

PART 2

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

REPORTS BY THE COMMONWEALTH
GENERAL
SECRETARY AND HIS DEPUTY
^

COMMONWEALTH

In attached folder: Report of the Commonwealth
Secretary General 1989 + 1991

PART 1: JUNE 1979

PART 2: OCT 1987

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
5.10.87							
13/9/87							
30.9.91							
12.2.92							
27.5.90							
30.6.92							
PREM				19 / 3635			
<div style="border: 2px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block; transform: rotate(-15deg);"> series closed </div>							

Published Papers

The following published paper(s) enclosed on this file have been removed and destroyed. Copies may be found elsewhere in The National Archives.

Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General 1989.
Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat,
Marlborough House,
Pall Mall,
London SW1Y 5HX

Report of the Commonwealth Secretary-General 1991.
Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat,
Marlborough House,
Pall Mall,
London SW1Y 5HX

Signed

J. Gray

Date

15/7/2017

PREM Records Team

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

30 June 1992

Dear Stephen *file*

COMMONWEALTH REVIEW: METING OF WORKING GROUP OF
EXPERIENCED OFFICIALS, 23/24 JUNE

/ I enclose Lord Armstrong's report on the 23/24 June Commonwealth Review meeting. As you can see, he judges it to have been a success and to have laid a foundation for the building of a more efficient Commonwealth Secretariat.

The Working Group will resume its work on 28-30 September.

(S L Gass)

Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

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THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

Meeting of Working Group of Experienced Officials,
Lancaster House, 23rd and 24th June, 1992

Introduction

The Working Group of Experienced Officials met, under the chairmanship of Tan Sri Datuk Ahmad Kamil Jaafar, Permanent Secretary of the Malaysian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at Lancaster House on 23rd and 24th June, 1992.

2. The purpose of the meeting was to consider progress reports on the Secretary-General's review of the Commonwealth Secretariat's programme of activities for the 1990s in the light of the Commonwealth priorities agreed in the Harare Declaration, and on the first stage of the review by a firm of management consultants (Beddows and Company) of the Secretariat's structure and organisation. We spent one morning of the meeting listening to a presentation by the consultants and questioning them about their review.

Report and Discussion

3. Throughout the meeting the running was made virtually entirely by the representatives of Australia, Britain and Canada (the "ABC group"). The Australian and Canadian representatives were effective and (like the British representative) well-briefed; and there was a marked identity of approach between the three of us (hardly surprising, as we represent the major paymasters). We were thus able to share the batting. We were able to speak plainly, and where necessary critically; but, thanks in part to eirenaic chairmanship and the Secretary-General's (to me slightly surprising) willingness to accept trenchant, but reasoned, criticism without apparently taking offence, the general spirit of the meeting was, so far as it went, positive and constructive.

4. I say "so far as it went", because much remains to be done in the next phase. At this stage the Secretary-General's proposals for re-ordering the Secretariat's programme priorities in the light of the Harare declaration are still very general, and it was difficult to reconcile the very "by and large" numbers in his proposals with the detailed figures for the Secretariat's current budget. The major donors would have liked to see more radical proposals for re-ordering priorities and eliminating (or drastically curtailing) expenditure on programmes which since Harare should be given lower priority. Every time any of the three of us made suggestions to this effect, there was no support from the rest of the group, the Secretary-General explained that his proposal was in line with the Harare priorities, and sometimes added that Heads of Government had discussed the matter and strongly supported the activity at the Victoria Falls retreat - an argument of which we became increasingly suspicious but which none of the rest of us could refute as we were not there - and was then supported by the Chairman.

5. But so far as they go the Secretary-General's proposals are in the right direction. I emphasised (with the support of the Australian and Canadian representatives) that we regarded his proposals as being indicative (rather than conclusive) at this stage. The agreed note of conclusions (Annexe A) records (without attribution) where we expressed reservations. The meeting placed the Secretary-General under an obligation to provide detailed figures (to programme and sub-programme level) for our next meeting. The pressure remains on him, therefore, and we may be able to make further progress between now and the next meeting in September.

6. The Secretary-General's proposals assumed (realistically) zero growth in resources in the next two years and (optimistically) real growth of 3 per cent a year thereafter. I made it clear (with the support of the Australian and Canadian representatives) that that could be no more than a hope and aspiration on the part of the Secretary-General: I could not commit the British Government to any level of support three years out from now, still less to 3 per cent a year real growth.

7. The management consultants have identified with considerable perceptiveness the many weaknesses of the Secretariat, and are very polite about its rather more intangible strengths. Their recommendations, though interim at this stage, are sensible and practical. If they can be implemented, we should emerge with a more effective and efficient Secretariat, whose structure and activities are properly related to its programmes; with sensible systems of programme budgeting and a much greater degree of financial transparency (and therefore accountability); and with respectable efficiency savings. The Secretary-General recognises the need for change, and welcomes the opportunity to bring it about; but is likely to be reluctant to go as far as the consultants will recommend. We (the "ABC group", supported by the silence of the others) were therefore concerned to put as much wind as possible in the consultants' sails for the second phase of the exercise.

8. The Secretary-General accepts that there is scope for savings, though is not yet prepared to quantify them. The "ABC group" suggested that there should be a target figure, and reserved the right to propose a figure at the next meeting. I believe that there may well be scope for savings of up to 25 per cent of existing staff numbers, though I fear that the Secretary-General may not be able to screw his courage up to so high a figure. In his favour it is fair to say that he is not free to recruit solely on merit: the staffing of the Secretariat has at least to some extent to represent the range of Commonwealth countries.

9. In the second phase, between now and September, the Secretary-General will work out his proposed programmes of activities in detail, taking account of the conclusions at our meeting (Annexe A). The consultants will work out the detailed application of the principles of their recommendations on structure and organisation to the detailed programme of activities developed by the Secretary-General in accordance with terms of reference approved at this week's meeting (Annexe B). In this second phase the two processes will be brought together and reconciled. The results will be reported by the Secretary-General to the Working Group of Experienced Officials in London at the end of September. The Working Group will report its conclusions to the Commonwealth Senior Officials Meeting in Kampala in November.

10. The management consultants have proposed, and the Secretary-General has agreed, that there should be a Steering Committee of Senior Officials to approve, and evaluate progress of, a rolling three year strategy plan for the Secretariat, and to report to Heads of Government. The Steering Committee would be composed of about ten senior officials from capitals, appointed by Heads of Government in the light of recommendations from the Secretary-General. The major donor countries - Australia, Britain and Canada - would be permanent members; the other places would rotate amongst other Commonwealth countries, so as to give smaller countries turns in serving on the Committee while preserving a balance between regions of the Commonwealth and between types and sizes of countries represented.

11. I think that this is an important advance. Such a Steering Committee will in effect be a successor to the Working Group of Experienced Officials. It will provide a continuing and (I hope) effective mechanism for supervising the activities of the Secretariat and making sure that they are held within the policies, programmes and resources approved by governments. The expectation must be - and the smaller countries clearly recognise and accept this - that the Committee will in practice be dominated by the representatives of the major donor countries.

Conclusion

12. This exercise has still some way to go, and this is only an interim report. But my assessment is "so far, so good": this meeting, and the work to date by the Secretary-General and the consultants, provide a foundation on which there is real hope of being able to build a more coherent, efficient and programme - based Commonwealth Secretariat, and a more effective instrument and representation of Commonwealth purposes and activities based on the Harare Declaration.

Robert Armstrong

Robert Armstrong

26th June, 1992.

Meeting of the Working Group of Experienced Officials
on the Secretariat Programme of Activities
in the 1990s

Lancaster House, London, 23-24 June 1992

The Working Group of Experienced Officials on the Secretariat Programme of Activities in the 1990s met at Lancaster House, London, on 23-24 June 1992. It commended the Secretary-General's Report to the meeting and invited him to be guided by the following conclusions in his development of programmes and his consultations with the management consultants in the next phase of the review of the Secretariat's activities and organisation.

2. The Group recalled that the Harare Declaration contained a carefully constructed set of priorities, and believed that the Secretariat's Programme of Activities in the 1990s should closely reflect the balance inherent in it. It recognised that economic and social development and the promotion of the fundamental political values of the Commonwealth were interlinked, and stressed that work on the former should continue as that on the latter was built up.

3. The Group emphasised that the activities should concentrate on areas where the Commonwealth has comparative advantage and can have maximum impact.

4. Facilitating consultation and sharing of experience: Commonwealth governments attached high value to Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings. They also attached value to the existing pattern of regular meetings of Finance Ministers and Law Ministers. Governments should, however, be invited to review the arrangements for other ministerial meetings, including the possibility of scheduling meetings on an ad hoc basis as and when necessary, preferably in the wings of related major international meetings. The Secretary-General was invited to consult Heads of Government on this matter before the next meeting of the Working Group.

5. The Group noted the Secretary-General's proposal for the establishment of ministerial groups on (i) international economic co-operation, and (ii) the particular economic and security problems of small states. It saw particular value in the proposed group on small states and agreed that both proposals should form part of the Secretary-General's process of consultation with Heads of Government.

Representation of the Commonwealth: The Secretariat should continue to carry out its representation function. It was noted that while no formal role devolved upon the Chairman of the preceding CHOGM, there would be advantage in his/her, consulting governments as appropriate, playing a role in projecting agreed Commonwealth positions in other international fora.

7. Provision of Information: The Group noted the need to promote greater awareness and understanding of the Commonwealth. It recognised, however, that other matters had greater priority and there could at best be only a modest increase of activity in this area for the present.

8. Strategic Planning: The Group agreed that the Secretariat should enlarge and strengthen its capacity for strategic planning and evaluation, as proposed by the Secretary-General.

9. Consensus Building and Policy Development on International Political, Economic and Social Issues: The Group believed that the Secretariat had a particular comparative advantage and a role to play in consensus building and policy development on certain political issues. It could also do so in the economic sphere but should be mindful not to duplicate work of other international organisations.

10. Promotion of Fundamental Political Values of the Commonwealth: Democracy, Human Rights, Rule of Law and Just and Honest Government: The Group noted the considerable importance attached to this area of activity by Heads of Government at Harare. It agreed with the Secretary-General's proposals for increased programme activity and resources. It endorsed the need for provision in the regular budget for the Secretariat's electoral monitoring work.

11. Equality for Women: The Group believed that greater emphasis should be attached to this programme than that proposed in the Secretary-General's Report in tune with the priority it received at Harare.

12. Good Offices Role: The Group welcomed and endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal on the provision of his good offices, at the request of the concerned member governments, in facilitating the solution of actual or threatened conflicts.

13. The End of Apartheid; the Establishment of a Democratic and Prosperous South Africa; and Assistance to Southern Africa through Regional Organisations: The Group acknowledged the value of the Commonwealth's continuing role. In view of the recent disappointing turn of events in South Africa, it might be necessary for the Secretariat to provide for a continuation of activity at the present level for a longer period than that proposed by the Secretary-General.

14. Economic Management including Economic Policy Advice: The Group believed that the Secretariat should have a capacity to assist member governments, on request, concentrating on particular areas of economic management and policy formulation where the Commonwealth can make a distinctive contribution.
15. Economic and Social Development: Sectoral Assistance: The Group endorsed the Secretary-General's proposals. It noted that, while a specific programme would not be devoted to agriculture and rural development, the Secretariat would continue to have a capacity to monitor policy discussions and respond to requests for technical assistance in this area.
16. Administrative and Managerial Reform: The Group endorsed the Secretary-General's proposals for doing more in this area in response to the desire expressed in the Harare Declaration for sound and transparent administrative and management reform, both as a means of promoting development and as an essential component of just and honest government.
17. Human Resource Development: The Group took note of the Secretary-General's proposals, which envisaged the continued allocation of a substantial portion of overall resources to this important area of activity. It welcomed his intention to have the Secretariat concentrate on fewer projects in which demonstrable benefits would flow from the Commonwealth's comparative advantage, thereby realising savings in this area without having a significantly adverse effect on human resource development programmes generally.
18. Environment: Noting the importance attached to this programme by Commonwealth governments, the Group agreed with the Secretary-General's conclusion that, given the activities of other international organisations in this area and in the absence of significantly increased resources, the Secretariat should continue to play a carefully targeted role at this stage.
19. Science and Technology: The Group agreed with the Secretary-General's proposals to sharpen the focus of this programme thereby increasing its impact by providing more practical assistance to governments.
20. Administration and General Services: The Group welcomed the Secretary-General's expectation that the efficiency and effectiveness of the administration and general services programme could be further enhanced and consequential savings made.
21. The Group expressed appreciation to Beddows & Co for their report and to the Secretary-General for facilitating their work.

22. The Group recommended the establishment of a steering committee of senior officials to approve and evaluate the progress of a rolling three year strategic plan for the Secretariat's work. The plan would be founded on the Harare Declaration and would take into account, and establish priorities for, proposals by sectoral Commonwealth meetings for new work to be undertaken by the Secretariat. Its composition would be agreed by Heads of Government in the light of recommendations by the Secretary-General. It would meet annually and report to Heads of Government. The work and responsibilities of governing bodies for the various sectors of the Secretariat's work and resources would continue unimpaired.

23. The Group took note of the Secretary-General's view that the work of the Secretariat might best be organised in three blocks to be supervised by three Deputy Secretaries-General. They discussed this concept and the organisational proposals put forward by the Secretary-General and by Beddows & Co. This issue was felt to be of considerable importance for the Secretariat's capacity to deliver programmes effectively. It was agreed that restructuring would take into account the need to maintain the balance in the priorities set out in the Harare Declaration. It was argued that the Secretary-General should be able to delegate responsibility effectively; and that the senior management structure should reflect the clusters of work envisaged in the Work Programme. It was agreed that these matters needed further detailed attention in Phase II.

24. The Group approved the Terms of Reference for the consultants for Phase II of the management audit, a copy of which is attached. At the same time, it was agreed that the Secretary-General would develop further the programme structure, to the sub-programme level, including closer definition of objectives, activities and programme indicators. This should be based on the assumption of zero real growth in resources in 1993-95. This would be available to the next meeting of the Group, together with the Secretary-General's further report in the light of the consultants' report on their work in Phase II.

25. The Group also emphatically endorsed the need for a strengthening of the Secretariat's strategic planning and evaluation capacity and for a rapid shift to a fully transparent system of programme budgeting.

26. The Group agreed to meet again in London on 28-30 September 1992.

Commonwealth Secretariat
Lancaster House
London

24 June 1992

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR PHASE II
OF THE CONSULTANTS' WORK

The consultants shall, in consultation with the Secretariat, develop proposals in detail on the following, building on the work done by them in Phase I, the Secretary-General's Report to the Experienced Officials meeting and the conclusions of their discussions.

1. governance mechanisms, particularly the functions of the proposed sub-committee of senior officials, and of the supervisory committees of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the CFTC, the CYP, the CSC and the CCGTM;
2. elaboration of the structure of the Secretariat to reflect as far as possible the programme structure, including the functions and possible composition of the strategic planning unit, the evaluation unit and the order processing unit, proposed in their interim report;
3. enhanced resource management, including budgeting on a programme, cost and expenditure basis, noting the need to maintain and where necessary reinforce the integrity of use of funds provided by member governments for particular purposes;
4. mechanisms for management information and internal communication;
5. procedures for programme accountability; monitoring and evaluation; and
6. appropriate staffing levels.





Edw Kw
atw (to arrange
distribution)

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 June 1992

Dear Eureka,

Thank you for your letter of 27 April which is welcome further evidence of the tide of democracy running through the world. I am pleased that the Secretariat is working so hard to respond to the requests for election monitoring support already made to it by Commonwealth Governments. In practical terms this is the most pressing of the new post-Harare priorities.

I also welcome your decision to try to place these activities as far as possible on a regular budgetary basis. I am glad that it has been possible, in the recent review of the Secretariat's 1992/3 Estimates, to triple the amount available for election monitoring teams in the regular budget, and identify a way in which many Commonwealth countries may be able to make a voluntary contribution to this year's exceptional demands. Our own resources are limited, but we will as before be ready to look at reasonable requests to contribute to the costs of monitoring exercises, for which extra provision is needed.

You also refer to the review process, and to the preparation of a new Secretariat work programme. These are important tasks, in which you have my full support. Robert Armstrong will represent me at the 23/24 June meeting of the Experienced Officials.

In preparation for that meeting, I enclose a paper which outlines some ideas for rather wider activities which I believe

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the Commonwealth's institutions (primarily the Secretariat, but also the Foundation, the Parliamentary Association and the Non-Governmental and Professional Organisations) should be ready to undertake to reinforce the Harare commitment to promoting the Commonwealth's fundamental political values. In all of them I see great potential advantage from the pooling of different resources into a common effort. They cover multiparty democracy, freedom of expression, the delivery of good justice, domestic application of human rights standards, and best Commonwealth practice in the human rights performance of the public service. Several draw on initiatives taken by my Government, for example in the Citizen's Charter and the successful work of the Audit Commission.

I am copying this letter and its enclosure to Dr Mahathir and our colleagues in the High Level Appraisal Group, in the hope that it will help discussion among our Experienced Officials in June, and help you and them to produce a clear and detailed strategy building on our common commitments in Harare. If we are to do so within existing budget levels they will need to have before them the clearly defined and costed programmes on which I know you are working, to help them to select the highest priorities among the many desirable projects which the Secretariat and the Commonwealth could undertake in the decade ahead.

*Yours sincerely,
John H.*

Chief Emeka Anyaoku CON

ELEMENTS FOR A COMMONWEALTH PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF
THE COMMONWEALTH'S FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL VALUES

NOTE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The Commonwealth Programme for Multiparty Democracy

1. To the Secretariat's technical assistance and election monitoring support to countries preparing to conduct free and fair multi-party elections could be added a coherent programme of post-election support. This could call to a large extent on the skills at the disposal of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, to help the effective operation of a multi-party parliamentary system. Encouraging initiatives have already taken place in Namibia and Zambia. A number of Commonwealth NGOs might also be able to contribute.

Freedom of Expression

2. The Commonwealth must work together to reinforce that essential guarantor of accountable democracy, freedom of expression, particularly in the media. Excellent but limited work is already in hand by NGOs like the Commonwealth Journalists Association, the Commonwealth Press Union and the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, some of it already coordinated through the Commonwealth Media Development Fund in the Secretariat. Much more should be possible. Technical cooperation awards can play an important role.

The Commonwealth Good Justice Programme

3. Heads of Government agreed in Harare about the importance of freedom under the law, and of the need to support and reinforce the common law system throughout the Commonwealth. Here there are a range of bodies whose efforts could be brought together in an imaginative "Good Justice Programme": apart from the Commonwealth's Associations of Legal Professionals and the output

of the Secretariat's and CFTC's legal experts, we have in London the Commonwealth Legal Advisory Service. There is also room for much work to improve the administration of justice as well as the quality of jurisprudence: an issue which the British Government is addressing domestically in the Courts' Charter.

Fundamental Human Rights: The Commonwealth Implementation Initiative

4. Successive Heads of Government meetings have sought to encourage the better application domestically of the main internationally-accepted human rights instruments and standards. This could be promoted through a coordinated programme of assistance in drafting legislation, and establishing the necessary domestic procedures and practices to give effect to them. In the first instance the focus might be on the legal and police systems (including prisons).

The Commonwealth Audit

5. The Commonwealth needs to start at once to establish a sound research and information base to improve Commonwealth performance overall. One of the successes of our own domestic machinery in recent years has been the work of the Audit Commission, looking at levels of efficiency and performance in the public sector, pinpointing and publicising the "best" practice, and setting that as a standard for others to reach. A programme of research into Commonwealth practices and new developments could play a similar role in sharing experience in key human rights and good governance areas like the role of Ombudsmen, the regulation of media standards, and the auditing and where appropriate judicial review of public service performance. All serve to guarantee to the citizen his rights in the face of potentially arbitrary administration. The rich expertise available in the academic and legal world and in the relevant professional organisations is available to support this and the "Implementation Initiative".



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

27 May 1992

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Stephen, 01.

Commonwealth and Good Government

-pps attached
You asked in your letter of 1 May for a draft reply to Chief Anyaoku's letter of 27 April to Heads of Government on election monitoring. While the letter itself does not merit a substantive reply, it offers an opportunity, for which we have been looking for some time, to focus attention back on the democracy, good government and human rights mandates from the Harare Heads of Government Meeting.

My letter of 26 November outlined our thinking on how to pursue these questions after Harare. It has proved more difficult than expected to focus the detailed attention of other key governments on how to translate the principle into the future work programme. The review has moved more slowly than foreseen, and has concentrated on the present organisation of the Secretariat, on which the management consultants are due to report shortly. The Secretary-General has so far given only a general outline of his proposed work programme, but has promised greater detail in a paper at the end of May for the meeting of the Working Group on which Lord Armstrong sits, in London on 23-24 June.

Lady Chalker chaired a constructive meeting of non-Governmental organisations interested in human rights

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in January, attended by representatives of the Commonwealth's professional organisations and NGOs. Several have since become eligible for project support from ODA. This will be followed up by a further meeting in the Autumn.

Against this background, we believe that the Prime Minister should send the Secretary-General a substantive reply, as an input to the 23/24 June meeting. If the Prime Minister agrees, we shall arrange for copies to be delivered by our High Commissioners to the other ten Heads of Government who will be represented there. The content follows closely the outline in my letter of 26 November.

Yours ever,
Christopher Prentice

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

CS3AAU

SCANNED

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FROM: Prime Minister

TO: H E Chief Emeka Anyako
Commonwealth Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
Pall Mall
LONDON SW1Y 5HX

me

Thank you for your letter of 27 April which is welcome further evidence of the tide of democracy running through the world. I am pleased that the Secretariat is working so hard to respond to the requests for election monitoring support already made to it by Commonwealth Governments. In practical terms this is the most pressing of the new post-Harare priorities.

I also welcome your decision to try to place these activities as far as possible on a regular budgetary basis. I am glad that it has been possible, in the recent review of the Secretariat's 1992/3 Estimates, to triple the amount available for election monitoring teams in the regular budget, and identify a way in which many Commonwealth countries may be able to make a voluntary contribution to this year's exceptional demands. Our own resources are limited, but we will as before be ready to look at reasonable requests to contribute to the costs of monitoring exercises, for which extra provision is needed.

You also refer to the review process, and to the preparation of a new Secretariat work programme. These are important tasks, in which you have my full support. Robert Armstrong will represent me at the 23/24 June

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meeting of the Experienced Officials.

In preparation for that meeting, I enclose a paper which outlines some ideas for rather wider activities which I believe the Commonwealth's institutions (primarily the Secretariat, but also the Foundation, the Parliamentary Association and the Non-Governmental and Professional Organisations) should be ready to undertake to reinforce the Harare commitment to promoting the Commonwealth's fundamental political values. In all of them I see great potential advantage from the pooling of different resources into a common effort. They cover multiparty democracy, freedom of expression, the delivery of good justice, domestic application of human rights standards, and best Commonwealth practice in the human rights performance of the public service. Several draw on initiatives taken by my Government, for example in the Citizens' Charter and the successful work of the Audit Commission.

I am copying this letter and its enclosure to Dr Mahathir and ^{our} my colleagues in the High Level Appraisal Group, in the hope that it will ^{help} ~~enrich~~ discussion among our Experienced Officials in June, and help you and them to produce a clear and detailed strategy ~~in this area~~ ^{worthy of} ~~worthy of~~ our common commitments in Harare. If we are to do so within existing budget levels they will need to have before them the clearly defined and costed programmes on which I know you are working, to help them to select the highest priorities among the many desirable projects which the Secretariat and the Commonwealth could undertake in the decade ahead.

a/flannex

SCANNED

ELEMENTS FOR A COMMONWEALTH PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF THE
COMMONWEALTH'S FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL VALUES

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1. To the Secretariat's technical assistance and election monitoring support to countries preparing to conduct free and fair multi-party elections could be added a coherent programme of post-election support. This could call to a large extent on the skills at the disposal of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, to help the effective operation of a multi-party parliamentary system. Encouraging initiatives have already taken place in Namibia and Zambia. A number of Commonwealth NGOs might also be able to contribute.

Freedom of Expression

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The Commonwealth Good Justice Programme

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5. The Commonwealth needs to start at once to establish a sound research and information base to improve Commonwealth performance overall. One of the successes of our own domestic machinery in recent years has been the work of the Audit Commission, looking at levels of efficiency and performance in the public sector, pinpointing and publicising the "best" practice, and setting that as a standard for others to reach. A programme of research into Commonwealth practices and new developments could play a similar role in sharing experience in key human rights and good governance areas like the role of Ombudsmen, the regulation of media standards, and the auditing and where appropriate judicial review of public service performance. All serve to guarantee to the citizen his rights in the face of potentially arbitrary administration. The rich expertise available in the academic and legal world and in the relevant professional organisations is available to support this and the "Implementation Initiative".

London

22 May 1992

CS3ABG

Fundamental Issues: The Commission's Professional Indemnity



London
22 May 1992



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

Ach 1 May 1992

I enclose a letter to the Prime Minister from the Commonwealth Secretary-General about democracy in the Commonwealth. I should be grateful for advice and a draft reply.

The Secretary General has separately asked to call on the Prime Minister, a. as a courtesy following the General Election, and b. to discuss the promotion of democracy in South Africa and the preparations for UNCED. The Prime Minister could do this, but before I consult him I should be grateful for your advice. The Prime Minister has not had a meeting with the Commonwealth Secretary General since Harare and I think it would be quite difficult to say no.

J S WALL

S L Gass Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Stephen

The C'wealth Sec-Gen
would like to pay a
brief call on the PM as

a) a courtesy call following
the election; +

b) an opportunity to discuss
C'wealth concerns, in
particular

i) the promotion of democracy
in S. Africa

ii) preparations for
UNCED.

He would call 12-13 May or
1-9 June.

OK to fix?

S 27/4

I.162/1/47

27 April 1992

Dear Prime Minister,

I thought I should write to you about the Commonwealth's current work in a growing number of member countries in helping to strengthen democratic processes and institutions since the reaffirmation of this particular commonwealth priority by Heads of Government in Harare last year.

As you will recall, a Commonwealth observer group was in Zambia shortly after your Harare meeting to observe the Presidential and National Assembly elections.

Since then, the Secretariat has continued to initiate action in this field at the request of the governments concerned. This has involved not only the building of confidence in national democratic processes and institutions among emerging political parties, but also assistance of a more technical nature in creating the appropriate constitutional and legal framework for plural democracy. Thus, to date, five planning and technical missions have been sent in the context of the request from the Government of Guyana for the Commonwealth to observe national elections, now constitutionally due before the end of 1992. The Secretariat, following consultations with the Heads of Government concerned, has also provided technical assistance to Lesotho, Seychelles and Kenya in the form of constitutional experts to assist in reviewing and adapting their constitutions to the requirements of multi-party democracy, as well as experts in legal drafting to assist in the preparation of the appropriate electoral legislation. These three governments, together with Ghana, have also asked me to organise Commonwealth missions to observe their national elections which are expected to be held in the course of this calendar year.

As regards the funding of Commonwealth work in this area, you will recall that, in the past, I have proceeded on an *ad hoc* basis, seeking voluntary contributions from member countries. However, since the High-Level Appraisal of the

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The Rt Hon John Major, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Commonwealth in the 1990s and Beyond and with the internal review of the Secretariat which I am currently conducting with the assistance of management consultants, I am proposing that these activities should, as far as possible, be placed on a more regular budgetary basis. Accordingly, provision for this purpose is being sought through the regular Secretariat budget. I am however conscious of the fact that, balanced against other pressing priorities, the budget may not be able to satisfy all the potential demands upon the Commonwealth in this context.

Of course, as important as this work is, the strengthening of democracy in the Commonwealth is but one of a number of key Commonwealth priorities identified by Commonwealth Heads of Government last year in Harare. While these other key concerns are being pursued with equal vigour, detailed work is also underway, in conjunction with the Experienced Officials of the High-Level Appraisal Group, which will enable a full set of Commonwealth Secretariat work programmes to be put before Commonwealth Senior officials at their meeting in Uganda at the end of the year.

I will naturally be writing to you again on all these matters in due course but felt that the particular aspect of our work described above merited a report in the interim.

With deep respect, *Warm regards.*

Yours Sincerely

Emeka A.

Chief

Emeka Anyaoku

CON

The Rt Hon John Major MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London S W 1





Cite PM
cite

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 February 1992

1/2 for Emeka,

Thank you for your letter of 24 January and for sending me a copy of the Commonwealth Observer Group's report on CODESA. I was glad that you were able to assemble such a distinguished group to represent the Commonwealth at what I hope will prove a watershed in South African history.

The observer team did a good job. Their report brought out the scale of the achievement which CODESA represents, while correctly identifying the key areas for the future negotiations. They urged Commonwealth governments to use their influence to secure participation in CODESA by those groups still outside the process. You may be sure that we are doing just that, most recently when Lynda Chalker was in South Africa last week.

You said that observers' mission had prepared the way for a further phase of Commonwealth involvement. As they pointed out, the way forward would seem to be for the Commonwealth to stay in close contact with CODESA and its various working groups, so that we may be ready to respond as and when the parties in South Africa identify what help they need.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, CON

Your sincerely,
John Major

24 January 1992

Dear Prime Minister,

I returned from Nigeria last week and wanted to write to you following the presence of a group of distinguished Commonwealth Observers at the first plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) before Christmas. You will, no doubt, have already seen the Group's Report which I arranged to be transmitted to Commonwealth Governments at the end of last month. As I said then, in my covering message, this was both a useful and worthwhile mission which has consolidated existing relations, not least in regard to CODESA, and has prepared the way for the further phase of Commonwealth contact which I had earlier envisaged after my visit to South Africa last November.

I was particularly glad that the Commonwealth was able to field such a distinguished group of observers and have no doubt that the eminence of each of these contributed to the high regard in which the Group as a whole was held. I have written personally to Sir Geoffrey Howe expressing my gratitude but I also much appreciate all you have been able to do in support of this initiative.

With deep respect and every good wish for the Security Council Summit in New York.

Yours sincerely
Emeka

Emeka Anyaoku

The Rt. Hon. John Major, MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London
SW1

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The Commonwealth at CODESA

20-21 December 1991

**THE REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP
OF DISTINGUISHED OBSERVERS**



**The Commonwealth
at
CODESA**

20-21 December 1991

**THE REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH GROUP
OF DISTINGUISHED OBSERVERS**

Convention for a Democratic South Africa
PO Box 307,
Isando, 1600, South Africa

Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House,
Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX

Johannesburg
22 December 1991

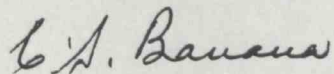
H E Chief Emeka Anyaoku
Commonwealth Secretary-General
Marlborough House
London S W 1

Dear Secretary-General,

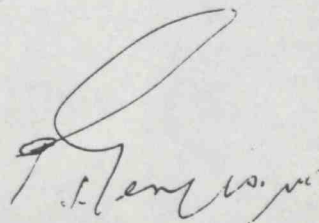
We have pleasure in sending you a report on our visit to South Africa to observe the proceedings of CODESA, and would be grateful if you could transmit it to Commonwealth Heads of Government.

It was clear during our stay that your own visit to South Africa last month had brought about a marked change of attitude to the Commonwealth. To the extent that our presence has been universally welcomed and has served a useful purpose, it has built on your initiative and the bridgehead which you were able to establish.

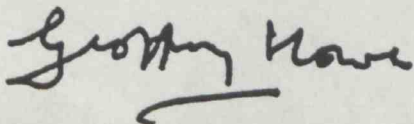
We have been greatly assisted by the small Secretariat team which accompanied us and we commend them highly for the quality of the work. We are much in their debt.



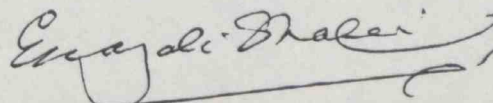
Rev Dr Canaan Banana
(Zimbabwe)



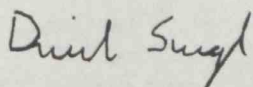
Hon Mr Justice Telford Georges
(Trinidad and Tobago)



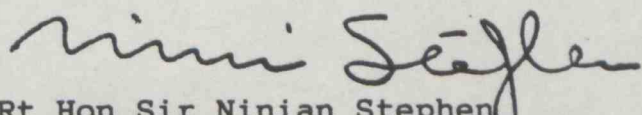
Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe
QC MP (Britain)



Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie
(Malaysia)



Shri Dinesh Singh
(India)



Rt Hon Sir Ninian Stephen
AC GCMG GCVO (Australia)

REPORT OF THE
COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED OBSERVERS TO CODESA

Background

1. Our Group was constituted by the Commonwealth Secretary-General at the beginning of December, following a formal invitation from the Co-Chairmen of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to observe its inaugural proceedings on behalf of the Commonwealth. This followed the Secretary-General's own mission to South Africa in November to explore with the principal parties ways in which the Commonwealth could assist in lending momentum to the negotiating process.

2. We arrived in South Africa on 18 December. We held wide-ranging discussions with representatives of many of the principal parties. These included meetings with Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress; President de Klerk; representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress; the South African Council of Churches; the Inkatha Freedom Party; the National People's Party; the Labour Party; and the ruling National Party. In all cases, there was appreciation of the Commonwealth's presence, matched by a high degree of press interest in the Group's arrival and its activities.

CODESA

3. The presence of the Commonwealth Group naturally attracted special attention; but considerable prominence was also given to the other international observers from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the European Community. We issued a joint Statement which is attached at Annex A.

4. Throughout its proceedings, CODESA was imbued with an impressive sense of shared hope and common purpose. There was a lively awareness of the historic significance of the Convention and the responsibility of all parties to behave in a way that could move the process forward. The primary business of the Convention was to agree constitutional guidelines for a democratic, non-racial South Africa. It was heartening that 17 out of the 19 political organisations and parties present were able to sign a Declaration of Intent (Annex B) setting out their commitment to a political settlement and the broad political principles upon which a new Constitution should be based. Of the two parties which did not sign the Declaration, Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana was opposed to the idea of a united South Africa which would entail the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into a post-apartheid South Africa. The other party - the Inkatha Freedom Party - had participated in the drafting of the document but withheld its endorsement for the time being, not for any general opposition to the document but because it wished to see specific concerns addressed in further discussions. The overwhelming support for the

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Declaration, however, has enabled the work of CODESA to move on, with the principal issues - the creation of a climate for free political participation; the role of the international community; general constitutional principles; transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority; the future of the so-called independent homelands, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states); and the time frames and implementation of CODESA's decisions - being referred to five Working Groups, whose agreed Terms of Reference are attached at Annex C. These Working Groups are expected to commence work in January 1992 and CODESA itself will resume in plenary to consider their reports not later than 29 March 1992.

Impressions

5. CODESA is clearly a milestone in South Africa's political evolution. To see so many different political forces working collectively towards a new South Africa was remarkable and impressive by any standard, and augurs well for the future. Nevertheless, the absence of a number of parties from CODESA is a cause of concern. Shortly before our arrival the PAC, which had formed the Patriotic Front alliance with the ANC along with some 90 other organisations, announced that it was withdrawing from CODESA in accordance with the decisions of its Consultative Congress held in Cape Town on 16 December. According to the PAC, in the absence of a clear assurance from the Government that there would be an elected

constituent assembly to draw up a new Constitution, CODESA would be flawed and little more than a 'talking shop'. A particular objection was the fact that CODESA was taking place inside South Africa, without the benefit of a neutral convenor provided by the international community, and with its decisions subject to the veto of an illegitimate Parliament. We heard these points again when we met a PAC delegation, which also expressed a strong grievance that the ANC and the Government were engaged in bilateral discussions from which the other parties of the Patriotic Front were excluded. In turn, we took the opportunity of urging upon them participation in a process which promised to move nearer to the goal of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. The Conservative Party, which is also now the official Opposition in Parliament and represents a significant and growing body of white opinion, claimed different reasons for boycotting CODESA. We tried to meet their representatives, but without success. We regret their absence from CODESA and we hope that in time they, too, will feel able to participate.

6. The declared reason for Chief Buthelezi's absence sprang from the fact that he could not, as his Chief Minister, secure a place for the King of the Zulus in CODESA. However, the Inkatha Freedom Party was represented. The subsequent decision by CODESA to refer the question of traditional leaders to the Management Committee, which is to carry forward the process, offers a fresh opportunity to resolve this issue. It is much to

be hoped that Chief Buthelezi will respond to this opportunity to participate in the process. AZAPO was the other significant party which did not attend. We would urge Commonwealth Governments to use such influence as they may have with these various parties to secure their participation in the CODESA process.

7. The adoption of the Declaration of Intent, intensively negotiated over many weeks before CODESA, was a reflection of the broad measure of agreement on fundamental objectives. There were, however, significant differences on how these might be achieved. From both the opening statements and our own discussions with the parties, we identify what are likely to be major areas of difficulty:

(a) The Role of CODESA

From the beginning, all the parties recognised that if CODESA was not to be a 'talking shop', there would have to be a mechanism for giving effect to its decisions. The Government's concern was that whatever mechanism was eventually agreed, it should not be such as to circumvent or involve the suspension of Parliament or the present Constitution. The ANC suggested that since the National Party had a clear majority in Parliament it should undertake to ensure that all CODESA's decisions were given the force of law by being enacted by Parliament. The National Party and the Government, as signatories to the Declaration of Intent, have now

specifically accepted that "CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in co-operation with administrations and the South African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in CODESA". In addition, the South African Government has declared itself to be bound by agreements reached together with other participants of CODESA and committed itself to their implementation within its capacity, powers and authority.

(b) Interim Government/ Transitional Authority

At our meeting with him, Mr Mandela stressed the enormous importance which the ANC attaches to the early establishment of an interim government which would be the best guarantee of implementing the will and wishes of the majority. The ANC and others see this coming about as a result of direct negotiations at CODESA: once established, it should be the sole sovereign authority in the country, apparently leaving uncertain the status of Parliament. The ANC was also of the view that the lifespan of the interim government should not exceed six months.

The Government accepts the need for transitional arrangements, which we interpret to be the same as an interim government, but insist that in the interest of constitutional rectitude and continuity any interim authority should only come into being through the existing constitutional process. This might entail

expanding the present Parliament to give representation to those currently excluded from it. As far as the lifespan of such an interim authority is concerned, the Government appears to contemplate a period longer than six months, during which further negotiations on the Constitution could be undertaken.

In his statement to CODESA, President de Klerk said the transitional arrangements negotiated by CODESA would in any case first need to be approved by referenda in the constituencies of the present tricameral Parliament, as well as by those now excluded, ie, the blacks. The possibility thus opens up of different referenda yielding different results.

Inkatha, on the other hand, wholly rejects the idea of an interim government and takes the view that the present Government, whatever the declared doubts about its legitimacy, should remain in office until replaced by a democratically-elected one in a non-racial election.

(c) Constituent Assembly

The ANC, the PAC and others are of the firm view that the appropriate forum to draw up the new Constitution is an elected Constituent Assembly. They argue that such a procedure has the added advantage of obviating the need later to put the draft Constitution to a referendum. The Government, on the other hand, fears that such an elected constituent assembly would enable the majority party to

dictate the content of the Constitution to the others. It therefore now suggests that the present Parliament, suitably expanded, should draw up the new Constitution. Its proposals envisage an interim Constitution for an extended transition during which time a final Constitution would be negotiated.

(d) Federal/Unitary Arrangements

There is the issue of the extent to which post-apartheid South Africa is to be a federal state. The foremost advocate of federalism appears to be the small Democratic Party. It argues that, in a situation of oppression, the more that centres of power are dispersed, the harder it will be for any tyrant to rule in future. Federal structures also have the advantage of accommodating cultural diversity and bringing government closer to the people. The ruling National Party, as well as Inkatha and others, also favour a federal solution, and have put forward proposals to this end. The marked preference of the ANC is for a unitary state but it is prepared to consider a federal solution, providing it is regionally-based and does not entail ethnicity or a weak central authority.

(e) The Reincorporation of the Homelands

The reincorporation of the "independent" homelands into a post-apartheid South Africa presents a further source of dissension. The territories in question are the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. It would

appear that the Transkei, Venda and Ciskei are prepared to be reincorporated upon satisfactory negotiations. But, as we pointed out earlier, Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is strongly opposed to reincorporation.

(f) Violence

Notwithstanding the Peace Accord, violence continues to be an intractable problem, fuelling suspicion and mistrust. This was evident in the angry exchanges between President de Klerk and Mr Mandela on the first day of the Convention, showing how much damage could be caused if these feelings are allowed to fester. Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela are aware of these dangers and went out of their way, in a public act of reconciliation the following morning, to pledge to CODESA to do all in their power to ensure its success. In this matter, co-operation between the Government, the ANC and others, based on a mutuality of interest, is the best assurance for the future.

The Role of the International Community

8. Although we readily recognise the key parts played by President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, it is generally accepted by the anti-apartheid organisations within South Africa that the progress that has been made so far towards the ending of apartheid owes most of all to a combination of internal and external pressures. CODESA, for its part, has stated that the validity of the process of transition, internationally as well as internally, will depend on an open and fair process allowing for the

full and effective participation of all South Africans. It has therefore mandated one of its five Working Groups to examine what role the international community "could be asked to play in the formal or informal processes involved in the period leading up to the introduction of a new Constitution for South Africa". The Commonwealth should follow the deliberations of this Group with particular interest.

9. We are aware, of course, of the wide spectrum of views expressed to the Secretary-General during his visit to South Africa in November on the question of international involvement and a possible role for the Commonwealth. The South African Government, on the one hand, while recognising that the Commonwealth might play a helpful and constructive role, emphasised that this should not be such as to infringe South Africa's sovereignty. At the other end of the spectrum, the PAC continues to advocate a central role for the international community. The Inkatha Freedom Party reiterated past complaints of Commonwealth neglect and expressed the hope that there would be a more even-handed approach in future.

10. A number of South African leaders remarked to us that, even before our arrival, the expected presence of a relatively senior group of Commonwealth personalities, together with other international observers, had had some effect in encouraging agreement between the parties. In

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fact, Nelson Mandela told us at our meeting with him that our presence would introduce a "sobering note" into the proceedings. Certainly, we have no doubt that, with a relatively high profile in CODESA and in the media, the Commonwealth presence helped add credibility to the process and indicated the clear approval of the Commonwealth for its purposes. We also hope that our presence has been symbolic of the opening of a new chapter in the Commonwealth's relations with South Africa and has helped build confidence in, and knowledge of, the Commonwealth among all the negotiating parties.

Conclusion

11. In affirming the value of our mission, we consider it a particular privilege to have been present at such a remarkable juncture in South Africa's history. We hope that our presence, in a modest way, has been beneficial and that we have been able to bring to a number of the parties a variety of experiences in nation-building and cultural pluralism which they have found helpful. The further stages of CODESA will deserve the wholehearted support of the international community and we believe there may well be scope for the kind of offer of practical assistance which the Secretary-General has envisaged as the second phase of the Commonwealth's involvement. This might entail the Secretary-General's presence at subsequent stages of the on-going negotiations, accompanied by a team of advisers in various disciplines whose expertise might be useful. To that end, we feel it particularly important that the

Secretariat maintains close contact with the work of CODESA, and its various Working Groups, on a continuing basis.

12. All of us have been involved in aspects of the Commonwealth's sustained opposition to apartheid and some were even involved in the events leading to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth 30 years ago. We are therefore particularly delighted that CODESA has met its initial objectives and embarked on a new and peaceful road towards the realisation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

13. Our final words must be of tribute to the two Co-Chairmen, Justice Schabert and Justice Mahomed, for their exemplary conduct of the Convention's proceedings.

Johannesburg
22 December 1991

COMMONWEALTH GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED OBSERVERS TO CODESA

Delegation List

Reverend Dr Canaan Banana (Zimbabwe)
Former President

The Rt Hon Mr Justice Telford Georges (Trinidad and Tobago)
Former Chief Justice of the Bahamas

Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP (Britain)
Former Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary

Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie (Malaysia)
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Shri Dinesh Singh (India)
Former Minister of External Affairs

Rt Hon Sir Ninian Stephen AC GCMG GCVO (Australia)
Former Governor-General

Support Staff

Mr Moni Malhoutra
Assistant Secretary-General

Mr Stuart Mole
Director and Head
Secretary-General's Private Office

Dr Moses Anafu
Assistant Director
International Affairs Division

Ms Lorna McLaren
Senior Executive Secretary to the
Secretary-General

JOINT STATEMENT BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS
TO THE FIRST MEETING OF
CODESA, JOHANNESBURG 20-21 DECEMBER 1991

We, the observers to Codesa from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth, salute the South African people for the launching of their historic Convention. Codesa must herald the dawn of a new era of peace and justice. The broad objectives expressed in the Declaration of Intent are a most constructive and auspicious beginning for Codesa and give promise of attainment of true democracy for South Africa.

We express the hope that all the representatives of the South African people will join in the rebuilding of their country and that reason, good faith and patriotism will steer this challenging process to a successful conclusion.

Our presence at Codesa is a testimony of the profound commitment by the international community to encourage the emergence of a democratic non-racial South Africa with justice, security and well-being for all its citizens.



ANNEX B

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DECLARATION OF INTENT

We, the duly authorised representatives of political parties, political organisations, administrations and the South African Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome responsibility that rests on us at this moment in the history of our country,

declare our solemn commitment:

1. **to bring about** an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination;
2. **to work** to heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all, and to establish a free and open society based on democratic values where the dignity, worth and rights of every South African are protected by law;
3. **to strive** to improve the quality of life of our people through policies that will promote economic growth and human development and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans;
4. **to create** a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional change by eliminating violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation, discussion and debate;
5. **to set in motion** the process of drawing up and establishing a constitution that will ensure, inter alia:
 - a. that South Africa will be a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory;
 - b. that the Constitution will be the supreme law and that it will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary;
 - c. that there will be a multi-party democracy with the right to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters roll; in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation;

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

PO Box 507, Isando, 1600, South Africa.
Telephone (011) 597-1198/99. Fax (011) 597-2211

- d. that there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances;
- e. that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged;
- f. that all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly protected by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law.

We agree:

1. that the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the Convention any proposal consistent with democracy.
2. that CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in co-operation with administrations and the South African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in CODESA.

We, the representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations, further solemnly commit ourselves to be bound by the agreements of CODESA and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation.

SIGNATURE(S)

REPRESENTING

African National Congress

(Did not sign)

Bophuthatswana Government

Ciskei Government

Democratic Party

Dikwankwetla Party

(Did not sign)

Inkatha Freedom Party

Inyandza National Movement

Intando Yesizwe Party

Labour Party of South Africa

Natal/Tvl Indian Congress

National Party

National People's Party

Solidarity

South African Communist Party

Transkei Government

United People's Front

Venda Government

Ximoko Progressive Party

We, the South African Government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in CODESA in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority.

SIGNATURE

South African Government

Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika. Ons vir jou Suid Afrika.
Morena boloka sechaba sa heso. May the Lord bless our country.
Mudzimu Fhatutshedza Afrika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

AGREED TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR WORKING GROUPS FOR
CODESA

WORKING GROUP 1

1. FIRST ASSIGNMENT

Creation of a climate for free political participation.

1.1 Terms of Reference

WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves to the terms and objectives set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time

AND WHEREAS it has been nationally and internationally recognised that a climate for free political participation is an essential element of the transitional phase towards and in a democratic South Africa

AND WHEREAS democracy requires that all the participants in the political process should be free to participate in that process without fear and on an equal footing and on a basis of equality with the other participants

IT IS RECORDED that the terms of reference of the Working Group on the Creation of a Climate for Free Political Participation shall be as follows:

- 1.1.1 To investigate and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to the actions needed to be taken to foster and establish in South Africa a climate in which all individuals and organisations can participate freely, without interference or intimidation, in all political activity and, in particular, in the processes leading up to the introduction of a new constitution
- 1.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.
- 1.1.3 To identify of areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.

1.1.4 Specifically, but without vitiating the generality of the above, to consider whether and how the following issues should be addressed:

- (a) the finalisation of matters relating to the release of political prisoners and political trials;
- (b) the return of exiles and their families;
- (c) the amendment and/or repeal of any remaining laws militating against free political activity, including the elimination of all discriminatory legislation;
- (d) political intimidation;
- (e) the termination of the use of military and/or violent means or the threat thereof of promoting the objectives/views of a political party or organisation;
- (f) political neutrality of, and fair access to, State-controlled/statutorily instituted media (particularly the SABC and SATV), including those of the TBVC states;
- (g) the successful implementation of the National Peace Accord;
- (h) the prevention of violence-related crime and matters giving rise thereto;
- (i) the composition and role of the security forces in South Africa and the TBVC states;
- (j) the funding of political parties;
- (k) the fair access to public facilities and meeting venues;
- (l) the advisability of statutory provisions guaranteeing equal opportunity for all parties to establish and maintain their own means of mass communication;
- (m) the need for an improvement in socio-economic conditions;
- (n) the fostering of a spirit of tolerance amongst political parties;
- (o) the role of intensive and continuous educative and informative campaigns in respect of political tolerance, the working of democracy and the processes of Codesa;
- (p) the advisability of fair and reasonable access for political parties to all potential voters, wherever they may reside;
- (q) any other matters which the working group may consider relevant to its brief.

2. SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Role of international community.

2.1 Terms of Reference

WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves to the terms and objectives set out in the Declaration of Intent

AND WHEREAS the validity and acceptability of the process of transition and the outcome thereof internally and internationally, will depend on an open and fair process providing for full and effective participation of all South Africans

IT IS RECORDED that the Working Group on the Role of the International Community shall have the following terms of reference:

- 2.1.1. To investigate, consider and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to the role that the international community and/or organisations could be asked to play in the formal or informal processes involved in the period leading up to the introduction of a new constitution for South Africa.
- 2.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.
- 2.1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.

WORKING GROUP 2

1. FIRST ASSIGNMENT

General Constitutional Principles.

1.1 Terms of Reference

WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves to the terms and objectives set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time

IT IS RECORDED that the Working Group on General Constitutional Principles shall have the following terms of reference:

- 1.1.1 To investigate and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to general constitutional principles which should be enshrined in and not contradicted by any other provisions of a new constitution, provided that the present and future participants of CODESA shall be entitled to put forward freely to this Working Group any proposal or matter consistent with democracy for discussion, consideration and recommendation.
- 1.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.
- 1.1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.

2. SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Constitution-making body/process

2.1 Terms of Reference

WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves to the terms and objectives set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time to the establishment of a democratic South Africa, enjoying internal legitimacy and international acceptance

AND WHEREAS it has been agreed that a Working Group on the constitution-making body/process shall be appointed by Codesa in order to formulate proposals and make recommendations on the appropriate body/process to draft a new constitution for South Africa

IT IS RECORDED that the Working Group on a constitution-making body/process shall have the following terms of reference:

2.1.1 To investigate and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to an appropriate constitution-making body/process.

In respect of both the constitution-making process and body:

2.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.

2.1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.

2.1.4 In respect of a constitution-making process:

Specifically, but without vitiating the generality of the objective, to consider:

- (a) to make recommendations to Codesa regarding the process through which a new constitution may be formulated;
- (b) how far the process can be taken by Codesa itself;
- (c) at what stage a special constitution-making body, if any, should be constituted;
- (d) the role of referenda, if any, in the constitution-making process;
- (e) legislative and administrative steps that may be required to reinforce the constitution-making process;
- (f) the method of transferring constitutional authority to the new constitution and its structures at national, regional and local level;
- (g) any other matters which the working group may consider relevant to its brief.

2.1.5. In respect of a constitution-making body:

In the event of it being recommended that there be a special constitution-making body, then specifically, but without vitiating the generality of paragraph 2.1.1, is to be considered:

- (a) its composition
- (b) its legal status
- (c) its authority including limitations eg principles, procedures, etc that may have been agreed previously
- (d) its method of functioning
- (e) the status of its decisions
- (f) should it be an elected body, the appropriate electoral process
- (g) any other matter which the working group may consider relevant to its brief.

WORKING GROUP 3

ASSIGNMENT

Transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority.

1. Terms of Reference

WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves in the terms set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time

AND WHEREAS it has been agreed that a Working Group of Codesa should be appointed to consider the issue of interim government/transitional arrangements/transitional authority

IT IS RECORDED that the Working Group on transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority shall have the following terms of reference:

- 1.1 To investigate, canvass all possibilities and their application and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to the manner in which the country may be governed and managed until the introduction of a new constitution.
- 1.2 To identify the key issues, processes and problems that need to be addressed.
- 1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.

WORKING GROUP 4

ASSIGNMENT

Future of TBVC states.

1. Terms of Reference

- 1.1 WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves in the terms set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time

AND WHEREAS the parties recognise the need to provide for the meaningful and democratic participation, of all the people living in the TBVC states in the process of drawing up and adopting a new constitution for South Africa as well as in all possible transitional arrangements

AND WHEREAS the reality of the current existence of a number of separate but parallel institutions such as different administrations, civil services, armed forces, police forces and judiciaries as well as differing laws in certain instances which presently exist in South Africa, and the TBVC states; calls for a re-evaluation of this situation

AND WHEREAS in the event of re-incorporation the need to ensure that the lives and livelihood of people in the affected territories shall not be subjected to any unnecessary disruption

IT IS RECORDED that the terms of reference of the Working Group on the future Re-incorporation of the TBVC states are as follows:

- 1.1.1 To investigate and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to the relationships between South Africa, the TBVC states and the people of those states under a new South African constitution.
- 1.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.
- 1.1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.
- 1.1.4 Specifically, but without vitiating the generality of the above to consider whether and how:

- (a) to make recommendations to Codesa regarding the manner in which the constitutional status of the TBVC states may be affected by the outcome of negotiations within the framework of Codesa;
- (b) the desirability or otherwise of the re-incorporation of such states;
- (c) testing the will of the people concerned regarding re-incorporation or otherwise, of the TBVC states, by acceptable democratic means;
- (d) strategies to keep the people of the TBVC states fully informed, especially to avoid unfortunate misunderstandings;
- (e) the retention of business confidence, particularly in relation to existing investments in the TBVC states;
- (f) land transfers by South Africa to these states;
- (g) citizenship;
- (h) any other matters which the working group may consider relevant to its brief.

1.1.5 If re-incorporation is decided upon in respect of any TBVC state, matters that will need to be addressed include:

- (a) proposals for the re-incorporation into South Africa of a TBVC state;
- (b) consider the question of transitional arrangements in those states which want to be incorporated;
- (c) the time frames for such a re-incorporation and related processes;
- (d) disposal/transfer of assets of TBVC governments;
- (e) optimal use of existing infrastructure;
- (f) review of development project priorities;
- (g) good administration during transition;
- (h) the formulation of appropriate measures and steps to be taken to ensure that in the process of re-incorporation of a TBVC state, interruption or disruption in administration and the rendering of services and in the daily lives of people in the affected areas are reduced to an absolute minimum;
- (i) consider future of civil service in such states;
- (j) the exact form of authority in the TBVC territories;
- (k) harmonisation of legislation and taxation;
- (l) orderly termination of bilateral and multilateral agreements and treaties;
- (m) servicing and repayment of TBVC state debts;
- (n) ensuring public accountability of actions taken for the purposes of re-incorporation;
- (o) the identification of specific constitutional, legal and political measures and steps which will have to be taken to effect re-incorporation.

WORKING GROUP 5

ASSIGNMENT

Time frames and implementation of Codesa's agreements.

1. Terms of Reference

- 1.1 WHEREAS the parties at Codesa have committed themselves in the terms set out in the Declaration of Intent as amended from time to time.

AND WHEREAS it is necessary to record agreements which are reached at Codesa and to implement such agreements and, accordingly, to prepare in draft form the documentation which is required for effect to be given to such agreements

AND WHEREAS it has been agreed that a Working Group on the Implementation of Agreements/Decisions shall be appointed by Codesa to identify the steps which need to be taken by the parties to Codesa

AND WHEREAS it is desirable to advise on the possible time frames and target dates

IT IS RECORDED that the terms of reference of the Working Group on time frames and the implementation of Codesa's agreements/decisions are as follows:

- 1.1.1 To investigate and report upon all proposals and make recommendations with regard to appropriate time frames and target completion dates for all of the processes and assignments being undertaken by Codesa, its working groups and other bodies created as a result of agreements/decisions of Codesa.
- 1.1.2 To identify the key issues and problems that need to be addressed.
- 1.1.3 To identify areas of commonality and aspects where agreement already exists between participating delegations.
- 1.1.4 Specifically, but without vitiating the generality of the above, consider whether and how to address:

- (a) the need for a regularly updated comprehensive list of all the decisions, actions and processes involved;
- (b) the co-ordination of the activities of Codesa and its subsidiary bodies to ensure the greatest possible efficiency of the process towards a democratic South Africa;
- (c) the practicability of setting of target completion dates for all agreements/activities/decisions;
- (d) the monitoring of the process and the adjustment of targets whenever necessary;
- (e) the dissemination of up-to-date information in respect of progress made to all Codesa participants, interested parties and authorities;
- (f) to address the identification of legislation that needs to be enacted or amended;
- (g) to assist in formulating the terms of the legislation or amendments;
- (h) realistically attainable time frames;
- (i) practical effect of implementation of agreements;
- (j) the legality of the process in relation to time frames to be negotiated within the context of constitutional continuity;
- (k) any other matters which the working group may consider relevant to its brief.



Handwritten initials

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 September 1991

Dear Emeka,

Thank you for your letter of 10 September covering your Report on the last two years' work of the Secretariat. May I congratulate you on it. I welcome in particular the attention you give in your introduction to the scope for developing the Secretariat's contribution in the areas of good governance, support for democracy and human rights. I hope that this area of your work will be given particular prominence in Harare.

*Yours Ever,
John Major*

Chief Emeka C. Anyaoku, CON

se/89



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 September 1991

Dear Stephen,

CHOGM: Secretary-General's Biennial Report

Thank you for your letter of 13 September, enclosing the Commonwealth Secretary-General's letter of 10 September. We would not normally recommend any response to the Secretary-General's Report, which contains nothing new, and nothing worthy of specific comment which has not already been addressed, for example, in the Prime Minister's letters on the pre-agenda letter and the Strategic Action Plan. The Report does not form part of the formal CHOGM Documentation and is unlikely to be raised in discussion in Harare.

The Secretary-General would however certainly appreciate the personal interest implied if the Prime Minister did reply. As our strategy for CHOGM will require us to keep Chief Anyaoku on side, we do therefore recommend a short acknowledgement. I enclose a draft.

*Yours ever,
Christopher Prentice*

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER

To: Chief Emeka C Anyaoku, CON
Commonwealth Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
Pall Mall
LONDON SW1Y 5HX

Thank you for your letter of 10 September covering your Report on the last two years work of the Secretariat. May I congratulate you on ~~the product~~^{it}. I welcome in particular the attention you give in your introduction to the scope for developing the Secretariat's contribution in the areas of good governance, support for democracy and human rights. I hope that this area of your work will be given particular prominence in Harare.

Handwritten signature and date: [Signature] 2-6/9

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OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE · PALL MALL · LONDON SW1Y 5HX

10 September 1991

Dear Prime Minister,

I am pleased to send you my first Report on the work of the Secretariat. This covers my first year in office and the last year of my predecessor, Sonny Ramphal.

In the Introduction to the Report, I have attempted, in this period of a high level appraisal of the future role of the Commonwealth, to highlight areas where I believe the association can act in greater and more cost-effective service to its members as it responds to changes in the international environment. I have also elaborated on some of the issues which will be discussed at the Meeting in Harare next month.

I hope you will find the Report useful. It will be publicly released on 25 September.

With deep respect.

Yours Sincerely

Emeka A.
Emeka Anyaoku

The Rt Hon John Major, MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
London SW1
Britain

Chief Emeka C. Anyaoku, COM



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

19 June 1991

Dear Stephen,

File X

Letter from the Commonwealth Secretary General

I enclose the Commonwealth Secretary General's circular letter 24/91 of 13 June on the Chairmanship of the Commonwealth Foundation.

It does not require any further action.

Yours ever,

Christopher Prentice

(C N R Prentice)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq
10 Downing Street

Circular Letter No: 24/91

13 June 1991

I should be grateful if you would bring the following message to the attention of your Head of Government.

BEGINS

Chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation

Further to my letter of 2 November 1990 seeking nominations for the position of Chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation, I am writing to inform you that I have received three nominations. They are as follows:

1. Rt. Hon. Sir Peter Kenilorea, of Solomon Islands
2. Mr. Arthur Khoza, of Swaziland
3. Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Luce DL. MP., of Britain

Attached are two copies of the Curriculum Vitae of each candidate.

In my earlier letter, I proposed that the election of the Chairman, by those in membership of the Foundation, should take place at the Harare Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in October 1991.

I propose that in the first instance the Meeting seeks to reach a consensus on the basis of a straw poll; that is, by my being informed privately, in advance, of your Government's preference. In the event that such a consensus cannot be reached

informally, a ballot will of course be inevitable. I hope, however, that this will not in the event prove necessary.

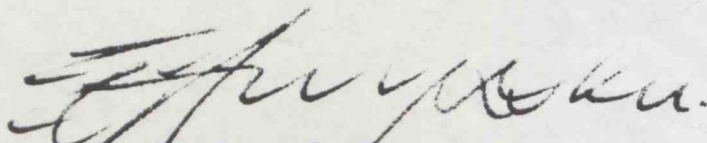
I am writing in similar terms to the Heads of all other Commonwealth Governments.

With deep respect,

Emeka Anyaoku

ENDS

With kind regards,


Emeka Anyaoku

The RT. HONOURABLE SIR PETER KENILOREA'S BIODATA

BORN: 1943
HOME VILLAGE: RARA, EAST ARE ARE, MALAITA PROVINCE
MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED WITH 8 CHILDREN

1. Education

Diploma of Education New Zealand in 1967

2. Work Experience/History

- (a) 1968 - 1970 School Master King George VI Secondary School
- (b) 1971 Transferred to Government Civil Service as Assistant Secretary for Finance
- (c) 1972 Appointed District Officer-Malaita District.
- (d) 1973 - 1974 Head of the Department for all Urban Land Administration and Registration.
- (e) 1974 - 1975 Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet and Secretary to the Chief Minister.
- (f) 1975 - 1976 District Commissioner, Eastern Solomons, and also appointed 1st Class Magistrate 1975.
- (g) 1976 Elected to the National Legislative Assembly as member for the East Are Are Constituency-a seat he has since represented in Parliament up to the present.
- (h) Following the General Election in 1976 he was then elected by the General Assembly as the Chief Minister (Head of the Elected Government)

- (i) 1978 First Prime Minister on Independence and was responsible for all matters of Foreign Relations and Solomon Islands National Security.
- (j) 1980 Re-elected as Member of Parliament in the 1980 General Election and was further elected as Prime Minister by Parliament.
- (k) 1981 - 1984 Leader of Opposition
- (l) 1984 - 1986 Elected as Prime Minister for the 3rd time.
- (m) 1986 - 1988 Deputy Prime Minister and Minister responsible for Foreign Affairs.
- (n) 1989 Re-elected as Member of Parliament for the same Constituency.
- (o) 1990 Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Relations up till present.

3. Regional and International Experiences

- (a) As Head of Government 1976-1981, was responsible for Solomon Islands National Security and its Foreign Relations.
- (b) 1978 Negotiated for Solomon Islands Membership of the United Nations (UN)
- (c) Negotiated and signed the first Aid Package with EEC for Solomon Islands - 1978.
- (d) 1979 Chaired the South Pacific Forum Meeting in Honiara.
- (e) 1979 - 1985 Represented Solomon Islands at all Heads of Commonwealth Meetings-

- (f) 1985 Chaired the South Pacific Conference (SPC) in Honiara.

Have represented Solomon Islands in numerous Regional and International meetings, dialogues etc....

4. AWARDS

- (a) Recipient of the Queen's Silver Medal - 1977
- (b) Was Conferred a Queen's Privy Councillor (PC) - 1979
- (c) Awarded Solomon Islands Independence Medal - 1978
- (d) Knighted by Her Majesty The Queen (KBE) - 1982
- (e) Was awarded a Certificate for a distinguished international Leader of distinction by the State of Hawaii - 1984
- (f) Awarded the highest decoration for any Foreign Citizen - "The Order of Brilliant Star with Special Grand Cordon" by the Republic of China - 1985.
- (g) Awarded the Solomon Islands 10th Anniversary Medal 1988.

CURRICULUM VITAE

1. NAME : Arthur R.V. KHOZA
2. NATIONALITY : SWAZI
3. MARITAL STATUS : Married - Four children
4. ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS : Bachelor of Arts (Administration)
Degree - University of South Africa
(UNISA) : 1963
5. AGE : 51 years

6. WORK EXPERIENCE

- 1963 - 1964a) Assistant Establishments (Personnel)
Officer: Chief Secretary's Office.
- 1966 - 1967 b) Assistant Secretary: Department of Finance
and Development.
- 1967 c) Assistant Secretary: Ministry of Finance,
Commerce and Industry.
- 1968 - 1971 d) First Private Secretary (Under Secretary
Rank) to the First Prime Minister.
- e) Permanent Secretary 15 years in the
following Ministries:-
 - 1969 - 1971 (i) Foreign Affairs
 - 1971 (ii) Works, Power and Communications
 - 1971 - 1977 (iii) Justice
 - 1977 - 1978 (iv) Agriculture
 - 1978 - 1983 (v) Agriculture and Co-operatives.
- 1984 - 1986 f) Director of Agriculture: Preferential
Trade Area for Eastern and Southern
African States (PTA) - an Economic
Grouping of fifteen (now nineteen) member
States which co-operates in the fields of
Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Customs,
Monetary Affairs, Transport and
Communications.

g) Trade Treaty Negotiations:

- (i) Re-negotiation of the 1910 Southern African Customs Union Agreement (SACUA) during 1967/69;
- (ii) Negotiating and participating (as in (i) above) in the conclusion of trade treaties between Swaziland and Uganda, Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Egypt and Mozambique;
- (iii) Participation in the preparatory stages of the ACP-EEC Lome I and Lome II;
- (iv) Participating as Country Delegation Chief in the Inter-Governmental Negotiating Team (INT) for the Establishment of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa, and THRICE serving as the Team's Chairman.

h) Other:

- Director : Standard Bank Swaziland (10 years)
- Secretary: Royal Constitutional Commission
- Secretary: Committee on the Prerogative of Mercy
- Secretary: Public Service Reconstruction Committee
- Member : National Research Council
- Director : Swaziland Development and Savings Bank (7 years)
- Director : Simunye Royal Swaziland Sugar Corporation (6 years)
- Chairman : Simunye Resettlement Action Committee
- Chairman : Land Speculation Control Appeals Board
- Chairman : Swaziland Commercial Board
- Chairman : Land Purchase Committee
- Chairman : Swaziland Trade Fairs Limited Board of Directors (7 years)
- Member : Swaziland Sugar Quota Board (5 yrs)
- Member : Central Transport Administration Board of Management.
- Director : Swaziland National Provident Fund (6 years)

Member : Swaziland National Trust Commission
Member : Rural Development Committee
Chairman : Interministerial/Interinstitutional
Rural Development Co-ordinating
Committee (7 years)
Chairman : Diamond Jubilee Celebrations
Committee of Permanent Secretaries
Secretary: Geographical International
Boundaries Committee.

i) Current:

Director : Swaziland Industrial Development Co.
Deputy President: Swaziland Parliament
Chairman : Natural Resources Board
Chairman : Swaziland Printing & Publishing
Company Limited.
Chairman : Swaziland Electricity Board
Director : Beral (Swaziland) Pty Ltd

7. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES/SEMINARS ATTENDED

- a) Organization of African Unity - Ministerial and Summit (including the First Economic Summit)
- b) United Nations Organization General Assembly, UNECA - MULPOC, FAO, UNDP/TCDC
- c) The Commonwealth - Heads of Government and Senior Officials.
- d) The World Bank
- e) International Fund for Agricultural Development.
- f) International Red Locust Control Organization for Central and Southern Africa.
- g) FAO/DSE (German Foundation for International Development)
- h) World Bank/DSE
- i) World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
- j) Conference on Development in Africa.
- k) USAID Colloquium on Southern Africa.
- l) SADCC

- m) Non-Aligned Nations Conference
- n) AACC - on Southern Africa's Independence Issues.
- o) Southern African Customs Union Commission
- p) Served as Acting Chairman of Standard Bank of Swaziland and the Swaziland Development and Savings Bank on several occasions.
- q) Seminar on Pre and Post Independence Problems in Africa
- r) Seminar on National Objectives at Independence.
- s) Seminar on The Organization and Conduct of Foreign Policy.
- t) Administrative Officers Course.
- u) African Planners Conference.

NOTE: Served as Chairman of some of the Senior Government Official's Conferences.

8. OTHER

- a) Involvement in Development Aid Negotiations with ADB, EDF, ODM/ODA, IBRD, USAID and UNDP.
- b) His Majesty King Sobhuza II's Official Interpreter and Special Adviser (1969 - 1982)
- c) Chairman: Mater Dolorosa High School Governing Council.
- d) Secretary: Libandla Lemculu waSomhlolo (a national cultural organisation).
- e) Member: International Rivers Commission (RSA, Mozambique and Swaziland).

9. TRAVEL

Extensively in Africa, Europe, America and Asia.

10. DECORATIONS

The Swaziland Independence Medal.

The Rt.Hon. Sir Richard Luce, DL MP
c/o The House of Commons
Westminster,
London, SW1A 0AA

Office Tel.No. 071 219 4061

Richard Luce has served ten years as a Minister and over 20 years in Parliament. He has also had wide experience in other fields, including business.

Experience and Achievements.

1985-90. Minister for the Arts and Libraries:-

Devised a long-term strategy for the Arts.

Developed an effective partnership between public and private sectors.

Generated substantially increased business support for the arts.

Introduced procedures to decentralise decision-making for the public funding of the arts.

Held responsibility for construction of the Government's largest project - the British Library.

Substantially increased public funding for the arts.

For the same period 1985-90, he was Minister of State, Privy Council Office with day to day responsibility for the Civil Service.

Most notably, he was responsible for the introduction of the Next Steps reforms of the Civil Service to decentralise management decision making through the creation of Agencies for the provision of Government Services.

1979-82 and

1982 - 85. He was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for

Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and served two terms as Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

Over that time he was responsible for African Affairs, Latin America, the Middle East, the Far East, arms control, consular matters, the British Council and the Commonwealth.

In particular, he was Minister for African Affairs under Lord Carrington and took part in the negotiations which led to the Independence of Zimbabwe and he served under Sir Geoffrey Howe and held responsibility for Hong Kong at the time of the 1984 Joint Declaration to secure the future of Hong Kong.

He resigned with Lord Carrington in April, 1982 over the Falkland Islands and returned to Government in 1983.

Other Experience:-

His business experience includes:-
 non-executive Director of European Advisory Board of Corning Glass International S.A. 1974-79,
 Chairman of Courtenay Stewart International 1975-79.
 Marketing Manager in Gallaghers and Spirella in the '60s.

First Director of National Innovations Centre 1968-71.
National Service. He was commissioned in the Wiltshire Regiment and served in Cyprus (1955-57).

He was a District Officer in Kenya 1961-63.

Parliament - Entered for Arundel and Shoreham in 1971.
 Was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister for Trade and Consumer Affairs (Sir Geoffrey Howe) 1972-4.

An Opposition Whip 1974/5

An Opposition Spokesman for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 1977-79.

Additional Information

Born 14th October, 1936

Married

Two sons (1964 and 1968).

Education:- Wellington College 1950-55
 Christ's College, Cambridge (1957-60).
 Overseas Civil Service course at Oxford University, 1960-61.

Made a Privy Counsellor 1986 New Year Honours.

Knighthood in New Year Honours 1991

Made a Deputy Lieutenant for West Sussex March, 1991.

Additional present responsibilities:-

Member of the House of Commons Treasury and Civil Service Select Committee.

Member of British Board of UNICEF

Non-executive Director, Meridian Broadcasting

Chairman of Compass Ltd., (A classics theatre touring company).

Non-executive Director A-Z Map Company Ltd.

Recreations

Walking, enjoying the arts, swimming, reading, piano, painting.

April 1991.

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

ce Pagan
e 00 7/xi
Port Moresby
28 November 1990

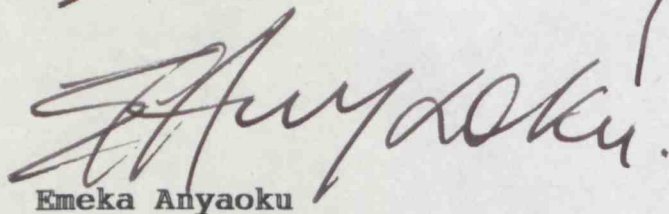
Dear Prime Minister,

I did not imagine that I would be writing to you again quite so soon after our last correspondence; but this for me is a particularly happy letter to write in that it brings my warmest congratulations.

Your triumph in the Conservative leadership contest this week is most richly deserved and you bring to the office of Prime Minister the admirable qualities that were so clearly in evidence in Trinidad and Tobago where you played such a pivotal role at the last Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting. I much look forward to working with you on a wider Commonwealth basis and especially look forward to your participation in the London meeting next January of the Ten Heads of Government involved in the High-Level Appraisal of the role of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond.

My wife joins me in sending warmest good wishes to you and Mrs Major as you embark on your new responsibilities.

With deep respect
Yours Sincerely


Emeka Anyaoku

The Rt Hon John Major MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland

File
SRW



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

19 July 1990

Dear Secretary-General

Thank you for your letter of 2 July, written on your first working day in office as Commonwealth Secretary-General. May I repeat what I told you when you kindly came to see me the following day: we very much look forward to working with you, and we wish you well in your new responsibilities.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Raymond Shabara

His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku

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C.P.C.

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Richard

I think we should reply on with him well on his new work

CPG

2 July 1990

4/7

Dear Prime Minister,

On my first working day in office as your new Secretary-General, I want to take the opportunity of sending you my greetings and reaffirming how much I look forward to the task that you have asked me to undertake.

In so many ways, the auspices are bright. With the recent happy accession of Namibia to make it 50 sovereign nations now in membership, the Commonwealth can claim a solid record of real achievement over a whole range of activities. As was evident from your deliberations at Kuala Lumpur last October, it also has confidence in itself and in its future. I therefore approach my new duties with the firm belief that the Commonwealth can attain new levels of cohesion and valuable service to its member countries and the international community as a whole.

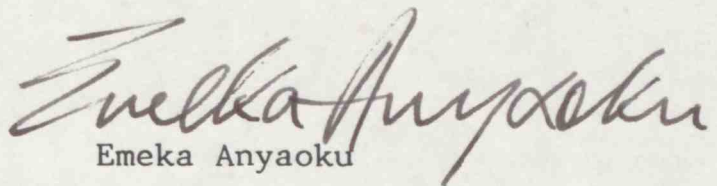
The tasks ahead are many and varied. Among them are those of pursuing the objectives and ideals to which Commonwealth governments have committed themselves in the various declarations since the Singapore Declaration of 1971, and of implementing the various practical decisions and requests that form the basis of the Secretariat's ongoing services to member governments. In this context, I shall want to give early attention to the High Level Appraisal of the possible roles of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond which you initiated at Kuala Lumpur. I believe that the Appraisal will not only provide invaluable guidance for the future directions of our concerns and work; it will also assist me in my determination to ensure that the Secretariat continues to match most cost-effectively the totality of resources available from governments with priority Commonwealth programmes and activities.

The Right Hon Margaret Thatcher, MP
Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

- 2 -

I do not underrate the difficulties along the way. I do not take lightly the responsibility placed upon me. But I know that in fulfilling my commission I can expect your trust, your guidance and your support. That knowledge encourages me to face the future with confidence and with hope.

With deep respect,


Emeka Anyaoku

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

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25 June, 1990

CA

Dear Mrs Thatcher,

I write to take leave as I prepare to hand over to Emeka Anyaoku the reins of office as Secretary-General in a few days time. I am grateful for the opportunity I have had in recent weeks of doing so personally and I shall cherish your generosity on that occasion.

The 15 years since 1975 have been exciting and fulfilling ones for me; but, most of all, they have been privileged years. That is my lasting feeling; the great privilege it has been to have had the confidence and friendship of Commonwealth leaders. I thank you most warmly and sincerely for that opportunity to serve. In recent weeks, many generous things have been said about my efforts. I shall not let them go to my head; but I assure you they have gone to my heart.

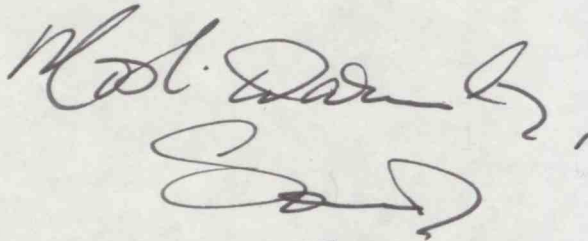
Earlier this month, the Commonwealth Trust and the Royal Institute for International Affairs invited me to give a valedictory address in London. Since it fills out my thoughts as I leave Marlborough House, I enclose a copy for you; and I am sending you as well two other publications which I hope you will find of interest, especially the record of the Commonwealth's contribution to international economic issues over the last 15 years. The other is a more personal memento. You will see from my address that I look to the Commonwealth's future with much confidence - confidence resting in large measure on the very special quality and commitment of the Commonwealth's political leadership.

2/...

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

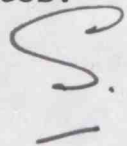
I hope that over the years ahead I may be able to keep in touch with you; as you said when I took your leave after your marvellous dinner at Downing Street, always in friendliness. As my life after the Secretariat settles into some pattern, I hope of usefulness, I shall ensure that you know what I am doing.

With deep personal gratitude for all your support and many kindnesses, and with sincere good wishes for your success and personal happiness.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Shridath S. Ramphal', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Shridath S. Ramphal

P.S. I have just received some marvellous photographs from the dinner occasion which will be very treasured momentos.

Handwritten initials 'S.I.' in dark ink, written vertically.

Keeping the Faith

*From Kingston
to Kuala Lumpur
and Beyond*



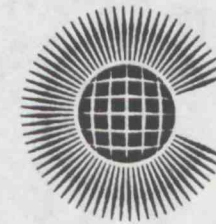
A valedictory address by the
Commonwealth Secretary-General

Shridath S Ramphal

London, 11 June 1990

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Shridath S Ramphal

to the Commonwealth Trust
in collaboration with
The Royal Institute for International Affairs
The Royal African Society
The Britain-Tanzania Society
The Britain-Zimbabwe Society

London, 11 June 1990

Keeping the Faith: From Kingston to Kuala Lumpur and Beyond

As is appropriate to this occasion, let me begin at the end, not the beginning. A few weeks ago in Nigeria's new capital in the making - Abuja - the 'CFMSA' (the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa) held a very successful meeting which Nelson Mandela attended. The Ministers ended their meeting with farewells to me; but one Minister went rather further.

Rashleigh Jackson is now Guyana's much respected Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had been my Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when I was Foreign Minister and was our Permanent Representative to the United Nations in 1975 when I left Guyana to assume my appointment as Secretary-General in London. We had been friends since schooldays. His intervention at Abuja was in the nature of a confession. He said that he wanted his fellow Ministers to know that when he had written to me in 1975 congratulating me on the appointment, he had felt obliged to convey his feeling that I was doing the wrong thing in coming to the Commonwealth. Today, he said simply, he wanted me, and his colleagues, to know that he was wrong. That, for me, was eulogy enough; and it helps me to start this address with a reminder of the Commonwealth in 1975: not to make a claim of some kind for my stewardship, but to put Commonwealth achievements in perspective.

Rashleigh Jackson had not been the only one to harbour doubts. I remember Indira Gandhi questioning me closely as to whether I would really be able (as she said) 'to do something with the Commonwealth'. In finally acquiescing in my judgment that it was an effort worth making, she counselled: 'then you must give it a good push'.

Why these doubts?

The answer is that in 1975 we were in a time of transition. In fact, the process towards a more modern, dynamic Commonwealth - which Mrs Gandhi, for example, was urging on me - had already started before I

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came to the Secretariat, in Arnold Smith's time. The transition had been assured, in a particularly significant way, by the very last decision Commonwealth leaders took at Singapore in 1971, namely, to accept Pierre Trudeau's invitation to meet next in Ottawa. A once sceptical, intellectual, altogether modern Prime Minister was about to take a hand. The contemporary Commonwealth became discernibly more contemporary at the Ottawa meeting he chaired in 1973 - a meeting that owed much to imaginative preparation and the skills of Ivan Head at his Prime Minister's side.

Some foundations had been laid at Singapore; notably the establishment of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation; by Ottawa, the transition was under way. The doubts being expressed to me in 1975 were more influenced by pre-Ottawa impressions than by these new beginnings - which were to be confirmed and taken further at Michael Manley's meeting in Jamaica in 1975: the meeting at which I was appointed.

That Jamaica meeting, it is worth remembering, saw the first full-scale North/South debate in a Commonwealth setting: between Harold Wilson and Forbes Burnham as the opening speakers and involving many others - such as Trudeau and Tun Abdul Razak, Gough Whitlam, Bill Rowling and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Nyerere and Dom Mintoff. The Commonwealth I came to was already responding to the 'push' Mrs Gandhi was urging on me. In a sense, the 15 years of my stewardship have been a time for taking forward what had already begun; a time of opportunity.

I came to the Commonwealth with the broad issues of economic development (those 'North/South' issues) high on my agenda of concern. It was the time of the 6th and 7th UN Special Sessions on Development Co-operation; it was the time of the 'energy crisis' - what I preferred then to describe (and still do) as the 'energy catalyst'. In fact, out of the Wilson/Burnham debate in Kingston had come the establishment of the first of what was to become a prominent feature of the Commonwealth's new style of working - the 'expert group': a pooling of the intellectual resources of the Commonwealth on a North/South basis to assist the process of Commonwealth and wider international dialogue through working away from the polemics and public confrontations of the UN system. In 1975, it was the McIntyre Group on issues of the 'NIEO', the New International Economic Order; twelve other expert groups were to follow in the next 15 years. Throughout the period, those economic issues never left the Commonwealth's agenda; nor are they likely to do so in the years ahead.

Southern African issues were present too. After all, Joshua Nkomo, Sam Nujoma and Bishop Muzorewa were all in the wings in Kingston.

There was even a very non-official meeting with them - so 'non-official' that Trudeau pointedly avoided sitting behind Canada's nameplate. Namibia's invitation to join the Commonwealth on independence was issued at that Kingston meeting. Southern African issues would clearly continue to be major ones for the Commonwealth.

Nothing marked this more pointedly than the collapse from 1974 of Portuguese power in Southern Africa - in Mozambique and Angola. The Commonwealth was much involved; Frelimo's Samora Machel and Portugal's Mario Soares signed the documents signalling the beginning of the end of Portuguese colonialism in Africa at the State House in Lusaka - around the same table (as President Kaunda reminded me only two weeks ago) where the Commonwealth was later - 15 years later - to meet formally with Nelson Mandela, free at last. These two events - at the beginning and the end of my years in the Secretariat - are huge marker buoys on a journey the Commonwealth had to make across a turbulent passage. Our way towards freedom and justice in Southern Africa was charted for us. We have stayed the course; and now we see the harbour lights faintly. We could still founder in the shallows; but we are so much nearer to that journey's end.

Given all this, is it any wonder that in 1975 I should see what lay ahead as exciting for the Commonwealth, for the Secretariat and for me? And so it has been.

There was something else, something hugely encouraging: I felt sure of the Commonwealth's political leadership. I believed that among our Heads of Government were some of the finest political minds in the world and that together they would give me support in moving the Commonwealth forward. After all, they included Pierre Trudeau, Commonwealth leaders of the Caribbean that I greatly respected, Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere, Indira Gandhi, Gough Whitlam and Lee Kuan Yew, and (in London) the Harold Wilson-Jim Callaghan combination. A new Secretary-General had every reason to assume the existence of a political leadership in the Commonwealth conducive to enlightened movement forward - even if the journey was of uncertain course and duration and would eventually take me from Kingston past Kuala Lumpur, and last all of 15 years. I was strongly aware that, whatever the hazards, faith in the Commonwealth's potential would be my personal credo. If, today, I would claim anything for my stewardship it might be that, in the words of St Paul to Timothy: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith'.

The Commonwealth's leadership was, of course, to change, through democracy, or other dismissal or death. As it did, I had to guard myself against talking of 'losing leaders'; for, in truth, there were balancing gains - Malcolm Fraser and eventually Bob Hawke, Brian Mulroney and Rajiv Gandhi; Robert Mugabe, Mahathir Mohamad, George Vassiliou and many others from states small and large who would vitalise the collective leadership; and, of course, prominent among post-1975 leaders, guaranteeing the Commonwealth's robustness and political diversity, Margaret Thatcher and Eddie Seaga and Rob Muldoon. All were to play extraordinarily significant roles in those years of keeping the faith.

And that brings me to a point I must make about Commonwealth leaders and, more particularly, about their biennial Meetings or 'CHOGMs' - the acronym coined at Melbourne in 1981 that I fear has come to stay.

These meetings are, of course, the Commonwealth in its most visible form; but it is not to this public image that I refer. The Ottawa Meeting in 1973 began a new phase in the managed informality of Commonwealth meetings. Pierre Trudeau worked hard at making that Meeting a better forum for dialogue; it was the Ottawa Meeting that initiated the 'retreat weekend' and saw an overt effort to break the mould of set speeches. Developing this process of getting the 'style and format' of Heads of Government Meetings right was to become for me a major preoccupation. In this, I was greatly assisted by a succession of Chairmen of superb quality over the last 15 years: Jim Callaghan (1977), Kenneth Kaunda (1979), Malcolm Fraser (1981), Indira Gandhi (1983), Lynden Pindling (1985 and 1986), Brian Mulroney (1987) and Mahathir Mohamad (1989).

The notion of CHOGM as a meeting of Heads of Government themselves - their 'own' meeting - is at the very heart of this process. It is this which has given Commonwealth summit meetings their very special character. It is not a meeting of Governments at the summit. It is not a meeting prepared by Foreign Ministers and passed on to Presidents and Prime Ministers for fine tuning and final compromises. It is not even a meeting of Heads of Government participating as heads of national delegations. To a quite remarkable degree, the quality of direct personal conversation and contact which must have characterised the early pre-1948 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meetings - when members were as few as five - has carried over to our much larger meetings.

No one would venture to describe a meeting of 50 Heads of Government as an intimate affair - certainly not in the context of the accompanying media counterpoint; but CHOGMs certainly have a quality of club-like interaction that comes close to intimacy. Commonwealth lead-

ers do feel themselves to be in a special relationship with each other - to a much greater degree than exists at a country-to-country, or even government-to-government level. The much talked-about 'chemistry' of a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting is a reality, and it is essentially a chemistry between Heads of Governments themselves: political leaders engaged in an effort to reach each other's minds on major issues across the vastly different circumstances that separate them. No one pretends that these Meetings are gatherings of likeminded leaders held together by invisible bonds of solidarity. They are not. It is primarily because they are not of this nature that the leaders themselves value the chance to probe and understand each other's point of view and, as a result, sometimes, to agree to do things in cooperation with each other. Those agreements determine what the Commonwealth does; getting to them, is the very essence of what the Commonwealth is.

I have gone on about this at some length because it is so important. When I first came to the Secretariat in 1975, I was uneasy about the word 'club' being used to describe the Commonwealth. It seemed to summon up all the wrong images of an 'old boy network'; and of exclusivity if not elitism. But I was to find - in African and Asian countries in particular - that it was the word most often used to describe the Commonwealth. In the end, I joined the user club. Clearly the image of a special relationship, of intimacy, which club membership connotes was acceptable for Commonwealth countries across the board.

At the Langkawi Retreat last October, Commonwealth leaders discussed a proposal I had made in my report to them, that perhaps the time had come for a high-level group to consider the role of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond, some 40 years after 1949 - taking the 1949 London Declaration as the beginning of the modern Commonwealth. It was a quite remarkable discussion which, by the convention of secrecy of retreat discussions, will not find its way into the official records of Kuala Lumpur; but which, I can say to you, reflected a special quality of confidence in the Commonwealth among the political leadership of this remarkable club. They liked the proposal; they even transformed it into a 'highest-level' group, that is, a committee of themselves, comprising the leaders of all those countries who had hosted Commonwealth summit meetings. And they were particularly anxious that it should be a review rooted not in doubt about the Commonwealth's value but in assurance that what lay ahead of it was a fulfilling future which they were determined further to enhance. Brian Mulroney personally suggested the words in the Communiqué: 'all Commonwealth leaders expressed pride in the Commonwealth and appreciation for its contributions to peace, social justice and economic progress among its members and in the wider world'. And the Com-

munique went on: 'In looking ahead to the role of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond, they recognised that the Commonwealth will continue to have a distinctive and enlarging role to play'. This, after more than a decade of bruising disagreements on Southern African issues.

I do not mean to imply that Commonwealth leaders value the Commonwealth essentially for these biennial summits. For many Commonwealth leaders the Commonwealth has become something of unique worth in the functional sense. They welcome CHOGMS as much for the practical as for the intellectual dimension. There is no need to be reticent about the vast differences, the great disparities, in the situations of member countries that underline this. A Commonwealth summit is an immensely important opportunity for Presidents and Prime Ministers of smaller developing countries (who for the most part are not players on the world stage) to put their concerns and fears (and sometimes complaints) to their colleagues who are major players. The papers that are prepared for a Heads of Government Meeting – for example, on world economic issues – are documents which many Governments greatly value and which could not have been prepared in many capitals on local resources only. The discussion of these issues and, best of all, agreement to work together on some of them, is of incalculable value.

This development gap between member countries is the most basic difference between them. It is a gap that is bound to determine the nature of the Commonwealth and its roles. Today, the Commonwealth is a community of 46 developing and 4 developed countries. There are special cases like Singapore and Brunei with per capita incomes of some US\$10,000 and US\$15,000 respectively and, at another level, India with 800 million of the Commonwealth's one and a half billion people. The point is, however, that, for the greater part, the Commonwealth is a 'club' whose predominant membership is drawn from the world's developing countries – of Asia and Africa, of the Pacific and the Caribbean and the Mediterranean. It is true that they are in varying stages of development; but all are developing countries in a qualitative sense.

Britain and Canada, on the other hand, are two of the seven major industrial countries that now meet each year at the summit level and, in effect, seek to manage the world economy. This gives the Commonwealth an enormous potential for bridge-building; it also underlines the reality that for almost the whole of the Commonwealth's membership the highest priority – in some cases, the overwhelming preoccupation – is

development. The concomitant of this must be that, for these member countries at least, the Commonwealth's relevance must rest essentially on its commitment to development and its capacity to assist development.

I cannot, after 15 years, emphasise this too strongly. It has been confirmed by virtually every Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in recent years: from Kingston's penetrating exchanges on 'NIEO' issues, to London in 1977 when Michael Manley and Malcolm Fraser and the late Hussain Onn enlivened the meeting with their exchanges on the Common Fund – and led the Commonwealth eventually to play a major role in securing international agreement. And so on, over the years, to the discussions and decisions at Kuala Lumpur on both development and environment, with illuminating and diverse contributions from Brian Mulroney on the one hand and the Chairman (Dr Mahathir) and a 'post-NIEO' Michael Manley on the other.

In the years ahead, these problems of development will loom large as frontline issues in national and international policies; the Commonwealth will have a compulsion to confront them. It will also, with the Secretariat, have a capacity to do so constructively. But the Commonwealth will need to harness all its resources, and probably to enlarge them, if it is to sustain the credentials it has established in this area of development – particularly through the work of the Secretariat's Economic Affairs Division and of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation. I have little doubt that in the 1990s and beyond, development will be the yardstick by which the value of the Commonwealth is measured by most Commonwealth countries.

Confidence, however, cannot be compartmentalised. Part of the Commonwealth's authority on these economic issues derives from the Commonwealth's stand on racism. This stand is crucial; a Commonwealth of so many hues cannot but have an ethic of multiracialism at its core. Besides, Commonwealth countries in Southern Africa have borne the main burden of confronting and, in the case of Namibia, experiencing the worst example of structured and institutionalised racism in modern times in the form of apartheid in South Africa. That is why these issues have been at the forefront of Commonwealth affairs for 30 years now. They have produced the Commonwealth's greatest strains; and the Commonwealth's finest moments as well. This is not the place to go over this ground. Suffice it to say now that on this issue (and it colours many others) the Commonwealth's standing is high in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the wider world community.

It is high, of course, in African countries; but in Asian countries too, and, indeed, throughout the developing world which long ago identified with the anti-apartheid struggle. And it is high as well with that large part

of the white world which, like Scandinavia, has taken a similar stand. It has made all the difference, of course, that white Commonwealth countries (like Canada and Australia and New Zealand) should not only have shared, but also have helped to forge, the Commonwealth's overall stand in so prominent and committed a manner.

On its differences with Britain over sanctions, the rest of the Commonwealth faced a major test, and eventually took a decision which has had profound significance for the Commonwealth. Putting to one side the areas of agreement with Britain (and they are substantial), if the Commonwealth had been only as effective as its least activist member, only as resolute as its most reluctant member, on an issue of supreme moral and political importance – not to mention its economic and social significance – the result would have been immensely, perhaps irreparably, damaging to the organisation. Some judgments are better left to history; but I have no doubt whatever that the rest of the Commonwealth was right to stand for principle as it saw it and to agree to disagree with Britain – painful for the Commonwealth as that was. The Commonwealth today is stronger for these encounters and brings away from them credentials of much significance for its potential in the 1990s and beyond – during which time, and sooner rather than later, I expect a free, united, democratic South Africa to be with us in the Commonwealth: provided we stay the course and do not falter now.

Disagreements about South Africa have helped the Commonwealth to develop a cohesion and identity transcending the old British connection. But that must not lead us to believe that it is good either for the Commonwealth as a whole or for Britain that the British connection with the rest of the Commonwealth should be weakened. Such can never be a Commonwealth purpose. That connection remains important, indeed essential, if the Commonwealth is to achieve the objectives it has set itself. This does not, of course, depend on the rest of the Commonwealth alone; it depends as well on Britain recognising the value to itself of the Commonwealth connection, and the value of the Commonwealth to the wider world community. Sir Geoffrey Howe, in his address last year to the Commonwealth Press Union, was quite unequivocal in asserting the importance Britain attaches to the Commonwealth: 'Commonwealth links', he said, 'remain an invaluable element in our view of the world and in our diplomacy ... Our commitment to the Commonwealth is firm. It is substantial. And it is not, for us, a question of hollow sentiment or expediency. For there are many examples of the extent to which the Commonwealth occupies an important place in the international community and in our national life.' In her response to my proposal for an examination of the role of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond, Mrs Thatcher was no less positive last October. We

ed to see all this filled out in ways which boost public support for the Commonwealth and which take on board the reality that if pro-Commonwealth sentiment in Britain is encouraged to weaken, there are implications not only for the Commonwealth but, I would suggest, for Britain itself in its world roles in Europe and far beyond.

But this overall experience has a further reach. There will be other disagreements on crucial issues, and with other countries – and when these concern individual member countries, the issue of the Commonwealth not 'meddling' in the internal affairs of member countries may be called in aid of inaction. At such times, what will we do? I have no doubt what the Commonwealth should do. I recall what I put myself to Commonwealth leaders in 1977 as the appropriate path over the situation in Uganda, namely, that it should speak out against Amin's gross atrocities that had so palpably crossed any 'internal affairs' line. In the end, the Commonwealth was the stronger for taking that path. Fiji was another (very different) example, with racism compounded by the constitutional issues arising from its having opted, at the height of the crisis, to become a republic – forcing a Commonwealth decision on membership. There were other occasions, too, like the invasion of Grenada, or aggression in the Falklands, for Commonwealth voices to be raised. They were raised, always on the side of unimpeachable principle, and the Commonwealth's image was strengthened in every case – both among the broad range of Commonwealth folk and in the wider world community.

As it looks to the 1990s and beyond, the Commonwealth must not seek only those ways that avoid turbulence; for some turbulence may be important from time to time to the renewal of the Commonwealth's essential purpose. The touchstone must be principle. It is principle which should provide consistency to Commonwealth action. There will always be interests pulling countries away from principled positions; but their primacy over principle can and must be resisted. There were few obvious votes to be gained, for example, for Brian Mulroney in Canada or Bob Hawke in Australia in their stand with the Commonwealth on sanctions. But they knew that politics is about more than electoral considerations. Principle and a sense of solidarity held them in a compact of common purpose with the Commonwealth's front-line states and the victims of apartheid; and history will honour their stand. What this points up in terms of potential is that the 'club'

must have an ethos, and over big issues – like apartheid – its potential for influencing events will turn on its capacity to speak and act in substantial unison in an ethical way.

I have not, of course, visited all fifty capitals of the Commonwealth before I pass the Secretary-Generalship to my successor; but I have visited some, and seen many political leaders one way or another over recent months. I have tried on each occasion to impress on them the importance of their personal support for the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is, in part at least, a political facility; it needs the commitment of member countries and it needs the commitment of their political leadership. Maintaining that commitment will call for many things; one is the bond of confidence with the Secretary-General. The organisation is too small – and rightly small – to develop a highly bureaucratic process which will leave the Secretary-General managing the Secretariat's budget and programmes. The role of the Secretary-General must never degenerate into what Mr Muldoon once advised me to confine myself to, namely, 'keeping the minutes'. There is an important managerial role to be sure. But the Secretary-General's direct links with Heads of Government are a major strength to the Commonwealth and to the Secretariat, and a vital means of sustaining the support, involvement, and commitment of Heads of Government in respect of our association.

That is on the positive side, and my successor will enjoy that access as I did, and will share that confidence. But there is another side which could be a cause of future disquiet. We must all ensure that a gap does not develop between the genuinely enlightened and supportive mood that the 'chemistry' among Commonwealth leaders generates, and the translation of that support into practical action. The issue goes beyond resources. The Secretariat is not a big spender; but because of that it can be quickly reduced in effectiveness by lack of means. We must not allow this to happen – by mischance, still less by intent.

And things must be kept in perspective. In 1975 (with the Commonwealth's membership at 34), the size of the Secretariat-funded establishment was 210; today (with the membership at 50), it is 232. A staff increase, therefore, of 22 (or 10 per cent) in 15 years, and most of this arose directly from our new activities in Commercial Crime, in Women and Development, in Human Rights, and in support to the Commonwealth Science Council. There are few institutions anywhere that can boast so negligible a quantitative growth together with, what I hope you all agree has been, an upward qualitative trend.

Moreover, a distinction between 'big payers' and the rest is an illusion. All contribute, and £55,000 a year from Belize is in fact a much higher real burden than £2 million plus from Britain. The quantum of a small country's contribution must never relegate it to a peripheral role

the decision-making process or, worse still, justify its interests being subordinated to those who contribute larger amounts but actually carry smaller burdens.

It goes without saying that, in this work, we must always be ready to respond to the needs of relevance; I believe we have been doing so continuously. I myself proposed, for example, at Kuala Lumpur, an 'elections observer facility' designed to strengthen democracy in member countries; but the emphasis is on strengthening. The claims of fashion must not lead us to ignore that for most of the people of the Commonwealth, democracy is a reality and basic human rights widely respected. There are blemishes and inadequacies; but no one is blameless in every respect and it behoves none to be pontifical. It comes down to a question of striking the right balance, and putting first what comes first for the overwhelming majority of Commonwealth folk. The poverty trap, for example, remains the greatest assault on the totality of human freedoms.

In the years ahead, the Commonwealth, and the Secretariat which serves it, will have many legitimate concerns. They are already increasing. Last year's Kuala Lumpur summit gave us more mandates than ever, to add to ongoing activities – like 'environment' or the 'management of technological change', to which Governments attach major importance. 'Value for money' has been our watchword over the years – but 'value' in terms of 'value for the Commonwealth', to help unlock the full potential of the Commonwealth, of its countries and its peoples. That must remain our overriding common purpose.

And the great changes taking place in the world are certain to increase, not diminish, the Commonwealth's role. Forty-five years after 1945, the world looks set on a wholly new course. The end of the post-war era (so often proclaimed) is certainly here. Political events in Central and Eastern Europe, economic events in both Western and Eastern Europe, a free trade area in the Americas (which may yet include Mexico and perhaps even Brazil), economic configurations on the Pacific Rim – all point to new and challenging times for all countries; but to times with more than a tinge of danger for smaller and poorer countries in Africa, Asia, the South Pacific and the Caribbean. But there are changes with wider significance still. Issues of the environment will dominate the end years of this century and the first years of the next – with developed and developing countries again having very different perceptions and practical interests, even when they agree on the basic need to respond together to the threat to human survival. All this is bound to lead – is, I believe, already leading – to questions of global governance; reluctantly at first, but with quickening compulsion.

This is the world of tomorrow. It is one, I believe, that will need the Commonwealth: 50 countries working together in a habitual way across the old and new divides – and increasingly doing so in catalytic ways that help world society as a whole. Recently, New Zealand was the scene of the Commonwealth Law Conference and the triennial meeting of Commonwealth Law Ministers. These were occasions of profound significance for the law – for the rule of law in Commonwealth domestic jurisdictions, which is truly a golden thread of enduring strength and lustre in the tapestry of Commonwealth co-operation. The lawyers achieved a number of practical advances on such contemporary issues as drug abuse, human rights and the environment; but, most important, it was their spirit of fraternity which helped them to do together what would otherwise have remained undone. This spirit is part of what the Commonwealth has to offer the world.

The world of tomorrow will not be the bi-polar world of yesterday; it will have great variety in other respects, and its own dangers. The new freedoms, first seen in a context of greater superpower harmony and, therefore, of reduced regional conflicts, may, for example, in fact produce new tensions. We could slip from the richness of diversity into the chaos of separateness: ethnicity, language, religion, tribalism of all kinds threatening the break-up of established societies through unilateral action that makes an absolute madness of self-determination. And on the economic side, too, dangers could be in store with the temptation to inwardness that new economic blocs hold out: summoning up anew a selfish, protective, greedy world in which the small and the poor become endangered species – either through hegemony or marginalisation.

Yet it will be a world of global counter-compulsions demanding oneness not separateness; demanding international solidarity in sharing our planet rather than a power struggle for its diminishing resources; international concordance in action to recover, protect and sustain a habitable environment; demanding, most of all, co-operation on a universal scale resting on agreement not dictation to save our endangered planet.

The Commonwealth is specially well placed to give a lead. At Vancouver, we led the world in alerting it to the dangers of climate change and sea-level rise. At Kuala Lumpur, the Langkawi Declaration broke new ground in agreement between North and South on approaches to the environment crisis, and Guyana's recent offer of a part of its Amazonian rainforest for a Commonwealth-led pilot project on sustainable forest development has opened up great possibilities for a practical demonstration of global co-operation for survival. In all these

areas, the Commonwealth must continue to lead – despite the temptation of faintheartedness or a lack of imagination and of boldness which must always be overcome if great efforts are to succeed.

It will be a world in search of an ethic of human survival; a search for that 'chemistry' between the world's rich and poor that the Commonwealth has shown to be possible; a search that can only be furthered by the co-mingling of some, at least, of the world's variety – in the Commonwealth. This world will need the Commonwealth more and more. Already the rest of the world, I believe, senses this. The Commonwealth has a duty to respond by living up to the high regard in which it is held; by at least trying to fulfil these valid expectations.

We have collectively, over the 45 years of the post-war era, 'fought a good fight' and 'kept the faith'. Now, as my personal course is run, I am emboldened to say that the reward for all those past efforts is a Commonwealth vocation to do more: but to do more now in a world, our Commonwealth world and the wider one, that knows and values – and no longer doubts – the Commonwealth's potential. We must not snap this evolution. It is good for the Commonwealth, and it is good for the world.

There are, of course, there always will be, opposing forces. Bigotry, nationalism, instincts of dominance, vested interests of many kinds, ideology (economic no less than political), sometimes a lack of vision – will lead to criticism and even to vilification of the Commonwealth. Much of this is an occupational hazard – not to be taken casually, but not to be allowed to frighten or divert us either. For there is ever-enlarging evidence among people of all walks of life around the Commonwealth, Britain included, that the overwhelming sentiment is for the Commonwealth and on the side of the Commonwealth's common purpose.

We have to build consciously on that support; and we have to look to the people and organisations of the unofficial Commonwealth for some of that help. There will be ever greater co-operation with the Commonwealth Trust and Commonwealth organisations around the world. And I urge more resources for the Commonwealth Foundation. A Commonwealth of people which values people action needs such agencies to facilitate their good deeds and to make their advocacy of the Commonwealth purpose viable. The inter-governmental Commonwealth is hardly credible without being validated by support from the

grassroots – support which needs fostering and recognition. This other Commonwealth is the 'club' at its most personal and involving, and often at its most immediately relevant to the lives of individuals. The glamour of the Commonwealth Games – happily now stronger than ever – is one side of the coin; the other is the huge amount of practical, often unglamorous yet immensely worthwhile work which goes on. I am full of admiration for it, and it is good that the unofficial Commonwealth will be making its own, I am sure typically imaginative and innovative, input into the leaders' appraisal of the role of the Commonwealth in the 1990s and beyond. The appraisal itself will be the richer for it.

In the last 15 years we have done great things together. We have administered programmes of technical assistance costing over £240 million and this year, for the first time, we shall be working to a plan of expenditure in the CFTC, the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, of £30 million. We have seen the Industrial Development Unit grow from crystallisation of a need in 1979 in Bangalore to a facility of substantial importance to small, and not so small, developing countries. We have seen the Secretariat's efforts in debt management through the Technical Assistance Group achieve real practical results with a reach even beyond Commonwealth shores. Together, we have established the Commonwealth of Learning in Vancouver – our first pan-Commonwealth centre of action outside London and a great promise of helping to close the knowledge gap that looms. We are soon to launch the Commonwealth Equity Fund which aims to mobilise investment for Commonwealth developing countries.

We have helped Zimbabwe and Namibia to freedom, and we will stay with South Africa on the final stretch of freedom's road. Of all international organisations, it is the Commonwealth which has been the most purposeful and effective in keeping the issue of apartheid on the international agenda and catalysing international action. We have seen Pakistan rejoin us in a wholly harmonious manner; and, amidst all this, we have become the leading edge of international effort to help small states reduce their vulnerability. We have done all these things and much more. They have not been the Secretary-General's doing. Mine was simply the enormous privilege of playing a part in a process of continuous evolution that springs naturally from the validity of the Commonwealth idea and the quality of its experience.

I cannot end this reflection without words of particular relevance in this our host capital. Some countries outside our association sometimes have great difficulty understanding how Her Majesty The Queen can be Head of the Commonwealth and not the sovereign head of every Commonwealth country. The Commonwealth, however, has no such difficulty of comprehension. Indeed, it was the Commonwealth's gift for evolution and adjustment that made possible the 1949 London Declaration setting out that role for Her Majesty in the context of a changing Commonwealth and changing world realities. I want to say simply that Her Majesty's service to the Commonwealth has been an inestimable asset. High among the qualities that Her Majesty has brought to Commonwealth affairs is her great spirit of caring. If we all care as much for the Commonwealth as The Queen does, and has done throughout her lifetime of association with it, the Commonwealth will face the 1990s and the new millennium with even greater confidence.

I hope an outgoing Secretary-General may also, without impropriety, register a word of deep gratitude to Her Majesty's Private Secretaries over the years: Martin Charteris, Phillip Moore and now Bill Heseltine – who also leaves office shortly. They have been counsellors and friends of great worth. The Commonwealth owes them (but little knows to what degree) an inordinate debt of gratitude which I gladly acknowledge.

And I am deeply indebted to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in particular, but to Her Majesty's Government in general, for innumerable courtesies and kindnesses without which I and my colleagues in the Secretariat simply could never have managed. This is our host capital; we cannot function without continuous help, support and co-operation from our host government – and in my 15 years of office there has never once been a moment when we have not enjoyed these assets. When I was saying farewell to Heads of Government collectively at Kuala Lumpur I tried to convey my gratitude for all this. I wish to do so again here in London.

I have had the most particular help from a succession of Foreign Secretaries, from Jim Callaghan, from David Owen, from Peter Carrington (even when we disagreed – when he was 'swimming the Atlantic'!), from Francis Pym, from Geoffrey Howe, from John Major and now from Douglas Hurd: help from them personally and from the many Ministers who worked with them over the wide range of Commonwealth affairs. The Commonwealth's record of success against the FCO at cricket is somewhat patchy; but, in our record of collaboration across a wide area of work, we have had every reason to know that the title 'Foreign and Commonwealth Office' has a serious functional meaning. To the very many officials of the FCO who have been our interlocutors over the years,

whose professionalism we have come to respect and whose friendship we have always valued, I record my lasting gratitude. It is a professionalism and a friendship which, I am proud to say, have counterparts among officials in every Commonwealth capital where the Secretariat does its work.

In so much of what I have talked about, Emeka Anyaoku has been by my side. His support and loyalty have been invaluable to all we have achieved. He will need your help. I know it will be given to him as generously as it was given to me. The Commonwealth is in good hands - his and yours and the hands of all those you symbolise: hands clasped around the Commonwealth - keeping faith with its highest, noblest purposes.

Commonwealth



Secretariat

File

885



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

13 September 1989

The Prime Minister was most grateful to receive your Report on the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat over the past two years, and has asked me to thank you for it.

Charles Powell

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

KK

202/19

1 September 1989

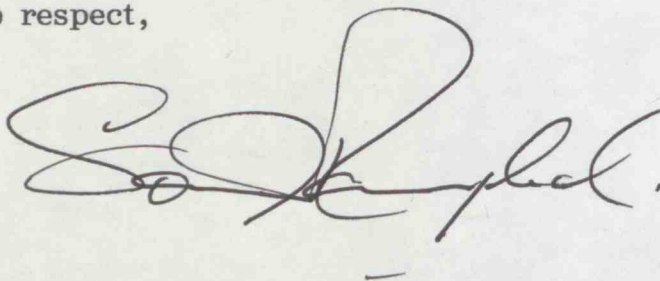
Dear Sir Minister,

I have pleasure in sending you my Report covering the work of the Secretariat in the past two years.

In the Introduction to the Report, I have elaborated on some of the issues which will be before the Commonwealth Meeting in Malaysia next month and highlighted ways in which the Commonwealth might respond to the challenges and opportunities at hand.

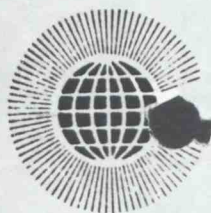
I hope you will find the Report useful. It will be publicly released on 28 September.

With deep respect,



Shridath S Ramphal

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



Commonwealth News Release

89/16

9 June 1989

A BAD WEEK FOR FREEDOM

The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Shridath Ramphal, issued the following statement today:

"Commonwealth countries have shared in the anger and sorrow of the international community over the events in China and there is a special sharing in the anguish of the people of Hong Kong. World opinion and world action must help to turn the rulers of China away from the path of repression, crushing as they go the first blooms of freedom.

South Africa is living testimony to the degeneracy of that path. That is why the Commonwealth will particularly condemn the renewal of the State of Emergency which has been continued in force on the ground that 'the level of violence in South Africa is unacceptably high'. So it is; but that is essentially the violence of apartheid perpetrated under the 'emergency'. As long ago as 1986, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group told the South African Government that what is required is 'a commitment to suspend the violence arising from the administration of apartheid'. The renewal of the emergency is South Africa's assertion that no such commitment is forthcoming.

And the Commonwealth today will send a message of hope that the Rev Frank Chikane, will recover from what appears to be attempts to assassinate him and that he will be able to resume his vital work for the cause of freedom in South Africa".



12.11
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ceff

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

5 October 1987

Dear Charles

Commonwealth Secretary-General's Report

Under cover of your letter of 4 September you sent us a copy of the Secretary-General's biennial report and his Introduction: "A Time for Renewal".

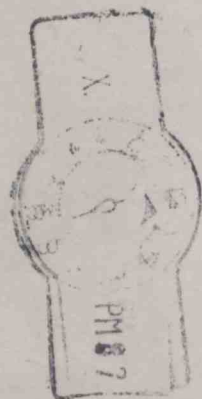
The report is a detailed account of Ramphal's stewardship over the last two years, and there is no need to bother the Prime Minister with it. The Prime Minister may however wish to glance again at the Introduction. The Foreign Secretary considers that this is a well crafted piece of work, which emphasises the positive side of the Commonwealth, and is generous in its references to the British contribution. The more significant passages are highlighted in the enclosed copy.

Yours truly

(R N Culshaw)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

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A Time for Renewal

**Introduction to the 1987 Report of the
Commonwealth Secretary-General
Shridath S. Ramphal**



A Time for Renewal

Two years ago, as I wrote my Introduction to the 1983-5 Report, I was looking back on a period of rising tension in the Commonwealth and warning against one of turbulence. Not surprisingly, I called that Introduction 'A Testing Time'. And so it has been since the Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau in October 1985. Some of what follows in this Report reflects the pressures of that time in Commonwealth affairs; but much of it confirms that co-operation has not always been a victim of discord. The Commonwealth faced its testing time and demonstrated a capacity to face up to differences and survive. We must not, however, make a virtue of disagreement. The search for consensus must remain at the heart of Commonwealth endeavour, whether in the area of practical co-operation within the Commonwealth or in our response to wider issues of world affairs. We will never be as effective as we can be, unless we act in concert. There is a major obligation on all to keep striving to reach higher common ground.

At the moment, the Commonwealth's standing is high in the international community as a whole. There is an enlarging view beyond the Commonwealth that our association, its imperfections notwithstanding, is good for the world, and that it holds value for countries and peoples beyond its membership. The vitality of the Commonwealth has become a matter of importance to many. This is a daunting yet inspiring reality. It imposes on us a high duty to sustain and strengthen the Commonwealth.

The global setting

The Nassau meeting took place on the eve of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the United Nations. As it turned out, the United Nations itself was unable to reach agreement on a commemorative declaration. However, in the Nassau Declaration on World Order, the Commonwealth did, reflecting the perception of a growing body of people in all countries that 'in the world of today and of tomorrow, international co-operation is not an option but a necessity'. In that context, Commonwealth leaders warned against 'any movement away from multilateralism and internationalism, from a world aspiring to be governed by fair and open rules towards unilateral action and growing ascendancy of power in all spheres: economic, political and military'. That declaration was a major statement of the Commonwealth's commitment to world order; and it was more than an expression of hope, for Commonwealth leaders went on to pledge that they stood ready to 'place the Commonwealth's proven qualities of understanding and bridge-building across the divides of race, religion and economic and political systems, at the service of the United Nations and of all efforts to make it more effective'.

Those divides persist; but in a crucial area, the prospects are better now than they were at Nassau. In the area of international security, while there have been some set-backs, there has also been Reykjavik. Before Commonwealth leaders meet in October at Vancouver, there could be substantial progress on the reduction of nuclear arms in Europe and beyond. While this by itself will not still all fears of nuclear war, it can be the crossing of a threshold to a process by

which the two superpowers begin to release themselves from the trap of the nuclear arms race and free all humanity from the menace which that race has held over it. It is a process for which the Commonwealth must work assiduously; as Commonwealth leaders acknowledged in their Goa Declaration on International Security in 1983, none of their countries or peoples would be insulated from the threat posed to the future of civilisation by heightened tensions and a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals.

In all too many other respects, however, the global scene has shown little change for the better over the last two years; in some, it has become more troubled. The map of the world retains its scattering of conflict areas: Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Palestine, the Gulf. Apartheid South Africa continues to scar our civilisation. Cyprus is still divided. World economic prospects have become markedly bleaker and the alarm bells of another recession have begun to ring. International trade has turned sluggish, commodity prices have slumped, and protectionism is riding high. Deprivation has deepened, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. The debt bomb keeps ticking. The retreat from multilateralism has not been reversed. At Nassau, Commonwealth leaders expressed concern about the difficult world economic situation and the deep uncertainties about economic prospects. The majority of Commonwealth countries, including some outside the low-income category, have continued to experience acute difficulties. By Vancouver, the outlook may actually be worse for several developing countries, despite valiant efforts at adjustment.

As the Commonwealth moves towards another meeting of its leaders, there are many respects therefore in which the global setting is not reassuring. All the more reason for the Commonwealth to summon up its strengths: a Commonwealth that has gained in maturity from the trials of the past two years; that has emerged with its unity of purpose intact, and with a firm resolve to play its part within the community of nations. The Commonwealth's special



Summit by the sea:
Vancouver Convention Centre
Photo Canadian Government

Southern Africa

attributes, manifest in its style of working and its capacity for bridge-building across many of the world's divides, must be an encouragement to those who are trustees of Commonwealth affairs to make further use of this capacity for service, both to its members and to the wider world. The discussions in Vancouver provide an opportunity for the Commonwealth to face the future on a note of renewal, confident of its strength and mindful of its potential.

The situation in Southern Africa remains high on the agenda of Commonwealth concerns. At Nassau, in October 1985, Commonwealth leaders called on South Africa's rulers to take five specific steps towards ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy, and to do so as a matter of urgency. None of them has been taken. The state of emergency has not been lifted; it has been reimposed with greater rigour. Black political parties stay banned and black leaders remain jailed; as I write (in July) Nelson Mandela enters his 26th year in prison. No dialogue has been started between Pretoria and the true leaders of the black community; white South Africans speak with the ANC, but only beyond Pretoria's reach. The apartheid system and its oppressive practices continue in all their inhuman cruelty. And the media has its share of shackles; an autocratic regime decrees what South Africans and the world should know about its tyrannies. Within the wider region of Southern Africa, with Namibia's freedom still blocked, South Africa has opened apartheid's third front through systematic acts of aggression, subversion and destabilisation against its neighbours.

But Pretoria faces ever-growing pressure, internally and abroad. Repression has failed to stifle the yearning for freedom. Since Nassau, some 50,000 blacks, many of them children, have passed through the jails and torture chambers of the apartheid system. But the incarceration and torture of children, in particular, have not so much broken them as hardened their resolve to be free. The extensive rent boycott and the level of trade union activism speak to the strength of internal opposition in the face of intensified tyranny. Censorship, in the last resort, has failed, as it always must, to suppress the truth. In the result, many countries have applied economic sanctions; the list of companies, including banks, withdrawing from South Africa has become longer. South Africa's neighbours have strengthened their solidarity in facing up to its economic power and military might, and are drawing increasing support for their efforts to become less vulnerable to apartheid's regional strategy. If Pretoria appears to remain unmoved, it stands in greater isolation and ignominy.

The Commonwealth can take a fair measure of credit for the international action that has brought this about. Its principled course at the Nassau summit two years ago; the work of the Group of Eminent Persons (EPG) in exploring the scope for a dialogue of change and its verdict on Pretoria's intransigence; the decisions taken by the seven Commonwealth leaders who met in London in August 1986; the active international diplomacy of Commonwealth leaders and members of the EPG: these were all major factors. Commonwealth action was not without trauma, and could undoubtedly have been more effective had it been universal; but its role was significant, indeed crucial, in defining the realities and the issues and in stimulating the global response to the challenge of apartheid.

The Eminent Persons Group

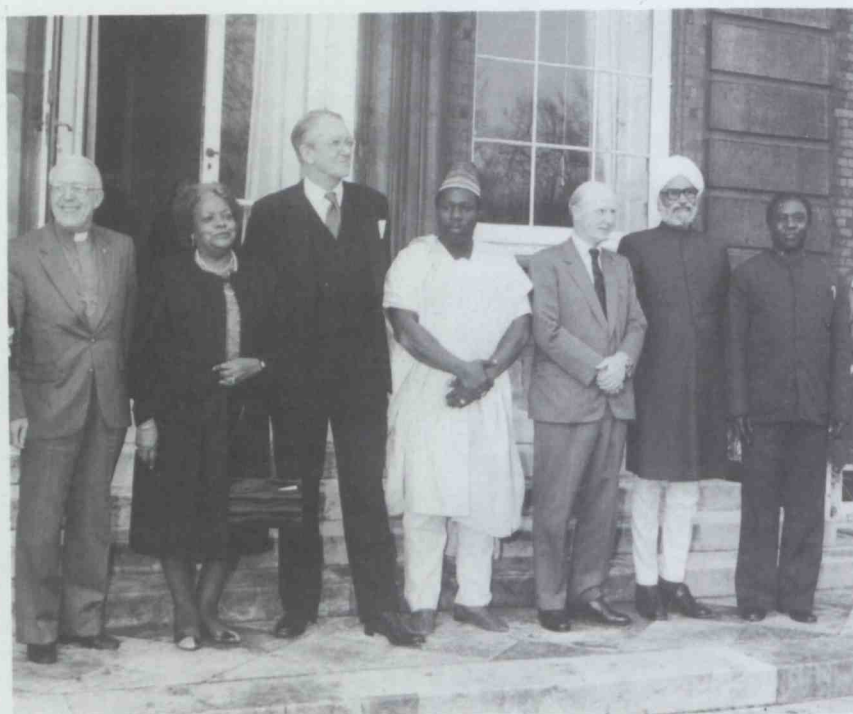
The Commonwealth believes apartheid to be an abomination that must end now. It believes that South Africa must become a free democratic non-racial society, united and non-fragmented. It has called repeatedly for this – and with one voice. And it has urged that all this should be brought about through dialogue. That was the EPG's purpose: it looked to the initiation of a genuine dialogue for political freedom in the context of a commitment to the ending of apartheid and the suspension of violence on all sides. Pretoria aborted the prospect for peace and freedom. It did so in typical fashion, not by an act of dialogue but by an act of violence – the bombing of neighbouring states.

Violence in South Africa begins with apartheid. Apartheid is rooted in violence; it is violent in itself and depends on violence to sustain it. Pretoria must turn away from the violence of apartheid; if it does so, peace will follow. That was why the EPG said:

A suspension of violence or a commitment to non-violence, if in the government's view the meaning is the same, would obviously in the present context require a commitment to suspend violence arising from the administration of apartheid.

This view was confirmed at the Dakar meeting in July 1987 between a white delegation from South Africa and ANC representatives, where 'all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination'.

It is only Pretoria that can end apartheid and turn towards a dialogue for freedom and democracy. The EPG called for just that. The ANC was ready to consider dialogue in the framework of the EPG's 'Negotiating Concept'. It was Pretoria that refused to play its part. The EPG's words need no gloss:



The Eminent Persons Group, l to r, Archbishop Edward Scott, Dame Nita Barrow, Malcolm Fraser and General Olusegun Obasanjo (co-chairmen), Lord Barber, Sardar Swaran Singh and John Malecela
Photo ComSec

It is our considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African Government is not yet ready to negotiate . . . except on its own terms. Those terms, both in regard to objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well accepted democratic norms and principles . . .

The (government) is in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its programme of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall white control.

The conclusion is clear: the oppressed in South Africa, the ANC itself, the UDF, Cosatu, PAC, every truly representative organ of the black population, and beyond them some at least in the white community, are serious about starting a dialogue in the context of an end to apartheid and, therefore, of an end to violence. Only Pretoria refuses. It is Pretoria, therefore, that needs to be pressured to turn away from violence and towards change. Thanks to the efforts of the EPG, we know that there is a readiness to respond from all other quarters.

The report of the EPG, *Mission to South Africa*, was immediately recognised worldwide as a uniquely authoritative document. The detailed account of its extensive inquiries and discussions, the reasoned exposition of its unanimous conclusions, and the stature of its members gave the report high international credibility. It is difficult to imagine that any grouping outside the Commonwealth could have carried out an undertaking of this kind with the same degree of world acceptance. There were other missions (from the European Community for instance) and other reports (including one by the Advisory Committee to the US Secretary of State); none had quite the impact of the Commonwealth report. Its verdict laid the basis

Poster advertising the group's report



Eminent Persons Group: Lord Barber and Sardar Swaran Singh in the shadow of the Casspurs, South Africa
Photo Moni Malhoutra, ComSec

for the enlarged programme of sanctions adopted at the meeting of seven Commonwealth leaders in London last year. The EPG's report and Commonwealth action on it together had a catalytic effect on global action. Decisions by the US Congress, which overrode a presidential veto to intensify pressure on the South African regime, by the European Community, by the Nordic countries and by Japan followed in the wake of Commonwealth action. Official policy has influenced the behaviour of major companies, already under strong public and shareholder pressure, and disinvestment has gathered pace.

Apartheid remains at the root of the evils in South Africa as well as in the Southern African region over which Pretoria seeks to hold sway, arrogating to itself the position of overlord and defying the writ of world order. The election in which only a small white minority was eligible to vote has predictably confirmed the basic intent to preserve white minority domination. There has been no change in the disposition of power, no move toward a democratic dispensation, little alleviation in the rigours of a system which robs millions of their human dignity. South Africa's rulers have yet to show a decent regard for the opinion of mankind. Yet it is clear that the ranks of its ruling class are no longer so monolithic in allegiance to apartheid; cracks have appeared and the voice of dissent is now louder within the white community. The citadels of racism are not about to crumble; President Botha has crossed no Rubicon; but the fact that Afrikanerdom feels obliged to say that apartheid is 'outdated' must be seen as a point of departure. Even lip-service to the principle of change is evidence that pressure has its effect.

The world has no alternative but to keep up that pressure. That is the least it can honourably do to give meaning to its expressed solidarity with those who suffer so greatly under the inhumanities of apartheid. The Commonwealth and the rest of the international community must work for the universal and strict enforcement of the sanctions which are already in place, and for their progressive enlargement if Pretoria fails to move towards the ending of



Review Meeting in London (clockwise from bottom left) Brian Mulroney (Canada), Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal, Sir Lynden Pindling (Bahamas - Chairman), Dr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Rajiv Gandhi (India), Margaret Thatcher (Britain), Robert Hawke (Australia), Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe)
Photo Daily Express, London

apartheid. Such action was envisaged by the seven Commonwealth leaders when they met in London last year. They spoke for the entire Commonwealth when they unanimously stated that if, in a reasonable time, the measures they had agreed did not have the desired effect, 'still further measures will have to be considered', and warned Pretoria to 'recognise the seriousness of our resolve'. 'The Commonwealth', they concluded, 'must retain its capacity to help to advance the objectives of the Nassau Accord and be ready to use all the means at its disposal to do so'. In October at Vancouver, Commonwealth leaders will have the opportunity to review the passage of events since Nassau and to consider what further they must do to bring those objectives - in particular, an end to apartheid and the commencement of a dialogue for political freedom 'across the lines of colour, politics and religion' - nearer fulfilment.

Countering destabilisation

Such measures are by no means the only issue in relation to Southern Africa. Since Nassau, Pretoria has intensified aggression against its neighbours in a campaign of overt destabilisation. A virtual war situation now exists in the Southern African region: a war waged by South Africa in what it sees as a logical extension of apartheid at home. Pretoria works on the assumption that apartheid can survive in South Africa if the rest of Southern Africa is made so impotent as to be unable to assist in the struggle against it. Commonwealth neighbouring countries - Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia - and, even more directly, Mozambique, are the principal targets of destabilisation. Recently, Pretoria bombed Livingstone in Zambia as a demonstration of its strength on the eve of its 'whites only' election. It undertakes sporadic bombings in Harare, aimed ostensibly at the ANC, and kidnappings in Swaziland; it carries the stain of massacre in Mozambique. Violence has become Pretoria's trademark beyond as well as within South Africa.

The cost to the region of Pretoria's aggression and destabilisation is high and getting higher. Some estimates put it at \$4 billion to \$5 billion a year. The international community must substantially increase its economic assistance to these countries, both bilaterally and through Sadcc. The Non-Aligned Movement has launched its Africa Fund, and several countries, including some Commonwealth members, have pledged support for Sadcc's contingency plans, but there is need for the maximum international support. In these Front-Line States, development and defence are now interrelated and mutually supportive. Development efforts simply cannot succeed while South Africa intensifies its threat to the rail, road and port links of Sadcc countries. Upholding their territorial integrity has become a concomitant of economic assistance.

Mozambique

Nowhere is this more evident than in Mozambique, which is in the front line of the Front-Line States. Taking over from where Ian Smith's UDI Rhodesia left off, South Africa has conducted, through a contrived rebel operation, systematic aggression against Mozambique, and it continues to do so, notwithstanding the exposed deceptions of Nkomati. Today, with Mozambique under serious security threat, three Commonwealth countries - Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Malawi - have committed troops for the defence of its vital transport links. Other African countries are also contributing. The urgent need to relieve the current famine in

Mozambique is superimposed on its special need for security assistance, which requires a substantial commitment from outside the African continent. Within the Commonwealth, Britain has given a lead with military training. There is need to explore what more might be done, and appropriate ways of doing it.

Most of the Front-Line States belong to the Commonwealth. Imperial history did not ordain a Commonwealth future for Mozambique; but its role in Southern Africa since independence in 1975 has earned it the Commonwealth's affection. It occupies a key position in the region, with its transport system critical to efforts to escape dependency on South Africa. Its own capacity to serve that cause is weakened by the war being waged against it by South Africa, initially through Renamo but, more and more, directly and openly. Commonwealth leaders, in recognition of the burden Mozambique bore in assisting efforts to free Zimbabwe, launched a special fund in 1976 to provide technical assistance to Mozambique. Its courageous stand today, again in support of Commonwealth objectives, imposes a similar duty to stand by Mozambique in practical and appropriate ways. Vancouver offers an opportunity to fulfil that duty.

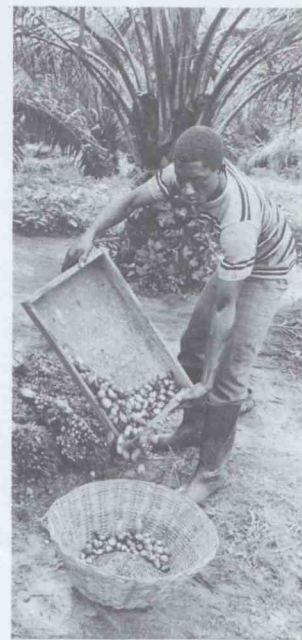
A free South Africa

In all these respects, the Commonwealth must respond to the needs of the present in Southern Africa in ways that look to the future. One day South Africa will be the free, non-racial democracy in a united and non-fragmented country for which Commonwealth leaders have called. It will be a great country. The Commonwealth then will be proud to see it take its place, as Zimbabwe did, in an association that helped it to freedom. We have a duty to the people of South Africa, of all races, to hasten that day: a duty to them and to ourselves. And a free Namibia must come too.

The world economy

When Commonwealth leaders viewed the global economic scene at Nassau in October 1985, there was concern that the recovery in the world economy was already showing signs of flagging, even before some developing countries had begun to feel its benefits. Two years on, world growth has slipped back further; as I write, the mid-year reports from the OECD, the IMF and the Bank of International Settlements are all gloomier than before. They contain warnings of a deeper slide into recession if effective action is not taken now to remove imbalances between the major economies and to revive growth.

With the downturn in economic activity, growth in world trade has been stunted and export opportunities have narrowed, especially for primary products. Slow-growing market demand combined with long-term technological factors have helped precipitate a collapse in commodity prices to the lowest levels since the depression years of the 1930s, the harshest single blow to the efforts of developing countries to earn their way out of the poverty trap. Within the Commonwealth, countries in all regions have suffered. Trade friction has been fuelled by the payments imbalances reflected in the massive US deficit and very large surpluses in Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany. Protectionism has intensified, and developing countries have frequently been singled out for discriminatory protectionist measures, as with textiles. But distortions are also substantial in agricultural trade, severely affecting exports from many



Palm oil, Ghana —
prices halved
Photo British Government

Financial flows and debt

countries, including Commonwealth countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Deficit financing in the US has sucked in vast amounts of savings from other industrial countries which, in a more rational world, would be financing development.

The leaders of the main industrial countries are aware of the dangers facing the world economy. Their consultations, in various groupings from the OECD of 24 through the G10 and the G7 to the G5, reflect recognition that they should co-ordinate their policies to strengthen global recovery. There has been acceptance of the need for multilateral surveillance involving the IMF. The promise by Japan just before the Venice summit to introduce a modest expansionary package shows an acknowledgement of the need for co-ordinated fiscal management. These are welcome trends, but their main concrete result so far has been a modest measure of co-ordinated action in respect of foreign exchange markets.

Decisions on international policy co-ordination do not yet involve the developing countries, though most developing countries not only depend heavily on the international economy but also contribute significantly to it. Their loss of purchasing power in recent years and the continuing austerity imposed on them by debt obligations have perceptibly reduced demand for the exports of industrial countries. They participate in Gatt and, to a modest degree, in the decision-making of the World Bank and the IMF. But there is no forum at present which fully takes account of the interdependence between developed and developing countries as well as the linkages between trade and finance, including exchange rates. The Commonwealth has in the past contributed to an integrated dialogue, both through its informal deliberations and by suggesting ways forward at the global level. These contributions remain more than ever necessary.

One major weakness in the world economy is the sharp decline in net financial flows to developing countries. Growth in many developing countries will be held back to unacceptable levels for many years unless there are much larger flows of private and official capital. Even the normally cautious IMF expresses serious concern at the way net flows to developing countries of bank lending, export credits, foreign investment — and its own lending — have sharply declined. Concessional flows have remained almost stagnant. A responsibility rests on the Commonwealth to focus on the problem of financial flows and to generate practical proposals for dealing with it.

A directly related issue is the debt problem which the Commonwealth addressed through the report of the Expert Group headed by Lord Lever, *The Debt Crisis and the World Economy*, and in subsequent technical work by the Secretariat. The debt crisis has been contained for the time being, because many developing countries have kept up their debt service payments. They have done so only at the cost of large-scale impoverishment which translates into reduced purchases of imports from industrial countries and reinforces the contractionary forces within the world economy. The Baker Plan for handling the debt crisis, of which much was expected when it was unveiled in 1985, has been of little help in the face of commercial banks' unwillingness to play their assigned role as suppliers of new funds.

Commonwealth debtors are not in the same league as Mexico or

Brazil, but the debt problems of many Commonwealth countries, most of them with low levels of per capita income, are no less severe. The combined debts of such countries are not large enough to cause anxiety among bankers and they have consequently received inadequate consideration. Relief for low-income debtor countries was not part of the Baker Plan; but proposals for helping them have come from those Commonwealth countries which have traditionally been sensitive to the special needs of the poorest members of the world community, many of whom are in the Commonwealth. Britain and Canada have been prominent within international fora in recent months in urging attention to their needs. Jamaica has also made proposals to deal with the general problem of indebtedness. If momentum is maintained behind these proposals, there is a real possibility of a breakthrough in this crucially important area.

As a further step towards relief for the poorest countries, Commonwealth finance ministers, at their annual meeting last year, urged an expansion in the IMF's Structural Adjustment Facility, which is used to provide loans on concessional terms in support of adjustment in low-income countries. Four Commonwealth countries have so far benefited from it; many others could be helped if a decision is made at this year's IMF/World Bank annual meetings to substantially enlarge this facility.

As a grouping with a wide variety of members, the Commonwealth is well placed to generate ideas for relieving the financing problems particularly of low-income countries, including those which have avoided debt servicing difficulties but need substantially increased flows of concessional finance.

Adjustment and austerity

Adjustment is a necessary process in all economies in order to benefit from economic and technological changes and international specialisation. And if the world economic environment changes, individual countries have to adjust to it. Much adjustment effort is, in fact, being made not only by developing countries but also by smaller developed economies. This approach has, however, yet to manifest itself in the major developed countries where protectionist trade policies, unreformed systems of agricultural support and persistent macro-economic imbalances suggest an unwillingness by the rich and powerful to practice the adjustment that they preach to smaller, poorer and weaker countries.

Adjustment for far too many developing countries has been an experience of severe cut-backs in economic activity and living standards and has involved major reductions in investment in physical and human capital. This lies behind much of the suspicion of the IMF which will continue if its programmes, especially in Africa, remain largely ineffective. There is now, happily, a broad consensus in support of the idea of 'growth-oriented adjustment'. This usually involves giving freer play to market forces operating through the exchange rate, farm prices and trade and industry policies. However, many practical problems are being experienced. The Commonwealth, which is specially suited to bridge the North-South divide, provides a unique forum for discussing these problems, exchanging experience and helping to design appropriate programmes.

But adjustment with growth needs resources. While the commodity slump and protectionist barriers have squeezed earnings, the

flow of external resources has dwindled or turned perversely negative. Yet it is possible in all these areas to see technical solutions which are fully compatible with the philosophy and interests of developing and developed countries: increased funding for compensatory financing to offset commodity earnings instability; progress towards freer trade through multilateral trade negotiations in the Uruguay Round; a considerable increase in financial flows, especially of private equity capital and official lending. The Commonwealth can bring such solutions closer by speaking forcefully and with one voice on these issues.

Looking at the prospects for the world economy, there are reasons for optimism as well as for deep concern. A technological revolution in micro-electronics and biotechnology is already contributing to improvements in the living standards of millions in developed countries. It could do more for them; it could as well have a major favourable impact on Third World development. The Commonwealth's Menon Report, *Technological Change: Enhancing the benefits*, spelt out the potential for good as well as the dangers. In many very poor countries – China and India most spectacularly – it is being shown how the talents and industry of small farmers and entrepreneurs, backed by supportive government institutions, can be harnessed to create impressive rates of development. The growth potential of developed and developing countries could be mutually reinforcing if there were the scale of financial flows to support development and freedom of trade to unleash that potential. Third World countries are a vast reservoir of import demand whose activation through stronger growth could invigorate the world economy as a whole. The failure to exploit this is a sad commentary on the narrow outlook of major countries concerning both trade and financial flows. Imaginative efforts to revitalise international co-operation for development are now urgently needed.

Recalling the Marshall Plan

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of a landmark in international economic co-operation, the Marshall Plan, under which the United States provided up to 2.5 per cent of its national product to secure the rehabilitation of Western Europe's war-torn economy. This bold scheme was decisive in Europe's quick regeneration, and the US itself benefited from the impetus given to the world economy by Europe's regained vitality. Its sheer magnitude in proportion to US economic capacity at the time can only cause wonderment today, when the US provides and cavils over 0.23 per cent of its GNP as aid for development – one of the lowest percentage contributions of OECD countries. It recalls an era when the internationalist impulse was stronger – and when following it served the eventual interests of the strong and the weak alike.

The problems of Third World development today are different in kind from those of reconstruction in an already industrialised continent recovering from war damage. But the deprivations of real poverty – hunger, homelessness, disease, illiteracy, the sheer lack of hope – must, by any standards, constitute an even more compelling challenge; moreover, the developed world's collective capacity for response is so much greater now than was America's in 1947. Today, Europe and Japan are industrial giants in their own right, with a higher level of affluence than the US after the war. Some Western statesmen, like Brandt, Okita and (on a more modest scale)

Baker, have sketched the outlines of what is required in terms of resource transfers.

Soon after the Marshall Plan was started, the Commonwealth created the Colombo Plan to assist development in Asia; admittedly narrower in its dimensions, it was nevertheless the first concerted international effort to promote progress in the Third World. Other countries, notably the United States and Japan, soon became partners in the Colombo Plan. The Commonwealth's own share of the world's wealth may not qualify it to launch a new global plan against poverty. But the Commonwealth, at whose table leaders from developed and developing nations meet in a spirit of partnership, could well provide the stimulus for a revival of the vision that inspired the Marshall Plan. Such a vision, and its pursuit, could give hope to millions as they try to survive this decade of adjustment and austerity – and bring benefits to all countries by a revival of world economic activity.

This is the year of fortieth anniversaries. India, the Commonwealth's first Third World member, has just celebrated the fortieth anniversary of its independence which had such a dramatic and innovatory impact upon the development of the association and its growth into the Commonwealth of today. The example of Nehru's India reminds us of the profound possibility of change when will and vision coincide.

People, poverty and the environment

In April this year, the World Commission on Environment and Development headed by the Norwegian Prime Minister, Mrs Gro Brundtland, on which I was privileged to serve, issued its Report. *Our Common Future*. It pointed up the two-way relationship between environment and development. Development that destroys the resources for future generations will not allow human progress to be sustained. But if development is slow and poverty remains, the environment will also be destroyed.

The waste of resources and environmental damage are caused by affluence at one end and poverty at the other. In rich countries, affluence can lead to over-consumption; their industries pollute the air, causing acid rain that kills forests and lakes; their technology has high environmental costs and risks. In poor countries, people cut down trees to burn as firewood or sell as timber to the rich, and overgraze land: floods, drought, poor soil and desert are the results.

These are problems which must be tackled internationally as well as nationally, because their impact goes beyond national boundaries and they are not amenable to purely national solutions. The excessive use of fossil fuels could change the global climate. The fallout from Chernobyl harmed many countries besides the Soviet Union. Acid rain does not respect frontiers. Resource depletion in the Third World could have consequences worldwide. For the protection of the world's fragile ecology as well as for the removal of the poverty that is a threat to it, global co-operation is, indeed, not an option, but a necessity. The Commonwealth, again, is well placed to help the world to a sustainable common future by elevating these insights to the level of a political commitment shared at the highest level.

A Commonwealth of learning

Perhaps no other issue of co-operation has engendered greater anxiety in the Commonwealth, and about the Commonwealth, than the decline in the movement of students within the Commonwealth resulting from the increases in fees payable by overseas students in key countries. The situation is now quite serious and its long-term implications for the Commonwealth are considerable. Seven years after this all began, it is now easier and, in most cases, very much cheaper for students from Commonwealth developing countries to enter universities in France, Germany, Japan, the US and the USSR than in Britain, Canada or Australia. Some Commonwealth governments have actually felt obliged to re-direct their government-funded students to non-Commonwealth universities on grounds of differential cost.

The Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility, in its 1987 report, has concluded that, at best, student mobility has stabilised, but at levels considerably lower than they were before steep increases in fees were introduced. At worst, the prospect of continuing increases in fees foreshadows a further decline in numbers. By contrast, the committee points to the strikingly different situation in non-Commonwealth countries. France, where no fees are charged, has over 134,000 foreign students, twice as many as Britain. In West Germany, which has a similar policy, the number of foreign students has increased to about 72,000. Japan aims to raise enrolment from 12,000 in 1984 to 100,000 by the end of the century; one inducement will be the promise of employment in a student's home country by one of the Japanese multinational corporations operating there. The number of overseas students on Soviet bloc scholarships rose from 50,000 in 1977 to over 110,000 in 1982. And in America, foreign students increased from 179,344 in 1978 to 286,343 in 1980 and to 343,777 in 1986. No-one in the Commonwealth considers the decline in Commonwealth student mobility to be desirable, but the trend is not being reversed quickly enough despite efforts in the three key Commonwealth countries to offset fee increases by targeted awards. That it is not an irreversible



Education: enlarging hope for the young
Photo UNFPA

trend, however, has been demonstrated by New Zealand, where differential fees for overseas students have been ended. Given all that is at stake, is it really too much to look to a specially favourable fee regime in all Commonwealth countries for all Commonwealth students?

Meanwhile, developments in the field of distance teaching and open learning and in communications technology have created possibilities for new forms of co-operation between Commonwealth institutions of higher education that could significantly expand learning opportunities, improve the quality of education provision, and compensate in some degree for the impairment of student mobility in its traditional form. These possibilities were first underlined by the Commonwealth Committee on Student Mobility. In Nassau, Heads of Government agreed that I should explore further the scope for new initiatives in open learning in the context of educational co-operation. I have been helped in this task by an expert group, under Lord Briggs, in which eminent Commonwealth educationalists who have advanced open learning in their own countries have investigated the potential for applying this approach to higher education on a Commonwealth-wide basis.

In their report, Lord Briggs and his colleagues have unanimously recommended the creation of a University of the Commonwealth for Co-operation in Distance Education which could extend collaboration in higher education into new areas and carry it to new heights. Imaginative in its conception, it is nevertheless a wholly practical and down-to-earth scheme for using new techniques and technology, as well as the shared educational values and similarities existing in systems within the Commonwealth, to achieve a significant development in educational services across the Commonwealth.

Historically, educational co-operation has been accorded a high place in Commonwealth priorities, as governments have recognised the critical role of education in the progress of individual countries and the equally important role of educational links in the ethos of the Commonwealth. The triennial meetings of education ministers are one of the longest-running series of Commonwealth ministerial consultations. The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, conceived in 1958, is one of the oldest schemes of inter-governmental co-operation. The Association of Commonwealth Universities dates back to 1913.

Developments in the last decade have, however, tended to dilute the contribution of educational exchange both to national progress and to the personal links that are important to the Commonwealth's cohesion. The proposal now before governments, which received the enthusiastic support of Commonwealth ministers of education in Nairobi in July, offers the prospect of a new Commonwealth venture in partnership that would strengthen educational facilities, give them a wider reach, and create a matrix of mutually-supportive links. It represents a unique opportunity to do something significant for the young people of the Commonwealth - and, through them, for the Commonwealth itself. It would bring about a major enrichment of the Commonwealth. We are, indeed, at a moment of convergence between technological development and educational need, as well as between educational need and political opportunity. I am sure that Commonwealth leaders will want to respond creatively to

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

the opportunities offered by the Briggs Report: *Towards a Commonwealth of Learning: A proposal to create the University of the Commonwealth for Co-operation in Distance Education.*

In these pages two years ago, I was able to record that the CFTC had been set on a more robust course. The introduction of three-year planning cycles was allowing its management to plan ahead with greater confidence, and the budgetary sights for 1985-6 had been raised to £27 million, a significant increase over the £19 million spent two years earlier. These favourable developments have sadly proved to be transient, and the CFTC has suffered the sharpest setback in its history. A cluster of circumstances has caused a drop in resources; at one stage we even faced the prospect that its expenditure in the year up to June 1988 might be no higher than £20 million.

The CFTC is itself a victim of the adverse global economic climate, which has led some governments to reduce the level of their support. Its difficulties have been compounded by delays in the payment of pledged contributions by some countries, again a reflection of prevailing difficulties, and more importantly, if paradoxically, by the recent strength of sterling, the currency used by the CFTC for its operations. The rise in the value of the pound has meant that many subscriptions to the Fund have yielded less in sterling, even when the governments paying them were maintaining their support in terms of their own currencies. The effect of this particular factor has been enlarged by the basis used by Britain to determine its own contribution, which is 30 per cent of the CFTC's total contributions. This formula, designed to encourage other countries to step up their support, has for many years worked to the CFTC's advantage. But in the present circumstances, it has acted to its detriment, holding down the British contribution just when the CFTC's resource position needed reinforcement. I am glad to acknowledge that a timely relaxation of this formula by Britain has given the Fund a desperately needed respite.

The overall reversal in the fortunes of the CFTC represents a weakening in Commonwealth multilateral endeavours which must be of serious concern to all member governments. The CFTC is not in the big league of aid agencies, national or multilateral, but the quality of its work, the innovative character of many of its programmes and its cost-effectiveness have been widely acknowledged, by developing and developed countries alike. It has undoubtedly been very good value for Commonwealth money. And it has exemplified the Commonwealth spirit of partnership, drawing donor and beneficiary into a truly co-operative relationship which has strengthened Commonwealth bonds at the same time as promoting Commonwealth development. What is now at stake cannot therefore be expressed purely in terms of the number of experts assigned to developing member countries, the number of their nationals whose skills are enhanced, or the assistance given to them in developing industries, finding markets for exports or dealing with foreign investors. The impairment of the CFTC's capacity in all these fields will be significant; equally significant and equally regrettable will be the less quantifiable erosion of the CFTC's contribution to the sense of Commonwealth community.

The CFTC has been tended with great care since it was founded

Commonwealth growth

with a very modest financial endowment in 1971. It has more than repaid that care in practical service to development and become an institution of which the Commonwealth has rightly been proud. Its protection at this juncture must be a charge on all governments.

Up to the Commonwealth summit in Nassau, each two-year interval between Heads of Government meetings has seen an expansion in the Commonwealth's membership. Between the New Delhi meeting in 1983 and the Nassau meeting in 1985, the Commonwealth welcomed St Kitts and Nevis and Brunei Darussalam as members, with Maldives and St Vincent and the Grenadines moving from special to full membership. The Commonwealth roster has remained at 49 since Brunei Darussalam's enrolment in February 1984, and there will therefore be no new flags on the summit table in Vancouver this year. Hopes that Namibia's entry would raise the score to 50 have been frustrated by Pretoria. Twelve years have passed since Commonwealth leaders offered to welcome a free Namibia into the Commonwealth family.

Numbers are a dimension of the Commonwealth's growth to which history has set limits. But the Commonwealth also grows through the enlargement of its collective service and the strengthening of its links. The inspiration for such enlargement comes principally from the consultations among Heads of Government, ministers and senior officials. The practice of consultation now covers many areas. The value of extending it as new needs arise was illustrated this year at the consultations arranged among Commonwealth delegates attending the UN-organised International Conference on Drug Abuse and Drug Trafficking in Vienna in June. The suggestion that the opportunity offered by the conference should be used in this way came from the Senior Officials Meeting held in Dhaka in December 1986; senior officials were themselves responsive to the anxieties expressed by Heads of Government in Nassau over the widespread and increasing dangers that drug addiction posed for their countries. The discussions in Vienna have laid the basis for sharing information among Commonwealth countries on ways of tackling the problems of drug abuse and of the trade in drugs. This trade has growing international ramifications, which make co-operation vital to success in curbing the powerful networks that smuggle and sell drugs.

The need to assist each other in moves to defeat the barons of the drug trade was a major concern of Commonwealth law ministers when they approved, at their consultations in Harare in 1986, a scheme for mutual assistance in criminal matters. The provisions of the scheme, whose success depends on effective national implementation, includes the international enforcement of judicial orders confiscating criminal proceeds. In signalling their intention to work together to stem the swelling tide of international criminal activity, of which drug trafficking is an important part, the Commonwealth is in the vanguard of world action.

Consultations among finance ministers, who meet each year in advance of the annual IMF/World Bank meetings, have continued to be important in providing the opportunity for exploring the scope for agreement between developing and developed countries on crucial financial and economic issues. The Commonwealth role in assisting the prospects for consensus at the main world forum on

these matters is acknowledged by both groups of countries, and by the institutions themselves. The Heads of Government Meeting in Vancouver will have been preceded by another meeting of finance ministers, at the end of September in Barbados, and also by meetings of education ministers, in Nairobi in July, and of ministers of women's affairs, in Harare in August. Each in its own field will have added to the substance of the Commonwealth relationship and considered ways in which it could be made to yield even greater service to the Commonwealth and its people.

The links among people are as important in the life of the Commonwealth as the links among governments. Educational interchange has been a valued means of forging closer ties among the people of the Commonwealth's many nations, and I have commented on the opportunity we now have for creating a new instrument for educational interaction. The work of the Commonwealth's growing band of non-governmental organisations is another vital strand in the matrix of the association. Heads of Government have recognised the contribution they make in many areas of activity, providing channels for the commitment of individual citizens. In the past two years, the Commonwealth Foundation, set up by governments to promote co-operation in the non-governmental field, has been laying the groundwork for a network of NGO liaison units to improve NGO collaboration at the national level and to foster regional and wider links. The Secretariat has continued to benefit from its relationships with an increasing range of non-governmental organisations.

Vancouver: a time for renewal

When Commonwealth leaders meet on Canada's Pacific seaboard in October, Canada will become the second country after Britain to provide the setting for more than one Commonwealth summit; Ottawa was the venue for the meeting of Heads of Government in 1973. The Commonwealth gathering in Vancouver will be one of



Commonwealth Day: The Queen with Archbishop Desmond Tutu at Secretary-General's reception
Photo ComSec

three major international meetings being hosted by Canada within a twelve-month period; the leaders of Francophone countries are meeting in Quebec City in September and the next Western summit of the seven leading industrial countries will be held in Toronto in June 1988. This conjuncture in Canada's calendar is a reflection of its active role in world affairs, informed by a deep-rooted commitment to international co-operation.

Canada's internationalism has enriched the Commonwealth and extended its horizons. It has been generous in its support for Commonwealth institutions and initiatives. Its gift for conciliation and its diplomatic talents have served the Commonwealth at important stages. It is customary to see Canada as one of the four members of the old Commonwealth with Britain, Australia and New Zealand, but it was, in a sense, the first of the new. It has certainly been a bulwark of the post-war Commonwealth. Having played a key part in the transition from empire to equality, it has contributed greatly to the Commonwealth's vitality and relevance.

That relevance, both to the Commonwealth and to the world at large, stands freshly confirmed as we approach this year's meeting of Commonwealth Presidents and Prime Ministers. Each biennial summit is a time for taking stock and for reflection as well as for looking forward. The period since Nassau has had its strains but has nevertheless been one in which the association's capacity to play a constructive role as an international body has been significantly demonstrated and widely acknowledged. The Commonwealth has emerged with a deeper sense of confidence, which should help it to meet the challenges that remain on many fronts. There is the unfinished business of apartheid, critically linked to the future of Namibia and the progress of the Front-Line States, most of them members of the Commonwealth. There is the global economic slowdown, with its particularly harsh impact on developing countries; given its unique character as a North-South assembly, the Commonwealth cannot but seek to nudge the world towards more effective co-operation to remove the risk of recession and improve the prospects of recovery and development. Nor can it ignore the importance of maintaining its own capacity to assist development through its multilateral instrument, the CFTC, or of using its collective resources to enlarge its quota of practical service to member countries, as on the educational front.

In facing these challenges, Commonwealth leaders can draw strength from the value they all place on the association, the unity of purpose which binds them and the capacity for service the Commonwealth has again amply shown in the past two years. That strength should enable Heads of Government to make their consultations in Vancouver truly a time for Commonwealth renewal.

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