

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

LUSAKA, 1-7 AUGUST 1979

*RECORD of the Opening Session held at Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka  
on Wednesday, 1 August, 1979 at 10.25 a.m.*

Present:

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

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| The Right Hon. Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia                                 | The Right Hon. Lynden O. Pindling, MP, Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas |
| HE Mr. Ziaur Rahman, President of 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                 | The Right Hon. Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister of 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                              |
| Mr. J. S. Mehta, Foreign Secretary, 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                               | HE Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, President of 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              | The Right Hon. Michael T. Somare, CH, MP, Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea             |
| The Hon. George Odlum, Deputy Prime Minister, St. Lucia                                    | HE Mr. F. A. Rene, President of Seychelles   |
| HE Dr. Siaka P. Stevens, President of Sierra Leone   | The Hon. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore                                       |

The Right Hon. Peter Kenilorea, Prime Minister of Solomon Islands	The Hon. R. Premadasa, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka
The Hon. Prince Nqaba, Minister for Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism, Swaziland	HE Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania
HRH Prince Tuipelehare, Prime Minister of Tonga	HE Mr. Eustace Seignoret, High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, Trinidad and Tobago
HE Mr. Godfrey Binaisa, President and Chairman of the National Executive Committee, Uganda	The Hon. Vaovasamaia Filipo, Minister for Finance, Western Samoa

HE Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal, *Secretary-General*

Also present :

The Opening Session was attended by members of the delegations and their wives, High Commissioners and their wives, other specially invited guests, representatives of the news media, and members of the Commonwealth Secretariat servicing the Meeting.

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#### I. ADDRESS OF WELCOME

*Dr. Kaunda* formally opened the Meeting at 10.25 a.m. and invited those present to observe two minutes silence in memory of colleagues who had died since the last Heads of Government Meeting.

The text of his address of welcome follows :

Dearest friends and colleagues, in the name of the people of Zambia, I extend to each and every one of you a hearty and fraternal welcome to our country. You have come from very distant lands all round the globe to give us the honour of playing host to this historic Commonwealth summit. We are grateful you came. I extend particular welcome to the new members of the Commonwealth namely, Solomon Islands, Dominica, St. Lucia and Kiribati and wish them every success. We hope that you and the ladies who grace the summit by their presence will enjoy your stay amongst the Zambian people.

We apologise for the many shortcomings you might experience due to the inadequacy of our arrangements. We ask you to bear with us. A host who is poor is invariably in great difficulty. Neither modest nor abounding hospitality is possible without adverse comment. Hospitality suitable to his income provokes complaints of ill-treatment or meanness from some guests. If no expense is spared to guarantee excellent hospitality, some guests will make uncharitable and unfair comment that the poor host might have better used the scarce resources more prudently instead of indulging in a display of luxury. Whichever way preparations go, a poor host cannot win. So it is with Zambia. But I want to assure you that we have tried our best to make our guests comfortable in the tradition of Zambian hospitality which bears no relation to our economic wellbeing. We, therefore, appeal for the understanding of our guests including the mass media.

We meet at a most historic time. Our association offers unlimited opportunities in moulding a decent future for man. It is an important instrument in fostering the ideals of universal brotherhood, transcending the forces of nationalism dominating the world and which threaten international peace and security. Our task is to review obstacles on man's road to a more decent future.

During our Commonwealth summit in London in 1977, the prospects for peace appeared bright. Rays of hope about a stable and prosperous future fell on Indo-China after the traumatic events of the Vietnam war. The dangers of a wider conflict in the Middle East appeared to be receding. In Southern Africa the Anglo-American initiative had brought some fresh hopes for peace. All hot-spots were witnessing more unified and determined efforts to eliminate the root causes of conflict and strengthen the foundations of peace.

These efforts failed. Today the world political situation is marked by turmoil. Peace is under threat again everywhere. Although there is no immediate threat of another world war, the causes exist and weapons of war abound. There is no world war, but there are regional wars in many parts of the world. Indo-China is in a state of turbulence. The situation is dangerous. The refugee problem is a great human tragedy to which we in the Commonwealth cannot be indifferent. We welcome the measures taken by various governments in South East Asia, and elsewhere in the world and the UN, to bring relief to the victims. Uncertainty still dogs the peace process in the Middle East. This is compounded by the general instability in the Persian Gulf. The war of liberation in Southern Africa has widened in scope and grown in intensity with grave consequences for the region and beyond. Latin America is marked by conflicts. Violence in Europe is on the increase. Everywhere powerful destructive forces are engaged in eating away at the stability of peace. So while the '70s have witnessed epoch-making advances in science and technology, and while there is enhanced consciousness

about these grave threats to peace and about the importance of co-operation for progress, deadly weapons designed to decimate man have increased in number and their kill capacity.

Today more than ever before man is in desperate need for weapons of peace. For peace is, for all of us, a priceless commodity. We are the best weapons of peace. We must build peace where it has been destroyed. Detente is an instrument for preventing a nuclear war between super-powers. But detente cannot prevent the poor and the weak from dying in regional conflicts. The Helsinki Conference on European Security and Co-operation which calls for total disarmament has not removed the threats to peace and security in the world. Even SALT II which has already met with opposition does not guarantee security for the small and medium states. No mechanism yet exists to prevent regional conflicts which plague the world's peoples.

The Commonwealth response to this challenge is crucial to the future of the world. We must use our special knowledge and wisdom deriving from our regional experience. We cannot stop all wars, but we can through collective and co-ordinated effort influence those who can remove the causes of war. Small and young states in the world cannot depend for their security on the peace-keeping machinery designed to protect the interests of major powers. We hope to benefit from the experience and wisdom of our colleagues from Indo-China, the Pacific, the Caribbean, Europe and the Americas in dealing with the grave crises which threaten our common goals. By understanding the objective reality of the world political situation we can become a force for peace and development.

Southern Africa is part of us and we are part of it. It is our special responsibility by virtue of our geo-political position and our commitment to the principles of human equality, freedom and dignity. Zimbabwe and Namibia will be high on the agenda of this summit. Let me, therefore, say that we believe Rhodesia is a British colony. Nothing has changed. Rhodesia is still in rebellion. Its leaders are rebels against the Crown. There is an escalating liberation war led by the Patriotic Front to end that rebellion. Africa will win this war. The elections held in April this year were illegal. These elections produced an illegal and puppet government. Bishop Muzorewa succeeded rebel leader Ian Smith in office, but did not succeed him in power. Majority rule must mean the total transfer of power from the minority. Power was not transferred to the majority in Zimbabwe. What we have in Salisbury today is white power clad in black habiliments.

Let me emphasise that Front-Line States and Africa in general are not interested in individuals. We are not against individuals. To us Smith is not an enemy because he is a white individual but because he is a symbol of evil which is costing Zimbabweans and the neighbouring countries precious life. Africa supports the Patriotic Front because it is the force of resistance against this evil and rebellion. It is a force for peace deeply rooted in justice. The Muzorewa/Smith regime is in fact a product of the Patriotic Front war effort.

Similarly, SWAPO in Namibia is a resistance movement against South Africa's vicious policy of apartheid and expansionism. Colour plays no part in our policy based on humanism and Commonwealth principles. Our continued support for SWAPO is based on the correctness of their cause. The conflict situation in Southern Africa is basically the product of racism with its roots in South Africa. If Namibia and Zimbabwe were located in a different part of Africa, there would be no problem. If South Africa did not enjoy support from the West, there would be no problem. Consequently, whatever solution we seek must deal with the motivating force in this situation, namely, racist South Africa and international forces of reaction supporting her. We must deal with these and other problems threatening peace and security with transparent honesty and a sense of purpose designed to strengthen Commonwealth unity and world peace.

Dear colleagues and friends, there is another area of major Commonwealth concern. A heavy cloud of gloom hangs over the international economic system.

The world economic recession, world inflation, the fuel crisis, poor and fluctuating prices for raw materials on the world market, all rolled into one historic phase have thrown out of gear international efforts to establish a new economic order. Declining terms of trade, unemployment and the failure to achieve targets of real transfers from rich to poor have all taken their toll in reducing the availability of resources to those countries whose need is greatest. The fuel crisis in particular has become a most devastating weapon disrupting even the most determined development effort and thus entrenching poverty. Clearly great effort is needed to control the powerful negative economic forces now undermining international economic stability and blunting the efforts for progress. The growing influence of these phenomena is accompanied by failure to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world. This summit cannot ignore the failures so far of UNCTAD, the Group of 77 and even the efforts in the North-South dialogue. While bilateral efforts are fruitful, we must strengthen multilateral co-operation in the war on poverty and inequality. We must understand that the international security situation has entered a dangerous phase because the political conflicts are exacerbated by economic instability.

All of us are victims of the collapsing world economy. Today we stand on the threshold of a most dangerous era in which the collapse of the international economic system will lead to the destruction of the structures on which world peace and stability now rest. The unstable international situation calls for vision, courage and greater co-operation than ever before to improve the human condition. For there are serious symptoms of future conflagrations despite the progress made in the advancement of civilisation. Unless we unite now in removing the fundamental causes of the widening gap between justice on the one hand and injustice on the other, disaster is bound to befall the world. The weapons of peace will become weapons of war. Let us attack the causes of conflict together. Let us attack poverty and its off-shoots of hunger, ignorance, disease, crime and exploitation of man by man together. Let us pledge to promote the spirit of universal brotherhood together. Let us make world peace a cornerstone of our faith and our goal in the Commonwealth. Let us work together to build genuine and durable peace deeply rooted in love.

Friends and colleagues, dear sisters and brothers, we live in an era of traumatic events. Formidable forces threaten the very foundations of human existence. This is no time for indulging in futile chauvinistic illusions. This is a time for unity and co-operation. We must, in biblical language, hammer our "swords into ploughshares and spears into sickles". We must recognise even more our common humanity and common brotherhood. We must pool all our experience, our collective wisdom and efforts to strengthen the spirit of the oneness of mankind and tackle the problems of this world with a unity of purpose. To this end the Commonwealth must develop common interests and rally to the support of one another in the task of building and strengthening world peace. The area of common interest is vast. Let us enlarge it even further. Let us reduce our areas of difference and strengthen our unity of purpose and the unity of action. Let us dwell on the importance of our common interests and support one another in their realisation and defence. The meeting itself is a testimony of our belief in the principles of this association.

I, therefore, hope and pray that our deliberations will be frank, constructive and productive. May God guide us all in this historic endeavour. Thank you.

## II. ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

*The Secretary-General* was then invited by Dr. Kaunda to address the Meeting. The text of his statement follows:

President Kaunda, Heads of Government, Heads of Delegation, Commonwealth colleagues and friends, there is a sense in which in coming to Lusaka at the summit the Commonwealth has come of age; for it was African membership—first through Kwame Nkrumah's confirmation of the promise that Nehru and India had earlier given of the Commonwealth's potential—that at a stroke changed, enriched and secured the Commonwealth. All at once, its rationale, its relevance, its validity, were transformed and strengthened. For the first time in human history a community was being freely evolved whose essence was not likeness but dissimilarity. It was almost ahead of its time—as all great acts of vision must be. In 1957, when Ghana first joined the Commonwealth, we were still in a world more characterised by faith in power and dominance than by acknowledgment of mutual need. Today we understand better that there are inescapable limits to power, that dependency is not only immoral but inefficient, that whatever be our condition as states and peoples, we cannot ignore each other if we are all to survive on this planet. Had our founding fathers not developed the Commonwealth in the late '40s and '50s we would now be searching for ways of creating some such mechanism in response to the needs of the '80s and beyond. To care for the Commonwealth, therefore, is not just a duty we owe to ourselves; it is a trust we are now impressed with on behalf of a much wider human society—as every month I have confirmed to me by leaders of that society outside our membership.

I said that coming to Zambia is a coming of age for the Commonwealth—for this is our first full Heads of Government Meeting on African soil. A Special Meeting, as you all know, was held in Lagos in 1966—but it was a Special Meeting limited to a single issue. But that Meeting and this are conjoined, for falling across them both was and is the shadow of the failure of decolonisation in Southern Africa and in Rhodesia in particular. Even the most doubting sceptic in 1966 would not have believed that 14 years after Lagos the business of that Commonwealth summit would still be unfinished. But so it is. It must be history's mandate and a more personal challenge that as a result of our work in Lusaka no shadow shall hereafter fall between the conception and the reality of Zimbabwe's freedom. It is a task of fulfilment that will tax all your talents and your will. You will have to be assiduous in the pursuit of principle and yielding in your accommodation to its supremacy. And it is a task in which the world beyond the Commonwealth wishes us well—for the aftermath of our failure cannot but hold great peril for the wider global society. I hope this does not sound too solemn. Secretaries-General by their calling must accentuate the positive amid all the cross-currents of their diverse constituencies—and I am, at any rate, an optimist by disposition. But we give hope a better chance if we acknowledge the odds against it. And those odds fairly measured are surely not insurmountable. I am certain, for example, that despite conflicting interpretations of the quality of events between your Meeting in London in 1977 and your consultations here, if the Commonwealth remains faithful to the principles which have guided its collective responses to the situation in Southern Africa over the years, you cannot fail to move closer to the goal of Zimbabwe's true independence.

But, Mr. President, the greatest tribute the Commonwealth can pay to your own philosophy of humanism and to Zambia's record of enlightened internationalism is to ensure that, here at Lusaka, Commonwealth leaders consult also about the many other matters of great concern to member states. As those concerns are many and varied, so your agenda is a crowded one: changing power relationships in our world—indeed the changing nature of power itself; political events in South East Asia and the peculiar problems that the exodus of refugees from Vietnam has brought to particular member states and the entire world community; the still troubled issues of Cyprus and Belize—to mention a few of

a political nature. And you meet in Lusaka at a moment of great uncertainty, indeed of great instability, in the world economy: a moment when the most serious and persistent recession in the post-war period is showing every sign of deepening—with massive consequences for all states, rich and poor alike, but with, perhaps, catastrophic implications for the poorest and the weakest. The quality of Commonwealth consultations on these world economic issues at Kingston in 1975 and London in 1977, and of Commonwealth action following upon those Meetings, should give us confidence in our ability to help the world to take decisions without over-reaching ourselves with pretensions of taking decisions for the world.

And this facility for assisting the negotiating process is now a major global asset. The world's top leaders do not meet across the poverty divide in any systematic way, save here around a Commonwealth table. They did not meet at or between the Sixth and Seventh Special Session save for Kingston, and, save for Prime Minister Manley's initiative at Runaway Bay as 1979 was ushered in, the world's leaders did not meet at or between the Seventh Special Session and UNCTAD V save for London. This year, alone, the directorate of the North has met in Tokyo; the South, in greater numbers, will meet separately at Havana. Manila, in between, was not a dialogue so much as a happening. It is here at Lusaka in 1979, and here alone, that a sample of the leadership of North and South have a chance this year to do more than maximise demands or consolidate defences. Here you have a chance for that meeting of minds, that enlargement of understanding, that exploration of possibilities that the world desperately needs but is finding it impossible to attain in either the stylised and increasingly ritualistic forums of the world body or the one-sided consultations of its separate parts. Your meeting is, therefore, both challenge and opportunity. Many outside these halls hope that you will respond positively to both.

And, of course, a part of those responses lies in the Commonwealth's quota of work among its member states: the daily round of co-operation without conflict; of giving and receiving in return; of using our unique facility for doing business together to facilitate the business of development; of reaching the people of the Commonwealth through what we do between conferences—not merely through what we do or fail to do at them. Your agenda invites just such responses for a variety of programmes: to accelerate industrialisation in developing member countries through relevant, practical and ready assistance—with mutual benefit to developed and developing countries; programmes to secure more resources for CFTC so that it might do more of what it does so well in making Commonwealth skills available for meeting Commonwealth needs; programmes to develop solutions to the special problems of our small island communities and other geographically disadvantaged members with whom the global dialogue seems so little concerned, but for whom, with imagination and creativity, we can together do so much; programmes to persevere in our endeavours for youth symbolised so pointedly last Sunday when Her Majesty unveiled a commemorative plaque at the Commonwealth Regional Youth Development Centre here in Lusaka; and, as a reminder of the many who also serve the Commonwealth, programmes to encourage, through the work of the Commonwealth Foundation, what is best in the self-help efforts of the unofficial Commonwealth—the people of the Commonwealth at the grass-roots who come together of their own accord in myriad associations and groups with a Commonwealth ethic as their guide and practical co-operation as their compass. How can we fail to be positive about the prospects for the Commonwealth amid a potential so rich and so richly rewarding for all member states?

That you have come to Lusaka in such numbers amid your many other preoccupations is surely testimony to your conviction of the Commonwealth's worth and your intent to develop and enlarge it still further in the service of its peoples, including those in this region who are yet to join us, and in the service also of that wider humanity of which we are already so substantial a part. Many hopes ride upon your consultation. May they ride safely and to fulfilment.

### III. REPLIES TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Three Heads of Government replied to Dr. Kaunda's address of welcome. The texts of their statements follow.

*Mr. Fraser, Australia:* Mr. Chairman, fellow Heads of Government, Mr. Secretary-General, I am honoured to have been invited to reply to your speech of welcome, Mr. President. On behalf of us all, I would like to thank you for your warm welcome and your gracious hospitality. I think you need have no fears about your warm welcome to all your guests and for the preparations which have been made. I would also like to thank Sonny Ramphal and his Secretariat for their dedicated work in preparing for this Conference.

This is an historic occasion. It is the first time that a regular Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting has been held in Africa. You, Mr. President, have been firm in your resolve that, whatever the difficulties, this Conference should be held in Zambia—a member country which occupies a front line position in Southern African affairs, which has suffered greatly because of the problems of the region, and which has much to contribute to the resolution of those problems. Mr. President, I believe you to be right in your conviction that the logic of the Commonwealth's history and character required that this Conference be held in Southern Africa. The Commonwealth as it is represented here is the product of a movement which has swept the world over the last 30 years, converting colonies into independent countries and establishing political equality between peoples, irrespective of race and colour. Mr. President, in terms of that major transformation in global affairs, there is still unfinished business to be attended to in Southern Africa and time is running out. As the process began in the Commonwealth, as the Commonwealth has both contributed to and reflected its course, it is appropriate—and indeed essential—that we should establish the relevance of this institution by concerning ourselves with its completion.

The issues involved in Southern Africa, and in particular in Zimbabwe, are enormously complex ones. They present different member states with different problems, both domestic and international. But I believe that as we deliberate in this Conference we should keep three things firmly in mind. First, it is vital that we recognise and build on the substantial areas of agreement which exist among us on this issue, that we not be dominated by negative aspects. No one at this meeting believes that a settlement is compatible with a constitutional situation in Salisbury which is tainted in any way with racialism. We are all in favour of majority rule—true majority rule which takes account of *all* the parties concerned and which is reflected not only in elections but in the underlying structure of power and authority. No one wants a solution through slaughter and bloodshed, both because it will produce untold suffering to innocent people and because it will breed new hatreds. Everyone wants to see outside interference in the region diminish, not grow. No one wants to see the Commonwealth damaged. It is imperative that as we enter the thickets of technicalities and controversies, we do not allow them to obscure these basic points. Formidable as the differences on some issues are, I believe that, as far as those of us present at this meeting are concerned, they are differences about means and timing, not about ends. We must not allow means to dominate ends.

Mr. President, I would like to elaborate briefly on one of these elements of agreement. The essential cause of the grave situation in Southern Africa is racialism, the belief that one race is superior to another and therefore enjoys a natural right to dominate, exploit and discriminate against others. This is a belief that all here categorically reject. All oppression is repugnant, but there is an obscenity about oppression based on no more than the colour of a person's skin. You, Mr. President, were the guiding hand behind the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles made by the Heads of Government Meeting in Singapore in 1971, when members recognised racial prejudice as a dangerous sickness and racial

discrimination as an unmitigated evil. It is not only appropriate but imperative that at this time, in this place, we should solemnly reaffirm our adherence to that Declaration.

The second thing we should keep in mind is that, whatever else it has done and whatever one might think about particular aspects of it, the recent election has created conditions for movement. But in itself, the election *settles* nothing—let there be no doubt about that. It has however, brought about a different situation. It has created new facts and disturbed a stalemate. There have been significant constitutional changes, and it is clear that before agreement is reached, and the essential acceptance of that agreement by a number of African states is achieved, there will have to be further changes. As to what happens next, that is not in the lap of the gods. It is, to a very large extent, in our laps. Much depends on whether we can seize, and seize with determination and vision, the opportunity provided by the comparative fluidity which now exists, in order to advance towards a settlement. Time is running out and we may not have such an opportunity again.

Thirdly, Mr. President, I think it is clear that if a non-violent solution to the problem of Zimbabwe is to be found it will involve flexibility on all sides—flexibility not about the objective of a non-racialist society, but concerning the process of arriving at that objective and the individual interests of the principals. Compromise and moderation should be seen not merely in terms of establishing a bridge between different positions. They should be seen as positive values in their own right—the essential values both of democratic politics and of peaceful relationships between states which are simultaneously sovereign and interdependent. There is an urgent need to rally and invigorate the forces of moderation and reasonableness in international affairs. We should advocate and proclaim moderation not apologetically and out of expediency, but confidently—even passionately—as a matter of fundamental principle. If we do so, the bridges are likely to emerge of their own accord.

Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is our solemn duty at this meeting to contribute positively to the search for comprehensive, equitable and peaceful solutions to the problems of this region. At the end of the day it is vital that we will have reached agreement among ourselves which will enable constructive negotiation and consultation to proceed.

Mr. President, inevitably the problems of Southern Africa will occupy the central place in this Conference. But there is much else that is urgent on our agenda. If a major theme of the last quarter-century has been the ending of colonialism, the remainder of this century is likely to be increasingly preoccupied with economic problems. We have already demonstrated the scope for Commonwealth action on economic matters by the initiative we took on the Common Fund at the last Heads of Government Meeting. I believe that the Commonwealth can legitimately claim considerable credit for the fact that the Common Fund proposal represents one of the few areas in which real progress has been made since then.

We must all view with grave concern assessments that there is little likelihood of an improvement in the slow growth in international economic activity and international trade that has been experienced since 1973. What these assessments imply is that there has been a serious deterioration in the prospects for reducing poverty and raising living standards in developing countries. I believe that a prerequisite to remedying this outlook must be to deal with the dual scourges of inflation and protection. These are interconnected problems whose solution lies primarily in the hands of powerful developed states. There is also an urgent need to ensure that inadequate supplies of oil do not act as a constraint on economic growth or endanger the interdependent economic system which has the potential to provide great mutual benefits. The issues are complex and I shall not dwell on them further now except to say that I believe the time has come for a new and bold approach to get the world economy moving at a faster rate and to ensure that all participants have equal opportunities to share in the benefits. A strong and determined effort will be needed, involving attention and consideration by

world leaders. If we appeal to the concept of interdependence, we must mean what we say and all play a part according to our ability.

I have restricted myself to discussing a few matters, such as the future of Zimbabwe, but there are many other questions which are important to us and will concern us all. One is the problem of refugees, and another is the South African problem which has recently reached crisis proportions. The problems faced by small states including many of our members, is another important area for our consideration. I would not want it thought that Australia is not acutely aware of these problems and we shall certainly be raising them later in the deliberations.

Mr. President, I know that your country—and many of our other African members—have had to cope with the problem of refugees and with the attendant tragic problems of divided families, temporary arrangements which tend to become permanent, international indifference and consequent pressure on all too scarce resources. The problem is now assuming crisis proportions in our own part of the world, as a result not only of the inevitable disruption resulting from conflict but of a deliberately pursued policy which, again, has a racialist component. We must address ourselves to it. Humanity requires us to come to the aid of the victims of such action. But humanity and realism also demand that the international community attack the problem at its source, that we mobilise pressure to end the policies of persecution and expulsion which result in mass exodus.

I have touched on a number of the central issues confronting this Conference. But in concluding I urge that in dealing with major global and regional problems, we take care not to neglect some of the less dramatic ones. In particular, let us bear in mind the special and often pressing problems faced by small states, remembering that there is a significant and growing number of such states among our members.

Mr. President, I believe, as I think you do, that this meeting will be a crucial one for the Commonwealth. Rarely, if ever, have we gathered to address problems of such magnitude and urgency. Rarely have we had the eyes of the international community so firmly on us. And rarely, have we had as great an opportunity to demonstrate the value of this institution by making a positive contribution to world order. If we rise to the occasion, if, under your leadership, we set aside sectional and short-term considerations and show the statesmanship, wisdom and resolution which the circumstances demand, we have it within our means to contribute to peace in Africa and to establish beyond doubt that the Commonwealth is going to be a key institution in the last decades of this century. If we speak to each other and with each other, instead of at each other or past each other, in a week's time we will emerge a stronger and more relevant body. Mr. President, let that be our determination.

*Mr. Ziaur Rahman, Bangladesh:* Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a great honour to be one of those called upon to respond to President Kaunda's inspiring inaugural address.

The fact that the Commonwealth Heads of Government are meeting today, here in this beautiful city of Lusaka, is a tribute to the wise leadership of President Kaunda—a man of vision and deep conviction whose commitment to the ideals of freedom and human rights has been a constant source of strength for the people of this great continent. I believe I would be voicing the sentiments of all assembled delegations when I express my very deep appreciation and sincere thanks to our gracious host, President Kaunda, the Government and the people of Zambia for the warm welcome we have received and for their gracious hospitality. I would also like to compliment our hosts and the Secretariat for the excellent arrangements that have been made for the conference. I would also like to extend a warm welcome to the four new members of the Commonwealth: Solomon Islands, Dominica, St. Lucia and Kiribati.

The Commonwealth has grown into a unique institution. Unstructured and informal, it has brought within its ambit nations diverse in race, religion, geography, culture and wealth but bound by shared values and traditions and their adherence to the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles. The enormous resource potential of the Commonwealth opens new horizons of mutually beneficial and fruitful co-operation. We in Bangladesh have great confidence in the Commonwealth and in its capacity to bring about a better appreciation of the ultimate benefits of global co-operation and its own readiness to act in furtherance of its ideals.

Mr. Chairman, I am reminded of what you said in London in June 1977, “. . . freedom, like prosperity, cannot be made secure by the many who are free unless the few who are not yet free are also freed”. I would like to pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the valiant people of Zambia for your courage and resilience and for the sacrifices that you have made in support of our Zimbabwean brothers in their struggle for justice and independence. I am confident that our meeting will reiterate its support to the legitimate aspirations of the people of this region and agree to render all possible assistance to your country, to the other Front-Line States and to the Patriotic Front in the common struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Further South, the racist regime in South Africa continues its universally condemned policy of apartheid and has been defying the decision of the UN for the transfer of power in Namibia to the true representatives of the people. Similarly, in the Middle East, the situation remains explosive due to the refusal of Israel to respect the UN Resolution to vacate all occupied Arab territories and to accept the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a state of their own. Tensions and instability are engulfing new areas in South East Asia and elsewhere. A Commonwealth dedicated to peace, freedom and justice must express itself unequivocally in support of freedom and justice in these regions.

Mr. Chairman, the member countries of the Commonwealth are in different stages of development and most of them are engaged in heroic efforts to meet the basic needs of their people. In our view, meeting the expectations of the teeming millions to enable them to be a part of the process of development and live with human dignity constitutes the most crucial challenge of our time. Admittedly, these will necessitate a re-ordering of priorities and values in the present economic system. Such restructuring will benefit us all; for larger productive efforts, generation of more employment, higher incomes and production of more goods and services at a lower cost in the developing countries would increase world trade to the benefit of the entire world community including both developing and developed nations.

Mr. Chairman, we note with satisfaction the expanding efforts of the Commonwealth Secretariat under the wise guidance of its able Secretary-General in carrying forward the objectives of the Commonwealth in several worthwhile directions. We would like to commend the useful work done by the CFTC and would strongly urge a substantial increase in the size of the Fund. In particular, the Commonwealth Youth Programme which has had a far-reaching impact on leadership training is a programme worthy of support. The CFTC should assign a high priority in sustaining and strengthening this programme.

Mr. Chairman, the Commonwealth must also serve as a catalyst for change through its own innovative programme of functional co-operation. In this context, we believe that the Commonwealth can play an important role in meeting a crucial and keenly felt need, namely, developing a system of food security to prevent starvation and initiating action for special incentives and assistance to the food-deficit countries to enable them to increase their agricultural production on a priority basis. The Commonwealth Declaration commits us to “seek to use our efforts to overcome poverty, ignorance and disease, in raising standards of life and achieving a more equitable international society”. The Commonwealth of Nations must take the lead in rousing the conscience of the international community to meet this challenge. We must, collectively, show the necessary political will so

that justice and fairness prevail, so that we can have a greater mutuality of trust and confidence between the rich and the poor, so that we do not squander our scarce resources on weapons of destruction but devote our collective energies to enriching human civilisation and imparting dignity to the life of the common man.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, my esteemed colleagues, ladies and gentlemen present.

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Britain: Mr. Chairman, fellow Heads of Government, Mr. Secretary-General, I too am particularly honoured to speak at this opening session. And it is a particular pleasure, Mr. President, to meet here in Zambia under your chairmanship. You yourself have for many years played a notable role in Commonwealth affairs. Your country is deeply involved in some of the most difficult problems the Commonwealth faces today. I look forward to interesting and useful days in Lusaka, and, Mr. Chairman, to enjoying your very generous hospitality. We are all very conscious too of the unsparing efforts which you have made for our comfort and of the meticulous preparations to which the Secretary-General and his staff have devoted so much time.

Can I begin Mr. Chairman by joining in your welcome for the four Commonwealth countries represented here for the first time, Solomon Islands, Dominica, St. Lucia and Kiribati. And may I say how very glad I am to see Uganda resume her place with us.

Mr. Chairman, you and many of our colleagues have attended Commonwealth Heads of Government meetings in the past. Although I have attended other Commonwealth gatherings, this is the first Heads of Government Meeting in which I have taken part and I look forward to adding, in Lusaka, to my experience of how the Commonwealth works. Together, our countries make up a quarter of the world's population and of its nations. Our peoples come from different religions, races and cultures. They live under very dissimilar political and economic systems. What is it, Mr. President, that brings us together? The first and obvious answer is: history. History brought our nations together in the past. It was a random process and each of us may interpret it in different, and sometimes even in incompatible, ways. Our shared history has given us some common ideas about politics and a common language in which to communicate. No other international gathering of comparable size has these advantages. But shared history and shared language are of little use on their own. And I doubt if any of us come here simply out of sentimental regard for the past. Moreover, it is not enough for us just to exchange views on the issues of the day. It is not enough for the Commonwealth to operate simply as a world-wide communications network. Nor is it enough that the Commonwealth should be merely one of the many international bodies for the provision of economic aid between developed and developing countries—although 90 per cent of our Commonwealth members belong to the latter category. Important though all these functions are, the Commonwealth must *stand* for something if it is to endure.

Our predecessors publicly committed the Commonwealth to the ideals of democracy, individual liberty and equality for all under the rule of law. It is not the exclusive prerogative of any one constitutional system to promote these ideals. They can—as I hope they do—exist within the wide variety of political arrangements under which we have variously chosen to live. But in a world in which these beliefs are under constant attack. I believe that the Commonwealth has a duty to proclaim them, to protect them and to practise them.

Mr. Chairman, you and our fellow speakers have referred to some of the topics which concern us all and which will be central to our discussions this week. First, the world economy. Here the prospects are not encouraging. We face slower growth, rising inflation, persistent unemployment and balance of payments problems. Our difficulties have been made worse by the latest round of oil price increases, and by recent sudden arbitrary action which will affect the oil market and prices. The developing countries will be doubly hard hit. In the first place,

directly; but then, too, because many developed countries will be less able to give help or to provide the expanding markets which the developing countries need for their prosperity. In the short term, we each need to adopt sensible domestic policies, and to make the best use of existing international institutions for economic co-operation. In the longer term, we must find ways of using the world's limited supplies of fossil fuel more effectively and to develop alternative, and preferably renewable, sources of energy. The Tokyo summit was an important step, and our discussions here could take the process further.

Second, I refer to the tragic plight of those caught up in the latest example of man's inhumanity to man: the refugees from Vietnam. Refugees are nothing new to some members of the Commonwealth who have for years grappled with the problems they pose. Now others, too, notably Malaysia, are faced with very heavy social burdens not of their own making. Both the Commonwealth and the world community must constantly focus on the real source of the crisis, which is the policy pursued by the Vietnamese Government. Only if there is a genuine change of policy there can we hope to stop the appalling suffering. In the meantime, we have a practical as well as a humanitarian and political problem to solve. And that is why Britain proposed to the UN that a conference should be convened which would cover all these aspects. The Geneva Conference, at which a number of Commonwealth countries were represented, marked an important first step. But there is much more to do, and it is vital that the international community should maintain the solidarity it displayed at Geneva in following up the decisions reached there.

Now, Mr. President, there is the problem of Southern Africa to which you and our other colleagues have referred. We are all conscious of the ever more urgent need for a settlement of the Rhodesia problem. My colleagues and I have greatly benefited from the consultations we have been pursuing within the Commonwealth and with other African Governments. I am grateful to all those who have given us their advice and have expressed their views so clearly. I shall listen with the greatest attention to what is said at this meeting in Lusaka. The UK has pledged to exercise its constitutional responsibility for Rhodesia. The aim is to bring Rhodesia to legal independence on a basis which the Commonwealth and the international community as a whole will find acceptable and which offers the prospect of peace for the people of Rhodesia and her neighbours. As I said in the House of Commons last week, the British Government are wholly committed to genuine black majority rule in Rhodesia.

The value of these days in Lusaka will lie not only in the outcome of our discussions round the table. It will lie equally, or perhaps even mainly, in the friendships which we are able to renew and in the fresh contacts which we are able to make during our time together. The informality of the Commonwealth style is perhaps its greatest strength. By this time next week there may, I dare say, still remain some differences of view between us, and on more than one issue. But I know, too, that we shall—each one of us—be confirmed in our recognition of the sincerity of purpose of our Commonwealth partners and of their fundamental goodwill and commitment to the Commonwealth's ideals.

Dr. Kaunda then announced that the next session would start at 2.45 p.m.

The meeting adjourned at 11.50 a.m.