investment again are to be translated from words into deeds.

I can put this over personally to Mr. Mulroney, but your personal introduction would be invaluable.

Very sincerely
 James

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, MP,
 10 Downing Street,
 London
 SW1

Directors: Lord Hanson (Chairman) D. N. Rosling (Vice-Chairman)
 B. A. Hellings A. Hagdrup M. G. Taylor A. G. L. Alexander C. G. F. Harding
 J. H. Pattison D. C. Bonham Sir Gordon Booth KCMG CVO E. D. Collins (USA)
 Associate Directors: D. H. Clarke (USA) A. R. Cotton

MRS RYDER

Mr. Ryder
no note
CDP 5/1.

2000hrs
①

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Prime Minister ought to see Sonny Ramphal before CHOGM. He has told me that the only dates he is likely to be in London are 16-25 September and 2-5 October. I have warned him that these are difficult for the Prime Minister.

Could she in fact find 45 minutes to see him between 23-25 September or 3-5 October? If not I'll tell him that he will have to reorganise his programme.

CDP.

Prime Minister

Charles Powell
3 September 1985

I must see the chery
when I return. It is
absolutely dependent full
no

We could fit
Ramphal in on 3
October, when you
already have several
engagements. But it is
the week before the
Party Conference, &
you are not keen to
take on much more.

Agree to see
him that evening?

CDP 4/9



JE DA
CFW

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 August 1985

Dear Mr. Ransford

In my letter of 21 June, I promised to let you have my considered views on your proposals for the Nassau agenda (outlined in your letter of 12 June). I now offer the following comments.

As regards the format I am content that the customary structure dividing the proceedings into political, economic and functional issues should be used.

As we approach the autumn meeting, I have in mind the fact that 1985 is a year of commemoration and reflection, spanning the fortieth anniversaries of such momentous events as the end of World War II, the first use of nuclear weapons in war and the founding of the United Nations (as well as the twentieth anniversary of the Commonwealth Secretariat itself). It will be fitting therefore as you suggest for the leaders of the Commonwealth to exchange views on the international situation, to explore ways for further improving of cooperation, and in the spirit of the Goa Declaration on International Security to send to the United Nations Secretary-General the collective resolve of the Commonwealth to uphold the principles and objectives of the Charter.

Following on from the Goa Declaration we shall certainly wish to give consideration to the deliberations of the Commonwealth Consultative Group which has been studying

JK

the Special Needs of Small States. This has been an area of concern and interest to the British Government, Parliament and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

1985 has also marked the return of the Soviet Union to the negotiating table and the topics of disarmament, arms limitation and East-West relations are all worthy of discussion and comment. The prospects for World Peace and international security can only be enhanced by the success of the current negotiations. I agree that we shall need to consider a number of other political issues with important implications for both regional and international security, such as Afghanistan, Cambodia and the Middle East. It might also be worth discussing the concern of President Hay of the International Committee of the Red Cross about the increasing failure of many Governments to observe the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war and protection of civilians in cases of armed conflict. I believe too that we should have an exchange of views on the problems of hijacking and terrorism which are causing so much suffering to innocent victims and are I know worrying a number of Commonwealth colleagues. Mention might also be made of the International Conventions on Aviation Security to which a number of Commonwealth countries have yet to accede.

During his visit to London earlier in the summer Sir Lynden Pindling told me of his desire to have a discussion at Nassau of drug problems. The drugs issue is one to which my Government attaches very great importance and I heartily welcome and support the proposal that the topic should be included in the Agenda.

I agree that the situation in Southern Africa is a matter of continuing concern. We have been categorical in our condemnation of the recent attacks by South Africa against its neighbours, in particular the raid against Botswana, a

fellow Commonwealth country. I believe that we are at one in wishing to see Namibia brought to independence on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 as quickly as possible, and some real and early progress towards a system of government in South Africa that reflects the wishes and concerns of all South Africans; but we may be divided as to means.

In discussing these issues at Nassau, I believe we would do best to break them down into their constituent parts. The essential point is that we should approach them constructively and without pre-judging the outcome of our discussions. Different members of the Commonwealth will have different views on the ways open to the Commonwealth countries to play the sort of "practical role" which you suggest. The Commonwealth Secretariat will I hope reflect these differences in any suggestions which it may make about discussions on the subject. As you know, we for our part do not consider that economic sanctions would be effective in bringing about the changes in South Africa's policies and the early peaceful evolution which the Commonwealth wants to see. Indeed, it seems to me much more likely that they would have the opposite effect, and hinder the achievement of peaceful progress either over Namibia or within South Africa.

The situation in Cyprus remains a source of great concern. I believe the most effective action we could take at our meeting would be to reiterate our strong support for the UN Secretary-General's initiative, and our hope that all parties will continue to cooperate with his efforts to bring the two sides together again. In that context I believe the Commonwealth Action Group will be most effective if it continues to act in a non-partisan fashion and as a complement to the Secretary-General's initiative, strengthening his hand by voicing its support for his efforts in the months ahead.

When considering the economic issues confronting us, I hope that due regard will be given to the pledges of the major industrialised countries at the Bonn Economic Summit to sustain growth and an open world trading and monetary system from which all our countries can benefit. That meeting looked in particular at the question of indebtedness and welcomed the way in which several developing countries had addressed the problem flexibly and effectively. At Nassau I hope we can find time to consider the present case-by-case approach of the established institutions and the IMF role in adjustment. Both seem to be receiving too critical a press at the moment. It is too easy to associate a sober assessment of the debt problem with unwarranted assumptions that this somehow demonstrates that the present approaches are not working. Our discussions of economic issues will presumably be placed in the context of discussions at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting and the annual meetings of the IMF and IBRD which will of course be taking place shortly before our meeting in Nassau.

On IDA the question of a supplementary fund has now been overtaken by the Special Facility for Africa. It would, I suggest, be more appropriate for any discussion to be directed to the prospects for the next IDA replenishment in 1987.

There is widespread recognition of the importance of improving the management of the public sector and promoting the effectiveness of the private sector in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, particularly in Africa. We already attach considerable importance to manpower assistance and training within our aid programme, and we shall be glad to discuss with other Commonwealth donors ways of trying to ensure that our resources are used to the best effect. Perhaps we could find time for this point too at

Nassau.

In that part of your letter which you devote to economic issues, there is one major topic which seems to be missing, namely population and development. In any discussion of the long term problems of sub-Saharan Africa, we cannot ignore the growing and relentless effect of high population growth rates. All the countries attending the International Population Conference in Mexico City last year acknowledged the fact that rapid population growth can hinder overall economic and social development. The Nassau meeting could provide an ideal opportunity for Commonwealth leaders to consider how population growth rates might be reduced and what help Commonwealth aid institutions can provide to complement national efforts in this important field.

I share your desire that the areas of functional cooperation should be properly examined and discussed. I look forward to reviewing the activities of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation and considering the report on Science for Technology and Development, which I understand covers the main suggestion in the British paper on Environmental Cooperation submitted at the last Senior Officials meeting for a Commonwealth study into the economic value of wildlife. The Commonwealth Science Council, to whom the UK paper was referred, have suggested that the proposals on natural resources of the Kendrew Report might be a suitable vehicle for putting the UK initiative into practice.

I was pleased to see your reference to the report of the Commonwealth Working Group on the management of technological changes. The Chairman of the Group, Professor Menon, made a most interesting presentation of the Group's work at the meeting of Commonwealth Employment Ministers in Geneva in June and it is clearly right that Heads of Government should consider this report which will be

relevant to all of them.

The British Government also continue to attach great importance to student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth. Our policy of targeted rather than indiscriminate support is a very positive one.

I note that in planning the Nassau meeting, you have had regard for the discussion of Senior Officials in Barbados on the style and format of Heads of Government Meetings. You are, therefore, aware of the great importance that I attach to this subject, particularly now that the Commonwealth has grown to a membership of nearly fifty. We must make sure that our procedures make the best use of those attending, particularly our Foreign Ministers.

Reports have reached me from several sources of the great efforts being made by the Bahamian Government to ensure that our meeting proceeds smoothly in an excellent environment. I know that the Commonwealth Secretariat too will make every effort to ensure a successful meeting and that the proceedings will go so structured that we do not dwell unduly on those areas where agreement will not be possible, and so concentrate our efforts on those topics in which real progress can be made to the mutual advantage of the Commonwealth and indeed the wider world.

4

Sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

His Excellency Mr. Shridath Ramphal, A.C., Kt., C.M.G., Q.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

cc Pd
Duty Clerk



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 August 1985

Dear Mark, Gt
re Mr

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), Nassau:
16-22 October 1985: Agenda

The Commonwealth Secretary General wrote to Heads of Government on 12 June giving his preliminary ideas on the Agenda for the Heads of Government meeting, Nassau in October and the Prime Minister sent an interim reply on 21 June. Since then we have circulated Mr Ramphal's proposals to all relevant FCO and other Whitehall Departments, who have submitted their comments and suggestions. I now enclose a draft reply which Lady Young (in Sir Geoffrey Howe's absence) recommends that the Prime Minister should send to Mr Ramphal. This is longer than last time (but on the pattern of earlier occasions) since in 1983 Mrs Thatcher had a meeting with the Secretary General and gave her views orally.

We expect that shortly after receiving the Prime Minister's comments, Mr Ramphal will issue early in September the Annotated Agenda which will form the basis of the briefing the Prime Minister will require for the Nassau meeting.

Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

M Addison Esq
Private Secretary
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

Commonwealth PT9

CHOGM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

DRAFT: ~~minute/letter/telegram/despatch/note~~

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

The Prime Minister

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Mr Shridath S Ramphal
 Commonwealth Secretary-General
 Marlborough House
 Pall Mall
 London SW1Y 5HX

Copies to:

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, NASSAU
 16-22 OCTOBER 1985: AGENDA

CAVEAT.....

In my letter of 21 June, I promised to let you have my considered views on your proposals for the Nassau agenda ~~as~~ (outlined in your letter of 12 June). I now offer the following comments.

As regards the format I am content that the customary structure dividing the proceedings into political, economic and functional issues should be used.

As we approach the autumn meeting, I have in mind the fact that 1985 is a year of commemoration and reflection, spanning the fortieth anniversaries of such momentous events as the end of World War II, the first use of nuclear weapons in war and the founding of the United Nations (as well as the twentieth anniversary of the Commonwealth Secretariat itself). It will be fitting therefore as you suggest for the leaders of the Commonwealth to exchange views on the international situation, to explore ways for further improving of cooperation, and in the spirit of the Goa Declaration on

Enclosures—flag(s).....

.../International

International Security to send to the United Nations Secretary-General the collective resolve of the Commonwealth to uphold the principles and objectives of the Charter.

Following on from the Goa Declaration we shall certainly wish to give consideration to the deliberations of the Commonwealth Consultative Group which has been studying the Special Needs of Small States. This has been an area of concern and interest to the British Government, Parliament and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

1985 has also marked the return of the Soviet Union to the negotiating table and the topics of disarmament, arms limitation and East-West relations are all worthy of discussion and comment. The prospects for World peace and international security can only be enhanced by the success of the current negotiations. I agree that we shall need to consider a number of other political issues with important implications for both regional and international security, such as Afghanistan, Cambodia and the Middle East. It might also be worth discussing the concern of President Hay of the International Committee of the Red Cross about the increasing failure of many Governments to observe the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War and Protection of Civilians in Cases of Armed Conflict. I believe too that we shall have an exchange of views on the problems of hijacking and terrorism which are causing so much suffering to innocent victims and are I know worrying a

.../number

number of Commonwealth colleagues. Mention might also be made of the International Conventions on Aviation Security to which a number of Commonwealth countries have yet to accede.

During his visit to London earlier in the summer Sir Lynden Pindling told me of his desire to have a discussion at Nassau of drug problems. The drugs issue is one to which my Government attaches very great importance and I heartily welcome and support the proposal that the topic should be included in the Agenda.

I agree that the situation in Southern Africa is a matter of continuing concern. We have been categorical in our condemnation of the recent attacks by South Africa against its neighbours, in particular the raid against Botswana, a fellow Commonwealth country. I believe that we are at one in wishing to see Namibia brought to independence on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 as quickly as possible, and some real and early progress towards a system of government in South Africa that reflects the wishes and concerns of all South Africans; but we may be divided as to means.

In discussing these issues at Nassau, I believe we would do best to break them down into their constituent parts. The essential point is that we should approach them constructively and without pre-judging the outcome of our discussions. Different members of the Commonwealth will have different views on the ways open to the Commonwealth countries to play the sort of "practical role" which you suggest. The Commonwealth Secretariat will I hope reflect these differences in any suggestions which it may make about discussions on the subject. As you know, we for our part do not consider that economic

CONFIDENTIAL

sanctions would be effective in bringing about the changes in South Africa's policies and the early peaceful evolution which the Commonwealth wants to see. Indeed, it seems to me much more likely that they would have the opposite effect, and hinder the achievement of peaceful progress either over Namibia or within South Africa.

The situation in Cyprus remains a source of great concern. I believe the most effective action we could take at our meeting would be to reiterate our strong support for the UN Secretary-General's initiative, and our hope that all parties will continue to cooperate with his efforts to bring the two sides together again. In that context I believe the Commonwealth Action Group will be most effective if it continues to act in a non-partisan fashion and as a complement to the Secretary-General's initiative, strengthening his hand by voicing its support for his efforts in the months ahead.

When considering the issues confronting us, I hope that due regard will be given to the pledges of the major industrialised countries at the Bonn Economic Summit to sustain growth and an open world trading and monetary system from which all our countries can benefit. That meeting looked in particular at the question of indebtedness and welcomed the way in which several developing countries had addressed the problem flexibly and effectively. At Nassau I hope we can find time to consider the present case-by-case approach of the established institutions and the IMF role in adjustment. Both seem to be receiving too critical a press at the moment. It is too easy to

.../associate

CONFIDENTIAL

associate a sober assessment of the debt problem with unwarranted assumptions that this somehow demonstrates that the present approaches are not working. Our discussions of economic issues will presumably be placed in the context of discussions at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting and the annual meetings of the IMF and IBRD which will of course be taking place shortly before our meeting in Nassau.

On IDA the question of a supplementary fund has now been overtaken by the Special Facility for Africa. It would, I suggest, be more appropriate for any discussion to be directed to the prospects for the next IDA replenishment in 1987.

There is widespread recognition of the importance of improving the management of the public sector and promoting the effectiveness of the private sector in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, particularly in Africa. We already attach considerable importance to manpower assistance and training within our aid programme, and we shall be glad to discuss with other Commonwealth donors ways of trying to ensure that our resources are used to the best effect. Perhaps we could find time for this point too at Nassau.

In that part of your letter which you devote to economic issues, there is one major topic which seems to be missing, namely population and development. In any discussion of the long term problems of sub-Saharan Africa, we cannot ignore the growing and relentless effect of high population growth rates. All the countries attending the International Population

.../Conference

Conference in Mexico City last year acknowledged the fact that rapid population growth can hinder overall economic and social development. The Nassau meeting could provide an ideal opportunity for Commonwealth leaders to consider how population growth rates might be reduced and what help Commonwealth aid institutions can provide to complement national efforts in this important field.

I share your desire that the areas of functional cooperation should be properly examined and discussed. I look forward to reviewing the activities of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation and considering the report on Science for Technology and Development, which I understand covers the main suggestion in the British paper on Environmental Cooperation submitted at the last Senior Officials meeting for a Commonwealth Science Council, to whom the UK paper was referred, have suggested that the proposals on natural resources of the Kendrew Report might be a suitable vehicle for putting the UK initiative into practice.

I was pleased to see your reference to the report of the Commonwealth Working Group on the management of technological changes. The Chairman of the Group, Professor Menon, made a most interesting presentation of the Group's work at the meeting of Commonwealth Employment Ministers in Geneva in June and it is clearly right that Heads of Government should consider this report which will be relevant to all of them.

The British Government also continue to attach great importance to student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth. Our policy of targetted rather

Study into
the economic
value of
wildlife.
The
Commonwealth

than indiscriminate support is a very positive one.

I note that in planning the Nassau meeting, you have had regard for the discussion of Senior Officials in Barbados on the style and format of Heads of Government Meetings. You are, therefore, aware of the great importance that I attach to this subject, particularly now that the Commonwealth has grown to a membership of nearly fifty. We must make sure that our procedures make the best use of those attending, particularly our Foreign Ministers.

Reports have reached me from several sources of the great efforts being made by the Bahamian Government to ensure that our meeting proceeds smoothly in an excellent environment. I know that the Commonwealth Secretariat too will make every effort to ensure a successful meeting and that the proceedings will go so structured that we do not dwell unduly on those areas where agreement will not be possible, and so concentrate our efforts on those topics in which real progress can be made to the mutual advantage of the Commonwealth and indeed the wider world.

Camaguey 179

CHOGM

Flanagan / DeBlois
Duty Clerk, No 10



We spoke. Just in case, here is a copy of the relevant page of the draft to Mr Ramphal on CHOSM, with the missing sentence as "X"

With the compliments of

Susah.

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE
LONDON, SW1A 2AH

Conference in Mexico City last year acknowledged the fact that rapid population growth can hinder overall economic and social development. The Nassau meeting could provide an ideal opportunity for Commonwealth leaders to consider how population growth rates might be reduced and what help Commonwealth aid institutions can provide to complement national efforts in this important field.

I share your desire that the areas of functional cooperation should be properly examined and discussed. I look forward to reviewing the activities of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation and considering the report on Science for Technology and Development, which I understand covers the main suggestion in the British paper on Environmental Cooperation submitted at the last Senior Officials meeting Commonwealth study into the Economic value of wildlife. The for a Commonwealth Science Council, to whom the UK paper was referred, have suggested that the proposals on natural resources of the Kendrew Report might be a suitable vehicle for putting the UK initiative into practice.

I was pleased to see your reference to the report of the Commonwealth Working Group on the management of technological changes. The Chairman of the Group, Professor Menon, made a most interesting presentation of the Group's work at the meeting of Commonwealth Employment Ministers in Geneva in June and it is clearly right that Heads of Government should consider this report which will be relevant to all of them.

The British Government also continue to attach great importance to student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth. Our policy of targetted rather

Para 15.

X

Group/Class..... PREM 19
Piece..... 1431

Minute from Butler to
Powell dated 30 July 1985

Paper extracted and
temporarily retained
under Section 3(4)
pending completion of
review.
(date)..... 19 November 2013
(Signed)..... Wayland



CONFIDENTIAL

B.07073

PRIME MINISTER

c Sir Robert Armstrong

Meeting of OD at 11.15 (after Cabinet) on Thursday 25 July

The Security of Small States

(OD(85)17)

BACKGROUND

Flag B
FLAG A

In his memorandum of 17 July, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has provided further advice, in addition to that in the memorandum (OD(85)9) he submitted jointly with the Defence Secretary on 13 May 1985. The earlier joint memorandum recommended that policy should be based on the objectives of prevention rather than cure, the promotion of regional co-operation among small states and the encouragement of allies to play a greater role. The further memorandum confirms this approach and considers that, in the light of the additional £5 million of security assistance proposed for small states over the PESC period, further funds should not be drawn from other commitments for the purpose. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary recommends that £4.5 million of the £5 million should be found from the existing aid programme in order to fulfil our commitment to provide coastguard facilities in the Eastern Caribbean. He also recommends that, in anticipation of the Commonwealth Secretariat's Consultative Group report on the special needs of small states expected in mid-August, OD should agree that an additional £½ million should be provided for an enlarged joint representation facility at the United Nations by certain small states. He considers that this could be found by negotiating with the Australian and New Zealand Governments for funds to be made available following the winding up of the British Phosphate Commission. The Foreign and Common-



CONFIDENTIAL

wealth Secretary also sets out proposals for presenting our policy at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in October after further co-ordination with Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Page
2. The memoranda of 13 May and 17 July were prepared in response to the remit given at the OD meeting on 25 July 1984 (OD(84) 9th Meeting) when the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Defence Secretary were invited to carry out a further examination to identify which small states were strategically vulnerable and likely to be targets for subversion or takeover by the Soviet Union; and to make recommendations on the best ways of combatting such threats and on an approach to NATO allies and Commonwealth partners to co-ordinate national efforts. It was envisaged that this would put the United Kingdom in a sound position for discussion of measures to promote the security of small states at CHOGM this year.

3. All members of the Committee and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland are expected to attend. The Chief of Defence Staff has also been invited.

HANDLING

4. You should invite the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary to introduce his memorandum and the Defence Secretary to comment on the security aspects. You may then wish to structure the discussion on the following lines, covering the main points of the remit given by OD a year ago -

a. The threat to small states

A summary of the assessed threat to the small states covered in these two memoranda is set out in Annex C to OD(85)9. The states most vulnerable to external or internal threats are considered to be Bahrain, the Republic of Cyprus, Dominica, Guyana, Kuwait, Lesotho,



CONFIDENTIAL

Qatar, Suriname and the United Arab Emirates. Although in the light of this list, the security of the Gulf is given top priority, it is proposed to maintain rather than increase aid to that region. Priority among the other states listed above is given first to those in the Caribbean and second to those in the Indian Ocean. Do the Committee accept these judgements in the light of the threat of subversion or attack, our responsibilities to remaining British Dependent Territories and our economic interests? Does the present situation in the Gulf in particular warrant additional security assistance? Is it accepted that there is no scope for additional assistance to small states, given the current pressures on the aid programme? The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Defence Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Trade and Industry Secretary should comment.

b. Ways of combatting the threat

The measures proposed to improve security in the two memoranda are well tried: the training of armed and police forces, improvement of civilian management and a more active information policy. Are there additional remedies? Is it the view of the Committee that bilateral security guarantees are inappropriate, except where our vital interests are at stake? Military visits to and exercises with small states receive specific mention in paragraph 2e of OD(85)9. Will the presently planned numbers of surface warships be able to sustain the desired level of warship visits? Have we the right balance of capabilities for assisting small states? The Defence Secretary should be invited to give his views.

c. Regional co-operation

Paragraph 2e of OD(85)9 supports greater political and practical co-operation within existing regional



CONFIDENTIAL

organisations but there are no concrete proposals. What practical ideas have emerged from the year's work since the OD remit was given last July? The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Defence Secretary should comment.

d. Co-ordination with NATO allies and Commonwealth partners

A year ago OD called for substance to be given to the approach then proposed to NATO allies and Commonwealth partners. Paragraph 2f of OD(85)9 advocates that we should continue to consult selected allies in a low-key way, to share assessments and promote greater co-ordination and assistance; and paragraph 23 of the supporting paper sets out a possible plan for such co-ordination. The advice is however against a major United Kingdom initiative in this field. Is this approach acceptable, given the need to meet the threat and to convince CHOGM of the effectiveness of our policy? Would any of the measures being considered to combat the threat make better sense in a plan co-ordinated with friendly nations? Should we not consult Canada, Australia and New Zealand about additional support by them for small states? The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and Defence Secretary should comment.

CONCLUSION

5. Subject to discussion, you could guide the Committee -
 - a. to agree the general policy recommendations set out by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in OD(85)9;
 - b. to agree the proposal that, given the current pressures on the aid programme, there is no scope for substantial additional assistance to small states, subject to the exceptions set out in paragraph 10(b) of OD(85)17;



CONFIDENTIAL

c. to decide what further steps need to be taken with NATO allies and Commonwealth partners, in advance of CHOGM in October and in the longer term.

C L G Mallaby

23 July 1985



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

21 June 1985

Dear Secretary-General.

I was most grateful for your timely letter of 12 June outlining your preliminary ideas on the agenda for the Nassau Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October.

We are studying carefully your suggestions and I shall let you have my considered views as soon as possible.

I am much looking forward to what I am sure will be a most useful and constructive meeting.

Yours sincerely
Raymond Thatcher

His Excellency Mr. Shridath Ramphal, A.C., Kt., C.M.G., Q.C.

SEN

ECL

file

cc FCO

010

CONFIDENTIAL
Covering Secretariat SECRET



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

18 June 1985

Dear Charles,

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Nassau, October 1985:
Agenda

X

The Commonwealth Secretary General has forwarded the enclosed envelope for the Prime Minister's attention. It contains Mr Ramphal's circular letter addressed to Heads of Governments about the agenda for CHOGM. This follows the normal practice.

/

I also enclose a draft interim reply for the Prime Minister to send to the Commonwealth Secretary General. A considered draft will be forwarded later when we have received the comments of Whitehall departments to Mr Ramphal's proposals.

Yours ever,

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL
COVERING SECRETARIAT SECRET

DRAFT: minute/letter/teleletter/despach/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:
Prime Minister

Reference

DEPARTMENT: **TEL. NO:**

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

TO:
 His Excellency
 Mr Shridath S Ramphal (AC) Kt, CMG, QC
 Commonwealth Secretary-General
 Commonwealth Secretariat
 Pall Mall
 LONDON SW1

Your Reference

Copies to:

ELBAW

PRIVACY MARKING

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

SUBJECT:

I was most grateful for your timely letter of 12 June outlining your preliminary ideas on the agenda for the Nassau Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October.

We are studying carefully your suggestions and I shall let you have my considered views as soon as possible.

I am much looking forward to what I am sure will be a most useful and constructive meeting.

CDP

Enclosures—flag(s).....

SECRET

C.152/13/3

12 June, 1985

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

With the next Heads of Government Meeting in the Bahamas just four months away, I am writing to share with you some preliminary thoughts about the form discussions might take. In my letter of 4 January I confirmed that there was general agreement about the suitability of the dates - 16 to 22 October, 1985, and I know that Prime Minister Pindling has since written expressing the firm hope that you personally will be able to come to Nassau.

The Nassau Meeting will take place in a global setting as challenging as any in the post-war era. The period since New Delhi has seen a continuation of the dangerous trends which your Goa Declaration on International Security and New Delhi Statement on Economic Action identified. Despite some gains for security, development and recovery, these trends continue to cast a shadow between hope and reality at both the national and international levels. As serious as any has been the contraction of international dialogue and the drift from multilateral to unilateral action. You will, therefore, be as conscious as I am (and as I believe the wider international community is) that your forthcoming Meeting will be the only one since New Delhi in which leaders with diverse perspectives from all continents and many regions will meet together in a spirit of friendship and candour to exchange views on the international situation and explore ways for improving co-operation. We are rightly always modest about expectations; we cannot, however, be unmindful of the opportunities that the Nassau Meeting of more than a quarter of the world's leaders offers.

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain & Northern Ireland

SECRET

SECRET

As to the format of the Agenda, I am assuming that it will be your wish that the customary structure which has served well in the past, with its broad flexible headings covering international political and economic issues and Commonwealth functional co-operation, should be maintained. This distinction is, of course, arbitrary and is designed to assist with the organisation of the Meeting rather than to inhibit Heads of Government in conducting a free and wide-ranging discussion.

Political Issues

In focusing on political developments, the Meeting will provide an opportunity for a review of some of the most pressing international issues, particularly those that bear on Commonwealth countries most acutely. The Goa Declaration on International Security was widely welcomed as indicative of the positive resolve and readiness of a significant body of world leaders to work together to overcome the dangers that threaten the world. Since then, Commonwealth leaders have played prominent roles internationally, regionally and bilaterally in responding to shared concerns. You will wish to consider what more can be done. A particular challenge will be to ask in what ways Nassau could advance thinking on some of the central elements of concern in the Declaration.

Since the Nassau Meeting falls on the eve of the 40th Anniversary Celebrations of the United Nations, it would be timely for the Commonwealth to inspire a new determination in advancing the vision and goals of the Charter. Some Heads of Government will go directly from Nassau to the 40th Anniversary Session in New York. Can they take with them the collective resolve of 49 of its member states to strengthen the United Nations system and improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter?

The overall situation in Southern Africa has seriously deteriorated since New Delhi. Any hope that may have been raised by South African 'accords' with neighbouring states have been dashed by a continuing experience of destabilisation. Overwhelming Commonwealth sentiment has viewed 'changes' in South Africa as essentially cosmetic - more a process of refining than of reforming apartheid. Meanwhile, increased repression with accompanying loss of

SECRET

life within South Africa itself has led to world-wide condemnation. In Namibia, South Africa's unilateral action in sponsoring an "interim settlement" recalls to mind UDI in pre-independent Zimbabwe and the clear warning issued by Commonwealth leaders in their New Delhi Communique that: "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". With the greater public awareness of and aversion to apartheid, the calls for effective responsive action have reached unprecedented levels. As I write, the US Congress is finalising legislation for selective economic sanctions. Never were circumstances more urgent or demanding for the Commonwealth to play a practical role in forcing the dismantling of apartheid and securing the independence of Namibia. The Commonwealth took the lead when excluding South Africa from membership in 1961. The Commonwealth, and Britain in particular, made a massive contribution to Zimbabwe's freedom, which the South African connection had for long frustrated. At Gleneagles eight years ago the Commonwealth pointed the way forward in sanctions in sport, in a positive manner and to good effect. Can the same commitment and resolve that produced this outstanding Commonwealth record against a monstrous evil not inspire your collective purpose in Nassau?

There are two other matters of central concern which you will want to address. The situation in Cyprus invites urgent attention. In this context you may wish to review the activities of the Commonwealth Action Group established in New Delhi designed to effect a Commonwealth contribution to a lasting settlement in support of the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General.

In both the Goa Declaration and the New Delhi Communique prominence was given to the special needs of small states, particularly, but not exclusively, in respect of security. Pursuing your mandate at New Delhi, I constituted a Consultative Group of distinguished Commonwealth personalities to undertake an authoritative study of this subject. They plan to finalise their report in good time before Nassau. It is clear from their deliberations so far that the issue is one of global relevance over a wide range of interrelated issues - in the political, strategic and economic sectors. Since their conclusions could well occasion a major discussion in Nassau, there may be merit in inscribing the subject as a separate sub-item.

SECRET

Additionally, of course, there will be a number of other political issues of importance from national and regional perspectives. Among these will be the decolonisation problem of New Caledonia and nuclear testing in the South Pacific; Belize and the on-going threats to its territorial integrity; and the situation in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Central America, with their implications for regional and international security.

Economic Issues

On the economic front, while there has been some improvement in the world economy since the New Delhi Meeting, the overall situation remains fragile. Growth is slowing in the industrial countries and unemployment remains high. Large parts of the Third World have not shared in recovery and remain in deep recession. The continuation of high interest rates and volatile exchange rates, and a rising trend of protectionism prolong uncertainty. Several years of drought have compounded problems for many sub-Saharan African countries.

On the positive side, inflation remains under control in the industrial countries. The challenge is how international action can support domestic efforts to secure a reinforcement and widening of the recovery. Now that the Bonn Summit is over, the Nassau Meeting provides a chance to discuss these matters on a more global basis taking into account the elements of interdependence and interaction between developed and developing countries. To assist these discussions, you will have before you a Report on the work of the Consultative Group of eight member countries established at New Delhi with the intent of promoting consensus on the issues covered in the New Delhi Statement on Economic Action.

Two years ago, the debt servicing difficulties of developing countries threatened the stability of the international financial system and the growth prospects of the highly indebted countries. Although the debt situation has improved, the problem is far from resolved. For the poorer countries with high official debt it remains as serious as ever. The problem could worsen if recovery falters. The Nassau Meeting will also have the benefit of a special report on developing country debt problems, 'The Debt Crisis and the World Economy', by a group of Commonwealth experts under the Chairmanship of Lord Lever of Manchester, commissioned at the New Delhi Meeting. The

SECRET

Report, first submitted to Commonwealth Finance Ministers in Toronto in September 1984, is one of the few reports on debt which has given major attention to the problems of indebtedness of the poorer countries - many of them Commonwealth countries.

A major difficulty which is emerging is the overall adverse trend in financial flows to developing countries. This bears on the need for a General Capital Increase for the World Bank and supplementary resources for IDA VII; both of these issues will be under active consideration at the time of the Nassau Meeting. Private flows can also play a part in ensuring adequate capital availability; the Secretariat has been giving assistance to member countries in this area and examining ways in which the international regime for foreign direct investment can be improved. The Meeting affords an opportunity to consider what further the Commonwealth might do in this area.

An issue which has now become prominent is the proposal for a new round of multilateral trade negotiations. The round could be of considerable value in averting the threatened escalation of protectionism; but for a variety of reasons it has not found general agreement. Commonwealth leaders may wish to explore ways of resolving the present difficulties.

A development of dire proportions is the economic crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. There has been a most gratifying international response to the immediate problem of famine, especially from the people of industrialised countries, and some relief now from improved weather; but the need for much larger international assistance remains - especially in relation to the longer-term problem. A recommendation by Senior Officials at their meeting in Barbados in December 1984 endorsed by Commonwealth governments has led to the establishment of a Commonwealth Action Group to monitor the situation, assist affected countries in securing improved access to international resources, and examine the longer-term problems. A progress report on the Group's work will be available to you at Nassau.

SECRET

Functional Co-operation

Maintaining a Commonwealth capability to assist the development efforts of member countries remains a central objective. A practical expression of this is the work of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation through the many technical assistance programmes it supports. It is a testimony to the importance governments attach to the Fund that, at a time of overall retrenchment in the aid field, it has been able to respond and even modestly enhance its ability to meet the pressing requirements of Commonwealth governments. However, with activity levels again being threatened by inflation, I hope the Nassau Meeting will give priority to ensuring that the Fund's real resources are capable of meeting at least a modicum of Commonwealth expectations and needs.

An issue of increasing concern is the management of technological change and you will have before you at Nassau the Report of the Commonwealth Working Group set up in 1983 at the request of Commonwealth Employment and Labour Ministers, endorsed in New Delhi. The Group is addressing the rapidly changing environment in which governments now have to function, and how they could improve their capacity to deal with technological change. Not unrelated is the Report - Science for Technology for Development - of an Expert Group established by the Commonwealth Science Council. In an increasingly sophisticated and interdependent world the need for intensifying Commonwealth co-operation in science and technology is a challenge which I am sure you will agree deserves a significant focus.

Two areas of functional co-operation have been highlighted this year at the global level - Women and Development; and Youth. In the light of the Nairobi World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, Commonwealth leaders might wish to review how women's multifaceted contribution to the developmental process can be enhanced within the Commonwealth. And, in the context of International Youth Year, with its emphasis on continued attention to the needs and aspirations of young people beyond the year itself, you will wish to consider how the Commonwealth Youth Programme can further complement national efforts in the light of the recent Commonwealth Conference of Young People.

SECRET

Governments continue to attach great importance to the issues of student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth. The fourth report of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility, and the observations of Commonwealth Education Ministers thereon, will be before the Nassau Meeting.

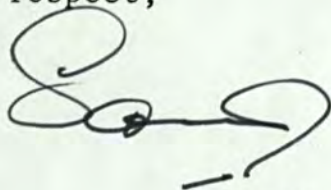
There will be need, too, to review the work of the Commonwealth Foundation and to reiterate support for it.

At last December's Meeting of Senior Officials in Barbados certain other matters were signalled as possible subjects for discussion. Among these were international co-operation on environmental problems and the prospects for a review of the consular arrangements between Commonwealth countries which have now been in operation for the past decade. A Working Group has been set up on the latter and it is intended that its Report be submitted to Senior Officials in Nassau. One member government has indicated its wish to inscribe on the Agenda the issue of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

In planning the Nassau Meeting I have had very much in mind the discussion of Senior Officials in Barbados on the style and format of Heads of Government Meetings. I propose in advance of Nassau to circulate for your consideration a note updating the 'conventions' which imbue these Commonwealth occasions with their unique character.

I would greatly welcome your views both on the Agenda issues I have raised and, of course, on any others which you may think pertinent, along with an indication of whether it will be your Government's intention to present papers to the Meeting. In the light of the comments I receive I hope to be in a position to issue an annotated draft Agenda in the second half of August. Even at this early stage I am glad to be able to say that you can be assured that excellent facilities await you in Nassau. I myself have had a first-hand look at them recently and my colleagues who have just returned from a planning visit were greatly impressed by the care which is being taken to ensure a most successful Meeting.

With deep respect,



Shridath S. Ramphal



file
a to

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

10 June 1985

SUBJECT

a master
of 5

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T/094/85

Dear Prime Minister,

I was most grateful for your letter of 10 May inviting me to attend the next Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Nassau from 16-22 October. I have much pleasure in accepting and look forward greatly to leading the British delegation. I am glad that we shall have an opportunity shortly to discuss some of the issues which we shall be addressing at what will I am sure be an important and constructive meeting under your Chairmanship.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

—

Q/B

The Right Honourable Sir Lynden O Pindling, KCMG, MP.

CDP



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AH

7 June 1985

Dear Tim,
CHOGM

Thank you for your letter of 30 May seeking advice on the letter of invitation of 10 May to the Prime Minister from the Prime Minister of the Bahamas to attend the October Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau.

We suggest that the Prime Minister should send a short formal reply, for the record. I enclose a draft. The Prime Minister will be seeing Sir Lynden Pindling to discuss CHOGM matters at 10 am on Tuesday 18 June and could also express her thanks to Sir Lynden then.

Yours ever,
Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

Tim Flesher Esq
10 Downing Street

minute/letter/cableletter/despatch/note

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Prime Minister

AOU

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

Reference

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

- Top Secret
- Secret
- Confidential
- Restricted
- Unclassified

Sir Lynden Pindling

Copies to:

Mo > Bah.

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

I was most grateful for your letter of 10 May inviting me to attend the next Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at Nassau from 16-22 October. I have much pleasure in accepting and look forward greatly to heading the British delegation. I am glad that we shall have an opportunity shortly to discuss some of the issues which we shall be addressing at what will I am sure be an important and constructive meeting under your Chairmanship.

em.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

Commonwealth Heads of
Government

10 JUN 1985
E-7

12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Commonwealth PT 9

CCPC
②



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

5 June 1985

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP
Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs
Downing Street
SW1

Prime Minister

This is likely to lead to problems, even though the sums will not be large.

CDP 6/6

[Handwritten signature]

OD(85)9: THE SECURITY OF SMALL STATES

I have seen a copy of the joint memorandum prepared by Michael Heseltine and yourself and the attached paper by officials. I agree that no OD meeting is necessary at this stage.

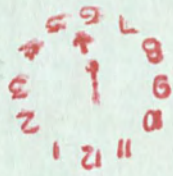
I note that no additional funding is called for at this stage but the study being prepared for this Autumn's Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting could lead to demands for increased UK spending in this area. Given the increasing pressures on public expenditure, any additional funding will clearly have to be found from within yours (and/or Michael's) existing provisions. You will no doubt wish to bear this in mind when you come to consider what additional help, if any, might be offered.

I am copying this to Michael Heseltine and other OD colleagues.

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten signature]

NIGEL LAWSON

COMMONWEALTH : CHOGM : PE9



9 JUN 1985



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

30 May 1985

85/11
The Prime Minister has received the attached letter from the Prime Minister of the Bahamas about the forthcoming Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. I should be grateful for your advice on whether a reply is needed, and if so, for a draft as soon as possible.

Timothy Flesher

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SMA

PM spoke to
Foreign Secretary.

Prime Minister
useful points,
which might be
pursued in the OD

SECRET

MR POWELL

4/6 Since the attacks on the
Amin of Uganda
yesterday - this assumes greater

22 May 1985

discussion in July

COP
22/5

SECURITY OF SMALL STATES:

MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AND

DEFENCE SECRETARIES

imp... and
the ship effects
in the...
- well... talk with Par. Sec.
ref.

1. As I told the Prime Minister in our talk on Friday, I think this an important study, meriting discussion in OD. The detailed work has been done in consultation with the JIC and generally reflects our assessments.

2. Why I think it important is that my JIC experience over the last few months suggests that it is precisely this kind of situation - sudden changes in small states - that are the crises most likely to arise and hit us. Grenada was the prototype; but Dominica, Jamaica and Brunei, to take some recent instances, could be sequels and there could of course be many more. This is not to under-estimate in any way the seriousness of the threats to our interests in the NATO area, and the need to maintain the closest watch on them. But given the broad strategic balance and super-power caution, East-West crises are likely to develop more slowly. The small states are inherently brittle; our information is scanty; and upsets there could be very rapid. The situation could be further complicated if one of our allies, in particular the United States, felt obliged to take sudden action, as in Grenada.

3. The statement in the note by officials that active Soviet subversion of small states is at a low level may be true, but could be misleading. The Cubans are certainly trying to recoup their losses over Grenada and change the political shape of the Caribbean and Central America. Even if there were no active communist promotion, instability per se offers opportunities for communist exploitation. There

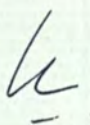
SECRET

is also one key group of small states - in the Gulf - where the principal threat is not communist but Shia subversion.

4. There is a further aspect, to which the US Intelligence Agencies are now paying particular attention, of the effect of the narcotics trade on the stability of small states.

5. I agree broadly with the recommendations for action, including the need to maintain our representational and information network, and to cooperate closely with interested allies. But from the above I would argue the need to devote more of our resources to giving security assistance to selected small states, particularly in the Caribbean and Indian Ocean, even if this means diversion of aid from other targets. Prevention of trouble will prove economical in the long run. In any event, as the paper admits, we are unlikely to get through the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting without some increased contribution.

6. I would also suggest an annual Ministerial review of the scene.


PERCY CRADOCK

Commonwealth: C1001M Pt 9.

14
8
2
10
10
3 am

5 } 1 =
7 }

2.

file

DA



cc	HCO	LPSO
	HMT	DTI
	LPO	CAZ
	MOD	CO
		PC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

16 May 1985

Dear Am,

THE SECURITY OF SMALL STATES

The Prime Minister has considered the joint memorandum by the Foreign Secretary and the Defence Secretary on the security of small states (OD(85)9) circulated to members of OD on 13 May.

The Prime Minister notes that some work is still in hand on the need for further assistance in the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Southern Africa (though she is surprised to see how long this whole exercise is taking). She thinks that a discussion in OD will be necessary but would prefer to wait until this further work is completed. She would hope to have the discussion in July. One reason for this is that the Prime Minister believes that we should start to talk before the summer break to the Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders about what extra help they may be prepared to give for small states so that the four of us could have a coordinated position at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in October.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to members of OD.

yours sincerely,
Charles Powell

(Charles Powell)

L.V. Appleyard, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

de

PRIME MINISTER

THE SECURITY OF SMALL STATES

There was a discussion of this subject in OD last year, on the basis of an FCO paper which you found inadequate. The Foreign Secretary and the Defence Secretary were instructed to produce a joint paper which would identify strategically vulnerable small states: made recommendations on the best way to counter the threat: and assess how the UK could realistically defend its remaining dependencies. The paper (attached) has taken nearly a year to produce.

The study's conclusions are summarised in the covering note. In essence they are:

- that there is less evidence than one might expect of active Soviet subversion, though vulnerability to it and to internal threats is high:

5 tw?
- we could usefully do more to counter the threat. Officials are conducting a review of precise needs. We shall certainly come under pressure at CHOGM to increase our spending;

- but there isn't any extra money and support for small states is not a sufficiently high priority to warrant diversion of resources from existing commitments.

A separate minute by the Foreign Secretary reinforces this last point and predicts that we may nonetheless have to find some more money to get through CHOGM.

It is proposed that the paper be accepted without further discussion in OD.

/The most

The most rational course would be to start talking now to the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders about what extra help they might be prepared to give for small States, so that the four of us could have a joint position at CHOGM. But that would presuppose readiness on our part to find some more money.

Agree:

- to accept paper as an interim report without OD discussion at this stage? Yes no

- but to ask for the review of the need for further assistance to the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Southern Africa to be speeded up, and the results discussed in OD before the summer break, as the basis for our position at CHOGM? Yes

- to authorise the talks with the old Commonwealth suggested above? Yes no

C.D.P.

C D POWELL

15 May 1985

SUBJECT
cc Master
Ops.



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 84.8/85

COMMONWEALTH OF THE BAHAMAS

No. _____
IN REPLYING PLEASE
QUOTE THIS NUMBER

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
P. O. BOX N7147
NASSAU, N. P., BAHAMAS

10th May, 1985.

Dear Prime Minister:

On behalf of the Government and People of The Commonwealth of The Bahamas, and on my own behalf, I have great pleasure in inviting you to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau from 16 to 22 October, 1985.

The people of The Bahamas feel greatly honoured to have been afforded the opportunity to host this Conference which, for the second time, is being convened in the Caribbean. For us in The Bahamas, the Commonwealth has always held pride of place among international institutions for it was in this unique family association that our international personality developed. We are deeply committed to the principles which bind our nations together in the Commonwealth relationship and which guide our conduct as independent states.

The Commonwealth Secretary General shortly will be in contact with member countries about possible items which might be included in the agenda. In support of this effort, I shall be making direct contact with a number of colleagues through personal emissaries to explore concerns which you may have and which it may be useful for our meeting to consider.

I know that you, like me, will want our discussions to be useful and forward-looking and our meeting to contribute to the process of finding answers to some of the major economic and political issues which concern us all. I sincerely hope, therefore, that it will be possible for you to attend the Meeting personally.

I look forward to welcoming you to the first Commonwealth Summit in The Bahamas.

With warm regards,

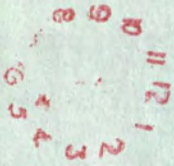
I remain,

Yours sincerely
Lynden B. Spivey

PRIME MINISTER

The Right Honourable
Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister,
London,
GREAT BRITAIN.

PM Tennis
CHQM



29 MAY 1985

FOUR STAR BOND

SOUTHWORTH COUSA-

3% COTTON FIBER



PM/85/45

PRIME MINISTER

The Security of Small States

1. You will recall that you managed to convert the acrimony over Grenada at the last CHOGM into a Commonwealth study of the wider economic and security needs of small states. As you told the House on our return from that meeting, 'Heads of Government decided to concentrate on the future, not the past - on reconstruction, not recrimination'.
2. Sonny Ramphal's report is due to be considered at this October's CHOGM. I do not yet know what it will say, but the signs are that a strong case will be made for the provision of more assistance to small states. If so, we shall inevitably be expected to support it.
3. As always, resources are the problem. We do not spend much and can only spend more on small states at the expense of something else. The memorandum which the Defence Secretary and I are currently circulating to OD colleagues concludes that, despite the intrinsic merits of helping small states, we would not be justified in giving them priority over existing overseas commitments. You will certainly want to draw attention at the CHOGM to the substantial help we already provide. But against the background of last time's CHOGM, we are likely to come under strong pressure to do more. The atmosphere may be fairly disagreeable anyway because of criticism of our policy on African issues (notably Southern Africa and - quite possibly, despite all we have done - famine relief). I am looking carefully at how this complex of African issues should be

/handled



handled.

4. On small states, I will put to you nearer the time proposals on how to handle the issue at CHOGM, based in part on a detailed examination which is being put in hand as a follow up to the OD memorandum on the individual security needs of small states in vulnerable regions. Nonetheless, I thought that you would wish to be aware at this stage of the careful handling that this issue may need.

5. I am copying this minute to our OD colleagues and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Howe', written in a cursive style.

(GEOFFREY HOWE)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

9 May 1985

9
D
H
12
1
2
3
4
5

- 9 MAY 1985





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

14 February 1985

Dear Charles,

NBPM
ADP
14/2

Representation of Small Commonwealth States at the UN

Thank you for your letter of 5 February about the Australian funding of a joint services office at the UN for a number of small Commonwealth states. The possible extension of this facility was raised by the Seychelles delegation at the CSOM in Bridgetown last December. It is likely that it was also raised during the regional colloquium organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat in the Seychelles last month, as part of their studies into the security problems of small states following the 1983 CHOGM at New Delhi. The subject will almost certainly come up for discussion at the next CHOGM in Nassau in October.

The genesis of the proposal for collective representation in New York was the third Commonwealth Heads of Government Asia/Pacific Regional Meeting held in Fiji in October 1982. At that meeting the Australian Government agreed to pay half a million Australian dollars for three years, to cover the rent of an office and the salaries for four or five common service staff, but not, as far as we know, UN subscriptions. The Commonwealth Secretariat undertook to establish and administer the office. Four countries (Western Samoa, Maldives, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu) have already made use of the office, which was opened during 1983. Four other Pacific countries (Nauru, Tuvalu, Kiribati and Tonga) have also been considering the idea (but are not yet members of the UN).

Since the office is being used by the Maldives it is not surprising that the Seychelles, as another Indian Ocean island state, are also showing interest. However, unlike the Maldives, the Seychelles are not members of the Asia/Pacific Regional Group to which the Australian offer originally related. If the facility were to be extended outside the region other financial resources would presumably be required (and the Australians are already alive to this). In fact their commitment runs only until 1986, when the financial arrangements for the existing office will have to be reviewed, and they have already hinted that they would like to share the burden. They may well consider that a Commonwealth decision to extend the scheme, either in time, financial commitment or in geographical spread would provide an ideal opportunity to do so, while they would still have the credit for their original initiative.

.../As



As you know the FCO and MOD have completed a joint review of the Security of Small States but we have concluded that proposals for any changes in the Government's present policy (especially those which might require new money) should at least wait until we have seen the report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General's Study Group. This should be available in good time for us to prepare our briefing for the Nassau CHOGM. We have the possible financial aspects well in mind.

I am copying this letter to Michael McCulloch (ODA).

Yours ever,

P F Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
No 10 Downing Street

COMMONWEALTH
CHOGM PEG

114 FEB 1966

11 12 11 2 3 4
5 6 7 8 9 10





RANADU

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

5 February, 1985

Sir Anthony Parsons has written to me on a point about the Ramphal Committee on Small States. It seems that the Australians have opened a fund in the Commonwealth Secretariat into which they are paying something like US \$300,000 a year, disguised as multilateral technical assistance, which pays for the Commonwealth and UN subscriptions and the collective representation in New York of the small Pacific states. The Seychelles and some of the small Caribbean states have tumbled to this. Tony Parsons believes that a recommendation is likely to emerge from the Committee that the fund should be enlarged to embrace all the Commonwealth micro-states who might wish to join in. The fund might have to be around the \$2 million mark. If this happens there is likely to be powerful pressure for the United Kingdom to contribute.

I do not know whether this is news to you. But the issue will no doubt surface at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting if not earlier and the Prime Minister's views may be sought.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Michael McCulloch (Overseas Development Administration).

(C.D. Powell)

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

ds

Highgrove,
Ashburton,
S. Devon.

1 Feb.

Dear Charles,

Please thank the P.M. very, very warmly for taking the time to talk to an irrelevant old bore when she was so frantically busy. I was delighted to see her in such cracking form and glad that I had the opportunity later on to get a certain amount off my chest on Robin Day's programme about the Oxford degree business. Mrs Dunwoody didn't look very pleased with what I said.

I only realised when I left 10.10 how appallingly scruffily dressed I was (even more so than usual). This was only partly due to senility. I had had to rush from a ghastly interview straight to 10.10 and didn't have time →

to return to my Club to change. Apologies to the PM for lowering the standards so appallingly.

One point of business I forgot to mention, worth bearing in mind. The Ramphal Committee on Small States is beginning to focus and I fear that the begging bowl will be out at the next CHSM. Specifically it seems that the Aussies have opened a fund in the Commonwealth Secretariat into which they are paying ? \$300,000 a year (disguised as multilateral technical assistance) which pays for the Commonwealth's UN subscriptions and the collective representation in New York (in a specially rented building) of the small Pacific states. The Seychelles and some of the small Caribbeans have tumbled to this and I think we are moving in the direction of a recommendation that the fund should be enlarged to embrace all the Cwth micro-states who might wish to join in. They would probably number about 10 which means that the fund would have to be around the \$2 million mark. If this happens, there will be very powerful pressure for us, the Canadians and New Zealanders to contribute. Obvious

3
everyone will look at the P.M. and there will be strop if
we do the odd (rich) country out. Just a warning
in case this comes up with Ramphal or any of
the High Commissioners (Claudius Thomas is keen
on it) if they get into conversation with the P.M.

Very best wishes.

Yrs ever

Tony

Group/Class..... PREM 19.....

Piece..... 1431.....

Letter from Moore to
Butler dated 4 December
1984

Paper extracted and
temporarily retained
under Section 3(4)
pending completion of
review.

(date)..... 19 November 2013.....

(Signed)..... Wayland.....

Group/Class..... PREM 19.....

Piece..... 1431.....

Letter from Butler to
Appleyard dated
29 November 1984

Paper extracted and
temporarily retained
under Section 3(4)
pending completion of
review.
(date)..... 19 November 2013.....
(Signed)..... Wayland.....

Group/Class..... PREM 19.....

Piece..... 1431.....

Letter from Butler to
Appleyard dated
28 November 1984

Paper extracted and
temporarily retained
under Section 3(4)
pending completion of
review.

(date)..... 19 November 2013.....

(Signed)..... Wayland.....

010

cc R



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Sir Antony Acland KCMG KCVO
Permanent Under-Secretary of State

18 June 1984

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO
CABINET OFFICE

M. Butler to note
CDP, 12/6

My dear Robert


COMMONWEALTH SENIOR OFFICIALS MEETING, BARBADOS

1. The next Commonwealth Senior Officials Meeting will be held in Barbados from 12 to 14 December in preparation for the Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau next year. You will remember that before the last meeting of senior officials in Arusha in 1982, we agreed it would be sensible for the Permanent Under-Secretary at the FCO to take on the leadership of the British delegations to future meetings (your minute of 8 November 1982 to Robin Butler). The Prime Minister agreed with the revised arrangements which, in the event, took effect for the Arusha meeting (Robin Butler's minute of 9 November 1982 to you).

2. I am therefore planning to go to this year's meeting in Barbados, and will try to visit one or two other FCO posts in the region at the same time (probably Kingston, and Georgetown which seldom has a senior visitor). I should of course welcome any suggestions which you think we need to take into account in the preparation for the meeting. Perhaps we could have a word nearer the time.

Yours ever,
Antony

Antony Acland

cc: F E R Butler Esq, 
No.10 Downing Street

