



CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Richard - structure is wrong. It starts the rights that we cannot grant - e.g. India*

*① Further. I don't like the 'minimal' mention*

7 September 1981

*Melbourne declaration that there are minimal and*

Would you be content for us to feed these changes to the Australians? There is, of course, no guarantee that they will accept them but they seem inclined to be helpful. If <sup>changes</sup> they were accepted you would, by implication at least, be committed to the Declaration.

Dear Michael, is no real chance of killing it. Any draft?

*Print - 8/9*

CHOGM: Melbourne Declaration

When Mr Malcolm Fraser was in London for the Royal Wedding he showed the Prime Minister a draft of the 'Melbourne Declaration' on North/South relations which he means to have adopted at the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government. At that time the Prime Minister decided not to offer Mr Fraser a redraft: but she subsequently set out her views in a letter which you passed to us, for onward transmission, under cover of Pattison's letter to Richards of 20 August.

It appears that this warning shot has been given due attention in Canberra. The senior official most closely involved with Mr Fraser in drafting the Declaration has intimated to our High Commission that he would welcome an 'unofficial' sight of the amendments that we would like to see introduced to the draft. We have accordingly drawn up a list of the desired amendments. Subject to the views of the Prime Minister, we should like to telegraph these to Canberra so that they can be fed into Mr Fraser by the route indicated.

We have sought to make the minimal textual changes, whilst respecting the Prime Minister's central concerns as set out in her letter.

I am sending a copy of this letter to John Kerr at the Treasury.

*yours ever,  
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)  
Private Secretary

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## MELBOURNE DECLARATION

(Proposed UK amendments underlined)

We, the Heads of Government here assembled, drawn from five continents representing a quarter of the world's entire population:

- (1) Affirm our strong and unanimous conviction that all men and women have the right to live in ways that sustain the nourish human dignity.
- (2) <sup>Believe</sup> ~~Assert~~ that this right imposes obligations on all governments, great and small, not only in respect to their own people but in their dealings with all other nations.
- (3) <sup>Believe</sup> ~~Assert~~ that the gross inequality of wealth and opportunity currently existing in the world, and the unbroken circle of poverty in which the lives of millions are confined, generate tension and instability which gravely endanger social cohesion both nationally and internationally.
- (4) As a consequence, assert our unanimous conviction that there must be determined and dedicated action, at a national and international level, to reduce that inequality and to break that circle.
- (5) Believe that for all these reasons it is imperative <sup>to maintain</sup> ~~that~~ the <sup>between developed + developing countries</sup> ~~North-South~~ dialogue ~~is essential~~ <sup>so as</sup> to enable the international community to make a more effective contribution to the efforts of developing countries to overcome poverty.

- (6) Declare that this will require political commitment, clear vision and intellectual realism to which the Commonwealth can greatly contribute.
- (7) ~~Assert~~ <sup>believe</sup> that the dialogue must be conducted with a genuine willingness to accept real and significant changes commensurate with the urgency of the problems we now face.
- (7a) Affirm in particular the need to concentrate the flow of concessional resources on the poorest developing countries.
- (8) Firmly believe that the choice is not between change and no change but that timely adequate change is required on the part of all countries if disruptive and damaging conflict is to be avoided.
- (9) Maintain that success will only be achieved as states recognise and give due weight to the essential inter-dependence of peoples and of states.
- (10) Declare that, while the most urgent humanitarian considerations demand action, self-interest alone warrants a constructive and positive approach to these great human problems by all governments.
- (11) Recognise that in the process of negotiations, nations must cast aside dogmas and habits which have thwarted progress in the past and find new ways of talking to each other and reaching agreement.

- (12) Note that, as well as technical economic considerations, it is imperative that states keep in the forefront of their attention the larger moral, political and strategic dimensions of what is at stake.
- (13) Maintain that while the problems are formidable, they are not of such a weight that they will defeat our purpose, given political will and an understanding of the needs of different countries and groups.
- (14) Assert that what is at stake - in terms of how hundreds of millions will live and die; of the prospects for co-operation or conflict; and of the prospects for economic advance or stagnation - is of vital importance in human terms. [Delete remainder]
- (15) Firmly believe that the issues are so important that they require the personal commitment and involvement of political leaders who alone have the power to advance the common cause of mankind.
- (16) Attaching the highest importance to the principles and objectives of this document, recognising the mutual interests and interdependence of all nations, declare our common resolve: to improve the channels of communication so as to <sup>maintain</sup> ~~revitalise~~ the ~~North/South~~ <sub>(between developed & developing countries)</sub> dialogue and so to infuse an increased sense of urgency and direction into the resolution of these common problems of mankind; and solemnly call on all leaders of all countries to join us in a commitment to taking prompt practical and effective action to that end.

MELBOURNE DECLARATION

(Mr Fraser's Draft)

WE, THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT HERE ASSEMBLED  
DRAWN FROM FIVE CONTINENTS REPRESENTING A QUARTER OF THE  
WORLD'S ENTIRE POPULATION:

- (1) AFFIRM OUR STRONG AND UNANIMOUS CONVICTION THAT ALL MEN AND WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN WAYS THAT SUSTAIN AND NOURISH HUMAN DIGNITY.
- (2) ASSERT THAT THIS RIGHT IMPOSES OBLIGATIONS ON ALL GOVERNMENTS, GREAT AND SMALL, NOT ONLY IN RESPECT TO THEIR OWN PEOPLE BUT IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH ALL OTHER NATIONS.
- (3) ASSERT THAT THE GROSS INEQUALITY OF WEALTH AND OPPORTUNITY CURRENTLY EXISTING AMONG STATES, AND THE UNBROKEN CIRCLE OF POVERTY IN WHICH THE LIVES OF MILLIONS ARE CONFINED GENERATE TENSION AND INSTABILITY WHICH ENDANGER THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.
- (4) AS A CONSEQUENCE, ASSERT OUR UNANIMOUS CONVICTION THAT THERE MUST BE DETERMINED AND DEDICATED ACTION TO REDUCE THAT INEQUALITY AND TO BREAK THAT CIRCLE.
- (5) BELIEVE THAT FOR ALL THESE REASONS IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE BE REVITALISED.
- (6) DECLARE THAT THIS WILL REQUIRE A POLITICAL COMMITMENT, VISION AND INTELLECTUAL REALISM THAT HAVE THUS FAR ESCAPED MANKIND.

- (7) ASSERT THAT THE DIALOGUE MUST BE CONDUCTED WITH A GENUINE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT REAL AND SIGNIFICANT CHANGES COMMENSURATE WITH THE URGENCY OF THE PROBLEMS WE NOW FACE.
- (8) FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE CHOICE IS NOT BETWEEN CHANGE AND NO CHANGE BUT BETWEEN TIMELY, ADEQUATE, NEGOTIATED CHANGE AND DISRUPTIVE, INVOLUNTARY CHANGE IMPOSED BY BREAKDOWN AND CONFLICT.
- (9) MAINTAIN THAT SUCCESS WILL ONLY BE ACHIEVED AS STATES RECOGNISE AND GIVE DUE WEIGHT TO THE ESSENTIAL INTERDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLES AND OF STATES.
- (10) DECLARE THAT, WHILE THE MOST URGENT HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS DEMAND ACTION, SELF-INTEREST ALONE WARRANTS A CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE APPROACH TO THESE GREAT HUMAN PROBLEMS BY ALL GOVERNMENTS.
- (11) RECOGNISE THAT IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, NATIONS MUST CAST ASIDE DOGMAS AND HABITS WHICH HAVE THWARTED PROGRESS IN THE PAST AND FIND NEW WAYS OF TALKING TO EACH OTHER AND REACHING AGREEMENT.
- (12) NOTE THAT, AS WELL AS TECHNICAL ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT STATES KEEP IN THE FOREFRONT OF THEIR ATTENTION THE LARGER MORAL, POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS OF WHAT IS AT STAKE.

- (13) MAINTAIN THAT WHILE THE PROBLEMS ARE FORMIDABLE, THEY ARE NOT OF SUCH A WEIGHT THAT THEY WILL DEFEAT OUR PURPOSE, GIVEN POLITICAL WILL AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEEDS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND GROUPS.
- (14) ASSERT THAT WHAT IS AT STAKE - IN TERMS OF HOW HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS WILL LIVE OR DIE; OF THE PROSPECTS FOR COOPERATION OR CONFLICT; AND OF THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC ADVANCE OR STAGNATION - IS OF SUCH VITAL IMPORTANCE IN HUMAN TERMS THAT IT WOULD BE A TERRIBLE INDICTMENT OF THIS GENERATION IF THAT POLITICAL WILL AND THE READINESS TO FIND A CREATIVE COMPROMISE WERE NOT FOUND.
- (15) FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS DEPENDS CRITICALLY ON THE PERSONAL COMMITMENT AND INVOLVEMENT OF POLITICAL LEADERS, WHO ALONE HAVE THE POWER TO ADVANCE THE COMMON CAUSE OF MANKIND.
- (16) ATTACHING THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS DOCUMENT, DECLARE OUR COMMON RESOLVE: TO END THE PRESENT IMPASSE; TO ADVANCE THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE; TO INFUSE A NEW SENSE OF URGENCY AND DIRECTION INTO THE RESOLUTION OF THESE COMMON PROBLEMS OF MANKIND; AND SOLEMNLY CALL ON ALL LEADERS OF ALL COUNTRIES TO JOIN US IN A COMMITMENT TO TAKING PROMPT, PRACTICAL AND EFFECTIVE ACTION TO THAT END.