

HGM (79) 10th Session

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
LUSAKA, 1-7 AUGUST 1979

*RECORD of the Tenth Session held at Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka,
on Tuesday, 7 August, 1979 at 3.30 p.m.*

Present:

His Excellency Dr. K. D. Kaunda, President of Zambia (*in the Chair*)

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| The Right Hon. Malcolm Fraser, MP,
Prime Minister of Australia | The Right Hon. Lynden O. Pindling,
MP, Prime Minister of the Bahamas |
| HE Mr. A. R. S. Doha, High Com-
missioner to the United Kingdom,
Bangladesh | The Right Hon. J. M. G. M. Adams,
MP, Prime Minister of Barbados |
| HE Sir Seretse Khama, President of
Botswana | The Right Hon. Mrs. Margaret
Thatcher, MP, Prime Minister of
Britain |
| The Right Hon. Joe Clark, Prime
Minister of Canada | HE Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of
Cyprus |
| The Hon. M. A. Douglas, Minister
for Finance, Trade and Industry,
Dominica | Dr. I. Lasaqa, Secretary to Cabinet-
designate, Fiji |
| HE Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara,
President of The Gambia | HE Major Mensah Gbedemah, Armed
Forces Revolutionary Council, Ghana |
| The Hon. M. Bishop, Prime Minister of
Grenada | The Hon. R. E. Jackson, Minister of
Foreign Affairs, Guyana |
| The Hon. Shyam Nandan Mishra,
Foreign Minister, India | The Hon. Michael Manley, Prime
Minister of Jamaica |
| HE Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, MP,
President of Kenya | HE Mr. I. T. Tabai, President of
Kiribati |
| The Hon. C. D. Molapo, Minister for
Foreign Affairs, Lesotho | The Hon. D. T. Matenje, MP, Minister
of Education, Malawi |
| The Hon. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen
bin Tengku Ismail, Minister of
Foreign Affairs, Malaysia | The Hon. Dr. Philip Muscat, MP,
Minister of Education, Malta |
| Dr. The Right Hon. Sir Seewoosagar
Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of
Mauritius | The Right Hon. R. D. Muldoon, Prime
Minister of New Zealand |
| HE Major-General H. E. O. Adefope,
Commissioner for External Affairs,
Nigeria | Mr. Mekere Morauta, Permanent Head
of Finance Department, Papua New
Guinea |
| The Hon. George Odum, Deputy Prime
Minister, St. Lucia | HE Mr. F. A. Rene, President of
Seychelles |

The Hon. Dr. Abdulai Conteh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sierra Leone
 The Right Hon. Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands
 The Right Hon. R. V. Dlamini, Minister without Portfolio, Swaziland
 H R H Prince Tuipehake, Prime Minister of Tonga
 H E Mr. Godfrey Binaisa, President and Chairman of the National Executive Committee, Uganda

The Hon. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore
 The Hon. R. Premadasa, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka
 H E Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania
 H E Mr. Eustace Seignoret, High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Trinidad and Tobago
 The Hon. Vaovasamanaia Filipo, Minister for Finance, Western Samoa

H E Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, *Secretary-General*

Also present:

AUSTRALIA
 The Hon. Andrew Peacock

BANGLADESH
 Mr. Farooq Sobhan
 Mr. A. Momen Choudhry

BOTSWANA
 The Hon. A. M. Mogwe
 Mr. L. J. M. J. Legwaila

CANADA
 The Hon. Flora MacDonald
 Mr. J. S. Roy

DOMINICA
 Mr. J. N. Johnson

THE GAMBIA
 The Hon. L. K. Jabang
 The Hon. M. L. Saho

GRENADA
 Mr. G. Louison

INDIA
 Mr. J. S. Mehta
 Mr. A. F. Couto
 Mr. A. Madhavan

THE BAHAMAS
 The Hon. Perry G. Christie
 H E Mr. R. F. Anthony Roberts

BARBADOS
 The Hon. H. de B. Forde
 Mr. A. W. Symmonds
 Mr. S. E. Emtage

BRITAIN
 The Right Hon. The Lord Carrington
 Sir John Hunt
 Sir Michael Palliser
 Mr. D. M. D. Thomas

CYPRUS
 H E Mr. Nicos Rolandis
 Mr. A. Christofides

FIJI
 H E Mr. J. D. Gibson

GHANA
 H E Mrs. Gloria Nikoi
 Mr. S. E. Quarm

GUYANA
 The Hon. Dr. M. Shahabudden
 Mr. C. Greenidge

JAMAICA
 The Hon. Carlyle Dunkley
 Mr. Don Brice

KENYA
 The Hon. C. Njonjo
 The Hon. Dr. M. Waiyaki

LESOTHO
 The Hon. M. M. Molapo
 Mr. K. C. Molapo

MALAYSIA
 Mr. P. A. Hamid
 Mr. Ajit Singh

MAURITIUS
 The Hon. R. Ghurburtun
 Mr. B. Ghoorah

NIGERIA
 H E Ambassador S. U. Yolah
 H E Ambassador E. N. Oba

ST. LUCIA
 Mr. Earl Huntley
 Mr. Charles Cadet

SIERRA LEONE
 H E Dr. S. T. Matturi
 H E Mrs. F. Joka-Bangura

SOLOMON ISLANDS
 Mr. Francis Bugotu
 Mr. Frank Saemala

SWAZILAND
 The Hon. Prince Nqaba
 The Hon. Dr. S. S. Nxumalo

TONGA
 H R H Prince Tupouto'a
 Mr. T. Tufui

WESTERN SAMOA
 H E Mr. M. I. Toma
 Mr. A. L. Hutchison

KIRIBATI
 Mr. A. Baiteke
 Mr. A. O. Davies

MALAWI
 Mr. J. B. Mkandawire

MALTA
 Dr. A. S. Trigona
 Mr. A. Falzon

NEW ZEALAND
 Mr. F. H. Corner
 Mr. B. J. Lynch

PAPUA NEW GUINEA
 Miss Jean Kekedo

SEYCHELLES
 Mr. D. Thomas
 Mrs. E. Etienne

SINGAPORE
 The Hon. C. T. Goh
 Mr. S. Dhanabalan

SRI LANKA
 The Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe
 Mr. R. B. Weerakoon

TANZANIA
 The Hon. B. Mkapa
 Mr. Edwin Mtei

UGANDA
 The Hon. Otema Allimadi
 Engineer J. Zikusoka

ZAMBIA
 The Hon. W. M. Chakulya
 The Hon. M. J. Lumina

- Secretariat*
- Mr. E. C. Anyaoku
 - Mr. C. J. Small
 - Mr. D. A. Anderson
 - Prof. K. S. Murshid
 - Mr. M. Malhoutra
 - Mr. C. W. Sanger
 - Dr. B. Jalan
 - Mr. S. J. Stellini
 - Dr. B. Persaud
 - Dr. A. C. Bundu

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I. ELECTIVE POSTS IN THE SECRETARIAT

Dr. Kaunda, said that the Indian Foreign Minister had asked him to circulate to Heads of Delegation the text of a letter written to him in his capacity as Chairman; copies of the letter together with his reply were before the Meeting. He drew special attention to the last paragraph of his reply and invited all governments to give thought to India's proposals regarding the procedures and principles to be followed in the future for the Secretariat's elective posts. He hoped Heads of Government would give those suggestions the fullest consideration and in due course communicate their views to the Secretary-General. In the light of their replies, the Secretary-General would initiate the necessary consultations with all governments and report thereon not later than the next meeting of Senior Officials. He also drew attention to the fact that all correspondence on the matter was confidential and hoped that there would be no leakages to unauthorised persons or to the Press.

II. DECLARATION ON RACISM AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

Dr. Kaunda then turned to the draft Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice the adoption of which had been deferred to give the British delegation a chance to satisfy itself on a legal point concerning the use of the word "descent" in paragraph 3 on page 2.

Mrs. Thatcher, Britain, said that her delegation had resolved its difficulty and could wholly support the Declaration.

The draft Declaration was then adopted without further comment.

III. COMMUNIQUÉ

Dr. Kaunda invited the Meeting to consider the draft Communiqué paragraph by paragraph*, bearing in mind the fact that paragraphs 14 and 15 on Rhodesia—which appeared in the Communiqué under the subhead Southern Africa—had been adopted the previous day.

INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS 1-4

Mr. Kenilorea, Solomon Islands, requested the deletion of the word "the" in the reference to Solomon Islands in paragraph 3.

With that amendment paragraphs 1-4 were adopted.

PARAGRAPH 5 ON THE LUSAKA DECLARATION ON RACISM AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 6-7 ON WORLD AND COMMONWEALTH TRENDS

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 8-9 ON SOUTH EAST ASIA

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 10-13 ON REFUGEES

Paragraphs 10-12

Adopted without comment.

* The paragraph numbers used are those appearing in the Communiqué as eventually published.

Paragraph 13

Mr. Clark, Canada, after referring to his country's active role in welcoming the refugees, noted that there were two important elements to the problem of the Vietnamese refugees. One was the concern to ensure that the boat people were able to find refuge in other countries and also that they did not drown; the other was the need to bring pressure to bear to stop the exodus. With respect to the officials who had prepared the draft, he did not feel that the paragraph accurately reflected the tenor of the discussions of Heads of Government. His suggestion was that it should include the following quotation from the closing statement of the UN Secretary-General at the Geneva meeting in July:

"the countries of origin must respect the right of emigration and family reunification, while avoiding any action leading to their people departing the country under conditions which would put their lives in jeopardy. This obligation stems from the basic right of individuals to stay in their country or to leave as a matter of free will".

As it stood, paragraph 13 made reference only to one element of the problem of the Vietnamese refugees, namely Vietnam's willingness to co-operate in regulating their orderly departure but left unaddressed the issue of preserving people's right to remain in Vietnam if they wished, which was covered in *Dr. Waldheim's* remarks. He would therefore like the Meeting to agree to the inclusion of the quotation he had cited, prefaced by the words:

"In this regard they noted with approval the statement of the United Nations Secretary-General that . . .".

In addition he would like to see the deletion of the words "continue to" from the last sentence of the paragraph expressing the hope that Vietnam would continue to show a positive attitude on the matter.

Dr. Nyerere, Tanzania, pointed out that the Commonwealth wanted to encourage Vietnam to take a positive position. Noting that the flow of refugees had in fact been slowed down, he felt it should be assumed that that was the result of the Vietnam Government taking a positive attitude towards the conclusions of the Geneva meeting.

Tengku Ahmad Rithaudeen, Malaysia, supported the first amendment proposed by the Canadian Prime Minister but thought that the words "continue to" should not be deleted from the last sentence as there had been some evidence of a more positive attitude on Vietnam's part. He would prefer that the Communiqué should indicate appreciation of that advance, expressing the hope that it would continue.

Mr. Mishra, India, agreed with the points made by *Dr. Nyerere* and *Tengku Rithaudeen* concerning the last sentence, observing that to express the hope that Vietnam would continue to show a positive attitude followed on logically from the preceding sentence in which Heads of Government noted that at the recent Geneva meeting Vietnam had undertaken to cooperate with the international community in regulating the orderly departure of refugees.

Mr. Clark said that he would be prepared to drop his second amendment if his colleagues were prepared to accept the amendment he had suggested for the opening sentence of the paragraph.

The Meeting agreed to accept the amendment proposed by the Canadian Prime Minister for the first sentence of paragraph 13 and to retain the words "continue to" in the last sentence.

PARAGRAPHS 14-24 ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Paragraphs 14 and 15

As indicated above those paragraphs had been adopted the previous day.

SECRET

Paragraph 16

Dr. Nyerere read out a new wording for the paragraph to replace the one drafted by the Committee of the Whole. His proposed rewording was accepted by the Meeting and accordingly included in the Communiqué as paragraph 16.

Paragraphs 17-20

Adopted without comment.

Paragraph 21

Dr. Nyerere referring to the second sentence of the draft in which special tribute was paid to the Commonwealth Front-Line States as well as to Nigeria, felt that the other Front-Line States should not be omitted from that special tribute. He therefore proposed the deletion of the word "Commonwealth" and the names of the countries concerned. In addition he suggested that the paragraph should stop at that point and that the reference in the third sentence to sacrifices the Front-Line States had made and the losses they had incurred as a result of armed violations of their territorial integrity, together with the vigorous condemnation by Heads of Government of such acts of aggression in the fourth sentence, should be deleted altogether. There were some Commonwealth Governments which had not condemned those acts and he would rather they did not start a controversy regarding the wording of the Communiqué, in view of the fact that they had all reached a consensus at the Meeting on the Rhodesian issue.

Dr. Kaunda, speaking in his capacity as the Head of Government of Zambia, supported *Dr. Nyerere's* two amendments and urged his colleagues to recognise that they must take into consideration each other's problems and weaknesses.

With the amendments proposed by the President of Tanzania paragraph 21 was then adopted without further comment.

Paragraphs 22-24

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 25-31 ON CYPRUS

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 32 ON BELIZE

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 33 ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 34 ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 35-36 ON THE INDIAN OCEAN

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 37 ON SOUTH ASIA

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 38-55 ON ECONOMIC MATTERS

Paragraphs 38-43

Adopted without comment.

SECRET

Paragraph 44

Mr. Manley, Jamaica, said that he was unhappy with the second last sentence because it tended to suggest that the increases mentioned were adequate, which they were not, and he proposed the addition of:

"since it represented a step towards the goal of much needed monetary reform"

at the end of the sentence.

Major-General Adefope, Nigeria, stated that he wished to amend the second sentence to read:

"They noted that, among other factors, recent developments in the oil market, the arms race, and increases in the cost of machinery had aggravated these problems."

Mr. Fraser, Australia, said that with regard to the arms race, he did not know what new developments there were except perhaps for the signing of SALT II. If such a reference were necessary then it, together with one relating to the costs of machinery, ought to be dealt with separately elsewhere in the Communiqué. Heads of Government would be deceiving themselves if they tried to suggest that the oil rises were not having a significant effect on a number of countries, developed and developing alike. A reference to the arms race and machinery price increases in that sentence would not fit.

Mr. Muldoon, New Zealand, agreed. In his recollection Heads of Government had not discussed the arms race or the price of the machinery. The question of oil was a vital matter for the economies of the world at the present time. He felt that the paragraph ought to stand alone as a comment on the oil price increases and their effects.

Dr. Conteh, Sierra Leone, said he did not wish to support either the Australian approach or the Nigerian approach. He simply wanted to make the paragraph reflect the balance of payments problems faced by developing countries. Oil was not the only factor involved. He suggested that both oil and the increasing cost of manufactures should be mentioned.

Mrs. Thatcher, Britain, drew attention to the phrase "among other factors" which, she maintained, covered the matters concerned without detracting from the fundamental cause of the problems, the increasing price of oil. She considered that the sentence should be left as it was.

Mr. Manley then proposed that the sentence read:

"They noted that, among other factors, such as wasteful expenditure on arms, chronic inflation in the costs of manufactured products, including machinery, recent developments in the oil market had aggravated these problems."

He emphasised that oil prices were not the only cause of the problems. Other factors which had precipitated the problem of oil prices, had had a far greater impact than even the present aggravation of oil prices.

Mr. Fraser stated that he felt that Mr. Manley's last formulation was an even worse one as any mention of the price increases of manufactured goods and the arms race would single them out as the most important factors besides oil. He disagreed with any approach that itemised some factors and not others, which like the absence of commodity price agreements, were equally important.

Mr. Manley pointed out that the Common Fund was dealt with separately elsewhere and that, whereas subjects like the Common Fund represented a positive contribution towards developing country interests, the effect of higher oil prices was a negative factor. Furthermore, other very basic negative factors that predated the oil price issue were just as important.

Mr. Fraser asked whether it was realistic to mention the two proposed factors without also mentioning, specifically, national economic policies which were often the root cause of inflation and, thus, the root cause of price increases.

Dr. Conteh thought that specific mention should be made of commodity prices as a particular cause of balance of payments problems due to the rising cost of manufactured goods.

Mr. Clark, Canada, said that he understood the point made by Nigeria but felt that it was important to retain the focus on recent developments in the oil market which were the most urgent cause of the present problems. He proposed that the sentence be modified to read:

"They noted that, among other serious and persisting factors, recent developments in the oil market . . .",

drawing attention to the other factors but without listing them.

Dr. Nyerere, Tanzania, intervened to point out that the balance of payments problems of developing and developed countries did not derive from the same root. Those of developing countries came both from the price of oil and from the price of manufactured goods, whereas those of the developed countries came from the price of oil. He urged that the paragraph should make that clear.

Major-General Adefope agreed with Dr. Nyerere. He was therefore prepared to accept the amendment proposed by the Prime Minister of Jamaica but if the paragraph was to be split into two parts to fully express the effects on the balance of payments of both developing and developed countries, then he would have no objection.

Mr. Muldoon pointed out that some developed countries, as agricultural producers, shared the same problems as developing countries and it was thus not easy to separate them easily. He added, however, that the paragraph as it stood recognised an immediate and important problem that had occurred earlier in the year—an oil price increase. The other factors had been in evidence some time.

Dr. Nyerere said that he was quite happy to have the paragraph concentrate on oil. But if a balance was to be achieved, then he recommended a reference to manufactured goods and the price of primary commodities.

Dr. Kaunda agreed with Dr. Nyerere pointing out that the paragraph only dealt with half of the problem.

The Secretary-General emphasised that it was not a paragraph about oil but rather about deficits. He suggested the substitution of a new sentence which would read:

"They noted that a variety of factors had now gravely aggravated these problems."

Mr. Moi, Kenya, supported the Secretary-General's proposal.

Mr. Fraser indicated that he preferred to leave the sentence as it was and to add another sentence pointing out the damaging effects of machinery price

increases which resulted from inflation which was inadequately controlled in many countries and containing a reference to instability in commodity prices. He thought that the point would be lost if the Secretary-General's proposed amendment was accepted.

Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana, said that the Meeting should not be afraid to state that oil was responsible for a number of problems. He admitted that there were other factors involved but was convinced that oil was the major factor. He therefore preferred the sentence as it stood.

Mr. Forde, Barbados, proposed that the sentence read:

"They noted that a variety of factors had aggravated these problems. Among these were the wasteful expenditure on arms, chronic inflation in the cost of manufactured goods, including machinery, the failure to agree on satisfactory commodity agreements and recent developments in the oil market."

Mr. Binaisa, Uganda, stated that he did not favour a specific reference to oil alone as it was only one of a number of factors which had aggravated the situation. He felt that oil would be more appropriately discussed in paragraph 46.

Mr. Manley, recalled *Mr. Clark's* proposal to use the words "serious and persisting". That formulation would embrace all of the factors mentioned and supply a historical and well-known context within which to address the central point.

Mr. Mishra, India, sought clarification as to the purpose of paragraph 44. In his view it was very limited. It was merely an analysis of the effects of the increase in oil prices. Two courses of action in response to that had been mentioned: recycling of the surplus funds to assist developing countries and the development of alternative sources of energy. Any of the other factors which had been mentioned should be treated separately.

The amendment proposed by *Mr. Clark*, Canada was accepted.

Dr. Kaunda then asked whether *Mr. Manley's* earlier proposal to add:

"since it represented a step towards the goal of much needed monetary reform"

to the end of the second last sentence was acceptable.

That was agreed and paragraph 44, as amended, was adopted by the Meeting.

Paragraph 45

Mr. Vaovasamanaia, Western Samoa, proposed an addition which would reflect the comments of several Heads of Government in respect of the financing conditionality clauses applicable to small island developing and other specially disadvantaged countries. He proposed the addition of a new sentence after the second sentence which would read:

"This need is of especial application to small island developing and other specially disadvantaged states."

The last sentence which would be retained would be revised by the addition of one word "accordingly" at the beginning, so as to read "They accordingly recognised. . ."

Mr. Manley, Jamaica supporting the proposal, asked for an assurance that the word "especial" would not be read as precluding the application of it to other countries.

Dr. Kaunda, assured *Mr. Manley* that other countries would not be so precluded.

Mr. Forde, Barbados, in accepting the intent of the proposal, pointed out that it was not clear to which of the needs that had been specified it would refer.

Mr. Vaovasamanaia, replied that the intent was to cover all the needs identified in the preceding sentence.

Dr. Kaunda proposed that the sentence should be a separate, third sentence and that it should read:

"These considerations are of especial importance to small island developing and other specially disadvantaged states. They accordingly recognised. . ."

That amendment was accepted and paragraph 45, as amended, was adopted by the Meeting.

Paragraph 46

Mr. Manley, Jamaica, noting that the paragraph had come to Heads of Government in brackets and that several elements in it were unacceptable to some members proposed an alternative version which read as follows:

"Heads of Government discussed the effects of recent developments in the field of energy on the growth prospects of developed and developing countries. Mindful of the serious effects on the world economy of recent trends, they noted that the developing countries consumed only a small proportion of the world's oil and this mostly for essential purposes in agriculture, industry and transport. In discussing the relationship between the supply and cost of energy they recognised the particularly difficult economic problem that the energy-deficient developing countries were currently having to face. Heads of Government noted that many countries had embarked upon major programmes to conserve energy and reduce their dependence on imported oil. They called upon the international community to develop the necessary institutional mechanisms to deal with this most important subject and to ensure that the necessary financial and technological resources were mobilised to ensure rapid development of both renewable and non-renewable sources of energy. The Heads of Government noted that special measures would need to be taken to assist the energy deficient developing countries to reduce this deficiency and the effect it is having upon their economic development."

Mrs. Thatcher, Britain, supported the proposed redraft in its entirety.

The revised paragraph was adopted without further comment.

Paragraph 47

Adopted without comment.

Paragraph 48

Mr. Moi, Kenya indicated that he wished to amend the first two sentences in order to avoid the impression that the only source of dissatisfaction over the outcome of the renegotiation of the Lomé Convention was in respect of mineral resources. The amended sentences would read:

"Heads of Government noted the strong dissatisfaction of the Commonwealth African, Caribbean and Pacific ACP countries with the outcome of the negotiation for a successor to the Lomé Convention. This concerned many aspects of the Lomé Convention including dissatisfaction of the mineral exporting ACP countries with the proposed mineral assistance scheme and its failure to deal with the urgent problem of unstable export earnings for minerals."

The amendment was accepted and paragraph 48, as amended, was adopted.

Paragraph 49

Mr. Premadasa, Sri Lanka, proposed the addition of a sentence at the end of the paragraph which would read:

"They recognised the need for effective mechanisms for consultations between producers to be developed within the framework of the Commonwealth."

Mr. Fraser, Australia, intervened to say that he had doubts about the proposal as it implied that producers alone, by getting together, would be able to solve the problem. He preferred to have emphasis laid on pursuing consultations in the context of the Common Fund which involved both producers and consumers. He accepted the Sri Lankan amendment, however.

Paragraph 49, as amended, was therefore adopted.

Paragraph 50

Mr. Clark, Canada, referring to the bracketed words "proposed" and "initial" in the second and penultimate lines respectively of the last sentence, emphasised that he favoured retention of the word "proposed" as there was no guarantee that the target figure of £5 million would be met. He also wished to retain the word "initial" as there was no clear picture as to what the actual staffing requirements would be.

The brackets were removed and paragraph 50 was adopted.

Paragraphs 51-53

Adopted without comment.

Paragraph 54

Mr. Douglas, Dominica, stated that in his view the instruction to the Secretary-General in the third sentence to pursue the programme of action recommended for the Secretariat did not fully reflect the decision taken by the Heads of Government on the matter. He suggested that the sentence be amended to read:

"They requested the Secretary-General to pursue the setting up of a select committee to be convened by the Secretary-General before the end of 1979 to initiate a comprehensive and complete programme of action aimed at assisting and solving the problems of small island states of the Commonwealth in the 1980s as resources permit and recipient countries request. . ."

The Secretary-General stated that he had not understood a proposal to be before the Meeting for a special committee on the subject. The Secretariat paper which had been discussed had proposed a whole range of special measures both at bilateral and multilateral level and through the Secretariat, and those together represented a programme of action that would be pursued in order to attempt to meet the special needs of small states. He did not understand what role the proposed committee would play in relation to the programme.

Dr. Kaunda pointed out that the proposal had not been submitted to the Committee of the Whole for detailed consideration and that caused some procedural difficulty.

Mr. Mishra, India, said that the proposal came very close to the suggestion he had made earlier. He pointed out that the programme as outlined in the Secretary-General's paper had some gaps, e.g. in the area of transport. He felt that insufficient attention had been given to the inter-relationships between the various items of the programme suggested by the Secretary-General. He therefore supported the establishment of a committee which could ensure that the programme became an integrated and a balanced one.

Mr. Bishop, Grenada, pointed out that part of the problem was that while the document by Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia had not been submitted to the Committee of the Whole, it did propose some concrete measures that had not been reflected in the memorandum presented by the Secretary-General. Their proposal was a way of following up those suggestions through the setting up of a committee. He therefore proposed the addition of a final sentence reading:

"Additionally, they agreed to a setting up of a select committee by the Secretary-General before the end of 1979 to initiate a comprehensive and complete programme of action aimed at assisting and solving the problems of small island states of the Commonwealth in the 1980s."

He felt that there were two elements involved; on the one hand, the clear consensus which had emerged supporting the programme of action recommended for the Secretariat in the Secretary-General's paper and, on the other, a separate proposal calling for a select committee to deal with additional problems which had not been looked at by the Secretary-General's paper. He attached great importance to the need for some kind of body to consider additional proposals such as those he had made at the meeting.

Mr. Douglas concurred with *Mr. Bishop's* proposal.

The Secretary-General then proposed the following final sentence:

"They requested the Secretary-General, acting in close consultation with the countries concerned, to convene as necessary a committee to make recommendations on additional programmes of assistance for consideration by Commonwealth Governments."

Mr. Mishra claimed that if the functions of the proposed committee were limited to those suggested by *Mr. Bishop* and the Secretary-General, the problem of imbalance would not be taken care of. For instance a programme of production had been recommended but no programme of transport was envisaged.

The Secretary-General, in agreeing with *Mr. Mishra*, proposed the addition of the words "or improved" after "additional" in the last sentence.

With that addition the Secretary-General's amendment was accepted and the paragraph, as amended, adopted.

Paragraph 55

Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 56 ON COMMONWEALTH FUND FOR TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

Mr. Premadasa, Sri Lanka, proposed that an emphasis on housing, urbanisation and the protection of the environment be added by inserting in the eleventh line after "response to new needs," the phrase "including housing, urbanisation and the protection of the environment."

With that amendment paragraph 56 was adopted.

PARAGRAPH 57 ON INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE CHILD
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 58-59 ON COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 60 ON COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 61 ON THE OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL COMMONWEALTH
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 62-64 ON WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 65 ON COMMONWEALTH HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 66 ON COMMONWEALTH FILM AND TELEVISION INSTITUTE
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPHS 67-68 ON COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA IN THE COMMONWEALTH
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 69 ON REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
Adopted without comment.

PARAGRAPH 70 ON NEXT MEETING

Mr. Fraser, Australia, said that at the 1977 Meeting his Government had indicated its wish to have the honour of hosting the 1981 Meeting if that were acceptable to other governments. In that connection he wanted to take the opportunity to thank Dr. Kaunda for the way he had chaired the Meeting at Lusaka. He hoped that if the 1981 Meeting were held in Australia, his Government would be able to emulate the spirit of moderation which had been so much a part of the discussions in Lusaka, including those subjects on which governments held very strong and vigorous views. The agreement on the Rhodesian issue that had just been endorsed by the Commonwealth was an enormous credit to the Front-Line States and to Britain in particular; the whole Commonwealth was greatly indebted to those leaders who had been principally involved in working out that agreement. He would be most happy to offer Australia as the venue for the next Heads of Government Meeting.

Dr. Kaunda, noting that the offer made by the Australian Prime Minister had been received with acclamation, proposed that the following wording for paragraph 70 be inserted under the heading Next Meeting:

"Heads of Government accepted with pleasure the invitation of the Government of Australia to hold their next Meeting in Australia in 1981."

That wording for paragraph 70 was agreed without further comment.

IV. NEXT MEETING OF SENIOR OFFICIALS

Mr. Kyprianou, Cyprus, after expressing gratitude for the solidarity of the Meeting with the Government and people of Cyprus, reminded the Meeting that at the Kuala Lumpur Senior Officials Meeting it had been agreed in principle that

the next meeting of Senior Officials would be held in Cyprus in 1980. He wished to repeat the invitation and indicated that his Government would do all it could to ensure a successful meeting.

The Meeting accepted with acclamation the invitation to hold the 1980 Senior Officials Meeting in Cyprus.

V. CLOSURE

Mr. Bishop, Grenada, said it was both an honour and a pleasure to move the vote of thanks on behalf of the Meeting to Dr. Kaunda both as Chairman and President of Zambia, and to the Zambian Government and people for the very warm hospitality which had been shown to all delegations over the past 10 days. The way in which the Meeting had been handled by Dr. Kaunda was an example which would be very difficult for any future Chairman to emulate. His quick wit had been one of the striking aspects of his Chairmanship, and the discipline with which he had handled the Meeting at all times had been appreciated by all.

Everyone had been very deeply impressed by the beauty of Zambia, the character of Lusaka, and the self-evident discipline of the Zambian people. Not only had Heads of Government been fortunate to have had in Dr. Kaunda an astute Chairman, but they were fortunate to have met in Zambia because one of the key issues under discussion had been the question of Rhodesia. The fact that those crucial discussions had taken place in a Front-Line State would long be remembered in the annals of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings. So would the hospitality, the friendliness, and the personal touch given by Dr. and Mrs. Kaunda.

Mr. Moi, Kenya, said he considered it a privilege to be supporting the vote of thanks. Firstly, he wished to reiterate the gratitude of Heads of Government for the warm and friendly manner in which they had been received on their arrival in the beautiful city of Lusaka. They also wished to express their thanks for the facilities which had been placed at their disposal during the Meeting and for the hospitality they had enjoyed despite the great economic difficulties caused to Zambia by the Smith rebellion to the south.

Zambia had endured grave difficulties because of the position given to her by geography and history. For 14 years she had carried a very great burden—the burden arising directly from the deeds of a rebellious racial minority, acting in open defiance of world opinion. Zambia was struggling to maintain many refugees—men, women and children—who had been forced to flee from racial tyranny and oppression. There had been much loss of life and suffering by innocent Africans, both in Zimbabwe itself and in the neighbouring countries, including the Commonwealth states of Zambia and Botswana. Those Front-Line States had suffered mindless raids from Salisbury which had caused loss of life and suffering, but they had borne the brunt with courage. He recalled the frequent warnings given to the rest of the world by Dr. Kaunda concerning the urgent need to end the loss of precious life and human suffering and of the dangers of inaction. It was for that reason that he applauded his colleagues for the seriousness with which they had carried out deliberations on that vexed problem. They had consistently stated that Rhodesia remained a British colony and had urged Britain to assume fully her responsibility over Rhodesia. The response of Britain to that challenge had been positive and he wished to give particular thanks to Mrs. Thatcher, for her stand on the issue.

The deliberations of the Meeting had been greatly assisted by the calm and conciliatory mood that had prevailed throughout and he believed it was to that conciliatory mood that historians would attribute the breakthrough that had been

achieved. The solution that had been worked out, once satisfactorily implemented, would enable the people of Zimbabwe to concentrate on the essential task of development, for only through internally generated and sustained growth of a country's economy could there be any hope for improvement in the quality of life of its people. To achieve that, aid was required, not guns. It was therefore hoped that the transfer of real resources to developing countries would be increased in response to their needs.

He wished to stress, however, that the meeting of minds achieved over Rhodesia should not cause all to lose sight of the urgency of finding a lasting and acceptable solution to the problem of Namibia and South Africa. In both countries the future of youth was being clouded and jeopardised by the deeds of an old and dying generation of racists. To the youth of Namibia and South Africa, both white and black, he wished to say that the future was theirs and that they must continue to play their part in shaping it. All saluted the courage with which they had taken their place in the freedom struggle and all prayed for those who had paid with their lives in that process. On an earlier occasion he had said that freedom was indivisible. A people were free or not free and Africans were one people.

The seriousness with which Heads of Government had taken their work at the Meeting had enabled them to reach agreement on a framework for industrial co-operation within the Commonwealth. That had been important for those economies which were plagued by falling export prices, persistent inflation, crippling debt burdens and increasing unemployment. He urged that quick action be taken to establish the Industrial Development Unit within the Secretariat and noted that the Meeting had pledged support for its work.

He concluded by saying that the Commonwealth cherished human values; those human values had no price; they were values for which all must continue to work, for it was what was done today which would determine the kind of world that was left behind.

Mrs. Thatcher, Britain, said she concurred and endorsed everything that both Mr. Bishop and Mr. Moi had said. She expressed deep gratitude to Dr. Kaunda for his skill as Chairman. Whenever there had been difficulties, there had been a never-failing sense of humour; there had been a deftness and sureness of touch which had guided the debates to very successful conclusions. That had not just happened by chance, it had occurred because of a combination of things, and Dr. Kaunda's skill had made an enormous contribution to the conclusions that had been reached. For some, the conclusions reached represented an end to a period of deliberation and the start of a period of great action. Dr. Kaunda's faith in everything the Meeting had tried to achieve would sustain many of those assembled through the difficult period in the weeks ahead.

She also wished to express appreciation to Dr. Kaunda not only for being a wonderful Chairman but also for extending the hand of friendship and thoughtfulness and kindness to everyone. In the end, it was that which made for successful human relationships. Dr. Kaunda had been a wonderful example of the faith in which all knew he believed.

In conclusion, Mrs. Thatcher presented Dr. Kaunda with a token of thanks, on behalf of the Meeting, explaining that it was a printed tribute to him of the speeches given at the dinner he had hosted for Commonwealth Heads of Government which had been signed by all those present. It came not only with their admiration, which he deserved, but with something which was even more important, their affection for him, and every good wish not only for his own future but for the future of Zambia.

Dr. Kaunda said he had been very touched by the kindness shown to him. It was a moment he would treasure as long as he lived. As they had come to the

end of their deliberations, his final task was to express his gratitude to each and everyone for being with him and the Zambian people in the previous few days and especially for their patience and invaluable co-operation in facilitating the smooth discussions during the Meeting. The atmosphere of friendship and the spirit of frankness had greatly contributed to the constructive approach to some of the most difficult problems. It had been gratifying that the fears which had been expressed at the beginning had ended in a better understanding of each other's point of view. As a result, the business of the Meeting had been finished ahead of schedule. That was success in itself and credit was due to Heads of Government and their officials.

That success was also a reflection of their willing co-operation in the conduct of debate; the widening area of agreement among members of the Commonwealth in promotion and defence of common interests; clarity in their objectives and goals; efficiency and effectiveness in pursuing those goals. Those assets had made their task much easier and helped to strengthen the Commonwealth. Clearly it was now their duty to strengthen the Lusaka spirit—the spirit of collective commitment to their objectives. For a meeting could not be historic unless it led to historic change. The question was, therefore, what changes the decisions they had made in the past few days would bring about in the Commonwealth and in the world. They had made some decisions, some of them very crucial and epoch-making decisions. They had made them with a great deal of seriousness because they concerned grave situations. Those decisions had to be implemented. As they looked forward to their next meeting in two years' time, he suggested that that be their firm commitment. That summit would have to confirm continuous progress on the Commonwealth agenda for human development.

He was sure that they could make progress. They had to make progress, and he felt they would, in many areas of action. On Rhodesia, for example, progress was now distinctly possible. The British Government had pledged to move swiftly in the next few weeks to end the rebellion in Rhodesia. It was hoped that they would. Commonwealth members wished them to move very swiftly indeed for they did not want the war in Southern Africa. The liberation movements did not want the war for war meant killing. But it was a war imposed upon the liberation movements and neighbouring countries. Therefore, it was not even necessary to place emphasis on the need to end the hostilities for that was contingent upon agreement on an internationally accepted solution. A genuine solution was what was most urgently needed. The war could, and would, be ended by a genuine transfer of power to the majority through a democratic constitution which would facilitate the holding of free and fair elections. Such a solution would meet the aspirations of the majority.

He went on to point out, however, that their collective and well-intentioned agreement was not enough. The Smith regime still held the power of veto over peace. It had torpedoed many initiatives before, including Geneva and the Anglo-American plan, which would have ended the war. It could and might even kill the Thatcher initiative and thus perpetuate the horrendous reality of protracted war. Their discussions in Lusaka had demonstrated that the British Government was absolutely determined to see that the decisions based on the Commonwealth collective agreement would be implemented swiftly. If the Muzorewa/Smith regime torpedoed the British initiative, war would continue and he was still certain that victory lay with the Patriotic Front. He therefore urged the Commonwealth to remain united in its purpose and action. No one should be allowed to torpedo that move. It was important to peace and justice in Zimbabwe and to security in the world.

They had issued a very important Communiqué containing other decisions of equal import which called for effective implementation. Those had to be translated into a programme of action. In particular, they had to address themselves with

vigour to the degenerating world economic situation which was a distinct threat to peace and stability. A better life for man had to be secured.

He wished to thank all those who had laboured so hard ever since the preparations for the summit had started. If it was a success, credit went to those who had built the foundation upon which the leaders had constructed success. Working with the officials of the Commonwealth Secretariat had been quite an experience for him. They were international civil servants truly committed to the ideals of the Commonwealth. The elaborate organisation and the attention they had given the Summit had impressed him tremendously. Mr. Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, had lent his full weight to ensure that work was not only completed in good time, but with the quality which met the standards worthy of the Commonwealth. His re-election to a second term of office in such an overwhelming manner was testimony of the confidence member countries had in him. He offered his congratulations and wished the Secretary-General every success.

Dr. Kaunda said that he also wished to thank his compatriots in the Directorate and elsewhere, who had been responsible for the Meeting preparations. They might not have satisfied all the requirements of their guests but had done what they could in the circumstances.

Finally, he wished to say how happy he was that the summit had ended with everyone more dedicated, more hopeful, and even closer than ever before. He expressed the hope that they would remain ever more firmly on the road to greater human integration. They would have problems in the future on the road they had chosen; it was an unbeaten path.

On earth, nations and peoples might hate one another; they might fight wars against one another over racial and other causes; there would be victories and defeats; new weapons would be produced; but in the end the weapons of war would be destroyed and man would triumph. He hoped that they would be worthy instruments for guaranteeing that history triumphed.

He concluded by wishing each and every one of his colleagues and friends a happy stay while they remained in Zambia and a safe return home. He hoped God's blessings would be with the Commonwealth and with mankind as a whole.

The Meeting closed at 6.55 p.m.