



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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Da Dano

COMMONWEALTH STUDY ON THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF SMALL STATES

In his minute of 18 July on the security of small states, Sir Geoffrey Howe said that he hoped to steer the Commonwealth study commissioned at last year's Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi in a helpful direction, and that he had provided Mr Ramphal with an analytical paper with this end in mind. I now enclose for the record a circular letter from Mr Ramphal to Heads of Government with which he encloses a background memorandum for the high-level Consultative Group which he has established to assist the study. Sir Anthony Parsons is a member of the Group.

The next stage in consideration of HM's policy on this issue will be the submission to you by 13 September (Colin Budd's letter of 3 August to Charles Powell) of the FCO/MOD paper which OD commissioned at their meeting on 25 July.

Copies of this letter go to Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office) and Richard Mottram (MOD).

your ever Stewart Elle

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CONFIDENTIAL

FFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL MARLBOROUGH HOUSE · PALL MALL · LONDON SW1Y 5HX Circular Letter No.59/84 30 July 1984 I should be grateful if you could bring the following message to the attention of your Head of Government. BEGINS Commonwealth Study on the Special Needs of Small States You will recall that Heads of Government at the New Delhi Meeting mandated me to undertake a study of the special needs of small states "drawing as necessary on the resources and experiences of Commonwealth countries". To this end I have constituted a Group of distinguished and suitably experienced Commonwealth personalities to assist me in this exercise, to which you and your colleagues ascribed great importance. attach for your information a copy of the background Memorandum prepared by the Secretariat for the first meeting of the Group. As you will note from the Memorandum, the Group's mandate is a relatively broad one encompassing all those factors strategic, economic, social - that impact on small states security. Its membership, being drawn from a wide range of Commonwealth countries and a variety of individual skills and experience, is very well equipped to handle all aspects of the study. The timing and programme we envisage for the Group's work is set out in the Memorandum. The Group had its first meeting in London here in Marlborough House last week, from 18 to 20 July, and all of those involved thought that it got off to a useful and promising start. The work of the Group will continue over the next twelve months, meeting on at least two more occasions the next being in the second week of February 1985. It is hoped that the Group's Report will be finalised for the Heads of Government Meeting in the Bahamas in late 1985. Apart from the meetings of the Group itself the Group agreed that three regional colloquia (in Africa, the Caribbean and the South Pacific) should be convened. The colloquia will bring together participants from governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations and academic institutions, to give the Group the benefit of a more detailed insight into the issues as they are perceived in each region. We are proceeding with the first colloquium in Wellington, New Zealand, from 13 to 14 August, at which we anticipate comprehensive representation from the South Pacific region. .../2

WARTHORNING HOUSE DALT HALL LUNGOR BANK The New Delhi initiative has already aroused a great deal of interest both within and beyond the Commonwealth, as it is perceived to be a timely and constructive initiative in an international climate that has become increasingly conscious of the special needs of small states. I know that individual Commonwealth leaders have an especially keen interest in the outcome of the study; I hope therefore that the Group can count on your Government's support and co-operation. With deep respect, Shridath S. Ramphal ENDS With kind regards, Shridath S. Ramphal

COMMONWEALTH STUDY ON THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF SMALL STATES

Memorandum by the Secretariat

This initial background paper has been prepared for consideration at the first meeting of the Consultative Crown

This initial background paper has been prepared for consideration at the first meeting of the Consultative Group primarily in order to suggest a conceptual framework which might assist members in interpreting and carrying out the mandate agreed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their New Delhi Meeting last November. Proposals for procedure of work are set out in a separate section at the end of the paper.

I CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Background

- 2. The Commonwealth has been actively concerned with the special needs of its smaller member states for a number of years:
 - in 1977, Commonwealth Finance Ministers meeting in Barbados noted the special characteristics of small island economies, particularly their fragile nature, extreme dependence on exports and imports, high dependence on capital inflows and in some cases the lack of natural resources. They urged the international community to adopt a more flexible and realistic approach to the requirements of these countries and special measures to assist them.
 - in 1978, at their first regional meeting Heads of Government from Asia and the Pacific asked the Secretary-General to seek support for Commonwealthwide programmes to counteract the particular difficulties that beset the growing number of small members, particularly the island developing countries, as well as of certain other specially disadvantaged states.

- in 1983, Commonwealth Heads of Government at New Delhi, acknowledging the attention given by the Commonwealth to the special needs of small states in the context of economic development, called for consideration of those needs on an even wider basis including that of national security.
- 3. The Commonwealth's current programmes for its small member states reflect these policy mandates. They have to date centred on measures to enhance their developmental capacities in a variety of fields. Wherever feasible, efforts have also been made to help them to ensure that their individual interests are duly taken into account by the international community. The question of the special needs of small states in the area of national security did not become an issue for consideration until

^{*} An outline summary of related divisional projects is given at Annex C.

the last Heads of Government Meeting, held at the end of November 1983 in New Delhi. Events in Grenada only a few weeks before served to underscore the essential vulnerability of small states to security threats and led Heads of Government to discuss, for the first time, the importance of the question both for the states and regions concerned and for the international community, and the possibility of the Commonwealth providing assistance in this sphere.

The New Delhi Mandate

4. The agreement on the study appears at paragraph 11 of the Delhi Communique in the section dealing with Grenada:

"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."

5. Additionally, in their Goa Declaration on International Security, Commonwealth leaders included a separate paragraph expressing their particular concern

"at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs".

The paragraph continues: "These countries are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, has 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."

- 8. It is proposed that the Consultative Group on the Special Needs of Small States (CGSNSS) should hold four meetings between mid-1984 and the next Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) which will be convened in the Bahamas in November/ December 1985. The Group's Report will be issued to CHOGM 1985 by the Secretary-General.
- 9. In order to ensure that the study achieves a sufficient coverage not only of the policy issues involved but also of the particular interests of small member states, it is envisaged that the Group, assisted by the Secretariat, will have the benefit of machinery for receiving views, through the arrangements indicated below in the section on Procedure.

Scope of the Study

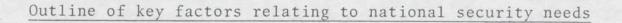
- 10. In the light of the requirements of the New Delhi mandate the Group will be expected, inter alia, to give special consideration to:
 - (a) the principal factors political, economic, legal and social - contributing to the special needs of small states;
 - (b) the range of potential threats to the security of small states, both internal and external, and their special vulnerability to external attack and interference in their affairs;
 - the range of possible supportive, preventive and protective measures that might be adopted consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity of small states;
 - (d) the special needs of small states for economic development in the context of national security, taking account of Commonwealth work to date;

Of particular concern will be the "mini" and "micro" island states, whose peculiar needs will require special attention. At the other end, the study should not exclude states only slightly above 1 million which, because of particular geopolitical circumstances, are generally considered to be vulnerable, or otherwise specially disadvantaged, countries.

13. There are 29 member states with populations of 1 million or less: 11 in the Caribbean, 8 in the South Pacific, 4 in Africa, 3 in the Indian Ocean, 2 in the Mediterranean, 1 in Asia. In addition, Jamaica (population over 2 million) and Papua New Guinea (population over 3 million) might be included because of integral links to their respective regions. The total list of countries thus encompassed by the study, together with their population statistics, is set out in Annex B.

Dimensions of the Problem

14. Since the special needs of small states involves a complex network of intermeshing issues, the most important task of the Group at its first meeting might be to agree on the parameters and structure of the study. To assist the Group, an indicative outline of the key factors which would seem to be implied by the Scope of the Study proposed in paragraph 10 is set out below as a basis for discussion. A separate paper will be made available to the Group setting out the Commonwealth's work on the special needs of small states in the context of economic development and drawing attention to further areas in which the Commonwealth may encourage a further response to these needs.



- 15. For convenience, these factors have been arranged under separate subject heads.
 - A. General characteristics contributing to the special needs of small states in the area of national security
- 16. The most fundamental characteristic underlying the national security needs of small states is their vulnerability to external intervention their defencelessness. This arises from a combination of causes: the absence of a functioning international system of collective security; the absence of bilateral defence agreements between the larger countries and the multitude of small countries that have now become independent states, due either to the unwillingness on the part of larger countries or to reluctance by at least some of the small states to enter such agreements; their limited capacity, because of lack of human and economic resources, to develop sufficiently effective safeguards of their own to deter most external security threats; and the fact that their very smallness makes then an easy prey to all types of external intervention, the isolated island states being at particular risk in this respect.

B. Special risk factors in individual states

17. It is obvious that some of the small Commonwealth countries will be exposed to a greater national security risk than others. This again is due to a variety of causes, mainly arising from special geo-political circumstances such as: a strategic location in relation to the East-West power struggle; possession of valuable natural resources which other countries, or even private organisations, might seek to exploit for their own benefit; existence of historical claims to their territory; and the presence of substantial numbers of refugees or political dissidents from other countries.

18. In addition to such extrinsic factors, individual small states could find themselves at risk because of a prevailing state of domestic instability. It is often the case that acts of external interference in states, both large and small, are triggered by an internal situation which a neighbouring country may genuinely perceive as constituting a threat to its own security or alternatively may cynically use as pretext for direct intervention.

19. Conditions of political instability can develop in all states, but as already implied, when they occur in one of the small states they render it an easy victim for intervention. The chief sources of such potential internal unrest include: widespread disaffection resulting from economic deprivation and/or perceptions of unfair political disadvantage; influxes of refugees or migrant workers which may cause resentment in the local population especially if the economic burden of their presence becomes too great; emergence of specific secessionist groups, sometimes ethnically based; power struggles between different groups, focussing on rivalry for political leadership or on the promotion of a particular ideology; military coups ostensibly launched for the purpose of restoring order in the country and/or probity in government.

C. Possible forms of external intervention

20. All small states can be said to be potential victims of any of the possible forms of external intervention. If the objective is to achieve a rapid take-over of a small state, and there is no fear of effective sanctions from within the international community, then an actual military invasion may become a feasible option. Depending on the circumstances, such an intervention could be initiated directly by foreign governments, or alternatively by mercenaries acting on their behalf or for externally-based indigenous dissident groups

the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter. They did so in the particular context of their stated concern at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs. In essence, the issue is fulfilment of the potential of the Charter.

E. Possible approaches to promoting security of small states

- 24. Taking into account established security practice among states, together with the peculiar characteristics of the small states' problems, the following measures might be envisaged:
 - (i) innovative strategies aimed at preventing the development of internal threats to national security:
 - (ii) the promotion of greater self-reliance by orientating the training and logistic requirements of domestic forces more specifically towards meeting contemporary security needs - e.g. by providing paramilitary training for police forces; by improving capacity to police off-shore waters and exclusive economic zones;
 - (iii) the establishment of mutually supportive defence arrangements among small states within regions;

of the larger member states as well as the various intergovernmental organisations that might agree to contribute to overcoming the security problems of small states. It is only prudent to recognise that there may be obstacles to their implementation, perhaps in the form of financial constraints or of political/social resistance, while the possibility of legal difficulties also cannot be overlooked. All these factors will necessarily have to be taken into consideration as part of the study.

- 26. Another concern to be borne in mind is suggested by the reference in the Delhi Communique to the study of the special needs of small states "consonant with the right to sovereignty" and in the Goa Declaration to the principle of respect for their independence. Thus it would be desirable that great care is taken, both in the conduct of the study and in the nature of the recommendations offered, not to diminish the concept of the inviolable sovereignty of small states as independent members of the Commonwealth and the wider international community. In particular, it would seem essential to avoid making any recommendations which would require or sanction unsolicited external interference in their domestic affairs, or would detract in any other way from recognition of their sovereign equality with other states.
- 27. It would seem to be of overriding importance that in all approaches to the question of the special needs of small states in the area of national security, that the Group should avoid two traps that lie in the path of new approaches. The first is the dilution or downgrading of the status of small states as equal member states of the international community and, of course, of the Commonwealth. Commonwealth leaders were insistent that the national security of small states should not be bought at the price of diminished sovereignty. This is not to say that small states might not, in keeping with others, benefit from worldwide arrangements

that, for example, enhance collective security; but the Commonwealth study must not be a basis for anything in the nature of second class status for small states. The second trap is that of hegemony. The Group will want to be careful in its approaches to enhancing the national security of small states to avoid giving cover to hegemonistic arrangements which imply security at the price of sovereignty. Small states for the most part have just won their independence from colonialism, and security needs are real and special. But to offer to meet them by a return to a new type of colonialism or a new form of dependency is no part of the purpose of the study.

28. An examination of the economic needs of small states would address one of the factors directly relevant to that of national security, namely the equation between poverty and defencelessness. The issues are, in fact, more interlinked than might appear superficially. And while the study will draw upon work already done in the Commonwealth in the economic domain and so focus more particularly on special needs in the area of security, the opportunity should not be lost to establish the linkages and to point new directions for meeting the special economic needs of small states. In fact, meeting those needs may well be one of the significant ways in strengthening their national security.

II PROCEDURE OF WORK

Meetings of the Group

29. As indicated under General Modus Operandi, it is proposed that the Group will hold four meetings between June/July 1984 and the next CHOGM scheduled for November/December 1985. All the meetings will be convened in London and will each be of three days duration. They will take place at appropriately

by officials.

CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF SMALL STATES

Mr Telford Georges - Chairman Chief Justice of the Bahamas

Mr Henry de B Forde MP Barbados

The Hon Fathulla Jameel Minister of External Affairs Republic of Maldives

H E Mr Natarajan Krishnan Permanent Representative Permanent Mission of India to the UN

Ms Elisabeth Mann Borgese (Canada)

Dr Edgar Mizzi (Malta)

Mr Lebang Mpotokwane Secretary, President's Office Botswana

Dr Robert O'Neill Director International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (Australia)

H E Mr Olara Otunnu Permanent Representative Permanent Mission of Uganda to the UN

Sir Anthony Parsons (Britain)

Mr Geoff Pearson Department of External Affairs Canada

Mr Lloyd Searwar Foreign Affairs Officer Caribbean Community Secretariat Guyana

Mr Ata Teaotai Cabinet Secretary Office of the President Kiribati

Mr Taneila H Tufui Secretary to Government Tonga

LIST OF SMALL STATES TO BE INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

	Population '
CARIBBEAN	Topulation
Antigua & Barbuda Bahamas Barbados Belize Dominica Grenada Guyana St. Kitts-Nevis St. Lucia St. Vincent & the Grenadines Trinidad & Tobago	100,000 241,000 300,000 145,000 83,000 111,000 793,600 50,000 124,000 107,000 1,168,000
Jamaica	2,188,000
SOUTH PACIFIC Fiji Kiribati Nauru Solomon Islands Tonga Tuvalu Vanuatu Western Samoa Papua New Guinea AFRICA	630,000 59,000 7,000 229,000 98,000 117,000 157,000 3,100,000
Botswana Gambia Lesotho Swaziland	800,000 603,000 1,341,000 557,000
INDIAN OCEAN Maldives Mauritius Seychelles MEDITERRANEAN	154,000 958,000 66,000
Cyprus Malta	620,000 343,000
ASIA Brunei	220,000

EXCERPT FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL, 1983

Specially disadvantaged countries

As nearly half the countries in the Commonwealth have less than half a million people each and a quarter under 200,000, Commonwealth leaders at their Lusaka meeting in 1979 endorsed a special Secretariat programme to assist island developing and other specially disadvantaged member countries in overcoming the particular difficulties caused by the combination of smallness, isolation, and limited human and natural resources. This programme, whose importance was emphasised at Melbourne, has been expanded on a pragmatic basis over the past two years.

The Secretariat has sought to ensure that all its developmental work takes account of the special needs of these countries. Several new activities tailored to their requirements have also been undertaken. Expanded support by the CFTC is reflected in the allocation of 36 per cent of its total programme expenditure in 1981-2 to activities benefitting this group of countries; an important component of these activities is the training of key government officials.

An increasing range of projects in such fields as export market development, agriculture and food production, education, industry, law, and health as well as projects to assist women to improve their contribution to development, have been features of the programme. Regional workshops and seminars conducted in the Caribbean, the Pacific and Africa have promoted training in key areas of professional and technological need. The recent creation of a Human Resource Development Group within the Secretariat has enhanced its capacity to adopt a more integrated, multi-disciplinary approach in responding to the needs of these countries, particularly for a larger supply of trained manpower. A director with special responsibilities for activity in this area has been appointed within the group.

Recognising the importance to small island states of the resources of the sea within their Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs), the Secretariat has, through the CFTC's Technical Assistance Group and General Technical Assistance

Programme, provided assistance in the delimitation of maritime boundaries, in negotiating contracts with foreign fishing fleets and in establishing or maintaining surveillance within their EEZs. Consultancy assistance has also been provided on a variety of technical issues in the fisheries field. An information and training programme on EEZ management prepared by the Secretariat's Food Production and Rural Development Division is now being considered by the FAO. The Industrial Development Unit has registered significant success in facilitating investment, technology transfers, procurement of capital goods and production for over 40 industrial enterprises, while industrial opportunities have been identified through feasibility studies for another 100 projects.

The Legal Division has accorded special importance to responding to requests for smaller jurisdictions and has provided Secretariat assistance in support of regional proposals for the establishment of legal units to serve the smaller island states in the Pacific and the Caribbean. Activities in the field of public administration include workshops designed for small states in both the Pacific and the Caribbean on the development, writing and use of case studies, a workshop on public service training in small Caribbean states and another to improve the skills of decision-makers in the choice of technology. Projects in the field of education have included a conference on innovation in technical and vocational education and training, a training course in booklet production, and a study of the special problems of education in small states.

The Secretariat has also convened meetings to consider development problems confronting small countries in such fields as agriculture, industry, transport and tourism. A meeting convened in 1982 enabled key officials of small countries to discuss aspects of development support and internal adjustment with representatives of multilateral financial institutions. In addition, the Secretariat has circulated reports on developments in the Law of the Sea negotiations as well as periodic reports on selected international economic negotiations and a monthly newsletter on developments in capital markets. A manual on project planning for small economies has also been provided to governments.

Many of the objectives of the Secretariat's programmes have been woven into the work of the CHOGRM groups on energy, trade, industry and agriculture and incorporated in national and regional programmes being carried out by member countries.

The Secretariat has also participated in two special projects designed to benefit CHOGRM island states. The CFTC provided consultants to assist the establishment within the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation of a Pacific Regional Advisory Service and financed the post of head of the service. The second project stems from an offer by the Australian Government in Melbourne to fund common office facilities in New York for CHOGRM island states wishing to take advantage of them to maintain Permanent Missions to the United Nations.

The Secretariat was asked to establish these facilities.

Accommodation has been leased in a building close to UN Headquarters.

It has five two-room suites plus a conference room and space for four or five common service staff, including a chief administrative officer and an archivist. By June 1983, Western Samoa had set up office in these premises and three other countries - Maldives, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu - had indicated their intention to do so. The office is expected to be fully operational well before the 1983 session of the UN General Assembly.

Commonwealth: Chocan A-8.

