

From: PUS

Date: 28 November 1983

Mr Coles ✓ *AR 23*
" "cc: Sir R Armstrong
Sir J Leahy
Mr Thomas
Mr Goldsmith

DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

- A
1. The Committee met for some six hours dealing for most of that time with Southern Africa. Sir John Leahy will be sending you a separate minute covering that passage.
- B
B
C
D
2. Apart from that the Committee took paragraphs on:
- (a) South-East Asia;
 - (b) Indo Chinese refugees;
 - (c) The Law of the Sea; and
 - (d) An introduction to the political section of the communique.

/ These draft passages are attached.

3. There are no problems over (a) and (b), the former being agreed between India and Singapore and both having the support of Australia and New Zealand as well as Malaysia.

4. The paragraph on (c) (Law of the Sea) is, I think, entirely acceptable. I made it clear that the British Government had taken a decision not to sign the Convention and while members of the Committee might not agree with that position they had to take it into account. Only the first sentence therefore represents a consensus by Heads of Government and uses the wording of the Melbourne communique. All the other sentences adopt the formula "most Heads of Government" thereby excluding us.

5. The introductory paragraph went through a number of permutations. The Secretariat draft was unsatisfactory and the Indians and Australians together agreed a much better formulation acceptable to us. At the end of the session, Guyana with some considerable support insisted

/on



on the inclusion of the phrase "including economic aggression and coercive economic measures" (underlined in the attached draft). This does not properly fit into the paragraph and is not of course referred to in the Goa declaration. I recommend therefore that the Prime Minister should ask for its deletion on the grounds that it is not appropriate for the introductory paragraph of the political section.

6. Otherwise I recommend that these passages can be approved.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Antony Acland". Below the signature is a horizontal flourish line.

Antony Acland

Heads of Government reviewed a number of important current international issues. They were encouraged to find much common ground. In view of the overriding importance of issues relating to security, disarmament and the maintenance of peace and the increasing tendency towards interference and intervention by political and economic means, including economic aggression and coercive economic measures, in the internal affairs of other states, they have in their Goa declaration expressed their grave concern about them. Their views on a number of other problems and situations are set out below.



From: PUS

Date: 27 November 1983


Mr Coles *my m.*

cc: Sir R Armstrong
Sir J Leahy
Mr Goldsmith

THE COMMUNIQUE

1. You may like to have a report on where we stand.
2. The self-denying ordinance on length and subject matter rapidly broke down. More and more delegations argued for the inclusion of their pet subject and we shall end up with a list nearly but not quite as long as that at Melbourne. Most delegations are only interested in their own hobby-horses and happily go along with extreme language proposed by other delegations in relation to their pet subjects. As a result we have found ourselves arguing on nearly every item against language which is unnecessarily extreme or which represents a significant advance on the Melbourne communique. We have had little or no help from the Australian and New Zealand delegations. The Canadian delegation has shown occasional signs of life but on issues of importance to them rather than to us. The Nigerian representative has been restrained and sensible but there are a lot of vocal and quasi-professional communique drafters who enjoy the argument: Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Jamaica and Malaysia are fairly prominent in this respect. The Indian delegation is silvery-tongued and fairly unscrupulous in getting India's interests in.
3. The following passages have been agreed ad referendum to Heads of Government:
 - (a) Introduction - no problem.
 - (b) Afghanistan - satisfactory.
 - (c) Central America - not very good but we toned it down a fair bit without much support from anyone else.

/(d)

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- (d) Guyana - satisfactory.
- (e) Indian Ocean - unsatisfactory. We fought a battle against allcomers about the inclusion of the date. Australia was content with the text. Perhaps the saving grace is that Heads of Government call upon all the Governments concerned "to reach agreement....." This is really a best endeavours clause and though the Americans and indeed we ourselves do not like the idea of a Conference in 1984 or 1985 unless the terms of reference are properly agreed, I doubt if the Prime Minister should try to re-open the matter.
- (f) South Pacific - largely similar to Melbourne. Not unduly hostile to the French. We got out much worse reference to nuclear testing and dumping of nuclear waste.
- (g) Middle East.- as always a long wrangle. A pretty awful text in terms of language - but acceptable in terms of substance. The PLO "on an equal footing" is qualified by "most" Heads of Government and our position is thus reserved. The Canadians object to a reference to self-determination which we could accept and this ~~now~~ may have to be dealt with by Heads of Government.
- (h) Mediterranean.- not a very good text which somewhat advances Malta's position in the CSCE. We got out three unsatisfactory references and no-one else was interested.
- (i) Belize - just all right. We got out a reference to a British commitment to preserve Belize's security.

/The



/ The texts of all these are attached. It is not clear in what order they will appear.

4. Still to come, we have:

- (a) Law of the Sea - I have firmly said that we will not agree to any text urging signature of the present Convention. We will probably have to have a paragraph with the "most Heads of Government" formula.
- (b) Cambodia/Kampuchea - largely a dual between India on the one hand and Malaysia and Singapore on the other. We need not be involved.

Possibly

- (c) South-East Asian refugees - if included, a similar text to the Melbourne communique.

And of course

- (d) Southern Africa/Namibia - this will be long and difficult and we are already on notice from the African delegations that this is what really interests them.

/ 5. With all these subjects included we must consider again whether to try to have a reference to the Falklands. I attach a possible text. I - or probably more successfully the Prime Minister in the Heads of Government Meeting - might be able to bounce it through, but I am apprehensive that we are bound to face a call for negotiations. Those who voted with Argentina in New York are among the most vocal in the Committee - India, Malaysia, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Guyana. Unless the Prime Minister feels that the absence of the Falklands from the communique will be

/adversely



adversely noted and would cause difficulty in Parliament and the press at home, my recommendation remains to leave it alone and to rest on the United Nations General Assembly result.

Antony Acland

Antony Acland

FALKLANDS

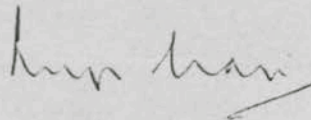
Commonwealth Governments had the opportunity to express their views on the current situation over the Falklands in the recent debate and vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the context of their anxiety over the special needs of small territories and consistent with their respect for the principle of self-determination, Heads of Government affirmed their support for the people of the Falklands Islands to live in freedom and security.

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

Attached are draft paragraphs of the Communique to be put before Heads of Government at the Executive Session later today. These are prefaced by the Goa Declaration and the New Delhi Statement already approved by Heads of Government.

Please note that the Communique paragraphs on International Economic Co-operation and Commonwealth Functional Co-operation will be subject to possible revision at a meeting of the Committee of the Whole (Economic) at 11.00 a.m. today in Committee Room G in the light of discussions in the Executive Session on economic issues and functional co-operation. The section on functional co-operation (paras 35-59) covers items remitted to the Committee of the Whole and are included on the assumption that Heads will endorse the recommendations of the Committee.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

29 November 1983

COVERING SECRET

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

COVERING SECRET

THE GOA DECLARATION
ON
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

As we meet together in India at the end of 1983, representing a quarter of the world's people from every continent and many regions, we have shared both our concerns and our hopes for international security. Despite differences of approach which affect the way we analyse and judge events, it is our perception that relationships between the world's major military alliances are in danger of becoming more confrontational. In the context of heightened tensions and a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, the future of civilisation as we know it could be threatened. None of our countries or peoples would be insulated from that fate.

We are alarmed by increasing disregard for the moral and legal principles which should govern the conduct of states; by the degree to which the ethic of peaceful settlement of disputes is being eroded and by the readiness of nations to resort to the illegal use of force.

At this time of crisis, we believe it to be imperative that the Soviet Union and the United States should summon up the political vision of a world in which their nations can live in peace. Their first objective must be to work for the resumption of a genuine political dialogue between themselves leading to a relaxation of tensions. We believe that Commonwealth governments can make a practical contribution in encouraging them to do so and in promoting a larger measure of international understanding than now exists.

Essential to that enlargement of understanding is the need to increase contacts at a variety of levels between the governments and peoples of East and West. A concerted effort is required to restore constructive dialogue to the conduct of East-West relations. Only thus can a climate of confidence be rebuilt in place of the prevailing one of fear and mistrust.

In all these pursuits we emphasise the supreme importance of political will. We therefore welcome Prime Minister Trudeau's call for a new political dimension in the quest for international security. We support his efforts to restore active political contact and communication among all the nuclear weapon powers, and are willing to help these and other such efforts in all appropriate ways.

As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on disarmament is the stopping of the nuclear arms race. These are essential steps for progress in working towards a world released from the menace of nuclear weapons and their wider spread. If the resources released by disarmament were ploughed back in some measure into world development, the needs of the developing countries which are in the forefront of our concern could be significantly met.

We are concerned also over the diminishing capacity of international institutions to play an effective role in world affairs. Rejecting this negative trend, we pledge our renewed support for the principles enshrined in the

United Nations Charter. There is, in our view, an urgent need to consider what practical steps can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

We are particularly concerned at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs. These countries are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, have a moral obligation to provide effectively for their territorial integrity. We have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues. Additionally, however, we will play our part in helping the international community to make an appropriate response to the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter.

Meeting here in India, we cannot emphasise too strongly our belief that an ethic of non-violence must be at the heart of all efforts to ensure peace and harmony in the world. That ethic requires close adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement. Only by such a commitment on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security.

Finally, we retain faith in human capacity to overcome the dangers and difficulties that threaten the world and to secure for all its people the prospect of a more peaceful international environment. We shall work together to fulfil that faith.

Fort Aguada, Goa
27 November, 1983

DRAFT FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983. Of the 42 countries which attended the Meeting 33 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitations to Her Majesty The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They welcomed with great pleasure the opportunity of meeting in New Delhi and expressed their deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting by the Government of India and gratitude for the generous hospitality extended to them.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed Antigua and Barbuda and St. Christopher and Nevis who had become members of the association since their last Meeting, and extended similar greetings to the Republic of Maldives which had become a special member.

4. Heads of Government reviewed a number of important current international issues. They were encouraged to find much common ground between them. In view of the overriding importance of issues relating to security, disarmament and the maintenance of peace, and the increasing tendency towards interference and intervention by political and economic means including economic aggression and coercive economic measures in the internal affairs of other states, they have in their Goa Declaration expressed their grave concern about them. Their views on a number of other problems and situations are set out below.

Cyprus

5. Heads of Government condemned the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 15 November 1983 to create a secessionist state in Northern Cyprus, in the area under foreign occupation. Fully endorsing Security Council Resolution 541, they denounced the declaration as legally invalid and reiterated the call for its non-recognition and immediate withdrawal. They further called upon all states not to facilitate or in any way assist the illegal secessionist entity. They regarded this illegal act as a challenge to the international community and demanded the implementation of the relevant UN Resolutions on Cyprus.

6. At this critical moment for a member country of the Commonwealth, Heads of Government, reaffirming their Lusaka and Melbourne Communiques and recalling the relevant Security Council resolutions, pledged their renewed support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; and in this respect, they expressed their solidarity with their colleague the President of Cyprus.

7. They agreed to establish a special Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus at high level to assist in securing compliance with Security Council Resolution 541. The Group would consist of the following five countries, together with the Secretary-General: Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria and Zambia.

8. Finally, they urged all states and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might further exacerbate the situation.

Grenada

9. Commonwealth leaders discussed recent events in Grenada which have caused such deep disquiet among them and in the wider international community, and on which most of them had already expressed their views at the United Nations. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for the strict observance of these principles. They recorded their profound regret over the tragic loss of life in Grenada.

10. Heads of Government agreed, however, that the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an interim civilian administration in Grenada. They looked forward to its functioning free of external interference, pressure or the presence of foreign military forces and noted its intention to hold, as early as possible, elections which would be seen by the international community to be free and fair. On this basis, and given the readiness of the countries of the Caribbean Community to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Grenada if so requested by the Interim Administration, Commonwealth leaders confirmed their readiness to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from the island state. In doing so, they stressed the importance they attached to an early return of Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean to the spirit of fraternity and co-operation that had been so characteristic of the region.

11. Time and again in their discussions, Commonwealth leaders were recalled to the special needs of small states, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They recognised that the Commonwealth itself had given some attention to these needs in the context of economic development but felt that the matter deserved consideration on a wider basis, including that of national security. Recalling the particular dangers faced in the past by small Commonwealth countries, they requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study, drawing as necessary on the resources and experience of Commonwealth countries, of the special needs of such states consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they shared with all nations.

Southern Africa

12. Heads of Government expressed grave concern about the sharp deterioration of the situation in Southern Africa since their Meeting in Melbourne. Once again they identified apartheid as the root cause of repression and violence in South Africa and of instability in the region.

13. Heads of Government expressed their indignation at repeated violations by South Africa of the territorial integrity of neighbouring states. These acts of aggression, intended to intimidate and destabilise South Africa's neighbours, had involved for example ground and air strikes, attacks on refugee concentrations in Lesotho and Mozambique, the occupation of parts of Southern Angola, as well as economic sabotage and blackmail. Heads of Government condemned these acts which endangered international peace and security and showed a total disregard for the norms of civilised conduct between sovereign states. They believed that the international community as a whole had an obligation to take effective measures to impose restraint on South Africa, and to ensure that the stability of the region was not jeopardised by further acts of aggression. In that context they called

for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and an end to all forms of assistance to the UNITA dissidents. As a significant element in collective action to achieve these objectives, Heads of Government called for a stricter enforcement of the mandatory arms embargo so as to ensure that there are no loopholes in the implementation of Security Council Resolution 418 of 1977. They commended the Secretary-General's prompt response to Lesotho's request for assistance in the wake of South African attacks and they urged Commonwealth governments to respond favourably to Lesotho's bilateral approaches for assistance.

14. Heads of Government recalled their view, stated on a number of previous occasions, that the denial of inalienable rights to the African majority was at the heart of the apartheid system. In the light of the Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice, the overwhelming majority of Heads of Government rejected the proposals of the South African Government for "constitutional" change, since the African majority was wholly excluded from their scope and the proposals were designed not to eradicate but to entrench and strengthen apartheid; they consequently condemned the recent referendum as fraudulent. The implementation of these proposals could only lead to a rising tide of anger against the injustice of apartheid with further repression and brutality directed at the African majority and other racial groups acting in solidarity with them.

15. Heads of Government were of the view that only the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa can lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation prevailing in Southern Africa.

16. Heads of Government agreed that Namibia was the most immediate of the remaining issues in Southern Africa. They were in full agreement on the need, without further delay, to bring about the independence of Namibia through the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). Hopes that such independence might be imminent had been frustrated when the United States and South Africa insisted on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition. Heads of Government, reflecting the view of the international community as a whole, firmly rejected any attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban troops. South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal, and acquiescence by any member of the international community in South Africa's attempt to undermine the central role of the United Nations in this matter strikes at the fabric of international order. In support of Security Council Resolution 539 (1983), Heads of Government urged members of the Contact Group to exercise their influence to secure the speedy and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). If South Africa continues to obstruct the implementation of Resolution 435 the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations will have to be considered.

17. Heads of Government reaffirmed their commitment to uphold, in both spirit and letter, their 1977 Gleneagles Declaration on sporting contacts with South Africa. Recognising that sport in South Africa cannot become genuinely multiracial until apartheid itself is eliminated, they urged all Commonwealth sportsmen not to be misled by recent sham changes in South African sport. Heads of Government noted that, as a result of the sporting boycott, South Africa had resorted to a strategy of massive financial inducements and they commended the many Commonwealth sportsmen and sports bodies who have resisted these blandishments. They also noted with satisfaction that the Commonwealth Games Federation had amended its constitution to enable it to fulfil its obligations with regard to the Gleneagles Declaration more effectively in future.

18. In the continuing struggle against the evil system of apartheid Heads of Government attached importance to taking effective public relations measures to counteract South African propaganda in certain target countries by disseminating the true facts about apartheid. To this end they requested the Secretary-General to co-operate with the United Nations in collecting and disseminating such information.

19. Heads of Government reiterated their support for the efforts of the member countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference to strengthen their co-operation and to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Recognising that SADCC had evolved into a major force for development co-operation in the region, they renewed their call for greater international assistance to meet its continuing needs.

20. Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa for the effective manner in which it had fulfilled its mandate, and endorsed the recommendations put forward in its Report, including its proposals for a Commonwealth education and training programme for South African refugees. They authorised the Committee to continue its work and to pay particular attention to developments in Namibia as well as within South Africa itself.

The Middle East

21. Heads of Government noted with deep concern and anxiety the heightening tensions, the dangerous concentration of forces and the generally worsening situation in the Middle East which posed a grave threat to world peace and security. They called for the exercise of utmost restraint by all concerned. They recognised the central importance of the question of Palestine and stressed the need to intensify efforts for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement on the basis of relevant United Nations resolutions, Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied since 1967, and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people including their inalienable right to [self-determination and] a national homeland, as well as the right of all states in the region to live in peace within secure borders. Recalling their statement at Melbourne, most Heads of Government reaffirmed their view that the Palestine Liberation Organisation, as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, must be involved on an equal footing in negotiations for a settlement.

22. They noted the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on the question of Palestine held in Geneva in September 1983. They expressed appreciation of the successful efforts of the non-aligned mission in securing a ceasefire in Northern Lebanon.

23. Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereign rights of Lebanon, and expressed solidarity with the efforts of the Lebanese people and Government to restore stability and peace to their country.

Southeast Asia

24. Heads of Government were gravely concerned that since the discussion in the 1981 Melbourne Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting and the 1982 Suva Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting, tension in Southeast Asia arising especially from armed conflict in Kampuchea was continuing and if left unchecked would result in active intervention by major powers in the affairs of the region. They reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion. In this regard, they also reaffirmed their position on the issue as reflected in the Melbourne CHOGM Communique and endorsed the position adopted in the Suva CHOGRM Communique and in the New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit Declaration. They renewed their call for an urgent comprehensive political settlement of the problem which would lead to lasting peace in the region.

25. Heads of Government noted with approval the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called on all states to fully support these efforts.

Refugees

26. Heads of Government also noted with concern the continuing problem of Indo-Chinese refugees/illegal immigrants caused by the instability in Indo-China. They expressed their appreciation to countries of first transit burdened with this problem and to the resettlement countries for accepting these refugees/illegal immigrants. They were convinced that the root cause of this problem could be eliminated through a political solution to the conflict in Indo-China. They urged the countries which have the primary responsibility to tackle the problem of illegal departures at source by fostering the establishment of circumstances in which all the people concerned can live in peace and harmony and by co-operating with the UNHCR and resettlement countries to implement the Programme of Orderly Departures.

Afghanistan

27. Heads of Government continued to be gravely concerned at the situation in and around Afghanistan and its implications both for the region's peace and stability and for international security. They renewed the call for an urgent search for a negotiated political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future. They reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. Heads of Government noted with approval the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged their continuation.

Central America

28. Heads of Government noted with great concern the escalation of tensions in Central America which posed a threat to the peace and stability of the region, with potentially dangerous consequences for international security. They stressed the urgent need to reduce these tensions and to achieve a lasting peace through dialogue and negotiations. In this connection, they welcomed the efforts of the Contadora Group of states to seek a negotiated settlement to the region's problems. They noted that these problems were rooted not in East-West ideological rivalry but in deep-seated social and economic ills. They urged all states to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or the threat of the use of force and from intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Guyana

29. In reaffirming their position adopted at Melbourne with regard to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela arising from the resuscitation by Venezuela of a claim to more than two-thirds of the territory of Guyana, Heads of Government noted that the Governments of these countries had referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of the 1966 Geneva Agreement. They welcomed the unqualified undertaking given by the Venezuelan Government to eschew the use of force as a means of settling the controversy. Stressing the importance of the sanctity of treaties and respect for defined and demarcated boundaries, Heads of Government expressed the hope that the controversy would be quickly and peacefully resolved.

Belize

30. Heads of Government noted with concern the continuation of the political problem between Belize and Guatemala and reaffirmed their full support for the efforts of the Government of Belize to maintain Belize's territorial integrity. They expressed satisfaction with the continuing role of the British Government in helping to provide for the security of Belize. They reiterated their commitment to co-operate in the search for a settlement, requesting the Secretary-General to convene the Commonwealth Ministerial Committee on Belize whenever necessary. They urged the parties to pursue negotiations on the outstanding issues so as to achieve a lasting settlement at the earliest possible opportunity.

Indian Ocean

31. Heads of Government again voiced their disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of littoral and hinterland states and the adoption in 1971 of the UN Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace there had been a further increase in the military presence and rivalry of outside powers in the Indian Ocean with adverse consequences for the peace and security of the area. They called upon all the governments concerned to reach agreement for the convening of the proposed UN Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1984 or early in 1985 at the latest.

South Pacific

32. Heads of Government reiterated that the peoples of the remaining non-self-governing territories of the South Pacific should be given the opportunity to exercise their rights to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Progress towards this end was continuing in New Caledonia and they urged that this momentum be maintained. In this regard they strongly supported the resolution on New Caledonia adopted by the South Pacific Forum at its recent meeting. Heads of Government noted that the general principles of the concept of a nuclear-free zone had also been discussed by South Pacific Forum member states and that further consultations would be undertaken pursuant to this initiative. Furthermore they noted the strong opposition to the proposals for the dumping and storage of nuclear waste material in the Pacific. They shared the continuing concern within the region over nuclear testing.

Mediterranean

33. Heads of Government expressed their concern at the continuing tensions in the Mediterranean and the accumulation of forces in the region. They noted the desire of a number of Mediterranean countries to transform their region into a zone of peace. They urged all states concerned to participate effectively in all appropriate fora, especially the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), in agreeing upon measures aimed at reducing tensions in the area. They reaffirmed that peace and security in the Mediterranean and in Europe are closely interrelated and in this context stressed the need for a full implementation of the relevant decisions of the CSCE, including the decisions agreed upon in the recently concluded Madrid meeting.

Law of the Sea

34. Heads of Government recalled the view expressed at Melbourne that a comprehensive and widely accepted Convention on the Law of the Sea would enhance the prospects for peace and security in the world. Most Heads of Government recognised the Convention on the Law of the Sea, signed at Montego Bay, Jamaica, 10 December, 1982, as a major step forward in the codification and development of international law. Most Heads of Government expressed the fear that the lack of universal support for the Convention would seriously undermine the effectiveness of an instrument that was designed to establish equitable and orderly management of the resources of the sea for the benefit of developed and developing countries alike. There was a widespread view that all states should sign the Convention and proceed to the ratification process without unnecessary delay.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

35. Heads of Government reviewed developments in the world economy since their last Meeting and paid particular attention in their discussion to monetary and financial issues, protectionism and the state of the North-South Dialogue. In this regard, they drew attention to the recommendations of the Reports of the

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three Commonwealth Expert Groups on these subjects and commended them to member governments to take into account in determining policies and actions.

36. Heads of Government stressed the need for [and called upon the international community to take] urgent and comprehensive action to deal with the grave problems facing the world economy. With this in view they have set up a Commonwealth consultative group at high level to pursue the matter. The details are contained in the "New Delhi Statement of Economic Action" by Heads of Government, the text of which appears above.

37. Heads of Government expressed their satisfaction at the work of the Commonwealth in international economic co-operation. They noted that since they last met there had been meetings of Ministers of Finance, Agriculture, Trade, and Labour and Employment. These meetings covered a wide range of issues in addition to those dealt with in particular in the New Delhi Statement. Heads of Government endorsed the communique issued by the respective Ministerial Meetings. They requested the Secretariat to continue their work in the areas specified in those communique, paying particular attention to the debt problems of low income countries; concessional and private capital flows; trade issues affecting developing countries, especially commodity problems and protectionism; the special problems of disadvantaged states; the problems of unemployment; food production and international food security issues.

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COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

38. Heads of Government reaffirmed that functional co-operation was an important and dynamic aspect of the Commonwealth. They reviewed progress in a variety of areas and welcomed evidence of consolidation, improved co-ordination, and increasing attention paid to evaluation and cost-effectiveness in the utilisation of resources. In this connection, they noted with approval the establishment of the Human Resource Development Group in the Secretariat, and, reaffirming their confidence in the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, welcomed the successful introduction of a new planning framework for the Fund.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

39. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, strengthened by increased contributions from all member countries, had restored its programme activity to the levels attained in 1978/79. They welcomed the valuable work done by the Fund, including its recently established Industrial Development Unit, particularly its special efforts to assist small island states and in the promotion of regional and interregional co-operation. Recognising that the technical assistance needs of developing member countries had increased, they underlined the importance of maintaining the momentum of the Fund's activities. They agreed to ensure that the Fund's resources would be adequate to meet the forward planning programme targets recently approved by its Board of Representatives.

Commonwealth Stamp Issue

40. Heads of Government welcomed the satisfactory financial outcome of the special Commonwealth stamp issue. The Committee recommended that Heads of Government should request the Secretary-General to prepare proposals for a second issue together with the promotion of a second commemorative album on Commonwealth Day 1988. In order to provide all concerned with an adequate lead time these proposals should be considered by the meeting of Senior Officials to be held in 1984.

Student Mobility

41. Heads of Government reaffirmed the importance of student mobility and educational interchange within the Commonwealth, not only to the national development efforts of member countries but also to the maintenance of Commonwealth links. They considered that the consequences of any further diminution in the levels of intra-Commonwealth exchange would be regrettable. Heads of Government while welcoming expansion in the number of scholarship awards in some receiving countries noted the effect that increases in fees and charges could have in limiting the number of Commonwealth students abroad. They emphasised the importance of strengthening, and putting on a more systematic

basis, the process of dialogue and consultation among member countries on the major questions affecting student mobility, including fees.

42. Heads of Government considered that the recommendations in the Second Report of the Commonwealth Standing Committee on Student Mobility provided, in the proposed Commonwealth Higher Education Programme, a framework for action within which the range of educational opportunities for citizens of Commonwealth countries could be significantly widened in a manner consistent with the long term policies of member countries. To carry forward these recommendations they agreed that a Commonwealth Higher Education Unit should be established within the Secretariat's Human Resource Development Group. In endorsing the Standing Committee's recommendations, Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of its work and invited it to continue its contribution to this important Commonwealth endeavour.

Commonwealth Youth Programme

43. Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Youth Programme for the continued assistance being provided to member governments in this vital area of national development. They noted with approval the expansion of services in the South Pacific and activities planned for International Youth Year.

44. Heads of Government reaffirmed their support for the Programme and agreed to use their best endeavours to maintain at least the existing level of programme activities during the next biennium.

Commonwealth Scientific Co-operation

45. Heads of Government expressed their appreciation of the work of the Commonwealth Science Council which was charged with fostering co-operative activities designed to enhance the scientific and technological capabilities of member countries. They welcomed the establishment of an Expert Group to examine ways and means of promoting an expanded programme of Commonwealth scientific co-operation, which would encourage work in new areas of developmental significance, including high technology, and affirmed the priority which they accord to strengthening Commonwealth scientific co-operation.

Women and Development

46. Heads of Government recognised that the full integration of women as agents and beneficiaries of development was essential if development goals were to be realised.

47. They noted with satisfaction the continued progress of the Women and Development Programme and reaffirmed their support for the Programme's work in promoting the advancement of women as well as their full participation in the development process and in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries. Heads of Government agreed that Ministers responsible for Women's Affairs should meet in Nairobi on the eve of the 1985 World Conference to

Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. They considered that the preparations for this meeting would be greatly facilitated by a meeting of officials in London in 1984.

48. Heads of Government recognised the multi-faceted nature of women's contribution to the development process. This called inter alia for the close and active collaboration of all Secretariat Divisions with the Women and Development Programme. They further noted that as women experienced particular disadvantages in such fields as agriculture, education, commerce, and under the law special attention should be given to programmes in these areas.

Food and Agriculture

49. Heads of Government noted the deteriorating food situation in many low-income countries. The problem was particularly grave in Sub-Saharan Africa where per capita food production had declined in the last ten years and where there was an imminent crisis caused by a number of factors including drought and inadequate foreign exchange to purchase agricultural inputs and increased food imports. Heads of Government called on international agencies and donor countries to redouble efforts to ensure increased financial and technical assistance for agriculture and expanded food aid to meet international targets in order to benefit in particular the food-deficit low-income countries. They also called on these food deficit countries to make greater efforts to increase food production and support agricultural development through improved policies and increased investment in this sector.

50. Heads of Government endorsed the recommendations of the Meeting of Commonwealth Agriculture Ministers held in Rome on 4 November 1983 prior to the opening of the 22nd FAO Conference. They commended the assistance already provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat and CFTC in food and agriculture. They emphasised, in addition, the importance of the World Conference on Fisheries Management and Development to be held in Rome in mid-1984.

Employment

51. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Meetings of Commonwealth Employment and Labour Ministers which they initiated at their previous Meeting had proved useful. As a result, increasing attention was being given by the Secretariat to labour and employment matters, and had reached the point where a permanent capacity to deal with such matters should be designated by the Secretariat. They also noted the agreement of the 1983 Meeting of Employment and Labour Ministers to convene annually. Heads of Government recognised that the problems of unemployment were likely to persist on a substantial scale. They considered in this context that the adoption of new technologies could present additional difficulties of, as well as opportunities for structural adjustment. To assist member countries in their planning, training and adjustment strategies in these areas, [they endorsed the recommendation of Employment and Labour Ministers that a Commonwealth Working Group be set up to examine member countries' experience in managing technological change; the Group's terms of reference would be those proposed by the Secretary-General.] [They asked the Secretariat to continue to monitor the issue of the management of technological change and as appropriate bring the policy issues involved to the attention of the Employment/Labour Ministers' Meeting.]

The Commonwealth Foundation

52. Heads of Government noted that following their decision at Melbourne to reconstitute the Foundation as an international organisation formalities had been completed in February 1983.

53. They expressed satisfaction that the comprehensive review of the Foundation's activities initiated in Lusaka in 1979 had been completed and welcomed the new orientation adopted, including its limited role in cultural exchanges. They noted with approval that the Foundation had begun to support trade union education and training projects.

54. Heads of Government noted with satisfaction that the Foundation's total income in 1982/83 had slightly exceeded the Lusaka target of f1.1 million through careful investment of funds awaiting disbursement, although in no single year since 1979 had government contributions fully attained the target they had set. They recognised that the Foundation had great potential to contribute to Commonwealth co-operation. In order to put into effect the new activities of the Foundation and to maintain its present level of operation, Heads of Government agreed that a new target for the Foundation's income should be set at f1.46 million for the period 1984/85 to 1985/86, recognising that the target might not be reached in 1984/85.

Commonwealth Cultural Co-operation

55. Heads of Government fully recognised the value to the Commonwealth of enhanced cultural interchange among its diverse peoples. They agreed that in the present circumstances of financial stringency governments should pursue the objective of greater cultural interaction through existing official institutions and private agencies, as well as relevant non-governmental organisations for the development of wider programmes of cultural co-operation.

56. They noted that the Commonwealth Foundation intended a modest increase in its support for activities in this field.

57. Heads of Government very much hoped that the practice of holding festivals of Commonwealth arts at the time of the four-yearly Commonwealth Games would continue.

58. They asked the Secretary-General to continue to keep in view the possibility of finding ways to promote cultural activity, and to report to the next meeting of Senior Officials.

Report of the Secretary-General

59. Heads of Government commended the Ninth Report of the Secretary-General and noted with appreciation the continued progress made in various areas of Commonwealth activity since their last Meeting.

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COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

Draft Final Communique

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in New Delhi from 23 to 29 November 1983. Of the 42 countries which attended the Meeting 33 were represented by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitations to Her Majesty The Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They welcomed with great pleasure the opportunity of meeting in New Delhi and expressed their deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting by the Government of India and gratitude for the generous hospitality extended to them.

3. Heads of Government warmly welcomed Antigua and Barbuda and St. Christopher and Nevis who had become members of the association since their last Meeting, and extended similar greetings to the Republic of Maldives which had become a special member.

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AFGHANISTAN

Heds of Government continued to be gravely concerned at the situation in and around Afghanistan and its implications both for the region's peace and stability and for international security. They renewed the call for an urgent search for a negotiated political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference, which would leave the Afghan people free to determine their own future. They reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour. Heds of Government noted with approval the discussions through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urged their continuation.

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CENTRAL AMERICA

Heads of Government noted with great concern the escalation of tensions in Central America which posed a threat to the peace and stability of the region, with potentially dangerous consequences for international security. They stressed the urgent need to reduce these tensions and to achieve a lasting peace through dialogue and negotiations. In this connection, they welcomed the efforts of the Contadora Group of states to seek a negotiated settlement to the region's problems. They noted that these problems were rooted not in East-West ideological rivalry but in deep-seated social and economic ills. They urged all states to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or the threat of the use of force and from intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other states.

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GUYANA

In reaffirming their position adopted at Melbourne with regard to the controversy between Guyana and Venezuela arising from the resuscitation by Venezuela of a claim to more than two-thirds of the territory of Guyana, Heads of Government noted that the Governments of these countries had referred the choice of a means of settlement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of the 1966 Geneva Agreement. They welcomed the unqualified undertaking given by the Venezuelan Government to eschew the use of force as a means of settling the controversy. Stressing the importance of the sanctity of treaties and respect for defined and demarcated boundaries, Heads of Government expressed the hope that the controversy would be quickly and peacefully resolved.

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INDIAN OCEAN

Heads of Government again voiced their disappointment that despite the expressed wishes of littoral and hinterland states and the adoption in 1971 of the UN Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace there had been a further increase in the military presence and rivalry of outside powers in the Indian Ocean with adverse consequences for the peace and security of the area. They called upon all the governments concerned to reach agreement for the convening of the proposed UN Conference on the Indian Ocean in 1984 or early in 1985 at the latest.

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FM NEW DELHI 271100Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 963 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE SOUTH PACIFIC AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT:

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REITERATED THAT THE PEOPLES OF THE
REMAINING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC SHOULD
BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS TO SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. PROGRESS TOWARDS THIS END WAS
CONTINUING IN NEW CALEDONIA AND THEY URGED THAT THIS MOMENTUM BE
MAINTAINED. IN THIS REGARD THEY STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE
RESOLUTION ON NEW CALEDONIA ADOPTED BY THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM AT
ITS RECENT MEETING. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED THAT THE GENERAL
PRINCIPLES OF THE CONCEPT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE HAD ALSO
BEEN DISCUSSED BY SOUTH PACIFIC FOU M MEMBER STATES AND THAT FURTHER
CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN PURSUANT TO THIS INITIATIVE.
FURTHERMORE THEY NOTED THE STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSALS FOR
THE DUMPING AND STORAGE OF NUCLEAR WASTE MATERIAL IN THE PACIFIC.
THEY SHARED THE CONTINUING CONCERN WITHIN THE REGION OVER NUCLEAR
TESTING.

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CLASSIFIED

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FM NEW DELHI 271052Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 962 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT:

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH DEEP CONCERN AND ANXIETY THE HEIGHTENING TENSIONS, THE DANGEROUS CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AND THE GENERALLY WORSENING SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH POSED A GRAVE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY. THEY CALLED FOR THE EXERCISE OF UTMOST RESTRAINT BY ALL CONCERNED. THEY RECOGNISED THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND STRESSED THE NEED TO INTENSIFY EFFORTS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE, JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1967, AND RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE INCLUDING THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT TO (SELF-DETERMINATION AND) A NATIONAL HOMELAND, AS WELL AS THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES IN THE REGION TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE BORDERS. RECALLING THEIR STATEMENT AT MELBOURNE, MOST HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR VIEW THAT LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, MUST BE INVOLVED ON AN EQUAL FOOTING IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT.

THEY NOTED THE DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE HELD IN GENEVA IN SEPTEMBER 1983. THEY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MISSION IN SECURING A CEASEFIRE IN NORTHERN LEBANON.

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF LEBANON, AND EXPRESSED SOLIDARITY WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT TO RESTORE STABILITY AND PEACE TO THEIR COUNTRY.

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FM NEW DELHI 271047Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 961 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AGREED
BY SENIOR OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT :

THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN AT THE CONTINUING TENSIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ACCUMULATION OF MILITARY FORCES IN THE REGION. THEY NOTED THE DESIRE OF A NUMBER OF MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES TO TRANSFORM THEIR REGION INTO A ZONE OF PEACE. THEY URGED ALL STATES CONCERNED TO PARTICIPATE EFFECTIVELY IN ALL APPROPRIATE FORA, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CSCE, IN AGREEING UPON MEASURES AIMED AT REDUCING TENSIONS IN THE AREA. THEY REAFFIRMED THAT PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN EUROPE ARE CLOSELY INTER-RELATED AND IN THIS CONTEXT STRESSED THE NEED FOR A FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RELEVANT DECISIONS OF THE CSCE, INCLUDING THE DECISIONS AGREED UPON IN THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED MADRID MEETING.

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FM NEW DELHI 271041Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 960 OF 27 NOVEMBER.

FROM CHOGM DELEGATION : CHOGM COMMUNIQUE

MIPT . FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PASSAGE ON BELIZE AGREED BY SENIOR
OFFICIALS AD REFERENDUM TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT :

HEADS OF GOVERNMENT NOTED WITH CONCERN THE CONTINUATION OF THE
POLITICAL PROBLEM BETWEEN BELIZE AND GUATEMALA AND REAFFIRMED
THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BELIZE
TO MAINTAIN BELIZE'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THEY EXPRESSED
SATISFACTION WITH THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
IN HELPING TO PROVIDE FOR THE SECURITY OF BELIZE. THEY REITERATED
THEIR COMMITMENT TO CO-OPERATE IN THE SEARCH FOR A SETTLEMENT,
REQUESTING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO CONVENE THE COMMONWEALTH
MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON BELIZE WHENEVER NECESSARY. THEY URGED
THE PARTIES TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE OUTSTANDING
ISSUES SO AS TO ACHIEVE A LASTING SETTLEMENT AT THE EARLIEST
POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY.

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