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CANADA

BACKGROUND DOCUMENTS  
RENSEIGNEMENTS GÉNÉRAUX

**CONFÉRENCE DES CHEFS  
DE GOUVERNEMENT DU COMMONWEALTH**

**VISITE EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE  
DU  
TRÈS HONORABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU  
PREMIER MINISTRE DU CANADA**

**JUIN 1977**

**COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING**

**VISIT TO GREAT BRITAIN  
OF  
THE RIGHT HONORABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU  
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA**

**JUNE 1977**

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**Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government, London, England,  
June 8 - 15, 1977 -- Background Notes**

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Commonwealth Heads of Government will meet this year in London, England from June 8 to 15, the twentieth such occasion since the practice of these biennial meetings began in 1944. In earlier years, from 1911 to 1937, Imperial Conferences of the Prime Ministers and other Ministers of Britain and the Dominions were held periodically to discuss matters of common concern. Coincidentally, this year's meeting will take place during the Silver Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth's accession as Head of the Commonwealth. Prime Minister James Callaghan, as host will act as Chairman.

The Heads of Government Meeting is the senior of several levels of Commonwealth conferences. It was last convened in Kingston, Jamaica in 1975. Unlike most international conferences, the meetings of Commonwealth leaders are private and confidential gatherings for an informal exchange of views. Unanimity is not necessarily a primary objective but where decisions are reached they are on the basis of consensus.

Details of the proceedings of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings are not published but it has generally been the practice for a Communiqué to be issued at the close of each meeting summarizing its results.

There were two Heads of Government Meetings in 1966. The earlier of these, at Lagos, was the first to be held in a Commonwealth capital other than London and the first devoted to a single subject (Rhodesia). There were no meetings in 1967 or 1968.

The Commonwealth Secretariat organizes Heads of Government Meetings in close cooperation with host governments. By 1971, because of the growing size of the Commonwealth - there are now 36 independent member countries - the facilities and in some respects the procedures bore little resemblance to those of the first meeting in 1944.

In recognition that the increasing size of the Commonwealth presented a challenge to the prized and highly useful informality of discussions and desirous of containing and reversing the trend towards rigidity of procedure experienced in other international gatherings, Commonwealth Heads of Government recommended at their meeting in Singapore in 1971 that Senior Officials examine ways and means of restoring greater intimacy and informality to future meetings. These officials, most of whom were Cabinet Secretaries or the

equivalent, met in Ottawa in October 1972 and made recommendations on procedures and agenda which resulted in a restoration of the informality which is the feature of Commonwealth relations generally. At subsequent regular meetings in 1974 and 1976, Senior Officials again reviewed procedures and agreed that the style and format of the 1973 Heads of Government Meeting in Ottawa should continue.

In London, the formal opening session will be open to the news media but government leaders will meet in closed executive sessions for the balance of the conference. An outline of their discussions will be given in the Final Communiqué and there will be daily news media briefings by the Secretary-General along with extensive facilities for press conferences and interviews for all government leaders.

The main preoccupations of Commonwealth Heads of Government during the Kingston meeting in 1975 were the reduction of continuing unacceptable economic disparities, the shifting balance of political and economic power, and colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa. The Heads of Government also reviewed political developments in the world which had occurred since their previous meeting in 1973. In acknowledging the contribution of the spirit of détente to a measure of relaxation in international tensions, they nevertheless noted there were some crisis areas in the world where peace and stability were not yet secured. They expressed their concern at the continued testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons, at the continuation of the Cyprus crisis, at the renewed danger of conflict in the Middle East, at the increase in naval activity in the Indian Ocean (which is a region of special interest to a significant number of Commonwealth countries) and reaffirmed their total support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence on the basis of majority rule.

In 1975, Commonwealth Heads of Government also approved the establishment of a small Group of Experts, selected from the Commonwealth on the basis of their personal capacities and their knowledge of contemporary problems of international economic development. The Group was to address itself to the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and the relevant principles of the Commonwealth Declaration adopted in Singapore in 1971.

Commonwealth Heads of Government also endorsed the establishment of a Food Production and Rural Development Division within the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Although the agenda for the London meeting has not yet been made formal - this will be one of the first tasks after the opening session - it will undoubtedly again reflect the world-wide interest in economic matters and industrial development and cooperation. Heads of Government will most certainly wish to discuss world and Commonwealth trends and changing power relationships and there is no doubt that the difficulties in Southern Africa will be high on the list of interesting topics under consideration.

The Chairman elect for the London conference has followed the practice initiated by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1974 of embarking on a series of personal consultations with Commonwealth Heads of Government to ensure the meeting is well prepared and reflects accurately the wishes and expectations of all Commonwealth Heads of Government. In addition, Commonwealth Secretary-General Ramphal has engaged in extensive correspondence with all Commonwealth governments to formulate an agenda that is responsive to current wishes.

During the weekend of June 11-12, the venue of the meeting will shift from London to Gleneagles in Scotland where Heads of Government, in the absence of Ministers and advisers, will have an opportunity for private informal discussions.

La réunion des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, Londres, du 8 au 15 juin 1977 - Documentation.

Les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth se rencontreront cette année à Londres du 8 au 15 juin pour la vingtième fois depuis qu'a été instituée cette pratique de rencontres biannuelles en 1944. Au tout début, de 1911 à 1937, on tenait périodiquement les conférences impériales des premiers ministres et des autres ministres de Grande-Bretagne et des dominions afin de discuter de sujets d'intérêt commun. Par un heureux hasard, la rencontre de cette année coïncidera avec le 25<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'accession de Sa Majesté la reine Elisabeth à la tête du Commonwealth. Hôte de la réunion, le premier ministre James Callaghan en sera le président.

La réunion des chefs de gouvernement est la plus importante des conférences du Commonwealth. La dernière a été convoquée à Kingston, en Jamaïque, en 1975. A la différence de la majorité des conférences internationales, les rencontres des chefs du Commonwealth sont privées et confidentielles de façon à faciliter l'échange de vues dans une atmosphère détendue. Si l'unanimité n'est pas nécessairement de rigueur, c'est par consensus que se prennent les décisions.

Les particularités des travaux de la réunion des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ne sont pas rendues publiques, mais la pratique veut qu'un communiqué faisant état des résultats soit publié à l'issue de chaque rencontre.

Deux réunions des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont eu lieu en 1966. La première, celle de Lagos, a été la première à se tenir dans une capitale du Commonwealth autre que Londres et la première consacrée à un seul thème, la Rhodésie. Aucune réunion n'a eu lieu en 1967 et 1968.

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Le Secrétariat du Commonwealth organise les réunions des chefs de gouvernement en étroite collaboration avec le pays hôte. Dès 1971, en raison de la croissance du Commonwealth - 36 pays indépendants en font maintenant partie - l'infrastructure et, à certains égards, les modalités n'avaient guère de ressemblance avec celles de la première réunion de 1944.

Reconnaissant que la croissance du Commonwealth risquait de porter atteinte à l'aisance inestimable dans laquelle se déroulent les discussions et désirant mettre un frein et renverser la tendance au rigorisme que connaissent les autres rencontres internationales, les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont recommandé lors de la réunion de Singapour en 1971 que des hauts fonctionnaires examinent les moyens de placer les rencontres futures dans une atmosphère d'intimité et de simplicité plus grandes. Réunis à Ottawa en octobre 1972, ces fonctionnaires, dont la plupart étaient secrétaires de Cabinet ou occupaient un rang égal, ont formulé sur les manières de procéder et l'ordre du jour des recommandations qui ont eu pour effet de redonner aux rencontres l'aisance qui est la marque des relations du Commonwealth. Lors des réunions ordinaires suivantes en 1974 et 1976, les hauts fonctionnaires ont revu les pratiques et se sont entendus pour conserver la formule adoptée pour la réunion des chefs de gouvernements de 1973 à Ottawa.

A Londres, la session inaugurale officielle sera ouverte aux moyens d'information, mais les chefs de gouvernement se rencontreront à huis clos pour le reste de la conférence. Les grandes lignes de leurs discussions seront révélées lors du communiqué final. De plus, le secrétaire



général accordera quotidiennement une séance d'information aux médias et d'amples installations seront à sa disposition pour les conférences de presse et les interviews avec tous les chefs de gouvernement.

Lors de la réunion des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth à Kingston en 1975, les participants se sont surtout préoccupés de la réduction des disparités économiques inacceptables qui existent toujours, du déplacement de l'équilibre de la puissance politique et économique ainsi que du colonialisme et du racisme en Afrique australe. Les chefs de gouvernement ont également passé en revue les événements politiques survenus dans le monde depuis leur réunion précédente en 1973. Tout en reconnaissant l'apport de l'esprit de la détente à l'atténuation des tensions internationales, ils ont souligné qu'il existait encore certains points chauds dans le monde où la paix et la stabilité n'étaient pas encore réalisées. Ils ont exprimé leur inquiétude devant la poursuite des essais et de la prolifération des armes nucléaires, de la persistance de la crise à Chypre, du danger renouvelé de conflit au Proche-Orient et de l'accroissement de l'activité navale dans l'océan Indien (région d'intérêt particulier pour un nombre appréciable de pays du Commonwealth) et ont réaffirmé leur appui total à la lutte du peuple du Zimbabwe pour l'indépendance selon le régime de la majorité.

En 1975, les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont également approuvé la création d'un groupe restreint d'experts, choisis au sein du Commonwealth pour leur compétence et leur connaissance des problèmes actuels de développement économique international. Le Groupe devait se prononcer sur la Déclaration et le Programme d'action concernant l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre économique international dans la forme

adoptée par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies et sur les principes pertinents de la Déclaration du Commonwealth de Singapour en 1971.

Les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont également avalisé la création de la Division de la production alimentaire et du développement rural du Secrétariat du Commonwealth.

Même si l'ordre du jour de la réunion de Londres n'a pas encore été officialisé, c'est certainement l'une des premières tâches qui sera accomplie à la suite de la session inaugurale. Il reflétera sans doute une fois encore un intérêt pour les questions économiques, le développement industriel et la coopération à travers le monde. Les chefs de gouvernement voudront fort probablement discuter des tendances qui se dégagent à l'échelle planétaire et au sein du Commonwealth ainsi que de l'évolution des rapports de forces. Il ne fait pas de doute non plus que les difficultés en Afrique australe figureront en tête de liste des sujets à l'étude.

Le président élu pour la Conférence de Londres, observant la pratique lancée par le Premier ministre Trudeau en 1974, entreprendra une série de consultations personnelles avec les chefs du gouvernement du Commonwealth afin de s'assurer que la rencontre soit préparée comme il se doit et reflète avec précision les désirs et les attentes de tous les chefs de gouvernement. En outre, le secrétaire général du Commonwealth, M. Ramphal, a entrepris de correspondre systématiquement avec tous les gouvernements du Commonwealth pour établir un ordre du jour qui réponde aux souhaits de l'heure.

Au cours de la fin de semaine du 11 et du 12 juin, le lieu de la réunion se déplacera de Londres à Gleneagles en Ecosse où les chefs de gouvernement, en l'absence de leurs ministres et de leurs conseillers, auront l'occasion de tenir des discussions privées sans cérémonie.

## THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

The Commonwealth Secretariat is an international body at the service of all member countries of the Commonwealth, providing the central organization for joint consultation and co-operation in many fields. It was established in 1965 by Commonwealth Heads of Government, who saw it, in the words of the Agreed Memorandum, as 'a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth.'

The Secretariat is responsible to Commonwealth governments collectively, and is the main agency for multi-lateral communication between them. It promotes consultation, and collects and disseminates information for their use. The Secretariat organizes meetings and conferences and is responsible for putting into effect decisions for collective action. It is funded by Commonwealth governments whose contributions are related to their capacity to pay and are based on their population and national income. Britain and Canada make the largest contributions.

Mr. Shridath Ramphal, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice, Guyana, was elected Commonwealth Secretary-General by Heads of Government at their 1975 meeting in Jamaica, for a five-year term of office starting on 1 July 1975. He succeeded Mr. Arnold Smith, of Canada, who became the first Secretary-General in 1965 and was reappointed for a further five years in 1970. The Secretary-General has access to Heads of Government, is responsible for their meetings, maintains close contact with member countries, and is the head of the Secretariat.

The headquarters of the Secretariat are in London, at Marlborough House, which was made available as a Commonwealth centre by the Queen.

## Le Secrétariat du Commonwealth

Organisme international au service de tous les pays membres du Commonwealth, le Secrétariat du Commonwealth assure l'organisation centrale des consultations et de la coopération dans de nombreux secteurs. Il a été créé en 1965 par les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth qui ont déclaré, dans le protocole d'entente, qu'il était "un symbole visible de l'esprit de coopération qui anime le Commonwealth".

Le Secrétariat rend compte de ses activités à l'ensemble des gouvernements du Commonwealth et constitue le principal organe de communication multilatérale entre eux. Il favorise en outre la consultation et recueille et diffuse des renseignements aux gouvernements. Le Secrétariat organise des conférences et des rencontres et est chargé d'appliquer les décisions en matière d'action collective. Il est financé par les gouvernements du Commonwealth, dont les contributions sont fonction de leur capacité de payer, de leur population et de leur revenu national. La Grande-Bretagne et le Canada sont les deux plus importants bailleurs de fonds.

Ce sont les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth qui, réunis à la Jamaïque en 1975, ont élu M. Shridath Ramphal, alors ministre guyanais des Affaires étrangères et de la Justice, au poste de secrétaire général du Commonwealth pour une période de cinq ans à compter du 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1975. M. Ramphal a succédé au Canadien Arnold Smith, qui était devenu le premier secrétaire général de l'organisation en 1965 et avait été réélu pour un second mandat de cinq ans en 1970. Le secrétaire général consulte les chefs de gouvernement, se charge d'organiser leurs rencontres, entretient

des relations étroites avec les pays membres et assure la direction du Secrétariat.

Le siège du Secrétariat, qui se trouve à Londres, à Marlborough House, a été mis à la disposition du Commonwealth par la Reine.

CIDA  
25 May 1977

Commonwealth  
Heads of Government Meeting  
London, 8-16 June 1977

Media Background:

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) is a development fund established in 1971 and administered by the Commonwealth Secretariat, with resources contributed by all Commonwealth governments. It assists Commonwealth developing countries by providing technical assistance - advice, experts and training - to support their development efforts.

Rich and poor together, Commonwealth countries co-operate to provide the fund with money, with staff and with facilities. This makes it different from the traditional type of aid agency financed solely by richer countries. It complements the activities of other development agencies, both national and international, and can often meet needs which are not easily accommodated by other agencies. Because of its structure, the CFTC does not merely assist development, but also reinforces Commonwealth links. The widespread use of the English language, and the similarity of administrative origins and professional practice, help the fund to operate simply and flexibly, matching its services to its members' needs.

The CFTC's resources - and activities - have grown rapidly. In its first year of operations, it spent \$500,000. Its plan of expenditure for 1976/77, its sixth year, totals \$14 million. All contributions are voluntary, and assistance to any country is not governed by the size of its contribution.

Canada, Britain, Nigeria, Australia and New Zealand are the largest contributors. Canada is the leading contributor to the CFTC, and our contributions have averaged about 37% of total contributions. Our 1976/77 contribution is \$4,350,000, followed by Britain at \$3,250,000. Developing countries contribute about 20% of total resources, with Nigeria accounting for half. It is expected that the Canadian contribution to the CFTC for 1977/78 will be announced during the Heads of Government Meeting.

Developing member countries support the fund in three ways. Besides making financial contributions, they enable the fund to make use of training facilities within their countries, and to recruit experts whose experience can be particularly advantageous to other developing countries.

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The Fund's management system reflects its multilateral character. A Board of Representatives, with one member from each participating government and an elected chairman, formulates general policy. The Board normally meets twice a year, with one meeting held in conjunction with the annual meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers. More detailed policy guidance is given by a smaller Committee of Management chaired by the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

The fund is part of the Commonwealth Secretariat and works in close collaboration with the Secretariat's functional divisions. The CFTC's Managing Director, Mr. Antony Tasker from Britain, an Assistant Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, is responsible to the Secretary-General for the day-to-day management of the fund. The headquarters staff includes members from 16 Commonwealth countries. Mr. J.P. Kidd, currently Canadian High Commissioner in Nigeria, was the first Managing Director of the CFTC. There are currently two Canadians on the CFTC staff, Dr. Gordon Goundrey, an economist from the Memorial University of Newfoundland, and Miss Carolyn McAskie, who is on secondment from CIDA. Besides independent developing members of the Commonwealth, states associated with or dependencies of Commonwealth member countries are eligible for assistance under the Fund, as are Commonwealth inter-governmental organisations, including regional bodies.

All participating governments designate ministries or agencies through which requests for assistance are channelled to the Fund.

The Fund provides assistance under three main programmes: General Technical Assistance, Education and Training, and Export Market Development. The General Technical Assistance programme meets requests from governments for qualified personnel to fill specific manpower needs, with specialists recruited within the Commonwealth. The Education and Training programme supports a wide variety professional, technical and vocational courses for middle-level personnel, principally in developing Commonwealth countries. A small Technical Assistance Group, comprising experts in economics, law and taxation, is available for short-term assignments such as advice to governments concerning the development of natural resources and negotiations with overseas investors. The CFTC also administers a Commonwealth programme for education and training of Zimbabweans and Namibians, and finances two Secretariat divisions; the Programme for Applied Studies in Government, established after the Heads of Government Meeting in Ottawa in August 1973, and a new division set up in 1975 to evolve programmes of support for food production and rural development.



ACDI

mai 1977

Commonwealth

Réunion des chefs de gouvernement

Londres, du 8 au 16 juin 1977

Documentation à l'intention des media

Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique

Créé en 1971, le Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique (FCCT) est un fonds de développement administré par le Secrétariat du Commonwealth auquel tous les gouvernements membres de l'Organisation versent une contribution. Il a été établi pour venir en aide aux pays en développement du Commonwealth en leur fournissant une assistance technique - conseils, experts et formation - à l'appui de leurs efforts de développement.

Tous les pays du Commonwealth, riches ou pauvres, collaborent pour doter le Fonds de moyens financiers, humains et matériels. Voilà pourquoi il se distingue de l'aide de type traditionnel dispensée uniquement par les pays nantis. Il complète l'action d'autres organismes de développement, tant nationaux qu'internationaux, et est fréquemment en mesure de répondre aux besoins qui ne sont pas facilement satisfaits par les autres institutions. De par sa structure, le FCCT ne fait pas que contribuer au développement, mais raffermi également les liens au sein du Commonwealth. Grâce à l'utilisation générale de l'anglais et à la similitude des origines administratives et des pratiques professionnelles, le Fonds est à même de fonctionner simplement et avec souplesse et d'adapter ses services aux besoins des membres.

Les ressources et les activités du FCCT ont connu une croissance rapide. En effet, 500 000 dollars ont été dépensés au cours de sa première année d'exploitation, et les projets de dépenses pour la sixième année, l'exercice de 1976-1977, s'élèvent à 14 millions de dollars. Toutes les contributions sont versées sur une base volontaire, et l'aide fournie à un pays n'est pas fonction du montant de sa contribution.

Les contributions les plus importantes sont versées par le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne, le Nigéria, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande. Le Canada est le plus grand bailleur de fonds et sa quote-part représente en moyenne environ 37 p. 100 des contributions globales. Pour 1976-1977, son apport est de 4 350 000 dollars et celui de la Grande-Bretagne, le deuxième en importance, de 3 250 000 dollars. Les contributions des pays en développement représentent environ 20 p. 100 des ressources totales, le Nigéria fournissant environ la moitié de ce pourcentage. On s'attend qu'au cours de la réunion des chefs de gouvernement, le Canada annoncera le montant de sa contribution au Fonds pour 1977-1978.

Les pays en développement qui sont membres du Commonwealth appuient le Fonds de trois façons. En effet, en plus de fournir une contribution financière, ils mettent à la disposition du Fonds les moyens de formation qui existent dans leurs pays respectifs et lui permettent de recruter des experts dont l'expérience peut être particulièrement précieuse aux autres pays en développement.

Le mode de gestion du Fonds reflète sa nature multilatérale. En effet, un Conseil des représentants, formé d'un membre de chaque gouvernement participant et d'un président élu, détermine l'orientation générale du Fonds. Le Conseil se réunit normalement deux fois l'an, et l'une de ses rencontres coïncide avec la réunion annuelle des ministres des Finances du Commonwealth. Le Comité de direction du Fonds, organisme plus restreint présidé par le secrétaire général du Commonwealth, lui fournit une orientation politique plus détaillée.

Le Fonds fait partie intégrante du Secrétariat du Commonwealth et son personnel travaille en étroite collaboration avec les directions fonctionnelles du Secrétariat. Le directeur administratif du FCCT, M. Anthony Tasker, de Grande-Bretagne, secrétaire général adjoint du Secrétariat du Commonwealth, doit rendre compte au secrétaire général de la gestion quotidienne du Fonds. Le personnel du siège social comprend des membres issus de 16 pays du Commonwealth. Le premier directeur administratif du Fonds a été M. J.P. Kidd, actuellement haut-commissaire du Canada au Nigéria. Le personnel du FCCT compte présentement deux Canadiens: M. Gordon Goundrey, économiste à l'Université Memorial de Terre-Neuve, et Mlle Carolyn McAskie, détachée de l'ACDI. Outre les Etats souverains en développement membres du Commonwealth, les Etats associés à des pays membres ou sous tutelle de ces derniers sont admissibles au Fonds, tout comme les organisations intergouvernementales du Commonwealth, y compris les organismes régionaux.

Tous les gouvernements participants désignent des ministères ou des organismes chargés d'acheminer les demandes d'aide au Fonds.

Le Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique comprend trois grands programmes: l'assistance technique générale, l'éducation et la formation, et le développement du marché des exportations. Le programme

d'assistance technique générale, dont les spécialistes sont recrutés au sein du Commonwealth, répond aux demandes adressées par les gouvernements en vue d'obtenir du personnel qualifié pour satisfaire des besoins particuliers de main-d'oeuvre. Le programme d'éducation et de formation finance une vaste gamme de cours spécialisés, techniques et professionnels destinés aux cadres intermédiaires, notamment dans les pays en développement membres du Commonwealth. Un petit groupe d'assistance technique, formé de spécialistes en économie, en droit et en fiscalité, peut, pendant une courte période, se rendre sur place pour conseiller les gouvernements en ce qui a trait à l'exploitation des richesses naturelles et aux négociations avec des investisseurs étrangers. Le FCCT administre également un programme du Commonwealth pour l'éducation et la formation des Zimbabwaans et des Namibiens, et finance deux directions du Secrétariat: le Programme d'études appliquées sur les techniques de gouvernement, créé à l'issue de la réunion des chefs de gouvernements à Ottawa, en août 1973, et une nouvelle direction établie en 1975, chargée d'élaborer des programmes d'aide à la production alimentaire et au développement rural.

## Brief Notes on Southern Africa

### (a) SOUTH AFRICA

For many years successive Canadian Governments have condemned the apartheid system prevailing in South Africa and have supported many resolutions to this effect by the United Nations. We have also, for a good many years, maintained a boycott on all military equipment going to that country, including spare parts. However, we have not taken the more drastic action of breaking off trade in civilian goods with South Africa nor have we broken diplomatic relations. It is hoped that by maintaining such contacts we can help to influence events in that country in a more liberal direction. The Canadian Government is convinced that self-determination for all people in South Africa is an inevitable development in the long run and that all reasonable means must be taken to encourage peaceful change, although we see few signs for optimism at the present time.

Within South Africa the internal situation remains tense and highly polarized although the very severe racial riots (SOWETO and elsewhere) which marked 1976 have not been repeated this year to the same degree. In recent months attention has focussed on the continuing hardline attitude of the government, particularly towards dissenters. The U.N. Security Council (of which Canada is a member) discussed the South African situation in April but took no definite action. It is expected to renew examination in June or July. On March 30 the Canadian representative on the Security Council (Mr. Barton) reiterated at length the reasons for our opposition to apartheid and he also joined in efforts in the Security Council to have a Declaration of Principles on the situation adopted by the Council as a means of expressing grave international concern over this situation. (This Declaration has not yet been passed.)

### (b) NAMIBIA

Canada's position on Namibia is similar to that of the great majority of the United Nations, as well as the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice -- namely, that South Africa is in illegal occupation of the territory. Accordingly, Canada does not maintain any diplomatic, commercial or consular facilities in or for Namibia; and Canadians who wish to travel to or invest in the territory do so at their own risk and initiative. Currently, as a member of the Security Council, Canada is participating in a joint initiative with the four other Western members of the Council (the U.S.A., Britain, France and West Germany) to determine whether this long-standing issue can be resolved in a manner consistent with the U.N. Security Council's unanimous resolution 385 of January, 1976 (which, inter alia, called for elections in the territory under U.N. supervision, for the release of political

prisoners and for the return of political exiles). The recently-concluded Turnhalle constitutional discussions are considered unacceptable by Canada, and the international community as a whole, because they have been organized and conducted without reference to the United Nations and because they do not include the participation of all concerned Namibian political elements such as SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization).

The talks held in Cape Town on April 27-29 between the representatives of the five Western governments and the South African Government were frank and useful and some progress was made towards arrangements which would meet the requirements of Security Council Resolution 385. The Five have recently informed other concerned parties of the results of these talks. Many important aspects, however, remain to be clarified and further discussions are envisaged fairly soon. It should be pointed out here that the Five are, in this matter, acting really as a committee of good offices and are not negotiating. Any conclusive negotiations will have to take place between South Africa and the other parties primarily affected, e.g. the United Nations and SWAPO.

(c) RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

It has been Canadian policy to support loyally the mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia called for by the United Nations Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter. Thus, there are no trade or diplomatic ties between Canada and Rhodesia and people possessing Rhodesian passports are only admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds. We regard the Smith régime as illegal and consider that constitutional responsibility for the territory rests with Britain. In this context we are somewhat encouraged by the results of British Foreign Secretary Owen's recent trip to Southern Africa although serious hurdles remain in the path of resumed negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

Developments within Rhodesia itself have indeed altered the environment within which any negotiations will take place. The guerrilla war continues but the overwhelming dominance of the White Rhodesian forces is gradually being eroded, as guerrilla training and armaments improve, partly, at least, with Soviet help. Our best guess is that there are up to 20,000 guerrillas being trained, primarily in Mozambique, but probably not more than 10% of these have reached a level of training sufficient to penetrate successfully into Rhodesia itself. Reports indicate that the White community there is increasingly feeling the strain of the cumulative effects of guerrilla warfare, sanctions and emigration. For his part, Ian Smith seems to have accepted the inevitability of majority rule, to judge from his recent statements, but Smith's track record for a decade has inspired broad skepticism about his views.

A continuing factor is the division among the Rhodesian Black nationalist leaders. The Patriotic Front (Messrs. Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe) seem to be attempting to improve their internal cohesion. For their part, Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Sithole also seem to be drawing closer together. The basic problem of the nationalists remains, however, that the people who have the most influence with the guerrilla forces, e.g. Mugabe, are apparently much less popular within Rhodesia itself than those who have no military back-up, e.g. Muzorewa. Quite naturally Smith does what he can to exploit this disunity among the nationalists.

Dr. Owen's efforts may lead to renewed negotiations involving all factions and Canada certainly supports his efforts to that end. We are also somewhat encouraged by the indication of support to the British by the new U.S.A. Administration. We do not foresee any direct role for Canada in the actual negotiations leading to majority rule. However, we are prepared to give some help when and if an interim government is established. Such help could be through the proposed British/U.S.A.-sponsored international fund for Zimbabwe, or through the Commonwealth, although in the latter case the SSEA has made clear our strong reservations about any military involvement.

## Notes d'information sur l'Afrique australe

### a) Afrique du Sud

Depuis nombre d'années, le gouvernement du Canada condamne le régime d'apartheid qui règne en Afrique du Sud et appuie quantité de résolutions des Nations Unies à cet égard. Nous boycottons également depuis longtemps tout le matériel militaire destiné à ce pays, y compris les pièces de rechange. Cependant, nous nous sommes gardés d'adopter les mesures les plus draconiennes, à savoir la rupture des échanges avec l'Afrique du Sud pour ce qui est des biens destinés à des fins civiles, et nous n'avons pas rompu non plus nos relations diplomatiques avec ce pays. Nous espérons qu'en maintenant de tels rapports, nous pouvons contribuer à donner une orientation plus libérale au déroulement des événements en Afrique du Sud. Le gouvernement du Canada est convaincu que l'autodétermination pour tous les Sud-Africains est inévitable et que tous les moyens raisonnables doivent être pris pour favoriser un changement pacifique, même si peu de signes nous permettent actuellement d'être optimistes.

La situation interne en Afrique du Sud demeure tendue et fortement polarisée, bien que les graves émeutes raciales de Soweto et d'ailleurs, survenues en 1976, n'aient pas été aussi intenses cette année. Ces derniers mois, la "ligne dure" constamment adoptée par le gouvernement sud-africain, notamment à l'égard des dissidents, a mobilisé l'attention. Le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies (dont le Canada fait partie) s'est penché, en avril, sur la situation en Afrique du Sud, sans toutefois prendre de mesures précises à cet égard. On s'attend à une reprise du débat en juin ou en juillet. Le 30 mars, le représentant du Canada auprès du Conseil de sécurité, M. Barton, a longuement réexpliqué les raisons de notre opposition



au régime d'apartheid et s'est également rallié aux membres du Conseil qui souhaitaient l'adoption d'une déclaration de principes sur la situation en tant que manifestation de la préoccupation internationale à cet égard. (Cette déclaration n'a pas encore été adoptée).

b) Namibie

La position du Canada sur la Namibie est semblable à celle de la majorité au sein des Nations Unies et de l'avis consultatif de la Cour internationale de justice, à savoir que l'Afrique du Sud occupe illégalement le territoire. Par conséquent, le Canada n'entretient pas de relations diplomatiques, commerciales ou consulaires avec la Namibie; les Canadiens qui désirent s'y rendre ou y investir le font à leurs propres risques. A titre de membre du Conseil de sécurité, le Canada participe actuellement, avec les quatre autres membres occidentaux du Conseil (Etats-Unis, Grande-Bretagne, France et Allemagne de l'Ouest) à une initiative commune en vue de déterminer si cette question de longue date peut être résolue d'une façon qui soit conforme à la résolution 385 de janvier 1976, adoptée à l'unanimité par le Conseil de sécurité et qui prévoyait, entre autres, des élections dans le territoire sous la surveillance des Nations Unies, la libération des prisonniers politiques et le retour des exilés politiques. Le Canada et l'ensemble de la communauté internationale rejettent les discussions constitutionnelles tenues récemment à Turnhalle parce qu'elles ont été organisées et dirigées en l'absence des Nations Unies et excluaient la participation de certains éléments politiques namibiens intéressés, telle la SWAPO (Organisation du peuple du Sud-Ouest africain).

Les entretiens qui se sont déroulés au Cap, du 27 au 29 avril, entre les représentants des cinq gouvernements occidentaux et ceux du gouvernement sud-africain ont été francs et utiles, et certains progrès ont été réalisés au chapitre des arrangements qui correspondraient aux exigences de la résolution 385 du Conseil de sécurité. Les Cinq ont récemment informé les autres parties intéressées de l'issue de ces discussions. Il reste toutefois à clarifier de nombreux aspects importants et d'autres discussions sont prévues dans un avenir rapproché. Il importe par ailleurs de souligner que sur cette question, les Cinq ne font qu'offrir leurs bons offices, sans toutefois négocier. En effet, les négociations décisives devront évidemment s'effectuer entre l'Afrique du Sud et les autres parties principalement touchées, soit les Nations Unies et la SWAPO.

c) Rhodésie/Zimbabwe

Le Canada a pour principe d'appuyer fidèlement les sanctions exécutoires décrétées à l'égard de la Rhodésie par le Conseil de sécurité en vertu du chapitre VII de la Charte des Nations Unies. Par conséquent, il n'existe pas d'échanges commerciaux ni de relations diplomatiques entre le Canada et ce pays et les détenteurs de passeports rhodésiens ne sont admis au Canada que sur une base humanitaire. Nous considérons le régime Smith illégal et estimons que la responsabilité constitutionnelle du territoire appartient encore à la Grande-Bretagne. A cet égard, nous sommes quelque peu encouragés par les résultats du récent voyage en Afrique du Sud du secrétaire au Foreign Office, M. Owen, bien que de sérieux obstacles continuent d'entraver la reprise des négociations en vue d'un règlement pacifique.

L'évolution de la situation en Rhodésie même a certes modifié le cadre dans lequel se tiendront les négociations. En effet, la guérilla se poursuit mais la suprématie des forces rhodésiennes diminue graduellement à mesure que l'entraînement et les armes des guérilleros s'améliorent, en partie, du moins, grâce à l'aide soviétique. Nous estimons qu'environ 20 000 guérilleros subissent un entraînement, principalement au Mozambique, mais il est probable que seulement 10 p. 100 d'entre eux seraient en mesure actuellement de pénétrer avec succès dans le territoire rhodésien. Selon certains rapports, la communauté blanche subit de plus en plus la tension de la guérilla, des sanctions et de l'émigration. Si l'on se fie à ses récentes déclarations, Ian Smith semble, pour sa part, avoir accepté l'inévitable gouvernement de la majorité, mais son comportement depuis une dizaine d'années a fait naître passablement de scepticisme à l'égard de ses paroles.

Par ailleurs, les leaders nationalistes noirs continuent d'être divisés. Le Front patriotique (MM. Joshua Nkomo et Robert Mugabe) semble essayer de réaliser une cohésion interne. Pour leur part, l'archevêque Muzorewa et le révérend Sithole semblent également en train de se rapprocher. Le problème fondamental des nationalistes réside toutefois dans le fait que ceux qui détiennent le plus d'influence auprès des guérilleros, par exemple Mugabe, sont apparemment beaucoup moins populaires en Rhodésie que ceux qui ne possèdent aucun appui militaire, par exemple Muzorewa. Il va sans dire que M. Smith fait tout ce qu'il peut pour tirer parti de ces dissensions au sein des nationalistes.

Il est possible que les efforts de M. Owen conduisent à une reprise des négociations auxquelles participeraient toutes les factions, et le Canada ne peut que l'appuyer dans cette tâche. Nous sommes également quelque peu encouragés par l'appui manifesté par le nouveau gouvernement américain à l'égard des Britanniques. Nous n'envisageons d'autre part

aucune intervention directe du Canada dans les négociations réelles en vue de l'établissement d'un gouvernement de la majorité. Toutefois, si un gouvernement provisoire était formé, nous serions disposés à lui venir en aide soit par le biais du fonds international du Zimbabwe, qui serait parrainé par la Grande-Bretagne et les Etats-Unis, soit par l'intermédiaire du Commonwealth, bien que dans ce dernier cas, le SEAE ait clairement exprimé de profondes réserves au sujet d'une intervention militaire.

## 1978 COMMONWEALTH GAMES

The Commonwealth Games, which are to be held in Edmonton in 1978, are governed by the Commonwealth Games Federation of London, England, a wholly private, non-governmental body made up of the Commonwealth Games Associations of all member countries. The 1978 Commonwealth Games are administered by the Commonwealth Games Foundation, set up by the Canadian Commonwealth Games Association especially for that purpose. Any territorial unit of the Commonwealth (not necessarily a self-governing or sovereign unit) may have a Commonwealth Games Association and thus an inalienable right to participate in every Commonwealth Games.

As a result of the presence in South Africa of a New Zealand rugby team, at the time of the Soweto riots of 1976, and also because a New Zealand government policy of non-interference in the activities of New Zealand sportsmen precluded taking steps to discourage sport contacts with South Africa, the African nations withdrew from the Olympic Games because New Zealand participated in them. It then became apparent that the African Commonwealth nations would also boycott the 1978 Commonwealth Games if New Zealand attended and did not reverse her policy; this intention was confirmed by a resolution of the Organization of African Unity at Lomé in February 1977.

The Government of Canada is naturally concerned over the possibility of a boycott, not only because it threatens the success of the Commonwealth Games but also because the issue could disrupt the harmony of the Commonwealth. We have made our concerns very clear to all governments involved since the issue arose following the 1976 Olympics but it is clear the matter lies between the Africans and New Zealand to resolve. The Government of Canada will continue to assist in any way possible although it is recognized we do not have a decisive role to play in settling the matter. All parties in the issue agree that they are opposed to the practice and principle of apartheid in sport as in all other aspects of society. We hope, therefore, that on the basis of this fundamental agreement an understanding on this issue can be reached.

### Les Jeux du Commonwealth de 1978

Les Jeux du Commonwealth, qui doivent se tenir à Edmonton en 1978, sont régis par la Fédération des Jeux du Commonwealth de Londres, organisme entièrement privé formé par les Associations des Jeux du Commonwealth de tous les pays membres. Ceux de 1978 sont administrés par la Fondation des Jeux du Commonwealth mise sur pied par l'Association canadienne des Jeux du Commonwealth expressément à cette fin. Toute entité territoriale du Commonwealth peut avoir une association des Jeux du Commonwealth et, partant, a le droit indéniable de participer aux Jeux sans nécessairement être autonome ou souveraine.

En raison de la présence d'une équipe de football néo-zélandaise en Afrique du Sud au moment des émeutes de Soweto en 1976 et de la politique de non-ingérence du gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande dans les activités de ses athlètes, politique au nom de laquelle il n'a pas voulu décourager les contacts sportifs avec l'Afrique du Sud, les nations africaines se sont retirées des Jeux olympiques à cause de la participation des Néo-Zélandais. Il est alors devenu manifeste que les

nations africaines du Commonwealth boycotteraient également les Jeux du Commonwealth de 1978 si la Nouvelle-Zélande s'y présentait et si elle n'infléchissait pas sa politique. Cette attitude a été confirmée par une résolution de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine à Lomé en février 1977.

Il va sans dire que le gouvernement du Canada s'inquiète de la possibilité d'un boycottage, non seulement à cause de la menace qu'il fait peser sur le succès des Jeux mais aussi parce que la question pourrait troubler l'harmonie du Commonwealth. Nous avons fait connaître très clairement nos préoccupations à tous les gouvernements intéressés depuis que le problème est apparu lors des Olympiques de 1976 mais il est évident que c'est aux Africains et aux Néo-Zélandais qu'il appartient de le résoudre. Le gouvernement du Canada continuera à prêter son concours sous toutes les formes, bien qu'on reconnaisse que le pays n'a pas de rôle décisif à jouer dans le règlement de la question. Toutes les parties en cause ont convenu qu'elles s'opposaient à l'esprit et à

la lettre de l'apartheid dans les sports et dans toutes les sphères

de la société. Nous espérons donc qu'un accord se dégagera sur

la foi de cette entente fondamentale.



January 27, 1977

	HEAD OF STATE	HEAD OF GOVERNMENT
AUSTRALIA	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr	The Prime Minister, Mr. Malcolm Fraser
THE BAHAMAS	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir Milo Butler	The Prime Minister, Mr. Lynden O. Pindling
BANGLADESH	The President Mr. Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem	The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Ziaur Rahman
BARBADOS	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir Winston Scott	The Prime Minister, Mr. Thomas Adams
BOTSWANA	The President, Sir Seretse Khama	The President
BRITAIN	The Queen, Elizabeth II	The Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan
CANADA	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Mr. Jules Léger	The Prime Minister, Mr. Pierre Trudeau
CYPRUS	The President, Archbishop Makarios	The President
FIJI	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Ratu Sir George Cakobau	The Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara
THE GAMBIA	The President, Sir Dawda Jawara	The President
GHANA	The Chairman of the National Redemption Council, General I. K. Acheampong	The Chairman of the National Redemption Council
GRENADA	The Queen represented by the Governor-General, Mr. Leo De Gale	The Prime Minister, Mr. Eric M. Gairy
GUYANA	The President, Mr. Arthur Chung	The Prime Minister, Mr. L. Forbes S. Burnham

INDIA	The President,	The Prime Minister, Morarji Desai
JAMAICA	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Mr. Florizel Glasspole	The Prime Minister, Mr. Michael N. Manley
KENYA	The President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta	The President
LESOTHO	King Moshoeshoe II	The Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan
MALAWI	The President, Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda	The President
MALAYSIA	The Yan di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Yahya Putra ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Ibrahim	The Prime Minister, Datuk Hussein bin Onn
MALTA	The President, Dr. Anton Buttigieg	The Prime Minister, Mr. Dom Mintoff
MAURITIUS	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir Raman Osman	The Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam
NAURU	The President, Mr. Hammer De Roburt	The President
NEW ZEALAND	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir E. Denis Blundell	The Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Muldoon
NIGERIA	The Head of the Federal Military Government and President of the Supreme Military Council, Lt.-Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo	The Head of the Federal Military Government and President of the Supreme Military Council
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	The Queen, represented by the Governor-General, Sir John Guise	The Prime Minister, Mr. Michael Somare
SEYCHELLES	The President, Mr. Mancham	The Prime Minister, Mr. Albert René
SIERRA LEONE	The President, Dr. Siaka Stevens	The President

SINGAPORE

The President,  
Dr. Benjamin Henry ShearesThe Prime Minister,  
Mr. Lee Kuan Yew

SRI LANKA

The President,  
Mr. William GopawallaThe Prime Minister,  
Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike

SWAZILAND

King Sobhuza II

The Prime Minister,  
Prince Makhosini Dlamini

TANZANIA

The President,  
Mwalimu Julius Nyerere

The President

TONGA

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV

The Prime Minister,  
Prince Fatafeli Tu'ipelehakeTRINIDAD AND  
TOBAGOThe Queen, represented  
by the Governor-General,  
Sir Ellis ClarkeThe Prime Minister,  
Dr. Eric Williams

UGANDA

The President,  
Alhaji Field Marshal,  
Dr. Idi Amin Dada

The President

WESTERN SAMOA

His Highness Malietoa  
Tanumafili IIThe Prime Minister,  
The Hon. Taisi Tupuola  
Tufuga Efi

ZAMBIA

The President,  
Dr. Kenneth Kaunda

The President

Heads of Delegation

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting,  
London, June 8-15, 1977

The following are heads of delegation who are not Heads of Government;  
this list could change before the Meeting.

KENYA

Vice President Daniel arap Moi

GHANA

Lieutenant-General F.W.K. Akuffo,  
Chief of Defence Staff

TANZANIA

Vice President Aboud Jumbe

NIGERIA

Brigadier Joseph Garba, Commissioner for  
External Affairs

Le 27 janvier 1977

	Chef d'Etat	Chef du gouvernement
Australie	La Reine, représentée par le Gouverneur général, Sir John Kerr	Le Premier ministre, M. Malcolm Fraser
Bahamas (Les)	La Reine, représentée par le Gouverneur général, Sir Milo Butler	Le Premier ministre, M. Lynden O. Pindling
Bangladesh	Le Président, M. Abu Sadat Mohammed Sayem	L'Administrateur en chef de la loi martiale, Ziaur Rahman
Barbade (La)	La Reine, représentée par le Gouverneur général, Sir Winston Scott	Le Premier ministre, M. Thomas Adams
Botswana	Le Président, Sir Seretse Khama	Le Président

Canada	La Reine, représentée par	Le Premier ministre,
	le Gouverneur général,	M. Pierre Trudeau
	M. Jules Léger	
Chypre	Le Président,	Le Président
	Archevêque Makarios	
Fidji	La Reine, représentée par	Le Premier ministre,
	le Gouverneur général,	Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara
	Ratu Sir George Cakobau	
Gambie	Le Président,	Le Président
	Sir Dawda Jawara	
Ghana	Le Président du Comité de libération nationale,	Le Président du Comité de libération nationale
	Le général I.K. Acheampong	Le général I.D. Acheampong
Grande-Bretagne	La Reine Elisabeth II	Le Premier ministre, M. James Callaghan
Grenade	La reine représentée par	Le Premier ministre,
	le Gouverneur général,	M. Eric M. Gairy
	M. Leo De Gale	

Guyane

Le Président,

Le Premier ministre,

M. Arthur Chung

M. L. Forbes S. Burnham

Inde

Le Président,

Le Premier ministre,

Morarji Desai

Jamaïque

La Reine représentée par

Le Premier ministre,

le Gouverneur général,

M. Michael N. Manley

M. Florizel Glasspole

Kenya

Le Président,

Le Président

Mzee Jomo Kenyatta

Lesotho

Le Roi Moshoeshoe II

Le Premier ministre,

Le Chef Leabua Jonathan

Malawi

Le Président,

Le Président

M. Ngwazi Kamuzu Banda

Malaysia

Le Yan di-Pertuan Agong,

Le Premier ministre,

Tuanku Yahya Putra ibni

Datuk Hussein bin Onn

Al-Marhum Sultan Ibrahim

Malte

Le Président,

Le Premier ministre,

M. Anton Buttigieg

M. Dom Mintoff

Maurice (L'île)

La Reine, représentée par

Le Premier ministre,

le Gouverneur général,

Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam

Sir Raman Osman

Nauru

Le Président,

Le Président,

M. Hammer De Roburt

Nigéria

Le Chef du gouvernement  
militaire fédéral et  
Président du Conseil  
militaire suprême  
Lieutenant-Général  
Olusegun Obsasanjo

Le Chef du gouvernement  
militaire et fédéral et  
Président du Conseil  
militaire suprême

Nouvelle-Zélande

La Reine, représentée par  
le Gouverneur général,  
Sir E. Denis Blundell

Le Premier ministre,  
M. Robert Muldoon

Ouganda

Le Président,  
Le Maréchal  
Idi Amin Dada

Le Président

Papouasie-Nouvelle-  
Guinée

La Reine, représentée par  
le Gouverneur général,  
Sir John Guise

Le Premier ministre,  
M. Michael Somare



Zambie

Le Président,

Le Président

M. Kenneth Kaunda

Samoa occidentales (Les)	Son Altesse Malietoa Tanumafili II	Le Premier ministre, L'honorable Taiiai Tupuola Tufaga Eji
Seychelles (Les)	Le Président,  M. Mancham	Le Premier ministre,  M. Albert René
Sierra Leone	Le Président,  M. Siakà Stevens	Le Président
Singapour	Le Président,  M. Benjamin Henry Sheares	Le Premier ministre,  M. Lee Kuan Yew
Sri Lanka	Le Président,  M. William Gopawalla	Le Premier ministre,  Mme Sirimavo Bandaranaike
Swaziland	Le Roi Sobhuza II	Le Premier ministre,  Le Prince Maknosini Dlamini
Tanzanie	Le Président,  Mwalimu Julius Nyerere	Le Président
Tonga (Les)	Le Roi Taufa'ahau Tupou IV	Le Premier ministre,  Le Prince Fatafeli Tu'ipulehake
Trinité-et-Tobago	La Reine, représentée par  le Gouverneur général,  Sir Ellis Clarke	Le Premier ministre,  M. Eric Williams

Chefs de délégation

Réunion des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth

Londres, du 8 au 15 juin 1977

Les chefs de délégation suivants ne sont pas chefs de gouvernement.

La présente liste pourra être modifiée avant la réunion.

Kenya

Le Vice-président Daniel arap Moi

Ghana

Le Lieutenant-général F.W.K. Akuffo,

Chef d'état-major

Tanzanie

Le Vice-président Aboud Jumbe

Nigéria

Le Brigadier Joseph Garba, Commissaire aux

Affaires extérieures.

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# Biographies

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(February 1976)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

Prime Minister of Canada

Mr. Trudeau was born in Montreal in October 1919. He graduated in 1940 from the Jean de Brébeuf College in Montreal with a bachelor of arts (honours) degree. Having graduated with honours in law from the University of Montreal, he was called to the Bar of the Province of Quebec in 1943. He received a master of arts degree in political economy from Harvard University in 1945, and did postgraduate work in law, economics and political science at L'École des Sciences politiques in Paris and the London School of Economics.

Mr. Trudeau was subsequently employed with the Privy Council in Ottawa, and then practised law, specializing in labour law and civil liberties cases, in the Province of Quebec. In 1961, he was appointed Associate Professor of Law at the University of Montreal, where he taught constitutional law and civil liberties, and carried out research as a member of the staff of l'Institut de Recherches en Droit public.

Mr. Trudeau was elected to the House of Commons in 1965. He was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in January 1966. In April 1967, Mr. Trudeau was appointed Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada. In April 1968, he became Prime Minister of Canada. He was re-elected in the October 1972 and July 1974 general elections.

Mr. Trudeau was a delegate to the France-Canada Interparliamentary Association meetings in Paris in April 1966. He also served as a Canadian delegate to the twenty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly from September to December 1966. In February 1967, Mr. Trudeau undertook a tour of French-speaking African states on behalf of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs to determine the role Canada should play in the formation of an association of French-speaking states. He played an important role at the 1971 Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Singapore, and was host to the heads of government when they met in Ottawa in 1973.

Mr. Trudeau has written extensively on reform in politics and the theory and practice of federalism. His articles, essays and manifestos have appeared in several Canadian and foreign publications.

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He is the author of a social study of French-Canadian society entitled *La Grève de l'Amiante* and of a book entitled *Le Fédéralisme et la Société canadienne-française*, which includes some of his previous articles and essays as well as a critique of his thinking on federal and constitutional matters. He was one of the founders of the reform review *Cité Libre*.

Mr. Trudeau is married to the former Margaret Sinclair. They have three sons -- Justin Pierre James, Alexandre Emmanuel and Michel Charles-Emile.

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# Biographies

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(février 1976)

## LE TRÈS HONORABLE PIERRE-ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

Premier ministre du Canada

Monsieur Trudeau est né à Montréal en 1919. Il a fait ses études secondaires au Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf, à Montréal. Licencié en droit, avec distinction, de l'Université de Montréal, il a été reçu au Barreau de la Province de Québec en 1943. Après avoir obtenu une maîtrise en économie politique à l'Université Harvard, il a fait ses études supérieures en droit, en économie et en sciences politiques à l'École des sciences politiques de Paris et à la *London School of Economics*.

Ses études terminées, il a été fonctionnaire au Bureau du Conseil privé à Ottawa, après quoi il a pratiqué le droit au Québec, surtout dans le domaine du droit ouvrier et des droits civils. En 1961, il était nommé professeur adjoint à la Faculté de droit de l'Université de Montréal, où il enseigna le droit constitutionnel et les droits de l'homme. Il a aussi entrepris divers travaux de recherche à l'institut de recherches en droit public de cette université.

Monsieur Trudeau a été élu à la Chambre des communes en 1965. Il fut nommé secrétaire parlementaire du premier ministre, le très honorable Lester-B. Pearson, en janvier 1966. En avril 1967, il était nommé ministre de la Justice et procureur général du Canada. En avril 1968, il devenait premier ministre du Canada. Il a été réélu aux élections générales d'octobre 1972 et à celles de juillet 1974.

Au mois d'avril 1966, monsieur Trudeau faisait partie de la délégation canadienne à la réunion, à Paris, de l'Association interparlementaire France-Canada. De septembre à décembre 1966, il a été délégué canadien à la vingt et unième session de l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, où il était membre de la Commission politique spéciale. En février 1967, monsieur Trudeau a entrepris une tournée des États francophones d'Afrique, au nom du premier ministre et du secrétaire d'État aux Affaires extérieures, afin de déterminer le rôle que le Canada pourrait jouer dans la formation d'une Association culturelle des pays de langue française. En sa qualité de premier ministre, M. Trudeau a joué un rôle capital à la Conférence des chefs de Gouvernement du Commonwealth, qui s'est tenue à Singapour en janvier 1971 et fut l'hôte de cette même conférence lorsqu'elle s'est tenue à Ottawa en août 1973.

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Monsieur Trudeau a écrit abondamment sur le thème de la réforme des institutions politiques et sur la théorie et la pratique du fédéralisme. Ses articles, essais et manifestes ont paru dans plusieurs revues et journaux du Canada et de l'étranger. Il est l'auteur d'une étude sociale de la société canadienne-française intitulée *La Grève de l'Amiante* et d'un livre, *Le Fédéralisme et la Société canadienne-française*. Il a été l'un des fondateurs de la revue réformiste *Cité Libre*.

Monsieur Trudeau a épousé Mlle Margaret Sinclair. Ils ont trois fils, Justin-Pierre-James, Alexandre-Emmanuel et Michel-Charles-Émile.

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RECOGNITION OF FACT COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES SIMULTANEOUSLY OBSERVING  
COMMONWEALTH DAY, HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, MAY 13, 1977

HON. DONALD S. MACDONALD(ACTING PRIME MINISTER): Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to rise on behalf of the government on this second Monday in March in recognition of the fact that today is Commonwealth Day. This year, for the first time, the 36 members of the Commonwealth around the world are observing Commonwealth Day simultaneously. This is, therefore, a day on which some 900 million people on five continents, who speak different languages, who have diverse cultures, who belong to different races, will take special note of their Commonwealth ties.

There are no superpowers in the Commonwealth; there is no *primus inter pares* -- and that is one of its assets. Rather, it is an association of equal sovereign states which have voluntarily decided to come together and talk and work with each other in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. In a world where negotiations among nations are too often a dialogue of the deaf, the Commonwealth provides a forum in which each member can express its views and be assured that its views will be heard. The Commonwealth promotes co-operation in place of discord, consultation in place of ignorance, and consensus in place of disharmony. Last year the Commonwealth was pleased to welcome a new member, the Seychelles which, like Canada and Mauritius, is a bilingual country and which, like Canada and Mauritius, is a full-fledged member of both the Commonwealth and "la francophonie".

We believe the Commonwealth provides an important avenue of attack on several world problems. Secretary General Ramphal recently pointed out:

"The Commonwealth has one-fourth of the world's people, but it has nearly one-half of the world's poor."

Of the poorest of the poor, those with incomes of less than \$200 per annum, nearly three of every four live within the Commonwealth. This suggests the immensity of the task before us and it suggests that now, more than ever before, we must use the Commonwealth to attack the problems of poverty, inequality and degradation.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) is very much looking forward to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in London in June, and to a further strengthening of the close contacts with our Commonwealth partners that we have enjoyed in the past. This year that meeting will follow closely the celebrations of the silver jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth who occupies the important role of head of the Commonwealth. In London we anticipate a strengthening of resolve to find ways of ensuring that each human being is able to live free from fear and want.

Mr. Speaker, this is Commonwealth Day; it is a day of education and a day on which I wish to underline the great value which Canada attaches to its Commonwealth association.



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CABINET DU PREMIER MINISTRE

Date: March 4, 1977

For Release:

Immediate

Pour Publication:

The Observance of Commonwealth Day

Commonwealth Day will be observed in Canada and throughout the Commonwealth on Monday, March 14, and henceforth, on the second Monday in March. Our thirty-five Commonwealth partners have agreed to the proposal which the Prime Minister made at the 1975 Heads of Government Meeting in Kingston that a day should be set aside on which the people of all the member countries around the world could take special note of their Commonwealth association.

The second Monday in March was selected because it was not already a day of national significance in any member country and schools throughout the Commonwealth are in session. It is hoped that teachers will take special note of Commonwealth affairs in their classroom activities on March 14. Commonwealth Day is not a statutory holiday; rather, it is intended as an educational event with the aim of informing people in Canada and around the world of the importance of Commonwealth affairs and of the value which Canada attaches to this unique association of countries of all sizes, races, and cultures.

The Department of External Affairs has prepared information material for distribution in connection with Commonwealth Day and the flags of the thirty-six member countries will be flown on March 14 on Confederation Square.



Date: le 4 mars, 1977

For Release: immédiate

Pour Publication:

Célébration du Jour du Commonwealth

Le Premier ministre a annoncé que le Jour du Commonwealth sera célébré au Canada comme dans tous les pays du Commonwealth le lundi 14 mars, et ensuite, tous les ans, le second lundi de mars. Nos trente-cinq partenaires du Commonwealth ont accepté la proposition faite par M. Trudeau en 1975, à Kingston, lors de la réunion des chefs de gouvernement, à l'effet qu'on choisisse un jour spécial dans l'année pour souligner les liens qui unissent les pays du Commonwealth.

On a choisi le second lundi de mars parce qu'il n'y a aucune fête nationale qui tombe en ce jour et que l'année scolaire est en cours dans tous les pays du Commonwealth. On espère que les professeurs profiteront de l'occasion pour parler du Commonwealth en classe. Ce jour ne sera pas inscrit parmi les congés statutaires; on cherche plutôt à lui donner un but éducatif, afin d'informer les Canadiens et le monde en général de l'importance du Commonwealth et du prix que le Canada attache à cette association unique de pays de dimensions de races et de cultures si différentes.

Le ministère des Affaires extérieures a préparé de la documentation à distribuer en rapport avec le Jour du Commonwealth. D'autre part, les drapeaux des trente-six pays du Commonwealth flotteront toute la journée Square de la Confédération.

A STATEMENT BY THE PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MR. FERNAND LEBLANC MP, TO THE DALHOUSIE CONFERENCE: THE COMMONWEALTH AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, OCTOBER 1976.

I am particularly happy that this Commonwealth occasion should be one of my first major engagements since being named Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jamieson.

In a world where governments tend to encroach more and more upon the everyday lives of individuals, the resilience and relevance of the Commonwealth's non-governmental organizations has never been more important. We would be unwise to think that the problems of the world could be solved by governments alone and that the spirit of self-help should not be tapped to tackle our problems. What I am saying is that non-governmental institutions can and must play a more active role. I know that within the many unofficial voluntary organizations which are concerned with Commonwealth objectives there exists an enormous reservoir of knowledge, experience and enthusiasm. Obviously these organizations differ in strength and character but they do have one feature in common and that is that people belong and subscribe to them because they want to be involved and because they believe in the Commonwealth. Although until recently there has been little official recognition of the value of the NCOs within the Commonwealth, they have long been a mainstay of the Commonwealth. The strength of the association's non-governmental bodies lies in their capacity to strengthen public awareness

that we belong to a practical working community which can contribute to improving the lives of the population of each of its members, that these organizations can mobilize resources from the voluntary and private sectors and with expertise and enthusiasm assist in the economic and social development of member countries.

If any observation can be made of the non-governmental bodies or the non-governmental organizations within the Commonwealth, I believe it lies in the fact that their operations are not yet fully co-ordinated or they are sometimes under-utilized. Obviously there is already co-operation between many organizations such as that between the Royal Commonwealth Society and the professional associations, and between the Secretariat and a wide range of the NGOs. But this is not enough. I know that part of the difficulty lies in the lack of resources and organization. However, the problem remains and must be tackled. And this is the purpose of your Conference.

An examination of how intra-Commonwealth bodies and those national bodies active in national development and in aid and development in an international sense might work more effectively together and with Commonwealth governments and the Secretariat seems particularly opportune. I do not believe that a more formal or institutionalized liaison is necessary; simply a better awareness of what everyone is doing is required to bring about a better co-ordination of effort. What you produce here as a result of your discussions will be useful in the discussions at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting where more attention will undoubtedly be given to what is after all the grass roots of the Commonwealth relationship.

Ladies and Gentlemen let me now turn to another facet of the Commonwealth more particularly how we in Canada see it.

It has been our conviction that membership in the Commonwealth enables Canada to draw on a tremendous reserve of knowledge and experience gathered by others but freely accessible to us - accessible because of common traditions, attitudes and institutions. Certainly we consider that membership in the Commonwealth complements our activities in other world bodies and is a useful antidote against elements that sometimes cause countries to focus their attention on purely regional or continental questions. We have, partly thanks to the Commonwealth, the habit of considering problems in wider terms.

When he returned from the Singapore meeting of Heads of Government in 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau told our House of Commons that it was his view that Canada could get along without the Commonwealth but that we could not get along nearly so well, that no problems would be solved by the break-up of the Commonwealth, that no member would find it easier to advance its own interests in its absence. The Declaration that was produced at that meeting and the principles expressed in the Declaration were milestones in the development of the Commonwealth and we have come a long way since then. When one examines that Declaration and the steps that have been taken within the framework of the Commonwealth to fulfil its terms there is some cause for self-congratulation although there is no reason for complacency. As we have seen over the years, the Commonwealth provides a constructive example of a multi-national approach so vital to peace and progress today. We talk together, we consult one another, we co-operate with one another, we exchange knowledge and views on a wide range of



subjects. No charter binds us together; in the Commonwealth, we follow no common flag; apart from the Secretariat, we do not support a large executive machine. And yet the thing works. If this sounds like a vote of confidence for the Commonwealth, then I can assure you it is. The Commonwealth in its way reflects some of Canada's own characteristics - diversity in climate, peoples and traditions, of prosperous and less prosperous areas. It is perhaps because of this parallel, the fact that despite this diversity we have common bonds, the fact that we can talk frankly to one another, that we in Canada are so deeply attached to the Commonwealth and the role it plays in the world. As our former Secretary of State for External Affairs told the Royal Commonwealth Society in Toronto in 1974, support for the Commonwealth remains a central element in Canadian foreign policy. It remains so.

But if the Commonwealth is to continue to have real meaning for all its members; it must touch people at all levels. As Prime Minister Trudeau said at the 1973 Heads of Government meeting, "We are concerned with the dignity of individual human beings and the improvement of the lot of ordinary men and women." If we forget that message, if we cease applying it with patience every day, then associations such as the Commonwealth lose their relevance and turn into rather expensive talking shops. Obviously talking is important as it permits a fruitful exchange of ideas, however at the same time, we must be doers, we must make maximum use of the machinery created within the Commonwealth to fulfil the aspirations of our people. This has been recognized by Heads of Government who have encouraged the expansion of the scale and the increased tempo of

Commonwealth functional co-operation. In this regard, Canada has shown her interest in a concrete way. As the focus of Commonwealth activity has over the years moved gradually away from purely political concerns and the level of Commonwealth functional co-operation has increased, Canada's role in material terms has also expanded. To start with, our contributions to the Commonwealth Secretariat last year amounted to more than 20% of that body's total budget. With respect to the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, in 1975-76 Canada provided the Fund \$4½ million or 35% of its budget. For the fiscal years 1976-79 Canada has agreed to contribute 32% of the Commonwealth Foundation's budget - a sharp rise from the 14.75% for 1975-76 and we are covering 30% of the Commonwealth Youth Program's budget. In addition to these major contributions, the Canadian Government contributes to a further eleven Commonwealth Governmental agencies. In summary, excluding the Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique where the Canadian share amounts to \$400,000 plus \$3 million in food aid, direct Canadian contributions to the Commonwealth or Commonwealth oriented programs totalled more than \$8 million in the year 1975-76. This is exclusive of the Canadian contribution of over \$300 million in bilateral aid disbursements to Commonwealth countries and of our contributions to African, Asian and Caribbean Development Banks.

If I have gone on at length to list Canadian material involvement in Commonwealth organizations, it is to underline that we have been prepared to support our hopes for the evolution and development of "the club" in a concrete fashion. It would be unfortunate however if we saw the Commonwealth solely in terms of matters of concern to its member states - as just another development agency, although let there be no mistake the questions of poverty and human development are at the core of Canada's

attitude towards the Commonwealth. We must go further I believe; we must preserve this unique association as a servant to the world at large not exclusively concerned with its own problems - but as a catalyst for the world community. We, and this has been a basic theme of Heads of Government Meetings, have been deeply concerned over developments in Southern Africa, in particular the question of apartheid. This is a geographic area where the Commonwealth has already taken some useful steps. An example is the Commonwealth Technical Assistance Fund for Mozambique. Obviously in this, as in other areas, Commonwealth efforts must be co-ordinated with those of the United Nations but I believe that there is a role to play and in which the Commonwealth as a whole can serve the international community in this key area of international action.

The developments touching world economic arrangements are already under examination by the Commonwealth. We would hope that the desire expressed by the Heads of Government recommending that ways be sought to bring about a basic change in the world economic system will be served as well as the whole of the world community, by the work of the McIntyre Group on the New International Economic Order. Similarly, steps towards a model agreement on the transfer of technology between countries might also be a useful Commonwealth example that could be applied universally.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have listed only a few areas where the Commonwealth can play a unique role, provide an example for the rest of the world community. This list could be extended to other fields and indeed Commonwealth co-operation covers just about every major area there

is. If the Commonwealth is to continue being useful, we must be prepared to experiment, we must try new ways to tackle existing problems. We must set aside stale methods and outmoded approaches. You within the non-governmental field and who are less bound by what are sometimes considered sacrosanct considerations of government are perhaps in the best position to take a fresh look at problems and to propose possible solutions. We look forward to the results of your deliberations here at Dalhousie.

SUMMARY REPORT

on the

DALHOUSIE CONFERENCE

THE COMMONWEALTH & NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Halifax, Nova Scotia

25-29 October 1976.

C O N T E N T S

Introduction

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

Report of Commission A

Report of Commission B

Report of Commission C

## INTRODUCTION

Planning for the Dalhousie Conference began in May, 1974, after consultations with officials of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth Foundation, the Department of External Affairs (Canada) and officers of the Royal Commonwealth Society. At that time, the Foundation was busy making preparations for a seminar on co-operation among professionals, since held in Kingston, Jamaica in January, 1975. Simultaneously the Royal Commonwealth Society was working towards a one day conference of London-based Commonwealth non-governmental organizations, eventually held under the title of "The Official and Unofficial Commonwealth" in June, 1975. The Dalhousie Conference drew upon the experience of those involved in these events, but broadened the scope of representation with the object of bringing together officers of non-governmental organizations from all parts of the Commonwealth. Canadian and Commonwealth Secretariat officials were also invited.

Every effort was made to have as representative a gathering as possible consonant with our decision to try to limit the number of participants to sixty so as to have a viable working group. The last minute withdrawal of five participants from the "developing" Commonwealth was unfortunate, but unavoidable. The gathering in Halifax brought to the plenary sessions and the commissions a range

of expertise and a variety of experience which made it possible to strive for attainable goals.

Briefly, the conference aimed at producing recommendations on closer co-operation within the unofficial Commonwealth, on the machinery for a continuing dialogue between the official and the unofficial Commonwealth, and on increasing public understanding of the Commonwealth. A summary of conclusions and recommendations will be sent to all Commonwealth governments for consideration by Commonwealth Heads of Government who will meet in London in June, 1977. Some preliminary discussion has already taken place in official circles. When senior officials of Commonwealth governments met in Canberra in May, 1976, they discussed the role of non-governmental organizations in the Commonwealth and decided to await the outcome of the Dalhousie Conference.

This is the first conference to bring together persons who are active in Commonwealth NGOs. We record with great satisfaction (1) the air of realism which pervaded the discussions; (2) the agreement to seek limited objectives and take cognisance of the fiscal restraints within which all Commonwealth governments now operate; (3) the readiness of all participants to assist us with advice and suggestions both during and after the sessions, and (4) the practical nature of most of the resulting proposals. Everyone contributed to the truly "Commonwealth spirit" which was present throughout.



Dalhousie University, as host, wishes to place on record its thanks to the Government of Canada, the Commonwealth Foundation, governments and agencies which sponsored delegates to the Conference for their assistance, and to all participants and members of the Conference Secretariat who made the conference possible. We hope that the recommendations will engage the attention of Commonwealth Heads of Government and that concrete results will follow.

Bala Pillay  
Chairman,  
President's Conference Committee

Dalhousie University  
10 November 1976

THE DALHOUSIE CONFERENCE: SUMMARY  
OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Dalhousie Conference on the Commonwealth and Non-Governmental Organisations (25-29 October 1976) was attended by 86 participants from 18 countries of the Commonwealth.
2. Twelve working papers were presented and discussed in plenary session, and then considered in three commissions dealing with:
  - (a) Closer co-operation within the unofficial Commonwealth;
  - (b) The machinery for a continuing dialogue between the official and the unofficial Commonwealth; and
  - (c) Increasing public understanding of the Commonwealth.
3. The full reports of the three Commissions will be distributed with a final summary to be completed by Dalhousie at the end of the conference. The Report of the commission on increasing public understanding includes an attachment proposing a number of practical steps to assist with information and education. Some of those relating to education are intended to be referred to the next meeting of Commonwealth Education Ministers.
4. The unofficial Commonwealth, which may be broadly regarded as the totality of non-governmental relations among the peoples of the Commonwealth, has developed pragmatically, in response to the need for co-operative action, in six main areas:
  - (a) in the professions with the support of the Commonwealth Foundation;
  - (b) development;
  - (c) public information, and education;
  - (d) parliamentary government;
  - (e) the arts;
  - (f) sport.

5. In all these areas there are opportunities for expansion and co-operative development which urgently need to be taken. The Conference was aware that there is inadequate information available about NGOs and their activities and that in some important fields there is limited activity by NGOs.

6. In the view of the Conference, the work of NGOs is both economical and cost-effective. It is:

- fundamental to the further utilisation of professional resources;
- relevant to local needs in the development field; and
- of great importance to the public understanding of the nature and work of the Commonwealth.

7. The creative, flexible and responsive capacity of NGOs needs to be more positively recognised by Commonwealth Governments.

8. Further steps should be taken, by the official Commonwealth, to stimulate and sustain the growth of NGOs, and to strengthen co-operation between them, in relevant fields of activity. These objectives can be achieved by the use of existing Commonwealth machinery subject to appropriate direction from Heads of Government. As an autonomous Commonwealth organisation, the Commonwealth Foundation has shown its ability to promote NGOs in the professional field and manifestly could be equally successful and economical in a wider sphere. For the Commonwealth Secretariat, the development of closer collaboration and consultation with NGOs would be a growth in the relations already begun by its various departments.

9. The official and the unofficial Commonwealth need to give more attention to the importance of communication and education in maintaining public appreciation of the relevance of the Commonwealth. The NGOs - assisted and strengthened by the Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Foundation - should be encouraged and equipped to embark on programmes of education and information.

10. Noting that the strength and cohesion of the Commonwealth Association itself - and of Commonwealth organisations both official and unofficial - depend on the extent to which they are constructively used, and recalling that at their meeting in Ottawa in 1973 Commonwealth Heads of Government declared their intention to make

maximum use of Commonwealth machinery to promote social and economic development, the Conference recommends that Commonwealth Heads of Government be invited to consider:

- (a) issuing a declaration giving encouragement and continued support to the work of NGOs;
- (b) making possible at an early date the broadening of the scope - with the necessary increased income - of the Commonwealth Foundation to enable it to promote the development and to support the work of, not only the professional associations, but other NGOs which have a contribution to make to Commonwealth objectives;
- (c) inviting the Commonwealth Secretary-General to promote collaboration with NGOs in functional activities related to the work of the Secretariat, especially in the areas of economic and social development, using C.F.T.C. funds as appropriate;
- (d) inviting the Commonwealth Secretary-General to make proposals for developing more fruitful consultative relationships between the Secretariat and Commonwealth NGOs;
- (e) making a fresh assessment of the Commonwealth's information, cultural and education programmes. In this regard, we suggest that the Secretariat should assemble relevant background papers - covering the official and unofficial Commonwealth - for consideration in detail by the senior officials' committee that meets concurrently with the HGM;
- (f) the suggestion that some 2% to 3% of official development assistance resources be directed through multi-lateral Commonwealth channels.

11. It is hoped that the Commonwealth Secretary-General will support another meeting of NGOs during 1978 so that further impetus can be given to the important preliminary deliberations, and the recommendations made, at Dalhousie.

The Dalhousie Conference  
29 October 1976

## REPORT OF COMMISSION "A"

CLOSER CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE UNOFFICIAL COMMONWEALTH

1. The unofficial Commonwealth is the totality of non-governmental relations that exist bilaterally and multilaterally among the peoples of the Commonwealth, whether on an individual or on an organisational level.
2. Within the framework of the Commonwealth such relations have developed and will only develop in areas of mutual concern and practical activity. Five categories of non-governmental activity relevant to the work and priorities of the Commonwealth are:
  - (a) Knowledge-based organisations, including professional, scientific, political, educational, the media.
  - (b) Interest-based organisations, including chambers of commerce farmers, industry, trade unions, employers and consumers.
  - (c) Social service based organisations, including youth and religious.
  - (d) Development agencies;
  - (e) Arts and sport.
3. In considering the expanded role which NGOs throughout the Commonwealth could play, it is advisable to recognise:
  - (a) the lack of factual information about NGOs and the extent of their activities;
  - (b) the still small number of NGOs working on a pan-Commonwealth basis;
  - (c) the increasing need to think of NGOs not in their totality but within categories relating directly to the priorities of Commonwealth.
4. The unofficial Commonwealth has developed pragmatically, in response to the need for co-operative action with a Commonwealth framework, in four principal areas. First, in the professional field - largely through the work of the Commonwealth Foundation, set up to stimulate and foster professional links; second, in the field of

development; third, in the field of public information and education about the nature of the Commonwealth and its practical value; fourth, in sport. These four areas are ripe for expansion and co-operative development as circumstances dictate and resources permit. This process could be advanced by the secondment of qualified personnel from NGOs to work within the Secretariat.

5. Only a handful of pan-Commonwealth organisations operate in these areas at present. The most coherent group has been built up by the Commonwealth Foundation in the professional field, but even here there are gaps, e.g., in finance and education. The immense task of creating a wide popular awareness of the value of Commonwealth activity is in great need of strengthening. The Royal Commonwealth Society and the Commonwealth Institute are making an important contribution but in most Commonwealth countries there are no comparable institutions. The development of such organs must be a primary objective.

6. Repeated references have been made to the need to create what has variously been described as a resource, nerve or information centre. Its aims would be to serve as a catalyst for national NGOs to increase awareness of the Commonwealth, as a provider of source material and as a focus for Commonwealth interest. The Commission draws attention to the network of Professional Centres which the Commonwealth Foundation has helped to build up across the newer Commonwealth. Subject to the co-operation of the existing membership of such Centres, their buildings and services could in most cases and at relatively small cost be expanded to cater for their wider aims.

7. Other areas of activity such as sport and the Arts provide an invaluable opportunity to enlist the interest and involvement of people who otherwise would remain unmoved and unconcerned about the Commonwealth.

8. The Commission concludes that:

- (a) the ability of NGOs to be creative, flexible and quick-acting in support of national policies needs to be more positively recognised by Commonwealth governments;
- (b) further steps must be taken, primarily by the official Commonwealth, to stimulate and sustain the growth of NGOs where there is an identified need and to strengthen co-operation between NGOs in relevant fields of activity;

- (c) existing Commonwealth machinery can be used, subject to appropriate direction from heads of government, to achieve these aims. As an autonomous body already responsible for stimulating the creation of professional NGOs, the Commonwealth Foundation could expand its existing efforts, extend them to other fields including social and cultural activities and could direct support for small newly-formed NGOs. This would require an expansion of the Foundation's terms of reference and a modest increase in its staff and income.

Leslie Farrer-Brown,  
Chairman

28 October 1976.

## REPORT OF COMMISSION "B"

THE MACHINERY FOR A CONTINUING DIALOGUE  
BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL AND THE UNOFFICIAL COMMONWEALTHTerms of reference

1. The task of Commission B was to make recommendations on the machinery for a continuing dialogue between the official and the unofficial Commonwealth. In its deliberations it took into account the papers submitted to the Conference and the discussion of these in plenary sessions.

The range of non-governmental activity

2. The Commission reviewed the wide range of effective activity of NGOs in the professional fields, in economic and social development and in information and education. In the view of the Commission the work of NGOs is economical and cost-effective. It is fundamental to the further utilisation of professional resources, relevant to local needs in the development field and of great importance to the public understanding of the nature and work of the commonwealth - especially while funding for the official information programme is still on a very limited scale.

The need for fuller information

3. The Commission was conscious of the incompleteness of the information at present available on the range and scope of non-governmental activity, especially by local groups concerned with community projects in the developing countries, and agreed that there was a need to collect more information to build up a fuller picture.

Governmental support

4. They were conscious of the close relationship in many Commonwealth countries between the official administration and the NGOs and the scope for further creative development; of the continuing interest of the Commonwealth Secretariat in non-governmental activity; and of the vital and imaginative support given to the Professional Associations by the Commonwealth Foundation.



Conclusion and recommendations

5. They believe that these relationships can be developed further largely within existing programmes, to produce more cost-effective results. They therefore suggest that Commonwealth Heads of Government should be invited to consider:

- (1) issuing a declaration expressing:
  - (a) the recognition of the present and potential contribution of the NGOs to the elimination of poverty and to the development and understanding of the Commonwealth;
  - (b) their intention of giving continued encouragement and support for their work;
- (2) inviting the Commonwealth Secretary-General to promote collaboration with NGOs in functional activities related to the work of the Secretariat - especially in the areas of economic and social development, using C.F.T.C. funds as appropriate for these purposes,; to the extent that these funds could be augmented the collaboration would be more effective;
- (3) inviting the Commonwealth Secretary-General to make proposals for developing more fruitful consultative relationships between the Secretariat and Commonwealth NGOs;
- (4) making possible the expansion of the scope - and as necessary the resources - of the Commonwealth Foundation to enable it to promote the development and to support the work, not only of the Professional Associations, but of other appropriate NGOs, which have a contribution to make to Commonwealth programmes;
- (5) initiating and supporting a further meeting of NGOs during the course of 1978 to carry forward the work of the Dalhousie Conference, with particular reference to recommendations (2), (3), and (4) above.

Bala Pillay  
Chairman

28 October 1976.

## REPORT OF COMMISSION "C"

INCREASING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMONWEALTHNGOs Information Potential

1. Non-Governmental Organisations -- demonstrating the practical benefits of Commonwealth co-operation in a specific and tangible fashion -- can contribute substantially to the understanding of the Commonwealth at the all important "people to people" level.
2. There is a tendency to speak of the virtues of the Commonwealth in a generalised way that makes minimal impact on the media and leaves the public with little feeling of involvement or self-identification with the Commonwealth.
3. The down-to-earth programmes of the NGOs, combined with their independent character, can help to focus public attention on the true scope and potential of the Commonwealth relationship.
4. It is prudent and desirable to generate a broader base of support for the concept of the modern Commonwealth. In sustaining the association in the longer-term, it is essential to counter ignorance and indifference by ensuring that the Commonwealth constituency at large has an appreciation of the continued value of the Commonwealth in terms of their own interests and circumstances.
5. A more determined and comprehensive campaign to publicise the practical work of the NGOs would make a positive contribution to Commonwealth understanding. The organisations -- assisted and strengthened by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and the Commonwealth Foundation -- should be encouraged and equipped to embark on programs of education and information.
6. A few Commonwealth NGOs -- the Royal Commonwealth Society and the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association for example -- have been active and successful in publicising both their own role and the work of the Commonwealth of Nations. On the other hand, the Commonwealth Press Union is an NGO that, because of its restricted membership and limited representation in the new Commonwealth, has so far failed to live up to its potential.

### Secretariat Assistance to NGOs

7. The Commonwealth Secretariat, through its Information Division should:

- increasingly make its communication resources and expertise available to NGOs;
- give priority to its current project to publish a comprehensive directory of NGOs operating in the Commonwealth.

8. The Non-Governmental Organisations should also regularly provide material for inclusion in Secretariat publications, and adopt a policy of actively publicising their work nationally and internationally.

9. While the potential of NGOs in furthering Commonwealth understanding is properly the central theme of this report, it is not practicable to divorce this from the total picture of Commonwealth information and education at the multilateral and national levels.

### Inadequacy of Commonwealth Information/Education

10. This Commission of the Dalhousie conference urges Commonwealth governments to make a conscious effort to promote the role of the associations. Both the official and unofficial Commonwealth need to give more attention to the importance of communication and education in maintaining the credibility of an association that is so relevant in dealing with some of the principal social, economic and development problems in the world today.

11. In particular, the Commission is concerned at the continuing failure to provide the Secretariat's Information Division with funding and staff adequate to its task. Compared with other international bodies, the Commonwealth at present allocates an unrealistically small percentage of its budget for essential information and education. The Secretariat's Information Programme should, in consequence, receive more direct and indirect support for the development of pragmatic and cost-effective programmes.

HGM Review of Commonwealth Communications

12. We strongly recommend that next year's meeting of Heads of Government should make a fresh assessment of the Commonwealth's information and education resources against the background of the continuing and future value of a truly effective and credible Commonwealth. In this regard, we suggest that the Secretariat should assemble relevant background papers -- covering the official and unofficial Commonwealth -- for consideration in detail by the senior officials' committee that meets concurrently with the HGM.

13. Apart from the recommendations in this paper for maximising the value of NGOs in projecting an accurate and favourable picture of the modern Commonwealth, the Commission agreed on a series of positive measures to assist with information and education. These recommendations are submitted as an attachment to this report.

14. A pragmatic and determined approach on the lines proposed would increase public understanding and support for the Commonwealth and thus help guarantee the future of one of the world's most effective instruments for international co-operation and goodwill.

Tony Eggleton  
Chairman

29 October 1976.

## ATTACHMENT TO COMMISSION "C" REPORT

INCREASING PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMONWEALTH1. Information

The Commission recommends the following steps for a more vigorous information programme:

- (a) Full advantage to be taken of the information and educational opportunities presented by such forthcoming Commonwealth events as:

- the 1977 Meeting of Heads of Government;
- the Head of the Commonwealth's Jubilee Year;
- the 1978 Commonwealth Games; and
- the newly designated Commonwealth Day.

(This Commission requests the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association to give urgent consideration to a special radio and TV production to mark Commonwealth Day on 14 March 1977.)

- (b) The Commission urges the setting-up of a pan-Commonwealth association of correspondents to:

- improve personal contacts between working journalists of the Commonwealth;
- facilitate more exchange visits;
- increase understanding of the problems of national development in member countries.

- (c) National information services to co-operate actively with the Secretariat's Information Division in assessing the communication and education requirements and in planning and implementing action programmes on Commonwealth themes relevant to national interests.

- (d) Appointment by each Commonwealth Government of an officer to be responsible for publicising the government's role in international organisations, and especially to take advantage of all opportunities to co-ordinate and initiate Commonwealth

publicity at national level. (Such an officer could also serve as the national representative of the Commonwealth Information Programme, and be a channel for distributing Commonwealth information materials.)

- (e) Information trainees from member countries to undertake tours of duty with the Secretariat's Information Division.
- (f) The development in member countries of resource centres of Commonwealth information and education material -- these centres might be based on existing libraries or on such Commonwealth facilities as Commonwealth Professional Centres (where appropriate).
- (g) Production by national film authorities of films featuring Commonwealth subjects and themes.
- (h) Development of programmes for exchange visits by Commonwealth peoples, especially teachers and opinion makers.
- (i) The placing of still greater emphasis on a wide range of cultural exchanges as a means of increasing national respect and understanding.
- (j) Government leaders, Members of Parliament and other prominent Commonwealth identities -- in their public speeches -- to refer more frequently to the pertinence and value of today's Commonwealth.
- (k) On the Parliamentary level, members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to be more active in publicising the valuable work of the CPA and to seek ways and means of putting on record the results achieved through CPA programmes.

## 2. Education

The role of education in developing knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the Commonwealth is crucial. The Commission therefore suggests that the following recommendations be made to the next Commonwealth Education Conference:

- (a) That in Commonwealth countries where curricula are centrally determined, Ministers of Education ensure that appropriate consideration be given to study of the Commonwealth and its member countries and that where curricula are not centrally determined, the attention of those responsible be drawn to the need for such studies.
- (b) That national and regional examining bodies be urged to include questions about the Commonwealth in all appropriate examinations.
- (c) That member governments be invited to establish, in however modest a form at first, resource and information centres to provide materials for teaching about the Commonwealth.
- (d) That in the schools of member countries the most imaginative use be made of Commonwealth Day as well as the national days of other Commonwealth countries.
- (e) That provision for the movement of teachers and educational administrators among Commonwealth countries be actively extended.
- (f) That the fullest possible use be made in schools of such returning teachers and administrators, as well as returning NGO volunteers, in order to pass on their experiences to teachers and students.
- (g) That the Commonwealth Foundation be encouraged to give further consideration to the establishment of a Commonwealth association or associations of teachers.

# Commonwealth of Nations after 25 years of change

By Arnold Smith

This century's third quarter saw the Commonwealth of Nations develop from an association of six independent countries — all relatively rich and predominantly white — to one of 35 sovereign members. Commonwealth meetings now bring together representatives of a significant cross-section of mankind, and of the problems of mankind. The original West European, North American and Australasian members have been joined by Asians, Africans and island peoples from the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. There are nations of virtually every faith, and at every stage of economic and political development — very poor as well as rich, countries ranging in size from city states to vast multilingual, multicultural federations.

This development has by no means been an automatic by-product of decolonization. The Commonwealth is essentially the deliberate creation of certain leaders of successful national liberation movements. Many nations once ruled by Britain did not, on getting independence, apply for Commonwealth membership — Burma, for example, or Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq, Nepal. Those that asked for membership did so because they saw value for themselves in the development and use of Commonwealth links, and often value for the world as well. As Jawaharlal Nehru put it, an association that brought together for frank discussion but without binding commitments leaders from various parts of the earth could provide "a touch of healing" for a troubled world.

Nehru wanted India to remain in the Commonwealth as a republic. This raised a new question, since, until then, all members had shared the same person as head of state, and some political leaders, as well as many constitutional logicians, considered this feature of a common allegiance indispensable. Ireland had recently decided it must withdraw from the Commonwealth on becoming a republic. Its friends overseas regretted this but did not challenge the Irish logic.

Nehru's wise request precipitated a useful clarification of thought on the whole question. The Statute of Westminster two decades before, and the neutrality of George the Sixth as King of Ireland in the Second World War, had long since made it clear that the Commonwealth was not a bloc, and that membership was not in any sense a derogation from sovereignty but an optional additional attribute of it — as a great New Zealander once put it, "not independence minus but independence plus". So a sensible way was found of meeting Nehru's request, and it has proved, of course, to be not the beginning of disintegration but a condition of growth.

There are now in the Commonwealth some 20 republics and a few hereditary or elective kingdoms, as well as those members that share with Britain the person of their head of state. All recognize the Queen as the symbol of their free association and as such head of the Commonwealth. This collective symbol is appropriate not merely as a recollection of some shared history — and, if you like, the constructive forgiveness of sins — but because it aptly transcends national sovereignty and points towards wider international co-operation. Moreover, the fact that at the centre of London's political establishment there is a dedicated internationalist has proved of no small import.

If the withdrawal of Ireland in 1949 was unnecessary, that of South Africa in 1962 was forced by a solemn collective decision by Commonwealth members on the basic importance of racial equality and non-discrimination. This decision involved a conscious choice of priorities in world politics and looked forward to the prospect, since realized, of a substantial

*Admission  
of India  
a condition  
of growth*

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*Establishment  
of Secretariat  
a structural  
decision*

growth in Commonwealth membership that would lead to a broad multiracial association.

Another essentially structural decision was that taken by heads of government in 1964-65 to establish a Secretariat. This proposal, put forward by the Prime Ministers of Trinidad and Tobago, Malaysia, and Ceylon, facilitated increased use of the association, while moving from the original fact and appearance of Anglocentricity to put emphasis on multilateralism and equality. The control of such limited central machinery as the Commonwealth needed was removed by general agreement from the hands of any one national government and placed in those of a Secretary-General, elected by and responsible to all the heads of government collectively, who is supported by a staff recruited from public services and the professions in all parts of the Commonwealth.

#### **Strengthened**

The flexibility and informality of the Commonwealth association, which from the beginning have been among its essential and indispensable features, were not weakened by the establishment of a Secretariat, as some had at first feared, but strengthened. This is important. The Commonwealth, in contrast to the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and most regional organizations, has no written constitution. Its decisions are taken by consensus — a term for which I have always been careful to avoid giving or allowing a rigid definition. There is no veto, as has been demonstrated, but very general agreement is sought and usually attained. This system works where people recognize — or can be brought to recognize — that their community of interests transcends their differences. The Commonwealth is essentially pragmatic, more like the common law than legislative codes. Its approach, I have sometimes suggested, is more like that of the gardener, seeking to influence and guide living trends and forces, than like that of the engineer or architect, seeking to dominate.

Thus, when the Commonwealth set up a small central agency charged with the opportunity, and responsibility, of helping to make the association as useful as possible to its members, its terms of reference were typically vague and ambiguous. In effect, I and my colleagues were given offices in Marlborough House and the opportunity to see what we could make of it.

We were given virtually no financial resources beyond our pay and a little for travel expenses. But we had ready access

and the opportunity to talk frankly at any level.

If the Commonwealth had been getting along reasonably smoothly until I was elected and asked to organize a Secretariat, political storms followed quickly. Within weeks the Malaysians and the mainly Chinese-speaking peoples of Singapore got a divorce; India and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir; and the white minority Government of Rhodesia declared illegal independence from Britain to forestall moves toward majority rule. There have been many subsequent crises. Politically, as in other ways, intra-Commonwealth relations, and the work of the Secretariat, have never been dull.

Toward the end of this article I shall say something of the political uses of the Commonwealth, because, if not the most obvious, they are the most important.

The establishment of the Secretariat undoubtedly reduced the association's vulnerability to the vagaries of individual leaders or to the international popularity or otherwise of the policies, at particular periods, of individual governments. It has helped the Commonwealth to outride and survive various bilateral and interregional stresses and strains of the past decade. It has been essential to have a focal point for the association that belongs as much to each member as to any other, and that can, in practice, during crises continue to be recognized by all — and listened to by all — without loss of political face. This has been relevant not merely for substantive policies, but even for participation. It mattered, for example, that in 1966 Tanzanian and Ghanaian ministers were able to attend a meeting of Commonwealth ministers in Marlborough House despite their Governments having broken diplomatic relations at the time with Britain. It has mattered that invitations to meetings are issued by the Secretary-General, representing the totality of the association, rather than by the host government of the particular meeting.

That there have at times been stresses and strains is not surprising. The modern Commonwealth is, by the range of its membership, often in the centre of relations and problems between rich and developing countries, between regions and continents and cultures. These involve many of the most difficult and potentially dangerous issues in international affairs. Rich-poor confrontations, continental or regional isolationism, racial discrimination or prejudice could, if we are stupid enough, threaten not merely the cohesion but the existence of the Commonwealth. The real threat would be to the world. Conversely,

*Commonwealth  
essentially  
pragmatic*

to the extent that Commonwealth links and machinery can help resolve these issues or bring about readjustments of various national policies to lessen their dangers, the association can make a valuable contribution. That is why the Commonwealth is today so much more significant as an instrument of world politics than the original rich-man's, white-man's club from which it has been evolved.

The two most significant features of the modern Commonwealth are complementary – first its heterogeneity, the variety of its member countries in terms of their size, location, culture, wealth and basic economy, and secondly the fact that all these members nevertheless share a number of facilities or habits in common. Most important among these are: the ability to use English as a working language, though it is not the mother tongue of the vast majority (there are scores of official languages in Commonwealth countries); many similar habits, working methods, and traditions in administration, in law, and in the organization and ethics of the professions; similarities in educational tradition, especially at the higher levels; and an inherited network of contacts and of habits of consultation and mutual helpfulness. These shared aspects can make consultation much less difficult, and functional co-operation more economical and far more effective, than would otherwise be possible on such an international scale.

The value of any political instrument depends on what it is used for (or can be used for), on how effective it is or can be made, and, perhaps not least, on the by-products of its use.

The direct uses of the Commonwealth have from the beginning been in the fields of consultation and of functional co-operation in selected areas where members agree that such co-operation is feasible and desirable. The chief by-products have, I think, been the broadening of contacts, understanding, horizons and friendships.

These fundamentals have not changed. With increased membership, the consultation has, of course, widened; with diversification of membership among races, continents and economic stages, not only has the subject matter been changed – to more far-reaching if more difficult issues – but the discussions have, in my judgment, deepened. And in recent years the range of fields in which consultation and programs of co-operation take place has expanded dramatically.

Heads of the independent governments of the Commonwealth have been

meeting for informal and wide-ranging consultations since the beginning of this century. They now meet biennially, in various capitals.

Commonwealth finance ministers adopted the habit of annual meetings a quarter-century ago.

Commonwealth education conferences, at ministerial level, began in Oxford in 1958, and have been held since then roughly every three years – in Delhi, Ottawa, Lagos, Canberra and, in 1974, Kingston.

Periodic conferences of Commonwealth ministers of health and of law began in 1965. Health ministers now meet annually for a day or two before the yearly meetings of the World Health Organization Assembly, with longer meetings, lasting about ten days, every three years (Edinburgh 1965, Kampala 1968, Mauritius 1971, and Colombo 1975). Law ministers have met in Sydney (1965), London (1966 and 1973), New Delhi (1971) and Lagos (1974).

Commonwealth meetings are not always – or indeed usually – at ministerial level. The top civil servants of all Commonwealth governments – in some countries this was the cabinet secretary, in others the “permanent” head of the office of the president or prime minister – met in Ottawa in 1972, and have been meeting annually since, on their own, with the Commonwealth Secretary-General in the alternate years between the now biennial heads-of-government meetings, and as a separate committee of the whole during such summit meetings.

#### Specialized meetings

There are many more specialized meetings at top-official level: for example, regular meetings of the chief statisticians of Commonwealth governments to exchange views, *inter alia*, on techniques and to work out programs of technical assistance to those who need it, and of auditors-general. The heads of the national scientific research organizations of Commonwealth countries meet regularly, and are increasingly focusing on co-operative programs to step up the application of science and technology to economic development and so on.

Nor are Commonwealth meetings all governmental; still less do they all represent the executive branch. Legislators from all over the Commonwealth meet annually under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and there are also regional meetings. There are regular meetings of speakers to exchange experience and ideas, and of

*Leading  
civil servants  
now meet  
annually*

chief justices. Vice-chancellors meet periodically under the auspices of the Association of Commonwealth Universities; the heads of the national radio and television organizations must meet under the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference; athletes meet in the quadrennial Commonwealth Games; publishers come together at meetings of the Commonwealth Press Union.

Encouraged by the Commonwealth Foundation, a charitable trust established by heads of government in 1965 at the same time as the Secretariat, and co-operating closely with it, there are a growing number of non-governmental Commonwealth professional associations — in such fields as law, medicine, nursing, surveying, architecture, mining and publishing. Altogether there are hundreds of non-governmental Commonwealth organizations.

Commonwealth meetings have become increasingly action-oriented in recent years. This has been particularly so since the Secretariat has been armed with the multilateral Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC) established by heads of government when they met in Singapore in January 1971. The CFTC has made it possible for the Secretariat to respond quickly to high-priority needs identified not only by governments of individual developing countries but by meetings of responsible representatives of several or all Commonwealth members.

Meetings of Commonwealth ministers, for example, do not limit themselves to identifying and exchanging experience and views on key common problems (though the usefulness of this should not be underestimated), but increasingly they set in motion co-operative action to help resolve them — meetings of specialists, the organization of joint research, the training of experts to clear bottlenecks, and often programs of co-operative action on a regional or wider scale, where, as is frequently the case, this seems the most economical and constructive course of action.

Thus the last two meetings of law ministers have not only discussed such topics as ways of reducing the delays and costs of litigation, or improving international co-operation on extradition, or law-of-the-sea issues, or ways of dealing with the increasingly sophisticated international movement of funds for criminal purposes; they also asked the Secretariat to organize a meeting of appropriate officials on reforming legislation on patents, trade marks, and industrial designs in relation to problems of economic development and to do the same regarding prob-

lems faced by the smaller and poorer countries in preparing and publishing law reports. They initiated a Secretariat program to cope with the shortage of legislative draftsmen, which has involved the organization of four regional training courses for professionally-qualified officials in East and West Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, and the placing of trainee draftsmen on attachment in various government legislative departments. Co-operation among law-reform agencies is being stepped up.

At the request of health ministers, the Secretariat has, *inter alia*, organized and financed regional secretariats or bureaus to promote co-operation and rationalization in postgraduate specialist and para-medical training where this helps avoid duplication of costly facilities.

On the initiation of the ministerial series of education conferences, not only has the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan been established, providing annual prestige awards for over 1,000 postgraduate and senior scholars to study in other member countries (this is in addition to the tens of thousands of technical assistance training awards a year), but there has been organized a series of specialist conferences, seminars and workshops on topics ranging from teacher training, curriculum development and education in rural areas, to school inspection, the new mathematics, and a series of training courses for text-book preparation and publishing in developing countries.

#### Development assistance

It was the fellow feeling engendered by Commonwealth association that first got the richer members involved in the business of assistance for international development. The Colombo Plan was the creation of a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in Ceylon in 1950. Since then it has been extended to non-Commonwealth countries — the Commonwealth has never sought to put a wall around its members or to limit their contacts as some international associations have tried to do. When African countries acquired independence and became Commonwealth members, a rather similar "Special Commonwealth Aid to Africa Program" was developed. Both are essentially plans for harmonizing bilateral programs.

The much more recently established Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation is different — fully multilateral, with voluntary contributions from all Commonwealth countries and wider collective control. It is, in effect, an operating

*Recent meetings increasingly action-oriented*

budget and arm of the Commonwealth Secretariat, making possible the mobilization of human resources and facilities from any part of the Commonwealth to help meet the development needs of its members. It has greatly expanded the use of the association for mutual self-help. About half of the experts on assignment to developing countries are recruited from other developing countries. Often their background experience is particularly relevant.

General technical assistance is provided in a remarkable range of fields, including such sensitive areas as constitutional questions, social policy, law reform, legislative drafting, fiscal planning and international negotiations. The Secretariat has perhaps the most experienced team in the world in the vitally important and sensitive area of resource development and negotiations with multinational corporations. Its services have helped developing countries to the tune of many hundreds of millions of dollars.

Operational experts are also provided in special cases — for example, a Singapore director-general of the new Fiji Ports Authority, a high court judge from Africa for Papua New Guinea, a distinguished Trinidadian educationalist as Vice-Chancellor of the University of the South Pacific.

Under another CFTC program, the Secretariat organizes and finances training, sometimes through formal university courses but often through in-service attachments, study tours, and specialized technical courses, for students or officials from developing countries in other developing countries. And the Export Market Development Program is used to help developing countries earn more foreign exchange for themselves, through market research, design, participation in trade fairs, and other promotional activities.

The idea of development assistance on a multilateral Commonwealth basis was inherent from the beginning in the establishment of a Secretariat, and the developing countries (as well as the Secretary-General!) pressed hard for its realization. It was, however, five years after 1965 before any of the richer members would agree to support it. The argument they made against it was not that it would cost money but that it would involve "duplication". Since its establishment, however, it has done well, and not only requests for CFTC services but the voluntary contributions to its resources from industrialized and developing countries alike have been snowballing. Canada, Britain and Nigeria are the three largest contributors, and New Zealand is by far the largest con-

tributor *per capita*. All member countries, and the governments of several dependent territories, now contribute.

The Fund is still extremely small in comparison with other multilateral funds, such as those of the EEC or the oil-producers or the UN, but it has been approximately doubling each year. It is about \$10 million for the current year. Its reputation for speed of response, flexibility and quality is outstanding. Its administrative overhead is about 12 per cent, compared to an average of 30 per cent or more for most aid agencies. It shows what scope there is for down-to-earth, practical, mutual help in a group such as the Commonwealth. In my judgment, continued rapid expansion would make good sense, developmentally and in terms of basic political strategy. I have always believed that the health of the Commonwealth, and therefore its value to its members, depends on the extent to which it is constructively used.

The Commonwealth Youth Program is an even more recent activity administered by the Secretariat. It was established by heads of government meeting in Ottawa in August 1973 on the recommendation of a conference earlier that year in Lusaka of Commonwealth ministers (variously of education, youth, labour, sports and social services, plus Senator Paul Martin of Canada). It grew out of a series of regional studies and seminars that the Secretariat had organized, at the suggestion of Harold Wilson, on youth problems, especially those of unemployed school-leavers.

One of the key activities under this program is in the recent establishment of three training centres, located in Zambia, Guyana and India, for the advanced training of youth leaders, concentrating on methods of equipping and helping young people to participate constructively in community and national development. The resources, about \$1 million a year for the first three years, are small but the field is challenging and vital.

#### **Food initiative**

Commonwealth delegates at the World Food Congress in Rome a year ago, disappointed at the slow progress that was perhaps inevitable on the world-wide front, asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to convene an early meeting of Commonwealth ministers responsible for food production and rural development. This took place in March 1975. The Secretariat has now been charged with establishing a new program of Commonwealth co-operation in this area, which is so crucial to survival.

*Constructive use  
regulates  
Commonwealth's  
state of health*

It will be financed through the CFTC – contributions, it is hoped, being expanded appropriately.

How to sum up this quarter-century? Most people who know the facts – and they are little publicized – would, I think, agree that, in what is called “functional co-operation”, relatively specialized and low-key but down-to-earth fields such as law, education, science, health, technical assistance and techniques of government, the Commonwealth is a logical grouping that can be used, and increasingly is being used, effectively for constructive purposes.

#### Rhodesian issue

When one comes to high politics, or “gut” politics – perhaps the same thing – the verdict might be mixed. I remember being asked at a press conference in Africa a year or two ago, by a rather bellicose radio correspondent, whether I really thought the Commonwealth’s record on the Rhodesian issue was satisfactory. I think he expected to put me on the spot. I said I considered it decidedly unsatisfactory, very far from what would be desirable. “So,” I added, “is that of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity.” But when international organizations are too weak to deal effectively with the challenges they face, the sensible course, I suggested, would be to strengthen them, rather than to weaken them by cynicism and unimaginative hostility. My interrogator did not disagree.

I myself thought that paratroops should be stationed in Zambia in 1965 before the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI), and that they could have ended any rebellion in half an hour, with only a show of force, by giving the Rhodesian troops something to rally to. I still think so. But this could not be brought about. Economic sanctions were introduced instead – and unfortunately introduced only gradually, with almost an inoculation effect.

The sanctions policy, for all its inadequacy, was better than nothing – it used the occasion of UDI at least to get not only the whole of the Commonwealth but soon also the UN committed to the real issue, which was not an unconstitutional 1965 rebellion but much more long-standing racial injustice. The second-best policy, adopted *faute de mieux*, at least prevented recognitions and sell-outs.

Another shrill and agonizing crisis over race relations in Southern Africa arose when Mr. Heath’s Government, in the summer of 1970, announced a plan to sell arms to South Africa to counter a Soviet naval build-up. I could understand

Mr. Heath’s concern about the naval build-up on oil-routes. I could not understand how a stepped-up Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic could be sensibly offset by a change of British policy that would alienate virtually every government and people on the coasts of those two oceans.

The upshot of the use of Commonwealth machinery and consultations was that the British Government quietly dropped the idea. There was no public gloating, no face unnecessarily lost. Britain was saved from an error that would in my judgment have been even more costly to British interests than the ill-judged Suez aggression in 1956, and much more costly to the West as a whole. Africa, too, was saved from a costly set-back.

Bringing about basic readjustments in policies towards each other of nations, continents and racial groups is not easy, or free from emotional wear and tear. But recollection at least should be cool. On that occasion, the effectiveness of the use of the Commonwealth was, I think, considerable and very positive. Since then, Commonwealth influence in Southern African issues, including Mozambique and Namibia, has been fairly consistently constructive, and on occasion very important. The principles approved by the heads of government at their Kingston meeting this year are a good illustration of progress, and the expectation of much more progress to come.

#### Other crises

There have been many other crises, or less-publicized but nevertheless very dangerous political issues, with which Commonwealth consultation or machinery has had to deal in the past quarter-century – and not least in the past decade. Sometimes Commonwealth action has been successful, sometimes not. It has, I think, never been unhelpful. There is no space to examine most of these issues here, and some crises forestalled are still perhaps best left in silence.

I must, however, refer to one set of issues, arising from Britain’s relation with the EEC. Personally, I had urged my British friends from 1950 on, when I was living in Brussels, to join the European institutions. In the early 1960s, other Commonwealth governments rather emotionally opposed Britain’s belated decision to apply. I disagreed. When I became Secretary-General in 1965, I did all I could to discourage the idea that there need be any incompatibility between Britain’s membership in Europe and its membership in the Commonwealth – a

*Troops in Zambia could have ended Rhodesian rebellion*

phony issue. The real issues were what kind of Britain would there be, and what kind of Europe. What would their relations be with developing countries — an attempt to carve out privileged spheres of influence, with reverse preferences, along the lines of the Yaoundé tradition established by de Gaulle? What about Asia? What would be Europe's relations with North America and other industrialized countries?

Commonwealth finance ministers, meeting in the Bahamas in 1971, asked me to organize studies and consultative meetings on the issues that the developing member countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific would have to face in deciding what response to make to the EEC's offer of "association". I urged these countries to reject Yaoundé and any notion of reverse preferences, but to put forward their own counter-proposals for favourable market access and aid, with no discriminatory spheres of interest. Above all, I urged these Commonwealth countries to stick together for maximum bargaining power, and to try to persuade the *francophone* Yaoundé countries to join them in seeking a new deal.

This line of advice made the Commonwealth Secretariat very unpopular in certain circles for a while. But, in the end, the line we had been urging was adopted or acquiesced in by all concerned. The OAU Secretary-General, with whom I maintained close contact on this issue, played a key role in bringing the French-speaking and English-speaking countries of Africa together.

The resulting Lomé Convention, in negotiating which Mr. Sonny Ramphal, then the Foreign Minister of Guyana and now my successor as Commonwealth Secretary-General, played so key a role, is a good start. The African, West Indian and Pacific countries are not split in resentment and bitterness on this issue, as at one time seemed very likely, nor are the EEC and the other industrialized countries. Everyone gained.

I especially valued the contacts and co-operation worked out between Commonwealth and *francophone* countries on this issue, as on some others. I have welcomed also the development in recent years of a secretariat for *francophone* countries (l'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique). Though there are many differences, I see in "La Francophonie" a possible parallel with the Commonwealth, using similarities of working language and methods to improve understanding among nations of different races, continents and economic wealth. The two

secretariats have been in close touch, and look forward to practical programs of co-operation. It is, I think, a happy fact that Canada and Mauritius are members of both groups, and that the Seychelles may soon be a third.

The record of the practical uses of the Commonwealth on major political issues, like that of other major agencies in world politics, is mixed. But it is, I think, clear that, without it, the world would be more daunting, the prospects less promising.

What of the future?

As technological changes make the world even more interdependent, the need for understanding and co-operation on a broad international scale grows. Unless political leaders are singularly shortsighted (this is never impossible), I expect that Commonwealth links and machinery will be used increasingly to help achieve this. It is not an alternative to the UN or continental and regional organizations; it is a valuable complement to them.

In the area of economic relations between rich countries and developing ones, the Commonwealth has a particularly important opportunity and an increasingly significant role to play if confrontation is to be avoided and practical adjustments of policy are to be worked out. Problems will continue, and indeed increase, as the pace of change increases. But I hope the strains will ease.

#### Causes of strains

Strains in politics can be caused not only by the intrinsic complexity of issues faced but by ambivalence of attitudes (these are particularly difficult to avoid at first between former rulers and ruled); by insensitivities, sometimes, on the part of leaders, and by ignorance and prejudice on the part of sections of public opinion in nations differing in race or culture or affluence; by isolationist, or other narrow horizons, geographic or economic or social. We have been over many of these humps by now. They could recur, but need not.

In politics there are inevitably, at times, temptations to posture or play to the gallery of public opinion back home, even at the cost of exacerbating the real problems. Commonwealth leaders, like others, have, of course, not been exempt from these pressures or temptations. But Commonwealth meetings, governmental and non-governmental, have provided as a by-product a remarkably valuable educational process for participants, broadening contacts, knowledge, understanding, and friendships across the lines of racial, cultural, economic, or geographic differ-

*Constructive role  
for Commonwealth  
in avoiding  
confrontation  
of rich and poor*

ences that could fragment mankind. The Commonwealth is not merely an association of friends, it is an association that can and does make friends.

During the transitional years under discussion, it has been important to get the Commonwealth's public image straight. Most of the statesmen who have created and shaped the Commonwealth have seen it essentially as an instrument to help shape the future; that is why they value it. Sections of their publics have sometimes

thought of it mainly in backward-looking terms, as a ghost of bygone empire — an understandable but inaccurate and unhelpful conception (non-Anglo-Saxons, and young Anglo-Saxons, are seldom nostalgic about an imperial past). The sentiment and attitudes that support the Commonwealth are teleological, deriving not from the past but from the future, from the realistic vision of the Commonwealth as one of the instruments that can help us build the brotherhood of man.

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# L'évolution du Commonwealth

par Arnold Smith

Le Commonwealth des Nations est passé, au cours des 25 dernières années, d'une association de six pays indépendants (tous relativement prospères et dont la population est en majorité de race blanche) à un groupement de 35 États souverains. A ses réunions assistent des personnes qui constituent un échantillon représentatif de l'humanité et de ses problèmes. En effet, aux premiers membres d'Europe de l'Ouest, d'Amérique du Nord et d'Australasie sont venus se joindre des Asiatiques, des Africains, ainsi que les peuplades d'îles comme celles de la Méditerranée, de l'Océan Indien, du Pacifique-Sud et des Antilles. On y retrouve des nations de

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*M. Smith a quitté cette année son poste de premier secrétaire général du Secrétariat du Commonwealth. Il enseigne maintenant à l'École des Affaires internationales de l'Université Carleton. L'article ci-contre n'engage que l'auteur.*

presque toutes les religions et à tous les stades du développement économique et politique, nations très pauvres aussi bien que nations les plus riches, pays de la taille d'une ville-État, aux grandes fédérations multilingues et multiculturelles.

Loin d'être un produit automatique de la décolonisation, le Commonwealth est avant tout l'œuvre consciente de certains chefs de mouvements de libération nationale ayant réussi. Lors de leur accession à l'indépendance, bon nombre de pays qui avaient fait partie de l'Empire britannique n'ont pas manifesté le désir de devenir membres du Commonwealth; c'est le cas de la Birmanie, de l'Égypte, du Soudan, de l'Irak et du Népal. Ceux qui, au contraire, ont voulu entrer dans l'association l'ont fait parce que, leur semblait-il, leur pays pouvait bénéficier du développement et de l'utilisation des liens qui unissaient les partenaires. Souvent aussi, cela leur semblait profitable pour le monde en-



tier. Selon Jawarharlal Nehru, une association qui regroupe des chefs d'Etat de diverses parties du monde pour des discussions franches, mais sans engagements formels, pourrait constituer un début de remède pour un monde troublé.

Nehru voulait que l'Inde reste dans le Commonwealth en tant que république, soulevant ainsi une nouvelle question: jusqu'alors, tous les membres avaient eu le même chef d'Etat et, de l'avis de certains chefs politiques et de beaucoup de spécialistes en droit constitutionnel, cette caractéristique d'allégeance commune à la Couronne était indispensable. Peu de temps auparavant, l'Irlande avait décidé de se retirer du Commonwealth lorsqu'elle devint une république, ce que ses partenaires d'outre-mer regrettèrent, sans toutefois contester la logique irlandaise.

La demande très raisonnable de Nehru précipita une mise au point utile sur l'ensemble de la question. Le Statut de Westminster 20 ans plus tôt, et la neutralité de George VI, roi d'Irlande, lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, avaient depuis longtemps montré que le Commonwealth ne formait pas un bloc, et que l'adhésion n'était, en aucun cas, une dérogação à la souveraineté, mais un attribut supplémentaire, tout à fait facultatif, comme l'a indiqué un Néo-Zélandais renommé, «non pas un peu moins, mais un peu plus d'indépendance». On trouva alors une façon rationnelle de répondre à la demande de Nehru et, loin de marquer le début de la désintégration du Commonwealth, cette ouverture fut une des conditions de sa croissance.

Le Commonwealth compte maintenant une vingtaine de républiques et quelques royaumes où la monarchie est héréditaire ou élective, ainsi que des membres ayant le même chef d'Etat que la Grande-Bretagne. Tous reconnaissent la Reine comme le symbole de leur libre association et, en cette qualité, comme chef du Commonwealth. Ce symbole collectif n'a pas le seul mérite de rappeler une histoire commune et, si vous le voulez, le pardon constructif des péchés commis, il transcende adroitement la souveraineté nationale pour déboucher sur une coopération internationale accrue. De surcroît, l'existence au centre de l'appareil politique de Londres d'un internationaliste convaincu est un apport non négligeable.

Si le retrait de l'Irlande, en 1949, n'était pas nécessaire, celui de l'Afrique du Sud, en 1962, a été imposé lors d'une décision collective solennellement rendue par les membres du Commonwealth sur l'importance fondamentale de l'égalité raciale et de la non-discrimination. Cette

décision comportait un choix conscient des priorités en politique internationale avec l'espoir que le Commonwealth se développerait suffisamment pour devenir une grande association multiraciale, ce qui a depuis été réalisé.

Une autre décision, essentiellement administrative, fut prise par les chefs de gouvernement en 1964-1965: la création d'un Secrétariat. Cette proposition, avancée par les premiers ministres de la Trinité-et-Tobago, de la Malaisie et de Ceylan, facilita pour les membres un recours plus fréquent à l'association; par la même occasion, on s'éloignait de l'«anglocentrisme» apparent et réel qui était le fait de l'association depuis ses débuts, pour mettre l'accent sur le multilatéralisme et l'égalité. L'administration de l'appareil central limité dont avait besoin le Commonwealth fut d'un commun accord confiée à un secrétaire général plutôt qu'à un gouvernement national en particulier. Élu par tous les chefs de gouvernement et responsable devant les gouvernements du Commonwealth pris collectivement, le nouveau secrétaire général recrute son personnel dans les pays membres.

#### Eléments essentiels renforcés

La souplesse et le caractère «familial» qui, depuis le début, ont été des éléments essentiels et indispensables de l'association du Commonwealth n'ont pas été touchés par la création d'un Secrétariat, comme certains l'avaient craint au début, mais bien renforcés. Voilà un point important. Le Commonwealth, contrairement aux Nations Unies, aux organismes spécialisés et à la majorité des organisations régionales, n'a pas de constitution écrite. Ses décisions sont prises par consensus, terme dont j'ai toujours essayé d'éviter de donner une définition rigide. Il n'y a pas de veto, l'expérience l'a montré, on tente plutôt d'aboutir à une entente très générale, ce qu'on réussit habituellement à obtenir. Pour que ce système fonctionne, les participants doivent reconnaître (ou être amenés à reconnaître) que leur communauté d'intérêts transcende leurs différences. Le Commonwealth est, de par sa nature, pragmatique, il se rapproche plus du droit coutumier que des codes de lois. Son optique, je l'ai déjà dit, est plutôt celle d'un jardinier qui cherche à influencer et à canaliser les forces et courants existants que celle d'un ingénieur ou d'un architecte voulant dominer.

Aussi bien, lorsque le Commonwealth créa un petit organisme central chargé de maximiser l'utilité de l'association pour ses membres, son mandat fut caractéristiquement vague et ambigu. Effectivement, on

nous assigna, à mes collègues et à moi, des bureaux à *Marlborough House* pour que nous nous attaquions à la question.

On ne nous accorda presque pas de crédits, mises à part notre rémunération et une petite somme pour les frais de déplacement. Par contre, les portes nous étaient ouvertes à tous les niveaux pour des discussions franches.

Le Commonwealth s'était assez bien porté jusqu'à ce que je sois élu et qu'on me demande d'organiser un Secrétariat; mais des tempêtes politiques ne tardèrent pas à se déchaîner. En quelques semaines, il y eut rupture des relations entre les Malais et les peuples surtout de langue chinoise de Singapour, éclatement d'une guerre entre l'Inde et le Pakistan au sujet du Cachemire, et le gouvernement minoritaire blanc de Rhodésie déclara illégalement son indépendance vis-à-vis de la Grande-Bretagne pour couper court à l'instauration de la règle de la majorité. Depuis, beaucoup d'autres crises ont éclaté. Sur tous les plans, politique et autres, les relations entre les pays du Commonwealth et les tâches du Secrétariat n'ont jamais manqué d'intérêt.

Je me permettrai, à la fin de cet article, quelques réflexions sur les usages politiques du Commonwealth parce que sans être les plus évidents, ce sont les plus importants.

Ce Secrétariat a certainement réduit la vulnérabilité de l'association aux fantaisies de certains chefs en fonction de leur popularité internationale ou encore aux orientations d'un gouvernement particulier à une période donnée. Il a aidé le Commonwealth à vider des querelles et à réduire des tensions bilatérales ou inter-régionales datant des dix dernières années, et à y survivre. Il était impérieux d'avoir au sein de l'association un point de convergence d'obédience communautaire et capable, en pratique, d'être reconnu et écouté par tous les membres en temps de crise, sans pour autant qu'ils perdent la face sur le plan politique. Cette création a donc été très opportune non seulement pour l'élaboration des grandes orientations, mais aussi pour la participation des membres. C'est ainsi qu'en 1966, par exemple, les ministres de Tanzanie et du Ghana ont pu assister à une réunion des ministres du Commonwealth à *Marlborough House* en dépit de la rupture des relations diplomatiques qui était alors intervenue entre leur gouvernement et la Grande-Bretagne. Il est très important que les convocations aux réunions soient envoyées par le secrétaire général, qui représente l'ensemble de l'association,

plutôt que par le gouvernement qui accueille la réunion en question.

Il n'est pas surprenant qu'aient surgi, de temps à autre, des tensions. Le Commonwealth d'aujourd'hui est souvent, de par le nombre et la diversité de ses membres, au centre des relations et des problèmes qui existent entre les pays industrialisés et les pays en voie de développement, entre les régions, les continents et les cultures. Il doit s'occuper de plusieurs des dossiers les plus complexes et les plus explosifs en affaires internationales. Les affrontements entre pays riches et pays pauvres, l'isolationnisme continental ou régional, la discrimination ou les préjugés raciaux pourraient menacer, si nous n'y prenons pas garde, non seulement la cohésion, mais aussi l'existence même du Commonwealth. Ils feraient planer une menace réelle sur le monde. Au contraire, dans la mesure où les relations et les mécanismes du Commonwealth peuvent contribuer à résoudre ces problèmes ou à infléchir diverses politiques nationales pour diminuer leurs dangers, l'association peut apporter une contribution appréciable. Le Commonwealth d'aujourd'hui est donc un instrument beaucoup plus important dans la politique mondiale que le club de gentlemen blancs riches qu'il était à l'origine.

Les deux principales caractéristiques du Commonwealth moderne se complètent: en premier lieu, son hétérogénéité, la diversité de ses pays-membres quant aux dimensions, à la situation géographique, à la culture, à la prospérité et à l'économie de base; et en deuxième lieu, l'existence d'un certain nombre d'avantages et d'habitudes communs. Ce qui domine, c'est l'aptitude à utiliser l'anglais comme langue de travail, bien que ce ne soit pas la langue maternelle de la grande majorité des communautés (il y a une infinité de langues officielles dans les pays membres du Commonwealth); en ce qui concerne l'administration, le droit, l'organisation et l'éthique des professions, il existe aussi beaucoup d'habitudes, de méthodes de travail et de traditions semblables; dans le domaine de l'enseignement, en particulier aux niveaux supérieurs, les pays partagent certaines traditions; et ils ont hérité d'un réseau de relations et d'habitudes concernant la consultation et l'assistance mutuelle. Tous ces points communs rendent la consultation beaucoup moins difficile et la coopération fonctionnelle beaucoup plus économique et efficace qu'il ne serait autrement possible à si grande échelle.

La valeur d'un instrument politique dépend de l'utilisation qu'on en fait, ou qui peut en être faite, de son efficacité

réelle ou potentielle, et enfin (ce critère n'est pas le moindre) de ce qui en sort.

Depuis le début, le Commonwealth a directement servi à la consultation et à la coopération fonctionnelle dans divers domaines dans lesquels les membres décident qu'il est réalisable et souhaitable de coopérer. A mon avis, il a surtout à son actif l'élargissement des relations, de la compréhension, des horizons et des amitiés.

Sa raison d'être n'a pas changé. L'augmentation du nombre de pays membres a étendu les consultations cependant, vu la diversification des races, des continents et des stades du développement économique; non seulement la matière n'est plus la même (on aborde maintenant des sujets de plus grande portée et plus difficiles) mais aussi, à mon avis, les discussions se sont approfondies. Qui plus est, au cours des dernières années, la gamme des domaines concernés par les consultations et les programmes de coopération s'est beaucoup étendue.

Depuis le début du siècle les chefs des gouvernements indépendants du Commonwealth se sont réunis pour des échanges de vues simples et fraternels sur des sujets très variés. A présent, ils se rencontrent tous les deux ans dans l'une ou l'autre des capitales.

Les ministres des Finances du Commonwealth se rencontrent annuellement depuis 25 ans.

Les conférences du Commonwealth sur l'éducation, qui se déroulent au niveau ministériel, se tiennent approximativement tous les trois ans. La première a eu lieu à Oxford en 1958 et les suivantes, à New Delhi, à Ottawa, à Lagos, à Canberra et, en 1974, à Kingston.

Les conférences périodiques des ministres de la Santé et de la Justice du Commonwealth débutèrent en 1965. Les premiers se rencontrent tous les ans un jour ou deux avant l'assemblée de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé, et pour des périodes plus longues (une dizaine de jours), tous les trois ans (à Edimbourg en 1965, à Kampala en 1968, à l'île Maurice en 1971 et à Colombo en 1975). Les seconds se sont retrouvés à Sydney (1965), Londres (1966 et 1973), New Delhi (1971) et Lagos (1974).

Habituellement, les réunions du Commonwealth ne se tiennent pas au niveau ministériel. Les plus hauts fonctionnaires de chacun des gouvernements concernés (dans certains pays il s'agit du Secrétaire du Cabinet, dans d'autres, du chef «permanent» du bureau du Président ou du cabinet du premier ministre), se sont rencontrés à Ottawa en 1972 et depuis, se réunissent tous les ans, avec le Secrétaire

général du Commonwealth, entre les réunions des chefs de gouvernement (tous les deux ans), et en tant que comité distinct pendant ces conférences au sommet.

#### Réunions spécialisées

Il existe beaucoup d'autres réunions spécialisées de très hauts fonctionnaires: par exemple, les statisticiens en chef des gouvernements du Commonwealth se retrouvent régulièrement pour échanger des vues, notamment sur les techniques, et pour mettre au point des programmes d'aide technique à l'intention des pays qui en ont besoin. Mentionnons aussi les réunions des auditeurs généraux. De leur côté, les chefs des organisations nationales de recherche scientifique du Commonwealth se rencontrent régulièrement et s'attardent davantage, entre autres choses, sur des programmes coopératifs en vue d'accélérer l'application des sciences et de la technologie au développement économique.

Il ne faudrait pas croire que toutes les rencontres ont lieu entre gouvernements, encore moins exclusivement entre hauts fonctionnaires. Les parlementaires de tous les pays du Commonwealth tiennent par exemple une réunion annuelle sous les auspices de l'Association parlementaire du Commonwealth; il existe aussi des réunions régionales. Les présidents d'assemblées se rencontrent à intervalles réguliers pour échanger leurs connaissances et leurs idées; les premiers magistrats font de même. Les vice-recteurs d'universités ont des réunions périodiques organisées par l'Association des universités du Commonwealth; les chefs des organisations nationales de radio et de télévision se rencontrent à la Conférence du Commonwealth sur la radiodiffusion et la télévision, les athlètes, tous les quatre ans, aux Jeux du Commonwealth, et les directeurs de publications, aux réunions de l'Union de la presse du Commonwealth.

Encouragées par la Fondation du Commonwealth, société charitable créée en 1965 par les chefs de gouvernement en même temps que le Secrétariat, avec lequel elles collaborent étroitement, un nombre croissant d'associations professionnelles non gouvernementales du Commonwealth se sont constituées, par exemple dans des domaines comme le droit, la médecine, les sciences infirmières, l'arpentage, l'architecture, l'industrie minière et l'édition. Le Commonwealth compte en tout quelques centaines d'organisations non gouvernementales.

Depuis quelques années, les réunions sont de plus en plus axées sur l'action. En particulier depuis que le Secrétariat dispose du Fonds du Commonwealth pour la

coopération technique, (en anglais, CFTC) établi par les chefs de gouvernement à Singapour, en janvier 1971. Grâce à ce fonds, le Secrétariat a pu répondre rapidement aux besoins prioritaires désignés non seulement par les gouvernements de pays en voie de développement, mais aussi par des assemblées de représentants sérieux de plusieurs ou de tous les pays membres du Commonwealth.

Lors de leurs réunions, par exemple, les ministres du Commonwealth ne se contentent pas de recenser les grands problèmes communs et d'échanger leurs connaissances et leurs opinions sur ceux-ci (bien qu'on ne doive pas minimiser l'utilité de cette démarche); de plus en plus, ils prennent des mesures coopératives pour aider à les résoudre: réunions de spécialistes, organisation de recherches conjointes, formation de spécialistes pour décongestionner les secteurs en difficulté, et souvent, programmes d'action coopérative à l'échelle régionale ou à plus grande échelle lorsque cette mesure semble la plus économique et la plus constructive, comme c'est souvent le cas.

Ainsi, aux deux dernières rencontres, les ministres de la Justice ont discuté non seulement de sujets comme les façons de diminuer les retards et les coûts des procès ou celles d'améliorer la coopération internationale dans les procédures d'extradition, les multiples aspects du droit de la mer et l'attitude à prendre à l'égard du mouvement international de plus en plus complexe des fonds destinés à des opérations criminelles, mais ils ont aussi demandé au Secrétariat de réunir des fonctionnaires compétents pour modifier la législation sur les brevets d'invention, les marques de commerce et la conception industrielle, à la lumière des problèmes liés au développement économique. Ils lui ont fait la même requête pour les problèmes auxquels se heurtent les pays petits et pauvres dans la rédaction et la publication de rapports juridiques. Ils ont, de plus, lancé un programme du Secrétariat destiné à remédier à la pénurie de rédacteurs législatifs, ce qui a nécessité la mise sur pied de quatre cours régionaux de formation de fonctionnaires qualifiés en Afrique de l'Est et de l'Ouest, en Asie et aux Antilles; en outre, des rédacteurs stagiaires ont été affectés à divers ministères publics s'occupant des affaires juridiques. Les membres tentent aussi d'améliorer la coopération entre les organismes de réforme du droit.

A la demande des ministres de la Santé, le Secrétariat a, entre autres choses, organisé et financé des secrétariats ou des bureaux régionaux pour promouvoir la

coopération et la rationalisation en matière de formation supérieure de spécialistes et de membres des professions paramédicales, lorsque cela contribue à éliminer le chevauchement de services coûteux.

A la suite des conférences ministérielles sur l'éducation, les participants ont institué le plan du Commonwealth pour l'attribution de bourses, accordant annuellement des bourses de prestige à plus de 1,000 étudiants (sans compter les dizaines de milliers de bourses d'aide à la formation technique qui sont attribuées tous les ans), qui leur permettent de fréquenter les établissements d'enseignement supérieur des autres pays membres. Ils ont aussi organisé une série de conférences, de colloques et d'ateliers de travail, réunissant les spécialistes de tous les pays du Commonwealth, sur des sujets allant de la formation des enseignants au perfectionnement des programmes d'études, en passant par l'éducation dans les régions rurales, les inspections d'écoles, les mathématiques modernes et une série de cours de formation pour la rédaction et publication de manuels scolaires dans les pays en voie de développement.

#### L'aide au développement

C'est le sentiment de solidarité inspiré par l'Association du Commonwealth qui incita d'abord les membres les plus riches à contribuer au développement international. Le Plan de Colombo a donc été créé lors d'une conférence du Commonwealth des ministres des Affaires étrangères à Ceylan, en 1950.

Le Plan englobe maintenant des pays n'appartenant pas au Commonwealth, ce dernier n'ayant jamais tenté d'isoler ses membres ou de limiter leurs relations, comme ont essayé de le faire certaines associations internationales. Lorsque les pays africains accédèrent à l'indépendance et devinrent membres du Commonwealth, on élaborait un programme assez semblable, le «programme spécial du Commonwealth d'aide à l'Afrique», qui, comme le Plan de Colombo, vise essentiellement l'harmonisation des programmes bilatéraux.

Le Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique (*Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation - CFTC*), beaucoup plus récent, est différent. Multilatéral, il est financé grâce aux cotisations volontaires de tous les pays du Commonwealth, et il est administré par les représentants des pays participants. Il s'agit, en réalité, d'un budget de fonctionnement et d'une antenne du Secrétariat du Commonwealth, qui permettent de mobiliser des ressources humaines et des services de tous

les pays du Commonwealth pour répondre aux besoins de ses membres en matière de développement. Il a de façon notable élargi l'entraide au sein de l'association. Environ la moitié des spécialistes affectés dans des pays en voie de développement viennent d'autres pays en voie de développement et leur expérience antérieure est particulièrement utile.

L'assistance technique est fournie dans des domaines très variés, y compris dans des secteurs aussi délicats que les questions constitutionnelles, la politique sociale, la réforme du droit, la rédaction de textes législatifs, la planification fiscale et les négociations internationales. Le Secrétariat possède l'équipe qui a peut-être le plus d'expérience au monde dans les domaines particulièrement vitaux et complexes de l'exploitation des ressources et des négociations avec les sociétés multinationales. Au titre de cette assistance, des centaines de millions de dollars ont été versés aux pays en voie de développement.

Dans certains cas, on envoie aussi des spécialistes; par exemple, le directeur général de la nouvelle Administration des ports des îles Fidji vient de Singapour, la Cour supérieure de la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée a maintenant un juge africain, et un éducateur éminent de la Trinité vient d'être nommé vice-recteur de la *University of the South Pacific*.

Par un autre programme du CFTC, le Secrétariat organise et finance la formation d'étudiants et de fonctionnaires de pays en voie de développement, parfois en les envoyant à des cours universitaires réguliers, mais le plus souvent, par des affectations temporaires, des voyages d'étude ou des cours techniques spécialisés. Le programme de développement des exportations veut aider les pays en voie de développement à gagner plus de devises grâce à l'exploration de marchés, à la participation aux foires et autres activités de promotion.

Le principe de l'aide multilatérale au développement, à l'échelle du Commonwealth, était inhérent à la création du Secrétariat depuis le début, et les pays en voie de développement (ainsi que le secrétaire général) exercèrent de fortes pressions en vue de sa réalisation. Il fallut tout de même cinq ans (après 1965) pour que les pays les plus industrialisés acceptent d'y contribuer, car auparavant ils objectaient, non pas que le programme serait coûteux, mais qu'il y aurait sans doute des « doubles emplois ». Toutefois, depuis sa mise en œuvre, le programme prospère, les demandes de services affluent et les contributions volontaires tant des pays industrialisés que des pays en voie de

développement se font de plus en plus nombreuses. Les plus gros bailleurs de fonds sont sans contredit le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne et le Nigéria; quant à la Nouvelle-Zélande, c'est le pays qui verse le plus gros montant par habitant. Aujourd'hui, tous les pays membres du Commonwealth ainsi qu'un certain nombre de territoires dépendants cotisent.

Le Fonds est encore très petit par rapport à d'autres fonds multilatéraux comme ceux de la CEE, des producteurs de pétrole ou des Nations Unies, mais il double presque tous les ans et se chiffre à environ dix millions de dollars pour l'année courante. Il jouit d'une grande réputation pour la rapidité avec laquelle ses bureaux répondent aux demandes, pour sa souplesse et la qualité de ses services. Ses frais généraux administratifs s'élèvent à environ 12 pour cent, par rapport à une moyenne minimale de 30 pour cent que doivent dépenser la plupart des organismes d'aide; on voit donc la place qu'il y a pour une assistance mutuelle très pratique au sein d'un groupe comme le Commonwealth. A mon avis, une expansion rapide, de ce fonds serait dans l'ordre des choses eu égard au développement et à la stratégie politique fondamentale. J'ai toujours estimé que la santé du Commonwealth et, partant, la valeur qu'il revêt pour ses membres, dépend de la mesure où il est utilisé à bon escient.

Le Secrétariat administre aussi le Programme du Commonwealth pour la jeunesse, création encore plus récente qui date d'une réunion des chefs de gouvernement à Ottawa, en août 1973. Recommandé par les ministres du Commonwealth (en particulier ceux de l'Éducation, de la Jeunesse, du Travail, des Sports et des Services sociaux ainsi que le sénateur Paul Martin, du Canada) au cours d'une conférence qui avait eu lieu plus tôt la même année, à Lusaka, ce programme est issu d'une série d'études et de colloques régionaux organisés par le Secrétariat à la suggestion de M. Harold Wilson, sur les problèmes des adolescents et, plus spécifiquement, sur ceux qui ont quitté l'école et se retrouvent sans emploi.

Une de ses activités clés est la récente organisation de trois centres régionaux, en Zambie, en Guyane et en Inde, pour la formation poussée de responsables des services de jeunesse, où l'accent est mis sur les façons d'aider et de former les jeunes pour qu'ils jouent un rôle constructif dans le développement communautaire et national. Ses ressources, environ un million de dollars par an pour les trois premières années, sont modestes, mais c'est là un domaine vital et stimulant.

### Nouveau programme

Décus par la lenteur, sans doute inévitable, des discussions à si grande échelle, les délégués du Commonwealth qui assistèrent au Congrès mondial de l'alimentation à Rome, il y a un an, demandèrent au Secrétariat du Commonwealth d'organiser rapidement une réunion des ministres du Commonwealth responsables de la production alimentaire et du développement rural. La rencontre eut lieu en mars 1975, et on a maintenant confié au Secrétariat la mise en œuvre d'un nouveau programme de coopération dans ce domaine si important pour la survie. Le programme sera financé par l'entremise du CFTC, et il faut espérer que les contributions seront augmentées en conséquence.

Comment peut-on résumer ce quart de siècle? La plupart de ceux qui connaissent les réalisations — et on a fait très peu de publicité autour d'elles — conviennent, je crois, que dans ce que l'on appelle «la coopération fonctionnelle», relativement spécialisée et de faible envergure, mais portant sur des domaines pratiques comme le droit, l'éducation, les sciences, la santé, l'assistance technique et les techniques de gouvernements, le Commonwealth est un groupement logique qui peut être utilisé efficacement à des fins constructives, et qui l'est d'ailleurs de plus en plus.

### La question rhodésienne

Par contre, au chapitre de la haute politique ou de la politique «brûlante», — ce qui revient peut-être au même — les opinions peuvent être partagées. Je me souviens qu'à une conférence de presse l'an dernier ou il y a deux ans, en Afrique, le correspondant plutôt belliqueux d'une station de radio m'a demandé si je pensais vraiment que le bilan du Commonwealth en ce qui a trait à la question rhodésienne était satisfaisant. Il croyait sans doute me prendre au piège. Je déclarai qu'en effet, il était tout à fait insatisfaisant, très éloigné de ce qui aurait été souhaitable. «Mais, ajoutai-je, la situation est exactement la même aux Nations Unies et à l'Organisation de l'unité africaine.» Lorsque les organisations internationales sont trop faibles pour surmonter les défis qui se présentent, la seule solution logique est de les renforcer, plutôt que de les affaiblir par le scepticisme et une hostilité bornée. Le journaliste ne m'a pas contredit.

A mon avis, des parachutistes auraient dû être stationnés en Zambie en 1965, avant la déclaration unilatérale d'indépendance de la Rhodésie; ils auraient pu juguler toute rébellion en une demi-heure, rien que par une démonstration de force,

en offrant aux troupes rhodésiennes un point de ralliement. Je persiste à croire que nous aurions dû le faire, mais cela n'a pu être décidé. A la place, nous avons pris des sanctions économiques, malheureusement par étapes, ce qui a plutôt eu un effet d'immunisation.

La politique des sanctions, en tout ce qu'elle avait d'inadéquat, était mieux que rien: elle a profité au moins de la proclamation d'indépendance pour attirer l'attention non seulement de l'ensemble des pays du Commonwealth, mais aussi des Nations Unies sur le vrai problème, non pas la rébellion inconstitutionnelle de 1965, mais une injustice sociale qui remonte beaucoup plus loin. Cette politique de compromis adoptée faute de mieux a eu au moins le mérite d'empêcher des reconnaissances par la voie du marché.

Une autre crise aiguë et déchirante des relations raciales éclata lorsque le gouvernement de M. Heath annonça, à l'été de 1970, un plan de vente d'armes à l'Afrique du Sud pour contrer le renforcement de l'appareil naval soviétique. La préoccupation de M. Heath au sujet de ce renforcement sur les routes des pétroliers était compréhensible, mais ce qui ne l'était pas, c'était comment un changement de politique des Britanniques, qui allait leur mettre à dos presque tous les gouvernements et les peuples des côtes de l'océan Indien et de l'Atlantique-Sud, pouvait vraiment contrebalancer l'accroissement de la présence soviétique dans ces deux océans.

A la suite de consultations au sein du Commonwealth et du recours à ses mécanismes, le gouvernement britannique abandonna sagement cette idée. On n'en fit pas de gorges chaudes, les Britanniques ne perdirent pas la face pour rien. Ils évitèrent de faire une erreur qui aurait été, à mon avis, encore plus néfaste à leurs intérêts que l'agression inopportune de Suez, en 1956, et encore plus coûteuse à l'Occident tout entier. On a aussi évité à l'Afrique une défaite coûteuse.

Procéder à des remaniements fondamentaux de la politique des pays, des continents et des groupes raciaux les uns vis-à-vis des autres n'est pas chose facile et ne va pas sans passions ni déchirements. Mais la revue des événements au moins devrait être faite froidement. Dans ce cas précis, le rôle du Commonwealth a été, je pense, considérable et très positif. Depuis lors, l'influence du Commonwealth sur les questions touchant l'Afrique du Sud, y compris le Mozambique et la Namibie, a été presque toujours positive et, à l'occasion, très importante. Les principes approuvés par les chefs de gouvernement cette année à Kingston en 1975 mettent

en lumière un progrès qui devrait se poursuivre.

#### Autres crises

Au cours des 25 dernières années, et encore plus depuis dix ans, le Commonwealth a dû résoudre, par le biais de consultations ou de ses mécanismes, bon nombre d'autres crises ou des problèmes politiques bien moins connus mais tout de même très dangereux. Tantôt il a réussi, tantôt il a échoué, mais son intervention n'a jamais, à mon avis, été inutile. Faute d'espace, je ne pourrai passer en revue la plupart de ces événements, d'ailleurs il vaut peut-être mieux ne pas mentionner certaines des crises évitées.

Je me dois tout de même d'en mentionner une, découlant des relations entre la Grande-Bretagne et la CEE. A partir de 1950, alors que je demeurais à Bruxelles, j'avais personnellement poussé mes amis britanniques à se joindre aux institutions européennes. Au début des années 1960, d'autres gouvernements du Commonwealth se sont opposés assez énergiquement à la décision tardive prise par la Grande-Bretagne de poser sa candidature. Je n'étais pas d'accord. Lorsque j'accédai au poste de secrétaire général en 1965, je tentai par tous les moyens de combattre l'idée qu'il y avait incompatibilité entre l'adhésion de l'Angleterre à la CEE et son appartenance au Commonwealth. La question n'était pas là. Les vrais problèmes étaient les suivants: comment évoluerait la Grande-Bretagne, et l'Europe? Quelles seraient leurs relations avec les pays en voie de développement: une tentative de créer des sphères privilégiées d'influence, avec des tarifs préférentiels réciproques, comme l'avait fait de Gaulle à Yaoundé? Et qu'arriverait-il à l'Asie? Quelles seraient les relations de l'Europe avec l'Amérique du Nord et les autres pays industrialisés?

Aux Bahamas en 1971, les ministres des Finances du Commonwealth me demandèrent d'organiser des études et des réunions consultatives sur les problèmes auxquels auraient à faire face les pays membres d'Afrique, des Antilles et du Pacifique, tous en voie de développement, en prenant en considération l'offre «d'association» de la CEE. Je les ai encouragés à rejeter Yaoundé ainsi que tout concept de tarifs préférentiels réciproques et à avancer leurs propres contrepropositions pour l'accessibilité aux marchés et à l'aide, sans sphères d'intérêt discriminatoires. J'ai surtout fortement insisté pour que ces pays fassent bloc afin d'avoir une puissance maximale de négociation, et pour tenter de persuader les pays francophones visés par la Convention de Yaoundé

de se joindre à eux dans cette recherche d'un nouvel ordre.

Cette proposition du Secrétariat du Commonwealth le fit très mal voir dans certains milieux pendant un temps. Mais en fin de compte, ce que l'on proposait a été adopté ou, tout au moins, tous les pays concernés s'y sont ralliés. Le secrétaire général de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine, avec qui j'ai été en étroites relations à ce propos, joua un rôle clé dans le rapprochement des pays francophones et anglophones d'Afrique.

La Convention de Lomé qui en a découlé est un pas dans la bonne direction. M. Sonny Ramphal, alors ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Guyane et maintenant mon successeur en tant que secrétaire général du Commonwealth, joua un rôle très important dans les négociations préalables. Les pays d'Afrique, d'Inde occidentale et du Pacifique, pas plus que ceux de la CEE et les autres pays industrialisés, ne sont divisés dans la rancune et l'amertume sur cette question, comme il a semblé que ce serait le cas à une époque. Tout le monde y a gagné.

J'ai particulièrement apprécié les relations et la coopération établies entre le Commonwealth et les pays francophones à cette occasion et à d'autres. J'applaudis aussi à la création toute récente d'un Secrétariat pour les pays francophones (l'Agence de Coopération culturelle et technique). Bien que se manifestent bon nombre de différences, je vois dans la «Francophonie» un parallèle possible avec le Commonwealth, puisque les pays qui en font partie utilisent une langue de travail et des méthodes communes pour améliorer la compréhension entre des peuples de races, de continents différents et de niveaux de vie différents. Les deux secrétariats entretiennent d'étroites relations et espèrent mettre en œuvre des programmes concrets de coopération. A mon avis, il est heureux que le Canada et l'île Maurice soient membres des deux groupes, et que les Seychelles soient bientôt le troisième pays dans cette situation.

L'utilité du Commonwealth dans le règlement des grandes questions politiques, comme celle des autres grands organismes à vocation universelle, est parfois contestée. Je crois toutefois qu'il est manifeste que sans le Commonwealth, la situation du monde serait encore moins souriante, les perspectives moins encourageantes.

Et que dire de l'avenir?

A mesure que le progrès technologique rend les pays de plus en plus interdépendants, le besoin de compréhension et de coopération à l'échelle internationale s'in-

tensifie. A moins que les dirigeants politiques n'aient la vue courte (ce qui n'est jamais impossible), les relations et les mécanismes du Commonwealth devraient, à mon avis, être toujours plus utilisés pour répondre à ce besoin. Il ne s'agit nullement d'une solution de rechange aux Nations Unies ou aux organisations nationales ou régionales, mais tout simplement d'un complément précieux.

Dans le domaine des relations économiques entre pays riches et pays en voie de développement, le Commonwealth a une belle occasion de jouer un rôle encore plus important si l'on veut éviter les affrontements et procéder à des rajustements de politique. Les problèmes ne disparaîtront pas, ils risquent même de s'accroître à mesure que le rythme de l'évolution croît; j'espère toutefois que les difficultés s'aplaniront.

#### Causes des difficultés

En politique, elles peuvent être imputables à la complexité intrinsèque des problèmes, tout comme à l'ambivalence des attitudes (particulièrement difficile à éviter au début entre les anciens maîtres et leurs administrés), à l'indifférence dont font parfois preuve les dirigeants, à l'ignorance et aux préjugés de certains secteurs de la population dans des pays différant par la race, la culture ou la situation économique, et enfin, à des politiques bornées ou isolationnistes, que ce soit sur le plan géographique, économique ou social. Nous avons surmonté beaucoup de ces obstacles, ils pourraient resurgir, mais ce n'est pas une nécessité.

Dans la politique, on est parfois tenté. c'est inévitable, d'agir pour la galerie,

c'est-à-dire pour l'opinion publique de son pays, et même au prix de l'exacerbation des problèmes réels. Il va sans dire que les chefs du Commonwealth, comme les autres, n'échappent pas à cette règle. Toutefois, les réunions du Commonwealth, qu'elles touchent aux domaines publics ou privés, ont eu une très grande valeur éducative pour les participants en élargissant les relations, les connaissances, la compréhension et les liens d'amitié en dépit des différences raciales, culturelles, économiques et géographiques qui peuvent diviser l'humanité. Le Commonwealth n'est pas seulement une association d'amis, c'est une association qui peut favoriser la création de liens d'amitié, et elle réussit à le faire.

Au cours de la période de transition dont j'ai traité, il était important de donner une image de marque exacte du Commonwealth. La majorité des hommes d'État qui l'ont créé et lui ont donné sa forme y ont vu essentiellement un instrument pouvant aider à construire l'avenir; voilà pourquoi ils lui accordent tant de valeur. Pour une partie de la population de leurs pays respectifs, c'était un reste du passé, le spectre d'un empire disparu: idée compréhensible, mais inexacte et nuisible (ceux qui ne sont pas anglo-saxons et les jeunes anglo-saxons eux-mêmes évoquent rarement avec nostalgie le passé impérial). La mentalité et les sentiments qui perpétuent le Commonwealth ont une finalité, ils ne découlent pas du passé, mais sont tournés vers l'avenir et sont inspirés par l'image réaliste que se font du Commonwealth les pays membres: un des instruments qui peuvent contribuer à la fraternité humaine.







# Statements and Speeches

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No. 74/14

## REKINDLING "THE SPIRIT OF OTTAWA"

Remarks by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting, Ottawa, September 25, 1974

I'm happy to be able to greet you all at the commencement of your Ottawa meeting. Commonwealth gatherings are particularly welcome in this country, as many of you know who have been in Canada on previous occasions. This is so because Canada regards the Commonwealth with much affection, and attaches to it considerable importance. In our view, there is simply no other association that permits men and women from virtually all parts of the world to gather so informally and so successfully to seek solutions to problems of common concern. In the Commonwealth, we employ our energies in attacking problems, not in attacking one another.

This is especially important in the work that brings you here this week. It is hard to believe that only 14 months have passed since heads of government met here in the summer of 1973. In that short period, the nations of the world have been faced with a series of economic shocks unparalleled, perhaps, in history. These have tested to the breaking-point the resilience of the international trading and monetary systems, and have tested beyond the breaking-point the resilience of some national economies. The issues now before us are so broad, and the remedies required of us are so complex, that no single conference -- not even one of the breadth and goodwill of this one -- can hope to be more than the beginning of a long process.

But how important is that beginning! How important it is that the peoples of all our countries can be assured that their governments have identified at least some of the problems and have agreed on the path that must be travelled in order to deal with them. Of those problems, one of the most fundamental is a failure of confidence: in ourselves and in our ability to act effectively. This meeting, I hope, will be marked by a great demonstration of confidence, for it is an essential element in the world economic structure. And it is perhaps the only element in the world monetary structure that is of any consequence at all.

In that meeting of heads of government in 1973, something that has come to be called "The Spirit of Ottawa" was either discovered or created (I'm not certain which), but certainly experienced.

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That spirit will not, I think, escape from any who shared it. For it lit within each of us the realization that, while our problems are very real and very complex, our ability to deal with them depends entirely upon our willingness to extend to them the same measure of honesty and concern that we employ within our own families. And we realized then, as well, that answers that do not confer benefits upon ordinary human beings are not answers at all.

That concern for people was what "The Spirit of Ottawa" was all about. I urge you to rekindle it here this week. I urge you to do so by adhering to the high standards of human concern that were voiced again and again around that particular table by leaders from all parts of the world, but by no one with the compassion and the eloquence and the sincerity of the late Norman Kirk. None who listened to Prime Minister Kirk last August, and certainly none who had the good fortune to know him, doubt the depth of the loss experienced by the people of New Zealand, and by men and women everywhere. Mr. Kirk possessed the genius to remind us that none of our activities, be they political or economic, are defensible unless they bring with them human benefit.

One of the underpinnings, surely, of the human condition is economic in nature. In years past, I fear, we have not always approached this underpinning with sufficient care. We have allowed too much darkness to spill into the spaces between the occasional beacons of a Bretton Woods or a Colombo Plan or a Kennedy Round. And we in the developed countries have injected ourselves with the unforgiving opiate of unthinking belief in our systems, our values, our generosity and our indestructibility. By clinging to those economic beliefs too long, we have remained in the dark while the world has changed about us. In the result, the international record has been subject to fits and spasms of progress, frequented by long spells of inactivity or even decline.

I dare to believe, however, that we are emerging now from one of those long periods without light. And, as always when one first faces the brilliance of sunshine, certain images are engraved on the retina. One of those images, to me, is the absolute interconnection of events in all countries of the world, developed and developing alike. Another image is of the similarly absolute requirement for co-operation in our attempts to deal with those events in order to turn them to our benefit.

We should be shortsighted indeed if we believed that the development process can be dealt with separately from that of commodity

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prices or resource management. We should be foolish if we assumed that the evils of inflation could be diminished without efforts both international and domestic. We should be stupid beyond belief if any of us assumed that any one country could become so self-sufficient in this or that product that it could afford to pursue economic or trading or monetary policies independent of the interests of others.

What I am saying is that international meetings, and international institutions, too, must henceforth play a more dominant role in the management of all our economies. That role will be unsuccessful, however, unless both our discussions and our actions reflect an ethical awareness of our responsibilities -- to one another and on this physical planet on which we all dwell and on which we all depend absolutely for survival. Resource transfers, exchange deficits, liquidity difficulties, inflation, trade barriers, unemployment, environmental deterioration, growth -- none are severable either one from the other or as between one country and another. Nor can we sever any of these from the concern that must underline and permeate all our discussions and all our activities. That concern is for social justice and individual human dignity. To it we must marry self-discipline and industriousness.

I am confident that that concern will be evident throughout your discussions. I wish you well in your meeting, and I bid you a pleasant stay in Ottawa.



# Déclarations et Discours

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N<sup>o</sup> 74/14

## RAVIVER "L'ESPRIT D'OTTAWA"

Texte de l'allocution du Premier ministre à l'occasion de la réunion des ministres des Finances du Commonwealth, à Ottawa, le 25 septembre 1974.

C'est avec grand plaisir que je vous accueille à Ottawa à l'occasion de cette Conférence. Le Canada est toujours heureux d'être l'hôte des pays du Commonwealth, comme beaucoup d'entre vous qui n'en sont pas à leur premier séjour parmi nous le savent déjà. Notre pays, en effet, est très attaché au Commonwealth et lui accorde une très grande importance. A notre avis, il n'existe aucune autre association qui permette à des hommes et à des femmes de presque toutes les parties du monde de se réunir pour trouver dans la détente et avec autant de succès des solutions à leurs problèmes communs. Nos énergies, nous les rassemblons pour nous attaquer à ces problèmes, et non pour nous attaquer les uns les autres.

Et cela aura certainement son importance dans vos délibérations de cette semaine. J'ai peine à croire que seulement quatorze mois se sont écoulés depuis la Conférence des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, qui avait lieu ici même au cours de l'été de 1973. Durant ce court laps de temps les nations du monde ont fait face à une série de crises économiques sans précédent, peut-être, dans l'histoire. Ces crises ont soumis les systèmes commercial et monétaire internationaux à une rude épreuve à laquelle ils n'ont résisté que de justesse, et elles ont fortement ébranlé, par ailleurs, l'économie de certaines nations. Les questions que vous allez débattre sont d'une telle ampleur, et les solutions que vous devez y trouver si complexes, qu'une seule conférence, quelle qu'en soit l'importance et quelle que soit la bonne volonté de ses participants, ne peut constituer que l'amorce d'un long processus.

Mais ces premières démarches seront décisives. Il importe au plus haut point que les peuples de chacun de nos pays reçoivent l'assurance que leurs gouvernements ont tout au moins cerné quelques-uns des problèmes et se sont entendus sur la ligne de conduite à suivre pour les résoudre. Parmi ces problèmes, l'un des plus pressants réside justement dans le manque de confiance en nous-mêmes et dans notre capacité d'agir efficacement. Votre réunion, je l'espère, se déroulera sous le signe de la confiance, car celle-ci représente l'un des éléments essentiels du système économique inter-

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national. Peut-être même représente-t-elle l'élément clé du système monétaire international.

Lors de la Conférence des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, en 1973, on a découvert ou créé (je ne sais lequel des deux termes est le plus juste), on a connu à tout le moins ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler depuis "l'esprit d'Ottawa". Cet esprit ne peut, à mon avis, s'être dissipé, car il a permis à chacun de nous de comprendre que, même si les problèmes avec lesquels nous sommes aux prises sont ce qu'il y a de plus réel et complexe, notre capacité de les résoudre repose entièrement sur notre volonté de les envisager avec autant de bonne foi et d'intérêt que s'il s'agissait de nos problèmes familiaux. Cet esprit nous a aussi permis de nous rendre compte que les prétendues solutions qui ne profitent pas au simple citoyen sont absolument vaines.

"L'esprit d'Ottawa" est essentiellement l'expression de cet intérêt pour les hommes. Je vous exhorte à le raviver ici, cette semaine, en vous inspirant des vues si nobles et si élevées tant de fois exprimées autour de cette table par des dirigeants de toutes les parties du monde. Nul, cependant, n'a su l'exprimer avec plus de sensibilité, d'éloquence et de sincérité que le regretté Premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande, feu Norman Kirk. Tous ceux qui ont eu l'occasion d'entendre celui-ci en août dernier et tous ceux qui le connaissaient sont conscients de l'ampleur de la perte qu'a représentée, pour les Néo-Zélandais et pour le monde entier, la mort de M. Kirk. Cet homme savait nous rappeler avec pertinence qu'aucune de nos initiatives politiques ou économiques ne peut se justifier si elle n'apporte rien sur le plan humain.

L'économie constitue, à n'en pas douter, l'un des pivots de la condition humaine. Or, je crains que nous n'ayons pas toujours, dans le passé, accordé toute l'attention voulue à cet élément. Nous avons trop souvent laissé l'obscurité s'insinuer entre les lueurs occasionnelles qu'ont fait jaillir, par exemple, les accords de Bretton Woods, le Plan de Colombo ou les négociations Kennedy. Nos pays industrialisés ont placé une foi aveugle dans leurs systèmes, leurs valeurs, leur générosité et leur indestructibilité. En nous accrochant trop longtemps à ces postulats économiques, nous sommes demeurés dans l'obscurité pendant qu'autour de nous le monde se transformait. De sorte qu'au niveau international, le progrès a été irrégulier et marqué de longues périodes d'inactivité, voire de déclin.

J'ose cependant croire que nous émergeons en ce moment d'une de ces longues périodes d'obscurité. Et, comme chaque fois que nous nous trouvons de nouveau face à la lumière certaines images se

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fixent sur notre rétine. Je songe, par exemple, à l'étroite relation qui existe entre les événements qui se produisent dans tous les pays du monde, qu'ils soient industrialisés ou en voie de développement. Ou encore, à la nécessité absolue de nous unir pour tirer profit de ces événements.

Il serait peu réaliste de croire que l'on puisse travailler au progrès sans tenir compte des cours commerciaux et de la gestion des ressources. Nous aurions tort de supposer qu'il est possible de combattre l'inflation sans nous y employer aussi bien chez nous qu'au niveau international. Il serait vraiment insensé de notre part de supposer qu'un pays puisse arriver à produire un bien quelconque en quantité suffisante pour subvenir complètement à ses besoins et se permettre d'adopter une politique monétaire, commerciale ou économique qui ne tienne aucun compte des intérêts des autres nations.

Autrement dit, il est essentiel que les réunions internationales de même que les institutions internationales jouent désormais un rôle plus important dans la gestion de l'économie de chacun de nos pays. Ce rôle ne pourra être efficace, toutefois, qu'à la condition que nos discussions et nos actes traduisent une conscience réelle de nos responsabilités mutuelles ainsi que de nos responsabilités envers cette planète sur laquelle nous vivons et dont notre survie dépend entièrement. Transferts de ressources, déficits dans les opérations de change, difficultés de trésorerie, inflation, barrières commerciales, chômage, dégradation du milieu, croissance, il est impossible de séparer un de ces éléments des autres ou d'établir à ces égards une distinction entre les pays. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus isoler ces éléments des préoccupations que doivent exprimer toutes nos délibérations et tous nos efforts, préoccupations qui touchent la justice sociale et la dignité humaine. Cela ne suffit toutefois pas: il faut encore nous astreindre à la discipline et travailler avec persévérance.

J'ai la certitude que ces préoccupations imprégneront toutes vos discussions. Je souhaite vivement que vos délibérations soient couronnées de succès et que votre séjour à Ottawa soit des plus agréables.



# Statements and Speeches

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No. 73/26

## COMMONWEALTH MEETINGS — THEIR SPECIAL CHARACTER

An Address to the Closing Session of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Ottawa, by the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, August 10, 1973.

These rooms have witnessed in the past week a wide variety of views on matters political, economic and social. In that respect this international meeting has not distinguished itself from any other. Yet no one here would doubt for a moment that these Commonwealth conferences are distinctive. They are distinctive, I believe, for two reasons that were very evident in our deliberations this past week.

The first is the obvious dedication of Commonwealth leaders to the betterment of their peoples. Not here are there propounded — or vigorously defended — schemes or programs designed for the glory of the state. Here we are concerned with the dignity of individual human beings and the improvement of the lot of ordinary men and women.

The second distinction is a willingness on the part of all of us to believe that, should the policies of other Commonwealth governments sometimes appear misdirected or lead to disappointment, this is as a result of error, or inefficiency, or lack of discipline; it is not the consequence of purposeful intent.

In short, within the Commonwealth there is a willingness to help one another, and a willingness to believe that that help is genuinely offered.

Given those beliefs, this association is far different from those others to which we belong in various groupings. Here we are able to speak to one another with a candour unknown elsewhere. We are not reluctant to describe our individual weaknesses, our dreams for our peoples, our belief in the value of human life, our dedication to the ideals of co-operation and understanding. We are not fearful of admitting that we do not know all the answers, that our ignorance has led to mistakes, that our patience with ourselves and with one another is sometimes sorely tried.

In areas as diverse, yet as interrelated, as the flow of private investment capital and the operations of multinational corporations, on the one hand, and the plight of suppressed majorities in Southern

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Africa, on the other, we have learned that our differences relate only to the means of attaining our goals, not to the goals themselves. Our arguments have been directed to the question of effectiveness — what will work, what is possible, what are the best instruments for serving our peoples.

We have not found specific solutions to concrete problems. Nor, I think, did we believe a week ago that we would. If this is a failure on our part, as some outside this conference suggest, it is a failure of our conception of this meeting. We find value in gathering together periodically because we believe there is merit in candid talk. There is no other forum available for this purpose for political decision-makers from all parts of the world. And certainly none where we all speak the same language.

If solutions have escaped us, information and understanding have not. Nor has commitment. Commitment to work toward solutions both co-operatively and individually. We have used this meeting as a place where solutions can be proposed and considered.

What we have learned from these considerations — and not completely to our surprise — is that we are not now able, no matter how firm our will, to solve many of our problems. We need more information, for one thing. We need more boldness, for another. In the words of Prime Minister Manley: "We must develop the capacity to make intelligent judgments." There have been a number of suggestions as to how we might do so. If I have sensed correctly the mood of this meeting, there is a desire to search for the means. Surely we should not permit ourselves to stumble over the barrier of inadequate facts or statistics.

We need to know more about the costs of shipping and the effects of shipping conferences. We need to know more about the operations of multinational corporations. We have insufficient understanding of how to control the mechanisms which permit manufactured goods to be priced according to cost, but which force commodities to be priced according to the market. We are still woefully deficient in our knowledge of the development process, of the stimulation of growth and the absorption of aid, of the transfer of resources and the implementation of adequate controls. Although we recognize the advantages of airline links among us, and the impact on our societies of migration, we differ in our assessment of each because we do not possess sufficient information about either.

Over these, and over other of the factual roadblocks that we have encountered, I hope that we are able to climb before we next meet.

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I should like to suggest that studies be made of these problems, perhaps by the countries best able to conduct them. The Secretary-General could co-ordinate these studies and ensure that they are concluded and circulated before we next meet. Our discussions then could proceed, supported by the foundation of knowledge so necessary for progress.

When we return to our own capitals...we shall be asked by our electorates what we did this past week — asked what we accomplished. We talked, we shall tell them. We sought, and gained, a greater understanding of the position of one another. We agreed again and again, as Prime Minister Kirk pointed out to us, that we would seek constructive solutions. We came to know one another better, and all of us regard this as good — good for now and good for the future, good for us as leaders and good for our peoples.

We should, however, be asking ourselves, each in different terms, if we possess adequately the resolve to face reality — to face reality as well as we speak candidly. In the past week, we have encouraged one another to face facts. But how many of us have in mind facts of a single dimension — a dimension that emphasizes our own national interests and diminishes the difficulties faced by others?

In one major respect, our deliberations this past week have been markedly different than in recent conferences. We have spoken with candour as we have in the past, but we have recognized that candour carries with it the responsibility of seeking constructive ends. Our intention to pursue such ends may well come to be marked by General Gowon's phrase "the Ottawa Plan". Without question, it is that constructive mood that has enabled us this week to examine so intensively techniques of burden-sharing. It has also permitted fresh initiative with respect to Rhodesia. To Prime Minister Barrow we are all indebted for the compelling manner in which he forced us yesterday to come to grips with that lingering problem.

We broke new ground at this meeting in our discussions of the business of governing. There is no graduate school to prepare heads of government for their tasks, no sabbatical refresher courses, no evening seminars or summer-schools. Unless we talk to one another about our experiences and techniques of governing, we are not able to broaden our own horizons. This morning we did talk, we did share and, I think, we did benefit.

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# Déclarations et Discours

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N<sup>o</sup> 73/26

## LES CONFÉRENCES DU COMMONWEALTH — LEUR CARACTÈRE PARTICULIER

Discours du premier ministre du Canada, M. P.-E. Trudeau, président de la Conférence des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, à la séance de clôture, Ottawa, le 10 août 1973.

Tout au long de la semaine qui vient de s'écouler, ces murs ont entendu exprimer toutes sortes d'avis sur des questions d'ordre politique, économique et social. A cet égard, cette conférence internationale ne présente rien de spécial, mais personne ici ne saurait douter un seul instant du caractère particulier des conférences du Commonwealth. A mon sens, elles se distinguent par deux aspects qui sont ressortis très clairement au cours de nos délibérations de cette semaine.

On note tout d'abord que les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont un vif souci du mieux-être de leurs peuples. On ne propose ni ne préconise ici aucun programme ou plan à la gloire de l'Etat. Ce dont les participants se préoccupent, c'est de sauvegarder la dignité de la personne humaine, d'améliorer les conditions de vie des simples citoyens.

Un deuxième point, c'est que tous, nous sommes disposés à croire, lorsque parfois les politiques d'autres gouvernements des pays du Commonwealth nous semblent mal orientées ou décevantes, que c'est la conséquence d'une erreur, d'un manque d'efficacité ou de discipline, mais jamais le résultat d'une intention délibérée.

Bref, au sein du Commonwealth, on veut s'entraider, et l'on veut croire que cette aide est offerte sans arrière-pensée.

Cet esprit distingue nettement notre association de toutes les autres auxquelles nous appartenons comme membres de différents groupements. Ici, nous pouvons nous permettre une franchise qu'on ne connaît pas ailleurs. Nous n'hésitons pas à évoquer nos faiblesses propres, les projets d'avenir que nous formons pour nos peuples, notre attachement à la valeur de la vie humaine, à un idéal de collaboration et de bonne entente. Nous ne craignons pas d'admettre que nous n'avons pas réponse à tout, que si nous avons fait des erreurs, c'est par manque d'information, que notre patience, envers nous-mêmes comme envers les autres, est parfois mise à rude épreuve.

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En des domaines aussi divers et pourtant aussi étroitement liés que le mouvement des capitaux privés et l'activité des sociétés multinationales, d'une part, et la situation de la majorité opprimée en Afrique du Sud, d'autre part, nous avons appris que nos divergences ne portent pas sur les objectifs mêmes, mais seulement sur les moyens employés pour les atteindre. Nous avons abordé la question de l'efficacité et nous nous sommes demandé ce qui est faisable, ce qui est possible, quels sont les meilleurs moyens dont nous disposons pour servir nos peuples?

Nous n'avons pas trouvé de solutions précises à des problèmes concrets, mais nous ne pensions pas, je crois, en trouver en venant ici cette semaine. S'il faut alors parler d'échec, comme le font certains, qui n'ont pas participé à la Conférence, il s'agit de l'échec du principe même de cette rencontre. Nous estimons que cela vaut la peine de nous réunir tous périodiquement, parce que nous croyons en la valeur de discussions franches. Il n'existe aucune autre tribune à l'intention des responsables politiques du monde entier. Certainement aucune, en tout cas, où tous parlent la même langue.

Même si des solutions ne se sont pas imposées à nous, l'information et la compréhension n'ont pas manqué, non plus que la volonté de s'engager. Un engagement à oeuvrer, en commun ou chacun de notre côté, en vue de trouver des solutions. Cette Conférence était le moyen tout désigné de proposer et d'étudier ces solutions.

Nos entretiens nous ont appris, sans nous étonner vraiment, que, peu importe notre détermination, nous ne sommes pas encore en mesure de résoudre un grand nombre de nos problèmes. Il nous faut plus d'information. Il nous faut plus de hardiesse. Pour reprendre les termes du premier ministre Manley, "nous devons nous entraîner à faire des jugements intelligents". Un certain nombre de propositions ont été faites en ce sens. Si j'ai bien perçu le climat dans lequel s'est déroulée la Conférence, il me semble y avoir décelé le désir de trouver des moyens d'action. Nous ne pouvons certes pas nous permettre de buter sur l'obstacle que constituent des faits ou des données statistiques inexacts.

Il nous faut plus d'information sur les coûts du transport maritime, sur les répercussions des conférences maritimes. Nous devons mieux nous renseigner sur l'activité des sociétés multinationales. Nous ne voyons pas assez clairement la façon de surveiller les mécanismes qui permettent de fixer le prix des produits manufacturés en fonction des coûts, mais qui obligent le prix des denrées à se fixer d'après le marché. Nous sommes encore loin de connaître

parfaitement les rouages du processus de développement, de la stimulation de la croissance et de l'utilisation de l'aide, du transfert des ressources et de l'application de réglementations satisfaisantes. Nous reconnaissons les avantages des liens aériens qui nous rapprochent les uns des autres et les effets des migrations sur nos sociétés, mais nous ne les évaluons pas de la même façon, parce que notre information sur les uns et les autres est insuffisante.

Il est à souhaiter que ces obstacles, de fait, et tous les autres dont nous avons parlé, puissent être surmontés avant notre prochaine réunion. Je propose que ces problèmes soient étudiés par les pays le mieux en mesure de le faire et que le secrétaire général assure la coordination de ces études et veille à ce qu'elles soient terminées et distribuées avant notre prochaine rencontre. Nos entretiens pourront alors se poursuivre en se fondant sur les connaissances indispensables au progrès général.

Lorsque nous rentrerons dans nos capitales respectives — pour moi il suffira de traverser la rue — nos électeurs nous demanderont des comptes; ils voudront connaître le bilan de cette semaine. Nous leur dirons que nous avons discuté, que nous avons cherché à mieux nous comprendre et que nous avons réussi. Comme l'a signalé le premier ministre Kirk, nous avons convenu à plus d'une reprise de rechercher des solutions constructives à nos problèmes. Nous avons approfondi nos relations les uns avec les autres, ce dont nous nous réjouissons tous, car cela augure bien du présent et de l'avenir, tant pour nous, les chefs d'État, que pour nos peuples.

Nous devrions cependant nous poser la question suivante, chacun à notre façon: — avons-nous suffisamment de volonté pour faire face à la réalité? Pour l'affronter avec l'ouverture d'esprit qui a caractérisé nos échanges? Cette semaine, nous nous sommes exhortés mutuellement au réalisme. Mais combien parmi nous ont tendance à ne voir qu'un seul aspect d'un problème, c'est-à-dire celui qui met en relief leurs intérêts nationaux et qui laisse de côté les difficultés avec lesquelles d'autres se débattent!

Cependant nous pouvons dire que nos pourparlers de cette semaine ont revêtu un caractère bien différent de celui des Conférences antérieures. Comme par le passé, nous avons discuté avec franchise, mais, cette fois, nous avons reconnu que la franchise impose la recherche d'objectifs réalisables. Notre intention de poursuivre de tels objectifs pourrait bien se traduire par la réalisation de ce que le général Gowon a appelé le "plan d'Ottawa". Il n'y a pas

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de doute, c'est ce ferme propos qui nous a permis, cette semaine, de rechercher sérieusement des moyens de partager les fardeaux et d'envisager une nouvelle démarche au sujet de la Rhodésie. Nous sommes tous redevables au premier ministre Barrow de la manière irrésistible avec laquelle il nous a amenés hier à nous attaquer à ce problème chronique.

Au cours de cette Conférence, nous avons innové en discutant de l'art de gouverner. Aucune école supérieure ne prépare les chefs de gouvernement à remplir les tâches qui leur sont confiées, et il n'existe pas de cours de perfectionnement, ni de colloque ou de cours d'été à cet effet. Nous ne pourrions pas élargir nos horizons si nous n'avions pas cette possibilité de nous communiquer notre expérience et de nous entretenir de notre manière de gouverner. Ce matin nous avons discuté, nous avons communiqué et nous en avons tiré profit, du moins je le pense.

Je tiens à vous remercier tous des attentions que vous avez eues pour moi en ma qualité de président, et de l'appui que vous m'avez apporté dans l'accomplissement de mes fonctions. Je me fais votre interprète pour remercier vivement notre secrétaire général et tous les membres, présents ou absents, du secrétariat et des groupes de travail de cette Conférence qui se sont acquittés de leurs fonctions avec empressement et une grande compétence. Les Canadiens sont flattés d'avoir été les hôtes de cette Conférence. Pour ma part, je suis profondément honoré qu'il m'ait été donné de la présider.

Je vous souhaite à tous un retour heureux et j'abandonne un moment la langue du Commonwealth pour vous dire "au revoir".



# Statements and Speeches

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No. 73/25

## THE COMMONWEALTH — AN ASSOCIATION UNSTRUCTURED AND UNFETTERED

Opening Statement to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Ottawa, by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, August 2, 1973.

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I hope that each one of you will find this gathering to be as valuable and as irreplaceable as I have found those Commonwealth meetings I have attended elsewhere. Since men and women first gained the gift of speech, they have been aware of the importance of wise counsel and of the value of communicating honestly and fully with their neighbours. Today, when the term neighbourhood has been extended by science to include every nation, wherever located, the need for communication has increased immensely. And today, when technology has deepened our awareness of a better life much more rapidly than we have been able to acquire it, the need to understand one another has become critical.

Within the Commonwealth we have the opportunity and the means for both communication and understanding. In this forum of discussion all Commonwealth members are equal. None is senior; none is superior. None is distinguished by economic self-sufficiency; none is possessed of all political virtue. In our discussions the next few days, I have no doubt that we shall be able to demonstrate to one another and to the world the advantages of our dissimilarity, the richness of our diversity, the excitement of our variety. We shall be able to do so because we are members of an association, not an institution. In this Commonwealth there is no structure to contain us; there are no fetters to chafe us. The Commonwealth is a reflection of its 32 members and of their desire to consult and co-operate with one another. There is no artificial adhesive. Nor is there any voting, any constitution, any flag, any headquarters. This association is neither regional in nature nor specialized in its interests. The Commonwealth is an organism, and this fact guarantees both its vitality and its flexibility.

At this meeting, several steps are being taken in an attempt to respond to the need for more effective communication. First, it is proposed that meeting procedures be less rigid and less formal than in recent years; second, the shorter agenda reflects the fact that many international issues are interrelated and are best examined in a broad context; third, the weekend arrangements promise two

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days of private and unstructured conversation between heads of delegation. Through these means, I hope that the value of our unusual meetings will be increased even further, and that we shall be able to exploit to our advantage our diversity.

Diverse we may be, but that condition has not in the past been employed as an excuse for deviation from certain principles: there is no dissimilarity of views with respect to our regard for human equality and dignity; the economic disparity that exists among us only intensifies our resolve that it be diminished; our belief in the value of association and co-operation is genuine.

The word Commonwealth has been employed again and again by scholars, writers and statesmen over a period of several thousand years. The conception has varied widely in the minds of such persons as Plato, Locke and Oliver Cromwell, yet none of those conceptions has met so well the acid test of practical application and value as has the one that brings us together in Ottawa this week. To contemporary observers and, I am confident, to future historians, the word Commonwealth will be irrevocably associated with the desire of free men and women representing more than a quarter of the world's population to gather, to discuss and to understand.

It is in that Commonwealth that we recognize this morning two new members, Bangladesh and Bahamas. To the Prime Ministers of those countries, and to those of our colleagues from other countries attending this meeting for the first time, I offer a warm welcome.

In the 30 months since we last gathered in Singapore under the distinguished chairmanship of Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew, the world has undergone sweeping changes of considerable significance: The People's Republic of China has taken its place in the United Nations. The shock-waves of the United States August 1971 economic policies travelled around the globe, affecting most heavily the developed countries. Immensely important steps were taken by the United States and the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and by the United States and the People's Republic of China, on the other, to ease the tensions of the Cold War and to permit progress toward *détente* and friendly relations. As one consequence, the first round of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks was successfully concluded; as another, the European Security Conference was launched earlier this summer. The European Economic Community expanded from six members to nine, one of the additions being Britain. A tragic series of events on the Indian subcontinent resulted in the severing of the two wings of Pakistan and the emergence of a new state, Bangladesh. That severance was followed by the withdrawal of Pakistan from the Commonwealth. The scale of hostilities in

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Indochina has decreased considerably, and American involvement in Viet-Nam has ceased completely. The Organization of African Unity celebrated the tenth anniversary of its founding and, in doing so, chose as its new Chairman our colleague, General Gowon. The Commonwealth nations in the Caribbean have taken an historic giant step toward closer co-operation.

During the same period, however, a number of the disturbing situations that faced us at Singapore have shown no signs of change: The Middle East remains as potentially explosive as before. The tensions created by the rigid policies of the racist regimes in Southern Africa have, if anything, heightened. The spectre of long-term food and commodity shortages continues as crops have suffered from damaging weather patterns. The economic gap separating the have and the have-not countries has not diminished appreciably, notwithstanding the admonitions of the third UNCTAD Conference.

If one is able to draw some broad lesson from this period of two and a half years, it may be that it is found in the abundant evidence that diplomatic initiatives, properly prepared and sincerely pursued, are capable of producing successful outcomes. The world is closer to peace today than it was in January 1971, and it is so because sufficient numbers of world leaders have come to recognize that force and aggression carried on in the name of government are incapable of solving any problems. Arbitrary policies that consciously deny dignity and freedom to any group of people are evil, and they are no less so for being clothed in elaborate wrappings of *la raison d'état*.

None of us in the Commonwealth is so powerful or so self-sufficient that he is able to act independently of the opinion or the assistance of others. None of us disregards the value of consultation and co-operation. We are able in these gatherings of heads of government, and, by extension, in those other groupings to which we belong, to ensure that we understand one another's problems and one another's aspirations.

That, to me, is the significance of our association. I am not, at this meeting, in search of a new role for the Commonwealth, or indeed any role. The Commonwealth is for many of us our window on the world. Over the years, its importance will deepen largely because it has no specific role, but emphasizes instead the value of the human relationship.

The nature of our meeting does not lend itself to the resolution of any crisis, or to the solution of any major problem. By looking to

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the future, however, we should be able to identify those issues which, if left unattended, could develop into crisis proportions.

Men and women have been unwise and short-sighted in their occupation of this planet. Through greed or ignorance or indifference, or a combination of all three, the human race finds itself increasingly out of balance and out of harmony with the habitat on which it depends for survival. We are poisoning our atmosphere and our oceans at an alarming rate; we are exploiting our resources as if they were inexhaustible; we are coping ineffectively with the task of providing food and shelter to millions; we remain incapable of occupying the earth peacefully with one another, or of sharing equitably the means required by every individual to permit him to lead a life of dignity. The resolution of these long-standing problems is beyond our means in the next week.

Nevertheless, I am confident that, through wise consultations and actions now, those problems can be better understood and circumscribed, the future can be made more wholesome and more attractive for the inhabitants of all our countries. I consider the worth of our meeting to be found in the opportunity it provides for that kind of consultation.



# Déclarations et Discours

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N° 73/25

## LE COMMONWEALTH: UNE PORTE OUVERTE SUR LE MONDE

Texte du discours prononcé par le premier ministre P.-E. Trudeau à l'inauguration de la Conférence des chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth, Ottawa, le 2 août 1973.

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J'espère que cette rencontre saura être pour chacun de vous tout aussi extraordinairement enrichissante que les réunions du Commonwealth auxquelles j'ai assisté ailleurs. Depuis que les hommes ont reçu le don de la parole, ils sont conscients de l'importance de sages délibérations et de l'utilité de communications ouvertes et franches avec leurs voisins. De nos jours, ces relations de voisinage s'étendant, grâce au progrès des sciences, à toutes les nations de la terre, le besoin de communiquer se fait sentir encore plus impérieusement. Et la compréhension mutuelle est devenue essentielle à notre époque où la technologie a apporté aux hommes le désir d'une vie meilleure sans toutefois leur assurer aussi rapidement les moyens de l'atteindre.

Au sein du Commonwealth, nous avons l'occasion et les moyens de communiquer les uns avec les autres et de nous comprendre. Tous les membres de notre assemblée sont égaux; aucun ne jouit d'ancienneté ni de supériorité. Aucun d'eux ne se distingue par son indépendance économique; aucun ne possède le monopole de la sagesse politique. Je suis persuadé qu'au cours de nos délibérations des prochains jours, nous parviendrons à nous convaincre des avantages de nos particularités, de la richesse et de l'intérêt de notre diversité, et d'en faire également la preuve aux yeux du monde. Nous pourrons le faire parce que nous sommes membres d'une association, non d'une institution. Au sein du Commonwealth, aucune structure ne nous contraint, aucune entrave ne nous gêne. Le Commonwealth représente bien ses 32 membres et il traduit leur volonté de consultation et de collaboration mutuelle. Sa cohésion n'a rien d'artificiel. Il ne vote pas; il n'a pas de constitution, pas de drapeau, pas de siège principal. Comme association, il n'a rien de régional et ses intérêts ne sont aucunement spécialisés. Le Commonwealth, c'est un organisme, et voilà ce qui lui assure à la fois sa vigueur et sa souplesse.

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A l'occasion de nos présentes assises, nous avons pris plusieurs mesures en vue de répondre au besoin que nous éprouvons d'améliorer nos communications. D'abord, on propose que les procédures de nos réunions soient moins rigides et formelles qu'au cours des dernières années; deuxièmement, un ordre du jour plus court tient compte du fait que plusieurs problèmes internationaux sont interdépendants et ont intérêt à être considérés dans un vaste contexte; enfin, les dispositions prises pour la fin de semaine permettront aux chefs des délégations de discuter, pendant deux jours, privé-ment et librement. J'espère que ces diverses mesures rendront encore plus fructueuses nos réunions, et plus profitable encore la diversité qui nous singularise.

Toutefois, notre diversité ne nous a pas servi de prétexte, dans le passé, pour déroger à certains principes. Nous partageons le même respect pour l'égalité et la dignité humaines; nos disparités économiques ne font qu'intensifier notre résolution de les réduire, et nous croyons profondément aux bienfaits de l'association et de la collaboration.

Depuis plusieurs milliers d'années, le terme Commonwealth a été employé maintes fois par des érudits, des écrivains et des hommes d'État. L'idée que s'en faisaient Platon, Locke et Oliver Cromwell variait considérablement, mais ces conceptions n'ont jamais été soumises à la rude épreuve de la pratique et de l'expérience avec autant de succès qu'en témoigne présentement notre association. Aux yeux de nos contemporains et, j'en suis convaincu, des historiens de l'avenir, le mot de Commonwealth sera irrévocablement associé à la volonté d'hommes et de femmes libres, représentant plus d'un quart de la population mondiale, de se réunir, de s'entretenir et de se comprendre.

C'est dans ce Commonwealth que nous saluons ce matin la présence de deux nouveaux membres, le Bangladesh et les Bahamas. Je souhaite la plus cordiale bienvenue aux premiers ministres de ces pays, ainsi qu'à tous nos collègues des autres pays qui assistent à cette réunion pour la première fois.

Depuis notre dernière rencontre à Singapour, il y a trente mois, sous la présidence distinguée du premier ministre Lee Kwan Yew, le monde a connu des changements d'une portée considérable. La république populaire de Chine a pris sa place aux Nations Unies. Les mesures économiques adoptées par les États-Unis en août 1971 ont eu de fortes répercussions à l'échelle mondiale, touchant le plus sérieusement les pays industrialisés. Des initiatives extrêmement importantes ont été prises par les États-Unis et l'Union Soviétique

d'une part et par les États-Unis et la république populaire de Chine de l'autre, en vue d'atténuer les tensions de la guerre froide et de favoriser l'évolution vers la détente et les relations amicales. Grâce à ces initiatives, la première phase des Pourparlers sur la limitation des armes stratégiques a pu être menée à bonne fin et la Conférence sur la sécurité et la coopération en Europe a été amorcée au début de cet été. Le nombre des membres de la Communauté économique européenne est passé de six à neuf, l'un des nouveaux membres étant la Grande-Bretagne. Une série d'événements tragiques dans le sous-continent indien s'est soldée par la division des deux parties du Pakistan et la naissance d'un nouvel État, le Bangladesh. A la suite de cette division, le Pakistan s'est retiré du Commonwealth. L'ampleur des hostilités en Indochine a diminué de façon notable et l'intervention américaine au Vietnam a complètement pris fin. L'Organisation de l'unité africaine a célébré le dixième anniversaire de sa fondation et a choisi à cette occasion son nouveau président, notre collègue le général Gowon. Les pays du Commonwealth dans les Caraïbes ont fait un pas de géant historique vers une collaboration plus étroite.

Cependant, au cours de la même période, nombre de problèmes inquiétants qui avaient fait l'objet de nos préoccupations à Singapour n'ont guère évolué favorablement. La situation au Moyen-Orient demeure toujours aussi critique qu'auparavant. Les tensions occasionnées par la politique rigide des régimes racistes de l'Afrique du Sud se sont accentuées. La menace de pénurie à long terme de denrées alimentaires et de produits de consommation subsiste, alors que les récoltes ont été compromises par des conditions atmosphériques défavorables. L'écart entre l'économie des pays riches et celle des pays pauvres n'a pas diminué sensiblement, en dépit des avertissements de la troisième Conférence des Nations Unies sur le commerce et le développement.

S'il y a à tirer un enseignement général des événements de ces deux années et demie, ce pourrait être qu'il est manifeste que les initiatives diplomatiques préparées avec soin et menées avec sincérité peuvent produire des résultats favorables. Le monde est plus proche de la paix aujourd'hui qu'il ne l'était en janvier 1971 et ce, parce qu'un nombre suffisant de dirigeants mondiaux ont finalement reconnu que la force et l'agression exercées au nom d'un gouvernement, sur le plan extérieur ou intérieur, sont inaptes à résoudre les problèmes. Toute politique arbitraire qui, de propos délibéré, prive un groupe d'hommes de leur dignité et de leur liberté est condamnable, et ne l'est pas moins sous le masque de la raison d'État.

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Aucun des pays du Commonwealth n'est assez puissant ni assez indépendant pour agir en faisant abstraction de l'opinion ou de l'aide des autres. Nul d'entre nous n'ignore l'utilité de la consultation et de la collaboration. A l'occasion de nos rencontres de chefs de gouvernement et, par extension, au sein des autres associations auxquelles nous appartenons, nous sommes à même de comprendre nos aspirations et nos problèmes mutuels.

Voilà, à mon avis, le sens de notre association. Je ne suis pas ici à la recherche d'un nouveau rôle pour le Commonwealth, ni même d'un rôle quelconque. Pour nombre d'entre nous, le Commonwealth est une porte ouverte sur le monde. Son importance augmentera notablement avec les années, sans doute parce qu'il n'a aucune fonction précise et insiste plutôt sur la valeur des relations humaines.

De par sa nature, notre rencontre ne saurait se prêter à la résolution d'aucune crise, ni à la solution d'aucun problème important. En nous tournant vers l'avenir, toutefois, nous devrions être en mesure de reconnaître certaines questions qui, si l'on s'en désintéressait, risqueraient de prendre des proportions dangereuses.

A mesure qu'il occupait la planète, l'homme a fait preuve de peu de sagesse et de vision. Par cupidité, ou par ignorance, ou par indifférence — ou à cause des trois à la fois — l'humanité se trouve de moins en moins accordée au milieu dont sa survie dépend. Nous polluons l'atmosphère et les océans à une allure effarante; nous exploitons nos ressources comme si elles devaient toujours se renouveler; nous remplissons mal notre tâche de fournir à des millions d'habitants de la nourriture et un abri; nous demeurons impuissants à vivre en paix les uns avec les autres, ou à partager équitablement les moyens dont chacun a besoin pour vivre dignement. Ce n'est pas, nous le savons, au cours de la semaine prochaine que nous trouverons une solution à ces problèmes de longue date.

Cependant, j'ai confiance que grâce à des échanges réfléchis, ces problèmes pourront être mieux cernés et compris et qu'il nous sera possible de préparer pour les habitants de tous nos pays un avenir meilleur. L'utilité de notre rencontre, je la vois dans l'occasion qu'elle nous donne de participer à des délibérations de ce genre.

Some Quotations on the Commonwealth  
by Former Canadian Prime Ministers

"The first meeting of Prime Ministers and others which I attended was the Imperial Conference of 1923. Since that time I have been present at a number of other Conferences and meetings. Each occasion has helped to widen and extend my appreciation not only of Commonwealth but of world affairs, and to confirm more strongly than ever my belief in the great value to be attached to co-operation between the different nations of the Commonwealth and to the larger co-operation which our unity has made possible with the peoples of other nations."

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King  
Prime Minister of Canada  
London 1949

It is not easy, of course, to bring the Commonwealth neatly into any geographical tour since it is as scattered on the map as it is varied in its peoples. It remains one of the most important associations through which Canadian foreign policy is worked out collectively with our friends. It is an association deep-rooted in our history but sensitive to political evolution, as was pointed out so eloquently in this House the other day. Unlike the United Nations and unlike NATO, it has no formal treaty between its members and it is of value indeed to the free world which not so long ago it saved from disaster and defeat. Its tried methods of consultation have survived many perils and are always followed by decisions taken by the respective member governments and by agreement on the part of its respective member governments, if only agreements to disagree, which occasionally happens."

Rt. Hon. L.S. St. Laurent  
Prime Minister of Canada  
Ottawa, 1953

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"I saw this Commonwealth as never before during the occasion of the Conference in Montreal; there despite differences of race, creed and colour, of history and economic and political development, this partnership of free and independent nations showed itself once more dedicated to common ideals and purposes, united in the recognition that peace and prosperity are indivisible, that our interdependence - to use the expression of the Prime Minister - and co-operation are of the essence not only for its preservation, but, in my opinion, for the survival of mankind..."

"I first saw this in 1917, when I was present at the Opening of Parliament here, when the then King was escorted to the opening of that Parliament by squadrons of South African cavalry, all of whom had served against, not for that Empire, but a few years before. I saw something of the beginnings of that Commonwealth, that family of nations, that most unique yet fruitful political and social institution, that something intangible that no one can describe. You cannot define it; it is not a political organization, federation or an empire. It has no common political organization; it has no political master and no political common denominator. It has no legal or economic organization; it has no contractual ties. It is simply an irrevocable and involuntary union of nations joining together in a common dedication to common ideals, widely international in scope. While international in scope it remains intimate in character; its bonds are not of the sword or the seal but are of the spirit. That is it - idealism..."

Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker  
Prime Minister of Canada  
London 1958

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"Both Britain and Canada can take pride in the development of the new Commonwealth out of the old Empire and the earlier Commonwealth -- a development which, as you know, has now reached the point where we have an association of, I believe, 27 members states from every part of the world, varying greatly in different ways of life. But the Commonwealth, with all its frustrations but with all its promise too, has established a bridge between these different cultures, these different races, at a time when there aren't many bridge but that we should strengthen it and thereby increase its value to ourselves and to the world.

"While the Commonwealth is now of special importance because there is racial and geographical variety, its heart and its soul remain here in London. Without the vision and leadership of Britain, the Commonwealth could not have evolved from Empire in the way it did. Without the goodwill and support of Britain, and the older members of the Commonwealth, including my own country, the Commonwealth will not survive. If it should fail, let the failure not be through any fault of understanding, patience or effort on our part."

Rt. Hon. L.B. Pearson  
Prime Minister of Canada  
London 1967

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## Rates of contribution to the Secretariat

For the year ended 30 June 1977

<i>Country</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Amount £</i>
Australia	8.73	157,962
Bahamas	.75	13,571
Bangladesh	1.50	27,141
Barbados	.75	13,571
Botswana	.75	13,571
Britain	30.00	542,826
Canada	19.29	349,037
Cyprus	.75	13,571
Fiji	.75	13,571
The Gambia	.75	13,571
Ghana	1.50	27,141
Grenada	.75	13,571
Guyana	.75	13,571
India	7.29	131,906
Jamaica	1.50	27,141
Kenya	1.50	27,141
Lesotho	.75	13,571
Malawi	.75	13,571
Malaysia	1.50	27,141
Malta	.75	13,571
Mauritius	.75	13,571
New Zealand	1.69	30,579
Nigeria	1.50	27,141
Papua New Guinea	1.50	27,141
Seychelles	.75	13,571
Sierra Leone	1.50	27,141
Singapore	1.50	27,141
Sri Lanka	1.50	27,141
Swaziland	.75	13,571
Tanzania	1.50	27,141
Tonga	.75	13,571
Trinidad and Tobago	1.50	27,141
Uganda	1.50	27,141
Western Samoa	.75	13,571
Zambia	1.50	27,141
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.00	£1,809,420
Nauru (special contribution)	—	1,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.00	£1,810,420

Canadian Payments to Commonwealth Bodies

- (1) Commonwealth Secretariat  
All members of the association are assessed on the basis of the UN assessment schedule. The highest assessment is 30 per cent for Britain, while 14 members are assessed at the lowest rate of .75 per cent. For 1975-76, Canada's assessed share was 20.45 per cent, or £331,807, out of a budget of £1,622,735. (External Affairs funds)
- (2) Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation  
Contributions to this program are voluntary, and are made by all member countries of the Commonwealth. Canada agreed to pay an amount equal to 200 per cent of the pledges made by less-developed members (with a ceiling of \$3 million per annum) for a three-year period that began in 1973. This ceiling was passed in 1974-75, and an upward revision to \$4 million was announced at the 1975 Heads of Government Meeting. For 1975-76, Canada contributed \$4 million out of a budget of £5.5 million. This represents a 35 percent share of the 1975-76 budget. (CIDA funds)
- (3) Commonwealth Foundation  
Contributions to this program are voluntary and are made by 34 Commonwealth countries. For 1975-76, Canada contributed £66,375, representing 14.75 per cent of a total budget of £450,000. For the fiscal years 1976-79, Canada has agreed to contribute 32 per cent of the Foundation's budget of £700,000, which amounts to £216,000. (External Affairs funds)
- (4) Commonwealth Youth Program  
Contributions to this program are voluntary and are made by 27 Commonwealth countries. Canada has agreed to contribute between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of the program's expenditures for the fiscal years 1973-76. The Canadian contribution for this three-year period was £360,000, representing 33.3 per cent of total estimated CYP expenditures of £1,081,466, or 30 per cent of the established budget of £1,200,000. (External Affairs funds)
- (5) Commonwealth Institute  
Contributions are voluntary. For 1975-76, Canada contributed £1,800 towards the maintenance of the Canadian exhibit and £26,000 towards the Teacher Attachment Program sponsored by the Commonwealth Institute. (External Affairs funds)

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- 2 -

- (6) Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan  
Awards are granted on a voluntary basis by 15 Commonwealth countries. For the fiscal year 1975-76, Canada contributed \$2.2 million (representing 281 awards out of a total of 1,114). (CIDA funds)
- (7) Commonwealth Rhodesian Scholarship Program  
Contributions to the program are voluntary. Canada made a contribution of \$75,000 for the fiscal year 1975-76. (CIDA funds)
- (8) Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux  
For the fiscal year 1975-76, Canada agreed to contribute £316,400, representing 20 per cent of a total budget of £1,582,000. Voluntary contributions are made by 27 Commonwealth countries. (Department of Agriculture funds)
- (9) Commonwealth Legal Advisory Service  
Contributions are voluntary. Canada contributed £3,196 for the fiscal year 1975-76. (CIDA funds)
- (10) Commonwealth Forestry Institute  
Contributions are voluntary. Canada agreed to contribute a total of \$8,000 for the five-year period 1974-79. (Department of the Environment funds)
- (11) Commonwealth Science Council  
Contributions are voluntary and are made by 22 Commonwealth countries. Canada contributed £12,647 for the fiscal year 1975-76, representing 17.8 per cent of a total budget of £72,140. (Ministry of State for Science and Technology funds)
- (12) Commonwealth Air Transport Council  
Canada contributed £12,545 in 1975-76, representing 20.46 per cent of a total budget of £61,314. Members are assessed for payments on the same scale as for payments to the Commonwealth Secretariat. Thirty-two members of the Commonwealth contribute. (External Affairs funds)
- (13) Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council  
Canada contributed, for the fiscal year 1975-76, £2,000, representing 26 per cent of a total budget of £7,700. Eight Commonwealth countries contribute. (National Research Council funds)
- (14) The Royal Life-Saving Fund  
Canada contributed £500 in 1975-76. (Department of National Health and Welfare funds)

- (15) Commonwealth War Graves Commission  
Canada contributed £404,984 in the fiscal year 1976-77, representing 9.77 per cent of a total budget of £4,145,128. Contributions are assessed on the basis of the number of graves to a member.  
(Department of Veterans Affairs funds)

N.B.:

For the fiscal year 1975-76, the Canadian Government, whether through the Department of External Affairs or other departments contributed approximately \$9,272,458 to the above Commonwealth bodies. This is exclusive of the Canadian contributions of over \$300 million in bilateral aid disbursements to Commonwealth countries in the 1974-75 fiscal year and of Canada's contribution to the African, Asian and Caribbean Development Banks.

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Organismes auxquels le Canada verse des fonds

1) Secrétariat du Commonwealth

La contribution de tous les membres de l'association est fixée d'après le barème des quotes-parts des Nations Unies. La Grande-Bretagne verse la quote-part la plus élevée qui est de 30 pour cent alors que 14 membres fournissent la quote-part la moins élevée qui est de 0.75 pour cent. Pour 1975-1976, la quote-part du Canada a été de 20.45 pour cent, c'est-à-dire de 331 807 £ sur un budget de 1 622 735 £. (Crédits des Affaires extérieures)

2) Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique

Tous les pays membres du Commonwealth versent des contributions à ce programme, mais celles-ci sont volontaires. Le Canada a convenu de verser pendant trois ans, à partir de 1973, et jusqu'à concurrence de 3 millions de dollars par année un montant égal à 200 pour cent des contributions que les membres moins développés se sont engagés à donner. Ce plafond a été dépassé en 1974-1975, et une révision en hausse allant jusqu'à 4 millions a été annoncée à la réunion des chefs de gouvernement en 1975.

Au cours de 1975-1976, le Canada a contribué pour 4 millions de dollars du budget de 5.5 millions de livres. Cette contribution représente 35 pour cent du budget de 1975-1976. (Crédits de l'ACDI)

3) Fondation du Commonwealth

Trente-quatre pays du Commonwealth versent des contributions à ce programme, mais celles-ci sont volontaires. Au cours de 1975-1976, le Canada a versé 66 375 £ qui représentent 14.75 pour cent du budget total de 450 000 £. Pour les années financières allant de 1976 à 1979, le Canada a convenu de verser 216 000 £, ce qui représente 32 pour cent du budget de la Fondation qui s'élève à 700 000 £. (Crédits des Affaires extérieures)

4) Programme du Commonwealth pour la jeunesse

Vingt-sept pays du Commonwealth versent des contributions à ce programme, mais celles-ci sont volontaires. Le Canada a convenu de financer de 30 à 40 pour cent du programme pendant les années financières allant de 1973 à 1976. La contribution du Canada pendant la période des trois années en cours a été de 360 000 £, ce qui représente 33.3 pour cent du total des dépenses au titre du programme évaluées à 1 081 466 £ ou 30 pour cent du budget établi de 1 200 000 £. (Crédits des Affaires extérieures)

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- 2 -

- 5) Institut du Commonwealth  
Les contributions à l'Institut sont volontaires. Au cours de l'année financière 1975-1976, le Canada a versé 1 800 £ pour l'entretien de l'exposition canadienne à l'Institut et 26 000 £ au titre du Teacher Attachment Program (parrainé par l'Institut). (Crédits des Affaires extérieures)
- 6) Programmes des bourses d'études et de perfectionnement du Commonwealth  
Des bourses sont accordées, à titre gracieux, par 15 pays du Commonwealth. Le Canada a versé, pour l'année financière 1975-1976, 2.2 millions de dollars (ce qui représente 281 bourses sur un total de 1 114). (Crédits de l'ACDI)
- 7) Programme spécial du Commonwealth pour l'aide à l'éducation des Africains en Rhodésie  
Les contributions au programme sont volontaires. Pour l'année financière 1975-1976, le Canada a versé une contribution de 75 000 dollars (Crédits de l'ACDI)
- 8) Bureau de l'agriculture du Commonwealth  
Pour l'année financière 1975-1976, le Canada a convenu de verser 315 400 £, ce qui représente 20 pour cent d'un budget total de 1 582 000 £. Vingt-sept pays du Commonwealth versent des contributions volontaires. (Crédits du ministère de l'Agriculture)
- 9) Service juridique consultatif du Commonwealth  
Les contributions sont volontaires. Le Canada a versé 3 196 £ au bénéfice de ce service pour l'année financière 1975-1976. (Crédits de l'ACDI)
- 10) Institut de sylviculture du Commonwealth  
Les contributions sont volontaires. Le Canada a convenu de verser 8 000 \$ à l'Institut au cours de la période 1974-1979. (Crédits du ministère de l'Environnement)
- 11) Comité scientifique du Commonwealth  
Vingt-deux pays du Commonwealth y versent des contributions volontaires. Le Canada a versé 12 647 £ pour l'année financière 1975-1976, ce qui représente 17.8 pour cent d'un budget total de 72 140 £. (Crédits du Département d'Etat chargé des Sciences et de la Technologie)
- 12) Conseil des transports aériens du Commonwealth  
En 1975-1976, le Canada a versé 12 545 £ au conseil, ce qui représente 20.46 pour cent d'un budget total de 6. 314 £. La quote-part des membres est déterminée selon la barème appliqué aux contributions versées au Secrétariat du Commonwealth. Trente-deux membres du Commonwealth y contribuent. (Crédits des Affaires extérieures)

- 3 -

- 13) Comité consultatif du Commonwealth pour la recherche spatiale  
Pour l'année financière 1975-1976, le Canada a versé 2 000 £ à ce comité, ce qui représente 26 pour cent d'un budget total de 7 700 £. Huit pays du Commonwealth y contribuent. (Crédits du Conseil national de recherches)
- 14) The Royal Life Saving Fund  
Le Canada a versé 500 L à ce fonds au cours de l'année financière 1975-1976. (Crédits de Santé et Bien-être social Canada)
- 15) Commission des sépultures de guerre du Commonwealth  
Au cours de l'année financière 1976-1977, le Canada versera 404 984 £, soit 9.77 pour cent d'un budget total de 4 145 128 £. Les contributions sont évaluées selon le nombre de sépultures qu'un membre possède. (Crédits du Ministère des anciens combattants)

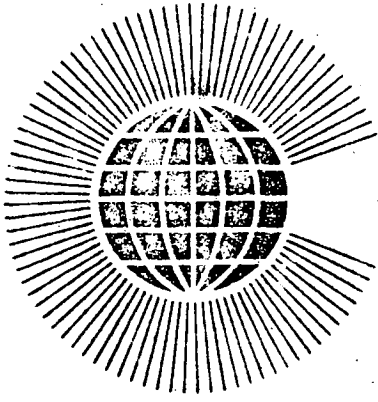
Nota -- Pour l'année financière 1975-1976, le Gouvernement canadien, par le biais des Affaires extérieures ou d'autres ministères, a versé environ 9 272 458 \$ aux organismes susmentionnés. (Les contributions - de plus de 300 millions de dollars - versées au titre de l'aide bilatérale à des pays du Commonwealth au cours de l'année financière 1974-1975, ainsi que les fonds accordés aux Banques africaine et asiatique de développement et à la Banque de développement des Caraïbes, ne sont pas compris dans ce montant.)

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# COMMONWEALTH INFORMATION

Issued by the Commonwealth Secretariat

"STAY WALKING WITH ME"

Opening address by the Commonwealth Secretary-General

Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal

at the Symposium on "Commonwealth and Francophonie:

Myth or Reality?", Laval University, Québec,

31 March, 1977

I am profoundly grateful for the chance to be here in this proud and ancient metropolis among so many good friends, old and new, to begin the conversations on a subject of such importance - and in such need of clarification - as the relationship between the Commonwealth and the community of French-speaking peoples.

I hardly need tell you of my pleasure in sharing this occasion with Professor Dan Dicko: the profession of Secretary-General is after all not a common one, and we practitioners in the art (or craft) of running international organisations have so much to share - more, perhaps, than I would wish to unveil in its entirety! So I especially value the opportunity both for this public exchange, and for the chance to continue the cordial and friendly talks in private which we have already begun, and which indeed I inherited from my eminent predecessor, Arnold Smith. With Monsieur Jean-Marc Léger, that makes four of us in this room who have shared the joys - and the occasional agonies - of the work of nudging the world a little closer to understanding across the divides of nationality: and three of us, I would point out, are natives of the new world.

And where better could we come together than here in Canada where, on the soil of the Americas, the cultures of an older world are being woven into new and exciting tapestries - blending yet remaining distinctive, creating yet preserving. To those of you who are born of Québec - of this city and of this Province, the events of 1759 here on the Plains of Abraham are naturally a living part of history. I would like you to know, however, that in my own corner of South America, when I was a boy, we too in our history curriculum learned of and suffered with the heroes of both sides who died here in battle. As uneasy subjects of an empire still, it was, I must confess, not entirely clear to me and my classmates with which of the two rival empires we should align our sympathies: but the shared fate of the two Generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, could not fail to inspire young minds, whatever their preconceptions, with a sense of the wastefulness of war, and of the need for reconciliation that avoids it.

From great rivalries, sometimes even from struggle itself, spring the greatest friendships. Certainly that is our experience in the Commonwealth, where we have put behind us the memory of relationships between master and servant peoples, and are forging for the future a new sort of partnership in which a history shared - but not always with mutual satisfaction - and differences of culture, of economic status, of forms of government, between our members, are not the limits that divide us, but the realities that give validity to our mutual search for common understanding. In the Commonwealth and in the Agence de Coopération alike, we are at the forefront of the search for new forms of relationship between mankind's marvellous variety of peoples. The world, I believe, needs our contribution to its work: the Québec Centre of International Relations and Laval University are helping us to accomplish it by organising this meeting.

I speak of grand aspirations, of a contribution that we can make to man's global destiny, to the processes of world understanding. But it is equally my belief that those great aims are most likely to be achieved when grounded in the practical experience of co-operation. Certainly that has been the case in the process of building the modern Commonwealth. Without our programmes of work together on practical problems, I really do not believe that the processes of consultation among our members on all sorts of complex and sometimes highly divisive issues would be either so frank in their immediate conduct or so likely to be fruitful in their long-term results. It is in that spirit precisely that the Commonwealth through its Secretariat has warmly welcomed and enthusiastically entered into talks with the Agence. My own visit to Paris has already led to a particularly useful and practically-oriented meeting between our officials and their counterparts from the Agence. We now have business to do together: we are going to understand each other better because of it.

Of course it would be entirely fanciful to assume that, at the institutional level, the Commonwealth and the Agence have ready to hand a whole range of obvious areas of complementary and co-operative work. That is not so. Our orientation is quite different and so, inevitably, are our priorities and our methodology. Cultural matters tend to be on the periphery of Commonwealth activity. To help with the establishment of museum facilities in one of our quasi-Francophone islands in the Caribbean we convince ourselves that this assistance meets a developmental need. The Agence would approach it frontally as an element of cultural activity.

The point is, however, that we will end up both engaged in this particular type of work. And this really is the point: that, despite the basic differences in the conceptual underpinnings of our two facilities, there will be some areas of common action. I suspect that over the years these will grow and that if we are conscious of the opportunities and see value, as I unquestionably do, in taking advantage of them, we can steadily enlarge our programme of co-operation. Just a fortnight ago I was in Accra in Ghana, opening the Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers on "the economics of education". Culture, social affairs, or economics? How would we categorise the subject matter of that consultation? I am not sure that it really matters: we had present with us as an observer throughout our discussion one of Professor Dan Dicko's colleagues from the Agence.

An essential element in long-term understanding is a programme of work together for practical common goals. But equally essential, is a high degree of frankness. Unless we know who our partners really are, we will never make progress. So let me speak thus frankly, as a true earnest of friendship: let me try to clarify our terms of reference as we come together here this evening. Let me talk directly about the subject of this symposium.

Commonwealth and francophonie: myth or reality? Well, the Commonwealth is not a myth: it is a working international arrangement. Professor Dan Dicko from his side can say as much too: there is no myth about it. And equally - I say this to my friends the organisers in friendship and frankness - I am dubious of the implied parallelism of the title. Parallels never meet: but the Commonwealth and la francophonie are already included in each other. We are in the Commonwealth here in Québec: within the last year I have been in the Commonwealth in Mauritius and in Seychelles: by being in la francophonie in those countries - which I was - I was not thereby excluded from the Commonwealth, far from it.

But this is not to say that there are no myths about the Commonwealth. They abound and need to be expunged. The Commonwealth is not an 'anglophonie' even if the word existed in the English language. English is not the official language of government - not even one of the official languages of government - for many Commonwealth peoples. Hindi, numerically is our largest language; add to that the Tamil tongues, Bengali, Chinese in several forms, Swahili, Sinhala, Greek - all languages within the Commonwealth. For us, English is a most valuable tool that history has left us with, and we use it to facilitate our business together. It is not a means of asserting any form of community.

We tend to congratulate ourselves that we have no super-powers in the Commonwealth - by implication, we make a virtue of the historical reality that the world's most powerful English-speaking nation is outside our fellowship. We are right to be glad of that, for our relationship of equality would be upset by the membership of such a colossus. More anglophone than many Commonwealth countries too are - for example - the Philippines, Ireland, the Sudan; yet their absence does not constitute a gap within the Commonwealth. Speaking English is a Commonwealth fact; it is not part of any Commonwealth ideology; it is our channel for easy communication, a precious one in functional terms; it is not a badge of identity.

So what is the Commonwealth? Arnold Smith has said many times that the meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government began as meetings of the leaders of successful movements for national liberation. And among those most truly liberated by our growth to international validity has been the country from which we have liberated ourselves - Britain. By sharing in the work of transforming Empire into Commonwealth - a work that would have been incomplete without the complementary and voluntary efforts of her partners - Britain freed herself to take part in a new phase of her national destiny, in Europe. It is highly relevant for us here tonight that among the partners whom she has thus freely chosen is France, the old rival of these shores and of so many other frontiers and continents.

It would be ironic - and wholly ludicrous - if while Britain and France were forging unity through community we in the Commonwealth and la francophonie were to clothe ourselves in

the chauvinist garb they are seeking to discard within Europe itself. By the same token, it would be myopic not to recognise that this working out of Europe's destiny in unity has lessons and opportunities for our own destinies together.

I believe that these lessons are not being missed. For me, one of my most rewarding experiences was in working - in my former capacity in public life in the Caribbean - with my Francophone brothers to weld the Commonwealth and French-speaking countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific into a negotiating team, strong, united and resolute enough to secure from the EEC, in the Lomé Convention, arrangements (themselves far from ideal) which nevertheless went far beyond any for which the Community was prepared when we began.

As those negotiations ended, many of us saw at least as much value in them for their demonstration of our capacity - and, indeed, our need - to work together freed of old suspicions and uncertainties and clearer about our commonalities - as we did in the contractual arrangements we ultimately reached with Europe. It was a reflection of this that out of that experience the ACP group emerged as a new entity institutionalised to pursue common objectives even outside the framework of the Lomé Convention - institutionalised, I am happy to recall, at a meeting of Ministers of forty-six Commonwealth and Francophone countries which I had the privilege to chair in Georgetown as one of my last public duties there.

And that ACP experience continues to energise developments. ECOWAS - the new Economic Community of West African States bringing together Commonwealth and Francophone countries of West Africa in an exciting experiment in economic integration - was accelerated from aspiration to reality by that ACP demonstration of the possibilities and the potential of effective unity across the mythical divides of residual colonialism.

More than once in those pioneering efforts at working together, Commonwealth and Francophone countries recognised the clear absurdity of preserving - as if decolonisation had never taken place - the biases, the suspicions, the sometimes wholly imaginary barriers to understanding - that were the inheritance of colonialism itself. The ACP/EEC negotiations were a watershed in Commonwealth/Francophone relations. Hereafter, those relations have a prospect of developing along pragmatic lines, released from the psychological constraints of the past. I believe that the Commonwealth is stronger for that release; that we are strengthened, not weakened, by ceasing to see ourselves as a club of elites but rather as a facility within the wider community of mankind - working with a wider vision of man's interdependence, and therefore of his common destiny.

But while inter-regional co-operation between African, Caribbean and Pacific countries has advanced the processes of co-operation between Commonwealth and Francophone countries in West Africa, it is itself (over a wider area) an extension of the phenomenon of regionalism which is so significant a feature of modern

international life. Commonwealth countries are now so prominent in regional groupings the world over that regionalism itself might be seen as a facet of the character of this new Commonwealth of which I am speaking.

Britain in Europe is an example of it: Caribbean countries in their experiments in regional economic integration that have now led to the Caribbean Community, and their new linkages with Latin America which itself evolves into a new entity as their membership enlarges its dimensions, is another example. Singapore and Malaysia, as they work in association with South East Asian Nations in ASEAN to build links with countries like Indonesia and Thailand; and now ECOWAS in West Africa, are all examples of this new regional thrust.

And in a less structured way, Australia and New Zealand in their close links with the Commonwealth Pacific Islands (themselves collaborating in the South Pacific Forum and in the South Pacific Economic Commission) and beyond the Pacific asserting an identity in the wider area of the Indian Ocean and of the Far East from Japan to Antarctica - these older Commonwealth countries also manifest the same awareness of region unhindered by Commonwealth constraints. And in the character of this outward-looking Commonwealth is the perception by Canada of a distinctive role in the world; a role which the rich diversity of its society and its situation as a middle state - not too intimately a part of the world's power structure - uniquely equips it to play.

These dimensions of the enlightened preoccupations of so many of our member countries in the areas of regionalism and internationalism impress the Commonwealth with new strengths. Far from dissipating the Commonwealth connection they enrich its potential - provided always we see ourselves in these realistic terms and not allow our vision to be clouded over by old images of a now reconstructed past.

And the Commonwealth is a place not of old relationship renewed - that is a false interpretation of history, and a dangerous one - but a place of new relationships voluntarily entered into, relationships entirely different from those that existed before in the days of empire. That is made easier for us than for others by the sheer balance of power and of wealth within our ranks. It is worth noting that within the Commonwealth the former dominant power - now an equal member of our fellowship - is the fourth in terms of population (after India, Nigeria and Bangladesh) and also the fourth in terms of the wealth of its population (after Canada, Australia and New Zealand). These are things that really do make the rhetoric of partnership a reality.

The problems that the Commonwealth confronts today are not problems that it confronts alone; they are not 'Commonwealth problems' as such. They are the great issues of the world, the issues that concern our members most intimately, but whose solutions are unlikely to be found within our own ranks. The Commonwealth, in part because of the working language that so many of its leaders share, but also and perhaps more importantly

because of the shared working traditions and methods that prevail throughout our membership, offers a facility for working towards solutions. That is what it is for: to that it is dedicated.

We are now actively preparing for the next meeting of our Heads of Government, which opens in London on 8 June. This is the apex of the Commonwealth relationship, a forum for debate unparalleled in the world. It brings together not just the leaders of one bloc or interest group in the world, but those of countries as diverse in their economic wealth as Canada and Bangladesh: as diverse geographically as Fiji and Malta: landlocked Zambia with island Barbados - a vast range of races, colours, religions, political philosophies, right across the world.

It brings together members of many of the world's regional groupings - the Organisation of American States and the Association of South East Asian Nations; the European Community and the Organisation for African Unity. With unique informality the Heads of all these Governments - there were 31 Presidents and Prime Ministers around the table in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1975 - exchange ideas on their own and each others' preoccupations: an unrivalled forum for political enlightenment. And they also decide on practical initiatives.

Every year too, we organise a meeting of the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth: meetings of Ministers of Education, of Legal Affairs, of Health, are regularly organised by the Secretariat. We have had meetings of Ministers concerned with Youth Affairs and meetings of Agriculture Ministers concerned with the problems of food production and rural development. In all these fields and in many others we work together on practical solutions to shared problems.

It is out of these processes of consultation that has come our Fund for Technical Co-operation - the operational arm that gives us a capacity to act in the service of development. The basis of the CFTC's success is that the Fund truly belongs to and is operated by all its members together. All subscribe to the Fund: it belongs not to the rich countries, but to all its countries. It benefits development, but all are donors.

More important yet is the fact that so many of the experts provided by the Fund to developing countries are themselves from other developing countries: of our present total of some 250 experts in the field, 44 per cent are themselves from developing countries. This is not just a good example of the poor helping each other - although it is that, and that is good. It is equally important in functional terms; in terms of relevant skills and experience. In the CFTC the resources of the Commonwealth are combined to find the most suitable and the most useful way of helping other members: it is the very foundation of all we do, and I commend it to you for study, if not necessarily for imitation!

But much of the work asked of the Secretariat by member countries is in the wide area of political and economic relations

between states. And we are never short of issues. Right now we are inevitably preoccupied with one which, tragically, has been with us ever since the Secretariat began its work. It is the struggle against racism that persists so anachronistically in southern Africa - in Namibia, in South Africa itself and, above all, in Rhodesia. The illegal declaration of independence by a minority cabal in that country happened almost immediately after the establishment of the Secretariat, and ever since we have - I sincerely believe - been the focus for the solidarity of all our member countries, in condemnation of the dominance of 5 per cent of the population of Rhodesia over a suppressed majority. In particular, the Secretariat has been deeply engaged in the education and training of the skilled people that Zimbabwe will need when it attains independence: almost 3,000 Zimbabweans have been trained or found jobs outside the country since UDI in 1965, under schemes run by the Secretariat.

Heads of Government in 1975 in Jamaica put in hand a similar programme to train exiles from Namibia, which remains under illegal occupation by South Africa. In all these ways we assert by practical means the unity of the Commonwealth against racism and oppression in the part of the world where those evils still rage at their worst. And last year, within twenty-four hours of Mozambique closing her border with Rhodesia in the application of international sanctions, Commonwealth action began which has now put on the ground an effective programme of assistance to Mozambique. And this is additional to the direct involvement of Secretariat personnel in United Nations programmes at the UN Secretary-General's request.

And on the economic front too we promote the interest of all our members - and indeed of the whole world - in a less grossly inequitable world society. The Commonwealth was formally committed to this issue in 1971, at the Singapore meeting of Heads of Government. In Kingston the commitment was reaffirmed and strengthened. The group of ten experts established by the Kingston meeting has, I believe, made a real contribution to the world economic debate on the installation of a New International Economic Order: their recommendations made their mark at the UN General Assembly in 1975, at the UN Conference on Trade and Development in 1976, and in all sorts of world debates - let alone their impact on the international economic policies of all member states.

For the Commonwealth cannot be neutral or inactive on this great issue of our time. We have among our members, as you know, some of the world's richest nations. We also include 44 per cent of the population of the developing world - and (excluding the Socialist countries), a staggering 88 per cent of the world's poorest people, those living on less than \$200 a year.

The gap between the rich and the poor - between the richest and the poorest - is I am sure the great moral issue that now confronts the Commonwealth as part of our global society. And I am confident that we can face the challenge, and make progress for our members and for the world, both in the realm of ideas,



by contributing constructively to the world debate, and in practical terms by fostering active co-operation among our members.

I emphasise, though, that in this the Commonwealth cannot act in isolation, as though it were a bloc of like-minded nations. We are a sample of the world, at the service of the world. Last year, symbolising that reality, the Commonwealth Secretariat was granted observer status at the General Assembly of the United Nations, and it is always within the framework of the United Nations goals that our actions must be carried on.

I speak to you then with a measure of confidence about the destiny of the Commonwealth, and about its role and its utility in the world. But I emphasise that its utility is not so much as a unit in itself - certainly not as a self-contained unit - but as a factor contributing to the solutions that the world seeks, and that the Commonwealth's peoples, and their political leaders, seek too.

Here in Québec we could lay the groundwork for a widening of the base on which that work can be carried ahead, by exploring with you, as Francophones conscious of your own identity and your own dignity, ways in which we might join together in this work of construction of a better world.

That joint enterprise will be easier for us both if we forsake myths and enlarge realities - realities of ourselves and of the world around us. But, mostly, it would be assisted if we sharpen our perception of the interdependence of the human condition - acknowledging our need of each other and working steadily to strengthen all the elements that make for fraternity and to sublimate and suppress all those that keep, or force us, apart.

That perception of our contemporary reality, which has validity for the Commonwealth and la francophonie alike - validity both separately and collectively, was well conveyed by one of your own Canadian poets who I believe spent much of her youth here in this Province: by Margaret Atwood's haunting words that seem so apposite as, looking out onto a wintry landscape here in Québec, we conjure with the future:

"See, we are alone in  
the dormant field, the snow  
that cannot be eaten or captured

Here there are no armies  
here there is no money

It is cold and getting colder

We need each others'  
breathing, warmth, surviving  
is the only war  
we can afford, stay

walking with me, there is almost  
time / if we can only  
make it as far as

the (possibly) last summer".

Let these lines help to provide our theme here at this symposium  
on the Commonwealth and la francophonie: "Stay walking with me,  
there is almost time".

Address given by the Commonwealth Secretary-General,  
H.E. Shridath S. Ramphal

To the Ottawa Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society  
Ottawa, Canada, November 4, 1976

Mr. Chairman:

Although this is by no means my first visit to Ottawa as Secretary-General, this is the first occasion on which I have an opportunity to speak publicly in Ottawa since assuming office. What more appropriate, then, than that I should do so at the invitation of the Capital's Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society and on the occasion of the annual meeting here of the Society's National Council. It is an invitation for which I am deeply grateful.

And what a great honour and joy it is for me to be introduced on this occasion by my good friend and predecessor, Arnold Smith. The entire Commonwealth owes a considerable debt to Arnold Smith and to Canada which gave him to us. In large measure, he was responsible for the Commonwealth coming through a decade of turbulence, not only intact, but stronger than ever before and better equipped to tackle the problems that lay ahead. It fell to him to assist the evolution of a new relationship between Britain and her Commonwealth partners - a relationship that marked a maturing of the Association, so that today there is no senior partner, no distinction between old and new, great and small, rich and poor, in terms of Commonwealth membership.

And, of course, it was Arnold's single-minded commitment to Commonwealth goals, that made it possible for the Secretariat itself to develop as it did over these formative years. I am grateful for this opportunity to pay tribute, here in Ottawa, to his immense contributions.

I represent the official Commonwealth - the Commonwealth primarily of governmental contact and co-operation. You are an example of the unofficial Commonwealth, of that tremendously varied collection of organizations that enrich the life of the Commonwealth at the unofficial or non-governmental level. As the chief servant of the Commonwealth, I acknowledge the enormously valuable contribution these unofficial organizations make to the vitality of our association, by bringing the Commonwealth together at the level of its people, by improving understanding and promoting friendship across national frontiers through contact and practical co-operation in a miscellany of fields.

There are over two hundred Commonwealth organizations of various types, all contributing to stronger Commonwealth links. Their number is steadily increasing. There are a number of non-governmental organizations which facilitate contact among people from particular walks of life - architects, librarians, parliamentarians, nurses, doctors, pharmacists, ecologists, businessmen, magistrates, veterinarians, geographers, ex-servicemen, and so on. Then there are other organizations with broader membership, and your own organization - the Royal Commonwealth Society - has long occupied a special place among them.

At first glance, it may appear that we work at levels - the official and the unofficial - that do not impinge on each other. I am convinced, however, that our activities at our different levels can - and, in the larger interests of the Commonwealth which we all serve, must be made to - reinforce each other.

It was, therefore, a particular satisfaction that my current visit to Canada should have begun with the Dalhousie Conference on the Commonwealth and Non-Governmental Organizations recently held in Halifax. Canada's Royal Commonwealth Society made an important contribution to that Meeting and I know that you would wish me to place on record here in Ottawa on behalf of all who work to strengthen and sustain the Commonwealth our deep appreciation of the contribution made by the Government of Canada to the success of this meeting of Commonwealth NGOs. That support, supplementing the efforts of the University of Dalhousie, is typical of the practical yet imaginative contributions to Commonwealth development we have come to expect from Canada.

The Dalhousie Conference, attended by 66 participants from 18 Commonwealth countries, was an important beginning of what I hope will be an enlarging contribution by the Commonwealth's NGOs to the goals of Commonwealth co-operation and, therefore, to the strengthening of the Commonwealth itself.

The specific recommendations of the Dalhousie Conference will command the attention of the Secretariat and I am sure that they will also receive the attention of Commonwealth Governments upon whose support their implementation so greatly depend. But there is one element of the Conference's concerns from which I believe there can be no dissent, namely, the importance they attach to increasing public understanding of the Commonwealth.

One of the functions that devolves on the Secretariat as the central agency of Commonwealth Governments - and it is one which I attach the utmost importance - is that of widening and deepening popular understanding of the reality of the contemporary Commonwealth. I have long been convinced that in discharging this function we can be greatly assisted by the active co-operation of the Commonwealth's voluntary organizations. Organizations like the Royal Commonwealth Society - that should be able to command large and influential memberships with a commitment to the Commonwealth - can certainly render complementary service in this field of Secretariat activity. But such service can only be rendered, of course, if it is informed throughout by an understanding of the true nature of the modern Commonwealth and by an awareness of the importance of enlarging that understanding among all the people of the Commonwealth.

There can be no doubt of the strength of the commitment to the Commonwealth on the part of the leaders of our countries, on the part of Presidents and Prime Ministers, of other Ministers and of Senior Officials. There is abundant evidence of that commitment: the importance which Commonwealth leaders attach to their biennial summit meetings, and more specific consultations on political issues; the importance Governments attach to regular Commonwealth consultations in such fields as education, health, law and economic matters, including the whole range of international economic issues; the increasing support Governments extend to the many programmes of practical co-operation that exist within the Commonwealth; the readiness of Governments to make greater use of Commonwealth machinery for advancing consensus on

crucial issues at the wider global level. These are all evidence of the value Governments place on the Commonwealth connection.

But we cannot truthfully claim that this perception of the vitality of the Commonwealth, of the nature, the role and the value of the contemporary Commonwealth, is as yet adequately shared by the people of the Commonwealth. Outside the narrow echelons of governmental or professional or academic eminence, too many people know too little about the Commonwealth. Lack of knowledge generates indifference; and it sometimes generates scepticism if not, indeed, suspicion. In some quarters, there is the added problem of misinformation, of wrong impressions, of past images distorting the vision of today's reality.

In some respects, we should not be surprised that this is so, when we consider the massive transformation that the Commonwealth has undergone. There has been the sheer increase in numbers: in the number of countries assuming full membership of the association on becoming independent, and of the number of people who belong to the Commonwealth. In 1948 there were eight members. This year, we have just welcomed the Seychelles as our thirty-sixth member. This change in the size of membership has considerable implications for the issue of information and perception. There are more countries with many more people who need to be brought to an appreciation of the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, in the old and new member countries alike, the passage of time releases generations who must be brought anew to an awareness of the Commonwealth.

But the change is not merely numerical. Besides the quantitative change in Commonwealth membership, there has been a change in conception and in character, a change in purposes and in priorities. These are changes that history has wrought, changes which mean that the Commonwealth of 36 is now qualitatively different from yesterday's Commonwealth of 8. To the task of bringing an awareness of the Commonwealth to its vastly enlarged constituency is therefore added that of helping all the people of the Commonwealth to keep in step with the changed nature of the association.

What is this new Commonwealth? What distinguishes it from the old Commonwealth? What are its contemporary realities? What does it do? Before I set out to answer these questions I would like to say something that may seem obvious, but which perhaps is worth restating lest memory and sentiment so becloud perception that we end up missing entirely the meaning and significance of the present. Over twenty years ago, this was said about the Commonwealth.

"The Commonwealth bears no resemblance to the empires of the past. It is an entirely new conception - built on the highest qualities of the spirit of man, friendship, loyalty and the desire for freedom. To that new conception of an equal partnership of nations and races I shall give myself heart and soul every day of my life."

That definition of the Commonwealth, and that commitment to the Commonwealth as so defined, came from the Queen in Her Majesty's Christmas Day broadcast in 1953 the year after succeeding to the Throne and becoming Head of the Commonwealth. It has been a commitment unswervingly discharged.

If I may now borrow an analogy from a source close to the Queen, the Commonwealth is no longer a wheel with one country at its central hub. Today's Commonwealth has no centre and no periphery; no inner core and no outposts. It is polycentric; its links are multilateral. It is a web of relationships that binds Canada to the Caribbean and West Africa to the South Pacific even as it links the Mediterranean to East Africa and Britain to Botswana. The radial spokes that joined rim to hub have rearranged themselves in the criss-crossing lines of an asymmetrical lattice.

The old Commonwealth drew its strength from the easy and natural affinities of race and culture, from the cosiness of kinship. The new Commonwealth is marked by its diversity. It is that diversity, the bringing together of a variety of peoples, with different cultures, from different continents, at different levels of economic achievement, that gives today's Commonwealth its character and its importance.

A good example of this variety and its enrichment of Commonwealth relations is what I might call our 'French connection'. Canada's own French cultural heritage is a much valued dimension of the Commonwealth's rich diversity. And in Mauritius and, now, the Seychelles are predominantly French-speaking countries among our family of member States. Not surprisingly, in this context, and given the outward-looking character of our new Commonwealth, we are forging links of functional co-operation with the Agence de Co-operation Culturelle et Technique. We have recently shared with the Agence our particular experience with the Fund for Technical Co-operation and, later this year, I will be paying an official visit to its Paris headquarters.

These are all important developments. They reflect, I believe, how much in tune we are with the mood of our times that rejects the division of the world into exclusive spheres. It is the same mood that has helped to develop among the Africans, Caribbean and Pacific States in their negotiation and operation of the Lome Convention with the EEC a new unity of purpose and a new capacity for joint action. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Commonwealth countries should have played no small part in making this possible. Canada, whose very nationalism is founded on unity within diversity and who is so active a practitioner of the politics of consensus, contributes in no small measure to the emergence of this ethos of the Commonwealth.

What, then, has taken the place of the old Commonwealth is a community of a quarter of the world's states reflecting all the rich variety of the human condition - a sample of the international community that brings to the human dialogue the global awareness that its variety demands. And, in doing so, it has managed to preserve its rather special facilities for consultation and co-operation. Its leading players still meet, and informality is continued; indeed it is treasured. They assemble in no one centre, but in

capitals the world over; and their valued weekend retreat is now, perhaps, the closest the leadership of our world society ever comes to glimpsing the reality of the human family. In these intangibles, lie some of the Commonwealth's greatest strengths, and they derive from the reality of the Commonwealth's changed condition.

What are the issues that concern today's Commonwealth? Pre-eminent among those that have dominated Commonwealth attention since it began its transformation has been the process of decolonisation - the movement to freedom from colonial rule. Linked firmly, and naturally, to that has been concern with the struggle against racial oppression. Given the composition of the Commonwealth and the history of its member nations, it was entirely predictable that these should have been the overriding pre-occupations of the Commonwealth...that the Commonwealth should have accorded the highest priority to furthering the principles of self-determination and non-racialism.

Enlightened post-war British policies have greatly helped to advance the processes of decolonisation. Today, the Commonwealth's greatest concern in this area is with those remaining enclaves in southern Africa where these processes have not been allowed to advance toward their inevitable outcome, namely Rhodesia and Namibia.

In Rhodesia, the Commonwealth has striven long and strenuously for a peaceful transfer to majority rule. It needs to be remembered that these many efforts have been frustrated consistently, and with rising intransigence, by an illegal regime that never even claimed to represent more than a mere 5% of the total population. Over ten years, they have rebuffed every attempt to reinstate constitutionalism and negotiate a future based on the equal rights of all people. In doing so, they unquestionably drew strength from those outside Rhodesia who by intention or by default helped them to believe that they could build walls against the tide of history. There could have been no greater dis-service than to sustain them on so futile and disastrous an enterprise. That armed struggle in Rhodesia became a reality was a measure of that dis-service and one that Commonwealth Heads of Government at Kingston in mid 1975 foresaw an 'inevitability' if the opportunities of a negotiated installation of majority rule were once more missed.

I say this not without restraint, for we are even now at a moment of opportunity. But, even this moment can itself be missed if we lose our perspectives or allow them to be distorted by an appeal founded on misplaced conceptions of rights and wrongs.

The basic objective in Rhodesia to which all Commonwealth Governments are committed is independence on the basis of majority rule. If Dr. Kissinger's recent efforts have contributed to advancing us closer to that goal they are no less laudable because late. They deserve, and have received, Commonwealth support to the extent that they tend to the achievement of those objectives and to meeting them now and not in a precariously deferred future. And those efforts will need to be sustained and their promise fulfilled by a continuing adherence to the objective of self-determination.



To this end, the support and co-operation of the Commonwealth will be needed also. I am sure that it can be assured. The Secretariat has already provided personnel assistance to the nationalist delegations in Geneva in response to their requests and in fulfilment of the commitments of Commonwealth Heads of Government. The Secretariat itself has Observer Status at the Geneva discussions and you can be sure that we shall do everything within our capabilities to contribute to their success.

Nor are Commonwealth Governments merely detached spectators; for the consequences of failure can have implications for many Commonwealth countries and for their relationships with each other. Indeed, failure can have the most serious global consequences - some too alarming to contemplate with equanimity. It behoves us all, therefore, to be ready to contribute in all those ways in which Commonwealth contributions can be of practical assistance. We can do no less consistent with our commitments at a Commonwealth level and our obligations to the international community.

The problem of Rhodesia is not, of course, a problem for the Commonwealth only; but it is one with respect to which history has imposed rather special responsibilities on us - including a responsibility to the international community. If it transpires that Commonwealth action can help to bring a just quietus to this troubled issue it would be a contribution by which we serve not merely the Commonwealth but the international community itself. Pray God that at this time of decision, wisdom and vision and realism prevail.

While the issues of colonialism and racism have been dominant ever since the new Commonwealth began to take shape, recent years have propelled another to join in at the head of the Commonwealth agenda. This is the issue of poverty and development. The Commonwealth's collective concern with this matter has been growing in recent years, with greater priority given to it in Commonwealth discussions; but the subject itself and the Commonwealth's appreciation of it are, of course, not new.

It was as long as 1950 that Commonwealth leaders signalled their concern with poverty by deciding to establish the Colombo Plan to buttress the development efforts of the emergent countries of South and South East Asia. The issue of development was to gather urgency as global disparities widened - as deprivation deepened for the many while wealth accumulated for a few. The 1960s saw development elevated as a major topic for international debate and action, and the launching of the first Development Decade by the United Nations. The remarks I am about to quote were made at that time - fifteen years ago:

"We are beginning to realise the dangers in a situation where some countries are enjoying all the fruits of material progress and others none at all. There is a growing feeling that this unbalance is neither morally acceptable nor is it likely to improve the chances of peaceful conditions".

That was Prince Philip, in April 1961. His Royal remarks were representative of the more perceptive warnings that came increasingly from world leaders from that time onwards, and which have crystallised today into the demand for an entirely new economic order.

But while recognition grew that poverty was the morally unacceptable face of our economic and social system, at the international as well as the national levels, and while appeals were made to conscience as well as to self-interest, the problem of poverty persisted - appearing, as it were, to confirm the old saying that the poor will be with us always. By 1971, so strong was Commonwealth feeling on this rut of poverty, that when Commonwealth leaders came to draft a Declaration of Commonwealth Principles at their Singapore meeting, they wrote into it their conviction that "the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated."

It is both right and natural that the Commonwealth should be so involved in the struggle against poverty, for the prevalence of poverty is one of the realities of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth has one fourth of the world's people, but it has nearly one half of the world's poor. And of those who are classified as the 'absolute poor', the poorest of the poor, those with annual incomes of less than \$200, whom Robert McNamara called the world's 'marginal men' - nearly three out of every four live within the Commonwealth.

There is a coldness about statistics, and repetition tends to create a state of numbness and insensitvity to what they mean. I shall therefore not quote any more statistics; but I invite you to ponder for a moment over the last figure I mentioned. An annual per capita income of 200 dollars or less. What does that mean? It means that there are millions of people in the Commonwealth who must live - if it can be called living - on about 50 cents a day. And this, remember, is an average; more than half of them - some 400 million Commonwealth citizens must live on half that meagre sum - less than what others spend on cigarettes, on bus fares, or on feeding their pets. And they must survive on these margins without the supplements of subsidised housing or health services or education or water supply or transportation - indeed, often without any of these communities at all. These are, indeed, marginal people, subsisting at the periphery of human existence.

Against the background of such pervasive inequality, of deprivation so deep that it diminishes human dignity, it would be a travesty of the very term 'Commonwealth' for us not to be preoccupied with the issue of poverty. And, in that preoccupation, it is logical that the Commonwealth should not only take practical action through its own machinery, but also seek to influence the international community towards the measures that could significantly promote the elimination of poverty. The Commonwealth has sought to make that contribution, using its unique facilities for constructive dialogue among its members, to advance progress towards a consensus on the wider global stage. At Kingston, the Jamaican capital, which provided the setting for last

year's Meeting of Heads of Government, Commonwealth leaders set up a group of experts, a Commonwealth think-tank, to make proposals for international action to reduce economic disparities. The work of this group, which has issued two reports so far, has been a valuable input into the world dialogue; and it is work that is continuing.

In this matter, a great responsibility devolves on Commonwealth developed countries. If the Commonwealth is to help to move the world forward on the poverty front, Commonwealth developed countries have to be in the vanguard of the rich, demonstrating their own commitment to change and urging on the industrial world toward enlightened and progressive positions. If they are not: if, instead, they are seen to be within the rear guard of reaction, they not only deprive the world of the Commonwealth's contribution to global progress but diminish the quality of the Commonwealth connection itself.

This was why at UNCTAD IV in Nairobi, Canada's final position was so important to continuing Commonwealth efforts. It can be quite important also to the ongoing international dialogue whether the promise implied in that final position, for it was only a promise, is fulfilled in the ongoing negotiations in the commodities field. Indeed, it can be a matter of considerable significance that Commonwealth developed countries generally are seen to be disengaged from those 'hard-line' positions rooted in the ideology of market forces that now threaten to polarise the international debate. In the months ahead, Commonwealth and global consultations will be much concerned with these questions of what the world will do, as distinct from what the world professes, about eradicating the inequalities that so pollute our planet and diminish our humanity.

I venture to suggest that Commonwealth and global interests, the interests of rich countries no less poor ones, require the urgent conquest of international poverty; and therefore, responses that will at least represent the commencement of the assault upon it.

In what might have been his valediction to the developed world, the late Lester Pearson, who, as a statesman belonged as much to the world as to Canada - admonished us in 1968 in words that reflect fundamental truths and remain relevant today:

"Peace is progress, peace is growth and development. Peace is welfare and dignity for all people. The nations - developed and developing - must work together; each side has its responsibility to this end. They must do so not merely by transferring resources from those who have to those who have not, in conditions which make progress possible. There must be international, economic, and financial policies which recognize the interdependence of all nations and will help the poorer ones to grow. If after the political, economic, and financial experiences of recent years we still think that states, however proud and independent they may feel, can go it alone in these matters, ignoring each other's interests and above all the interests of the impoverished and backward states, then we are beyond redemption. Before long, in

our affluent, industrial, computerised jet society, we shall feel the wrath of the wretched people of the world. There will be no peace."

Lester Pearson's perception of the interdependence of nations and peoples was real long before it became fashionable to speak of that interdependence in the context of the current international dialogue. Yet, the global awareness which makes that perception real needs to become much more pervasive - the awareness of our world as a community of the human race; the awareness of brotherhood, not in terms of relationships across the frontiers of separate states, but of relationships within the frontiers of an integral human society.

When that awareness ceases to be the virtue of a few and informs the ethos of the many, we will move nearer to a pattern of international life that is responsive to the realities of interdependence. That it is not yet so, is manifest from the contradictions which afflict our modern world and which the Commonwealth in its efforts to advance understanding, and consensus, cannot ignore.

Take armaments for example: amid massive international poverty and our inability to effect a transfer of resources from the rich to the poor on a scale commensurate with need and commitment, world expenditure on armaments is now close to the obscene level of 300 billion dollars a year - nearly 840 million dollars for every day of every week; and the level is rising. Almost half the world's scientific and technological manpower, some 500 thousand scientists and engineers devote their skills to military research and armaments production.

As regards population: the world's population will double within the next 50 years - from under 4 billion to over 7 billion. Over 800 million people will have been born into the poverty and condemned to the deprivations of the developing world. It has been all too easy and simplistic to lecture the poor about soaring birth rates. When it is remembered that 5 out of every 6 children die before the age of 3 in some of the poorest countries - children are the only hope against the emptiness and helplessness of old age -- family planning in our sophisticated terms becomes a little meaningless. High birth rates clearly have not just a cause but an effect relationship with poverty and under-development.

As regards food: while one and a half billion people, a third of humanity are victims of hunger and under-nourishment, over-consumption is the life style of the rich. In a world of want, the cult of consumerism has generated such enormous waste that it is estimated that as much as 65% of the food served in United States restaurants ends up in garbage cans; and, that 25% of all the food purchased by middle class families is similarly thrown away.

As regards the environment: with the combined effects of urbanisation, industrialization agricultural methods and current life styles, our planetary

life support systems are under unprecedented attack. We simply do not know how close we may be to the outer limits; yet, to exceed them could result in a planet no longer able to support human life.

And despite all our experience on the land, the oceans and outer space that are the common heritage of mankind are in danger of becoming arenas of conflicting interests. The energy, mineral and nutrient resources of the oceans and the still indeterminate potential of outer space cannot surely be pre-empted by those who manage first to reach them as in some renewed scramble for possession of what is above any man's or any nation's proprietary claims.

Nor is this an exhaustive catalogue of the problems facing us all - rich countries and poor alike; but they are challenges that can only be met through a global awareness of the human condition. Nor are they new; basically, they were the problems that occupied the attention of UNCTAD I in 1964; they were the disparities that launched the first development decade in 1960, and the second in 1970. Nothing about their reality is new; what is new, is the perception by the developing world that their root causes lie in the structure of the world order and an emerging acknowledgement in many parts of the developed world, not only that these perceptions are right, but that the interests of human society in general demand that the inequities they reflect must be righted. What is new is the dawning appreciation that the task of creating a just and equitable world community cannot be much longer deferred. As Leon Eisenberg said in 1974:

"The idea of brotherhood is not new, but what is special to our times is that brotherhood has become the precondition for survival."

Given the Commonwealth's record in decolonisation; given the overall record of its developed states in terms of aid; given the genuine concerns animating so many areas of thinking on Third World issues at political and academic levels throughout so much of the developed Commonwealth; given Britain's commitments to making the EEC more progressive and outward-looking; given the challenges and opportunities of Canada's role in the North-South dialogue; given the work of the Commonwealth Expert's Group and the general endorsement of its interim and further Reports by Commonwealth Governments; given the positive contribution of Commonwealth developed states, including Australia and New Zealand, at the Seventh Special Session - given all this and more, the Commonwealth I suggest, has the right to demand of itself a truly purposeful role in helping the world towards that global awareness and towards consensus on a more just and equitable system of global arrangements.

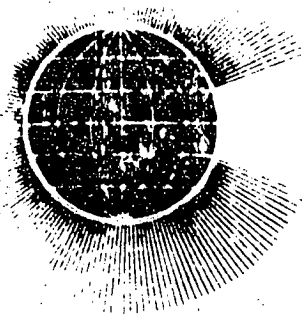
And in this matter, as I told the Dalhousie Conference, many non-governmental organizations have a vital role to play both in reaching Governments and, at least as important, in reaching people; for a new international order will only come when the people of the world - particularly of the developed world - demand it of their Governments. Your efforts, for example, can assist in reaching the trade unionists - the workers of the developed countries - to help them see in the struggle for real development at the international level a reflection of their own successful struggle for social and economic justice at the national level. They can help in reaching

the consumers - to convince them that there are gains in a new system which does not deprive them of access to the products of the Third World at prices uninflated by artificial barriers. They can help in reaching the businessmen and industrialists - to help them understand that their long term interests, both in terms of access to materials and their capacity to sell, lie in the restructuring of the world order and that they would do well to make an investment in it. You are specially well placed to reach the many ordinary citizens whose instinct of goodness tells them that the present system does not serve their own countries well and who are searching for new values and concepts of a just global society. And you can reach the youth and sustain them in their rejection of the invalidity of contemporary human relationships and the economic structures directed to perpetuate them; and to channel their energies to the construction of a new order.

Now, more than ever before, the Commonwealth needs to bring to a troubled, frustrated and even more divided world that 'touch of healing' which is its most precious gift to give.

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# COMMONWEALTH INFORMATION

75/36

## MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, APRIL/MAY 1975

### FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Kingston from 29 April to 6 May. All Commonwealth countries were represented, twenty-eight by their Presidents or Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of Jamaica was in the Chair.
2. This was the first Heads of Government Meeting to be held in the Caribbean. Heads of Government expressed their gratitude to Commonwealth Caribbean Governments and in particular to the Prime Minister of Jamaica for the warm hospitality provided by his Government.
3. Heads of Government extended a cordial greeting to the Prime Minister of Grenada whose country had become a member of the Commonwealth since the previous Meeting. They affirmed that a request from Papua New Guinea for Commonwealth membership on the attainment of its independence would be welcomed.
4. Heads of Government paid tribute to the memory of the late Norman Kirk, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and recalled with respect and affection his deep and practical concern for humanity and his outstanding personal contribution to the development of the modern Commonwealth.
5. Heads of Government reaffirmed the value they attach to these Meetings and expressed satisfaction with the constructive approach and mutual confidence of their deliberations. They noted with approval the increasing use being made of Commonwealth machinery to further the principles of the Commonwealth Declaration and to promote consultation, co-operation and collaborative action across and within regions. Such consultation formed an important part of the contribution Commonwealth countries make to the development of a new pattern of international relations which takes account of the significant shifts in political and economic power. Heads of Government urged that the Commonwealth initiatives already taken to this end should be intensified so as to promote peace and security, economic and social justice and harmony among races.
6. The reduction of continuing unacceptable economic disparities, the shifting balance of political and economic power, and colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa, were the main preoccupations of Heads of Government in their discussions.



7. Heads of Government recalled the statement in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles: "We believe that the wide disparities in wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated", and pledged themselves to do all in their power to promote a new and equitable economic order.

#### World and Commonwealth Trends

8. Heads of Government reviewed political developments in the world which had occurred since they last met, in the light of the varied interests and concerns of member countries. They acknowledged the contribution of the spirit of detente to a measure of relaxation in international tensions and called for its universal application. They noted, however, that there were some crisis areas in the world where peace and stability were not yet secured and which were still subject to super power rivalry and interference. They stressed that the maintenance of peace and stability could not be left to arrangements between the super powers but was the responsibility of the entire international community. Heads of Government laid particular emphasis on the opportunities for the Commonwealth to make a constructive contribution to the problems of Southern Africa and underlined the special responsibility of Commonwealth member countries to work together in the search for a resolution of the situation in Rhodesia.

#### Disarmament

9. Heads of Government expressed their concern at the continued testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons and reaffirmed the need for urgent measures to facilitate a comprehensive ban on all nuclear weapons tests as one essential step towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

#### Cyprus

10. Heads of Government, deeply concerned over the continuation of the Cyprus crisis, expressed their solidarity with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and their determination to help in the achievement of a political settlement based on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. They reaffirmed their support for General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council's Resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) and in particular they called for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus, for the taking of urgent measures for the return of all refugees to their homes in safety and for continued efforts through the intercommunal talks to reach freely and mutually acceptable political settlement. They noted the spirit of goodwill with which the Government of Cyprus approached the resumption of the intercommunal talks under the personal auspices and direction of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and expressed the hope that these would be fruitful.

11. Heads of Government, as a concrete expression of their interest and concern for a fellow Commonwealth country, agreed to establish a committee consisting of representatives of the Governments of Australia, Britain, Guyana, India, Kenya, Malta, Nigeria and Zambia to meet with the Commonwealth Secretary-General as early as possible, to follow

developments concerning Cyprus, make recommendations and assist in every possible way towards the early implementation of the above-mentioned United Nations Resolutions.

#### Middle East

12. Heads of Government expressed concern at the renewed danger of conflict in the Middle East. They re-emphasised the need for the establishment of a durable peace in the area as a matter of urgency and urged all parties to renew their efforts to achieve this objective. To this end Heads of Government affirmed their support for the relevant United Nations Resolutions on the Middle East and their belief that to ensure success it was necessary that the authentic and legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people participate in the forthcoming peace negotiations in Geneva.

#### Indian Ocean

13. Noting that the Indian Ocean was a region of special interest to a significant number of Commonwealth countries, Heads of Government re-affirmed the desirability of ensuring that it remained an area of peace and stability. Serious concern was expressed about the increase in naval activity in the Indian Ocean area on the part of the great powers and the establishment and expansion there of military installations. Heads of Government called upon all nations, and particularly the great powers most directly concerned, to work towards the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

#### South Asia

14. Heads of Government noted that positive steps had been taken in the process of normalisation among the countries of the South Asian sub-continent. However, they expressed their grave concern at the impediment to normalisation of relations posed by certain outstanding problems resulting in the aggravation of economic hardship and the retardation of the process of national reconstruction in Bangladesh. These problems include the repatriation of nationals and the sharing of assets. Heads of Government expressed the hope that the problems will be resolved expeditiously and satisfactorily through discussions among the countries concerned in the larger interest of peace and stability in the region.

#### Indo-China

15. Heads of Government welcomed the end of the prolonged war in Indo-China, urged countries in a position to do so to contribute to international assistance for the urgent tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction and looked forward to the new governments of the region playing their full part in the community of nations.

#### The Caribbean

16. Heads of Government strongly reaffirmed the right of people in each country to choose the form of government which they considered best able to achieve their social, economic and political goals.

## Belize

Heads of Government offered their full support for the aspirations of the people of Belize for early independence. Noting that talks had recently been resumed with Guatemala, and bearing in mind the special responsibilities of Britain as the administering power, Heads of Government urged the parties to take all necessary action for a speedy solution of the problem, which could be endorsed by the international community through the United Nations, in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

## Cuba

Heads of Government expressed the hope that all countries would now normalise their relations with Cuba and respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that state and the right of its people to the government of their choice.

## Southern Africa

17. Heads of Government had a thorough and constructive discussion of the changing situation in Southern Africa and its implications for the Commonwealth. They considered that the imminent independence of Mozambique and Angola had radically altered the balance of forces in the area and tributes were paid to the liberation movements who had contributed so decisively to this result.

18. Heads of Government re-emphasized that the objective for Rhodesia was independence on the basis of majority rule. They welcomed the initiatives taken by the Heads of Government of Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia and the President of Frelimo to achieve this objective by peaceful means if possible. The Heads of Government, meeting informally, heard a statement by Bishop Muzorewa, President of the African National Council. The Meeting noted that the nationalist movement now united in the African National Council was seeking with sincerity and determination the basis for an agreed settlement.

19. Heads of Government reaffirmed their total support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence on the basis of majority rule and pledged to concert their efforts for the speedy attainment of this objective. They took note of the determination of the African freedom fighters, supported by African and other states, to achieve their objective by peaceful means if possible and recognised the inevitability of intensified armed struggle should peaceful avenues be blocked by the racist and illegal regime. The moral responsibilities in those circumstances would lie with the minority government and those who had chosen to sustain it.

20. The Meeting noted that South Africa continues to support the rebel government by affording it the military and economic assistance on which its survival depends and reaffirmed their view that South Africa should fulfil its international obligations and strictly apply the United Nations mandatory sanctions and withdraw its forces from Rhodesia.

21. It was agreed that the prospects for a settlement would be greatly enhanced by the strict enforcement of sanctions by the international community as a whole. Heads of Government undertook to bring this consideration to the attention of governments outside the Commonwealth in renewed representations where a breach of sanctions was known to have occurred. They also agreed to take action at the international level for the reinforcement and extension of sanctions.

22. In considering the recommendations of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, and authorising the Committee to continue its work, Heads of Government emphasised the importance of taking immediate practical steps to assist an independent Mozambique in applying sanctions since the great bulk of Rhodesia's exports and imports is dependent on Mozambique's transit facilities. They were unanimously in favour of providing immediate financial assistance to the new Government of Mozambique. They also endorsed the recommendation that an initiative should be taken by Commonwealth Governments at the United Nations to establish a programme of assistance for Mozambique in terms of Articles 49 and 50 of the Charter.

23. Heads of Government were deeply concerned that South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in total disregard of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice of June 1971, and in defiance of world opinion. Reaffirming that the fragmentation of Namibia was unacceptable, they recalled the obligation of the international community to maintain the territorial integrity of the territory and the right of its people to self-determination and independence.

24. The Meeting looked forward to the time when the government and people of Namibia might be welcomed into the Commonwealth, if that were their wish.

25. Heads of Government reaffirmed their total and unequivocal condemnation of apartheid and all forms of racialism. They welcomed the British Government's decision to comply strictly with the United Nations embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa and to terminate the Simonstown Agreement. They condemned the violation of the embargo by those countries which continue to supply arms to South Africa or enable them to be manufactured in that country. Noting the alarming increase in South Africa's defence expenditure, Heads of Government expressed their concern that this military build-up was bound to increase tension in an area already plagued by dangerous conflict. Heads of Government also agreed to maintain and intensify effective pressure on South Africa in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid.

26. Heads of Government reiterated their support for humanitarian assistance to the indigenous people of Southern Africa in their efforts to achieve self-determination and independence. Several Heads of Government described their contribution to various bilateral and multilateral programmes and indicated their intention to increase such assistance. The Meeting also noted with approval the development of the Special Commonwealth Programme for Assisting the Education of Rhodesian Africans and indicated their desire to expand this Programme to meet new and urgent needs. In particular, Heads of Government recognised the importance of extending the variety of education and training opportunities available to

the people of Zimbabwe, with special emphasis on technical and industrial training, "in service" experience and administrative training. It was also agreed that Commonwealth multilateral assistance should be made available to help in the developmental and training needs of the people of Namibia.

#### Economic Matters

27. Commonwealth Heads of Government recognised the need to take immediate steps towards the creation of a rational and equitable new international economic order. They reaffirmed the statement included in the Commonwealth Declaration adopted in Singapore in 1971 that "the wide disparities of wealth now existing between different sections of mankind are too great to be tolerated.... our aim is their progressive removal", and acknowledged the complexity, range and inter-related nature of the issues involved. They agreed that a small Group of Experts should be invited to draw up for consideration by Commonwealth Government, in the context of the current international dialogue, a comprehensive and inter-related programme of practical measures directed at closing the gap between the rich and the poor countries. These measures would be designed to promote development and to increase the transfer of real resources to developing countries inter alia in the areas of production, distribution and exchange of primary and secondary products as well as services. Heads of Government recognised the importance in this context of co-operating to achieve an expanding world economy and world trade.

28. The Group of Experts should be selected from the Commonwealth on the basis of their personal capacities and their expert knowledge of contemporary problems of international economic development, and should be assembled in a way which would enable the perspectives of different regions of the Commonwealth and different national development strategies to be brought to bear on the problems concerned.

29. The Group of Experts should address itself to the issues and proposals elaborated in:

- i. The Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order as adopted by the United Nations General Assembly; and
- ii. the relevant principles of the Commonwealth Declaration adopted in Singapore in 1971; and
- iii. the concepts and proposals advanced during the discussions of the international economic situation at the Kingston Meeting of Heads of Government including the presentations by the Government of Guyana on behalf of the Caribbean and by the Government of Britain.

30. In drawing up a programme of practical measures the Group should pay particular attention to:

- i. measures to transfer real resources from developed to developing countries through international co-operation in the field of international trade in primary commodities with particular reference to the integrated commodities

programme recommended by the Secretary-General of UNCTAD, current proposals of buffer stocks, for indexation, and other relevant proposals, including the proposal for a general agreement on commodities.

- ii. measures which the international community can introduce for assisting developing countries -
  - (a) to increase food production;
  - (b) to promote rural development;
  - (c) to promote economic co-operation among themselves at the sub-regional, intra-regional and inter-regional levels; and
  - (d) a review of existing organisations for industrial co-operation and development.
  - (e) to obtain greater control over, and benefits from, such activities as shipping, insurance, banking and other parts of the infrastructure for international trade and development.
- iii. programmes for industrial development involving new and expanded forms of industrial co-operation, the enlargement of employment opportunities in developing countries, and more favourable access to the markets of developed countries;
- iv. a review of existing organisations for industrial co-operation and development;
- v. mechanisms for increasing the flow of long-term development funds, the transfer of technology and the transfer of real resources to developing countries; and
- vi. reform and where necessary the restructuring of the international institutions concerned with the management of international trade and finance, and whether means could be found to increase the effective share of the developing countries in the decision-making process of the major international financial institutions.

In all of the above matters due regard would be paid to the special needs of the least developed, land-locked, the most seriously affected, and island developing states with limited natural resources.

31. In drawing up its recommendations the Group of Experts should consider the feasibility of utilising relevant concepts and mechanisms embodied in recent economic co-operation agreements between certain developed and developing countries.

32. The Group of Experts should consist of not more than ten persons.

33. The members of the Group should be appointed by the Secretary-General after consultation with Member Governments.
34. The Group should aim at submitting to Governments an interim report on the results of its work indicating measures which are amenable to early and effective implementation in time to permit discussion of this report at the next meeting of Commonwealth Ministers and to enable Governments to take this report into account before the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly.
35. It is expected that the Group will endeavour to hold its first meeting by the end of May or early in June.
36. It would be desirable that the Secretary-General-elect should be associated at as early a stage as possible with the work of the Group.
37. Heads of Government appointed Mr. Alister McIntyre, Secretary-General of the Caribbean Community, Chairman of the Expert Group.

#### Lomé Convention

38. Heads of Government welcomed the conclusion of the Lomé Convention drawn up by the European Economic Community and forty-six countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. They welcomed the increased co-operation within the Convention between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth countries in these areas. They expressed the hope that the principles underlying the Lomé Convention could usefully contribute to the further development of relations between the EEC and other industrialised countries, on the one hand, and developing countries, including the Asian and other Commonwealth countries, on the other.
39. Heads of Government welcomed the valuable support which the Secretariat is giving to Commonwealth countries in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations.

#### Food Production and Rural Development

40. Heads of Government discussed the Report of the Commonwealth Ministerial Meeting on Food Production and Rural Development, held in London in March 1975. They welcomed the opportunity it had provided to consider in a Commonwealth setting the problems of the three quarters of the population of Commonwealth developing countries who live in rural areas. Heads of Government endorsed the view that the problems of rural development and food production should be attacked in an integrated manner and should receive high priority from individual governments and aid agencies. They stressed the need for aid-providing agencies to adapt their practices and programmes to meet the special needs of food production and rural development, and endorsed the proposal to establish a Food Production and Rural Development Division within the Secretariat. The new Division would enhance the effectiveness of the Secretariat's already significant contribution to this sector and should be essentially action-oriented.
41. Heads of Government emphasised the setback to agricultural production which has resulted from scarcity and high prices of fertilizer, and welcomed efforts, in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, to secure

adequate supplies of fertilizer at reduced costs. They also called for similar efforts with respect to farm machinery, feed stuffs and other agricultural inputs.

#### Drought and other Natural Disaster

42. Heads of Government recognised the value of the Commonwealth as a forum in which to consult and concert broad strategies for action in the Sahelian zone of Africa and in other natural disaster areas and endorsed the recommendation of the Ministerial Meeting on Food Production and Rural Development that Commonwealth action should supplement action taken by world bodies.

#### Industrial Development Co-operation

43. In underlining the importance of increasing agricultural production, Heads of Government stressed the parallel and related need to accelerate the development of industry and endorsed the expansion of industrial co-operation, particularly between Commonwealth countries. In this context, they stressed the need for measures to promote the processing of primary commodities in their places of origin and the removal of barriers to trade in processed primary commodities and other manufactured goods.

44. Heads of Government stressed their concern to ensure that the activities of multinational corporations conform with the policies of host governments and their goals for an equitable redistribution of wealth. They noted the work done on multinational corporations by the Commonwealth Secretariat and by bodies in the UN system. They agreed on the need for countries to build up their capabilities to deal with multinational corporations.

#### Development Assistance

45. Heads of Government affirmed the need for all countries with the capacity to do so, to maintain and, wherever possible, increase the flow of development assistance to developing countries, especially to the developing countries most seriously affected by recent economic developments. They should also promote the rapid industrialization of developing countries.

#### Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

46. Heads of Government reaffirmed their conviction that mutual help and shared responsibility were essential elements in Commonwealth co-operation. They expressed satisfaction at the expansion of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation in the four years since its establishment, noted with approval its flexibility and its capacity to respond quickly to the requests of member countries and commented favourably on its successful management.

47. Recognising the need for the Fund's resources to keep pace with the expanding requirements of Commonwealth governments, Heads of Government noted with appreciation the steady growth in support for the Fund and welcomed the substantially increased pledges made by developed and developing member countries. They noted the intention expressed by



a number of Governments to increase their contribution and hoped that further increases would be forthcoming.

#### Commonwealth Investment Bank

48. Heads of Government noted the studies organised by the Secretary-General at the request of the 1974 Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, on the financial feasibility and the need for the services of a Commonwealth Investment Bank along the lines proposed by a Commonwealth Expert Group. They concluded that a number of issues still required discussion before the proposal could be put to Governments for a final decision. They requested the Secretary-General to convene a Committee of Commonwealth Officials to prepare a detailed and specific proposal, addressing itself to the unresolved issues which must be faced if such an institution is to be set up. This Committee should report to the next meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers.

#### Commonwealth Scientific Committee

49. Noting the crucial importance of science and technology in promoting social and economic development, Heads of Government welcomed the proposal of the Commonwealth Scientific Committee for an enlarged programme of scientific and technological co-operation among Commonwealth members and for the closer integration of its activities within the Secretariat. They expressed the view that attention should be given to environmental aspects in the enlarged programme.

#### Commonwealth Youth Programme

50. Recognising that the population of all Commonwealth countries included a significant and increasing number of young people whose talents and potential ought to be fully utilised in meeting the developmental challenges of their communities and nations, Heads of Government noted with satisfaction the progress which had been made in the short time since the establishment of the Commonwealth Youth Programme and agreed that the programme should be extended beyond 1976.

#### Brain Drain

51. Heads of Government acknowledged the concern expressed over the problems associated with the Brain Drain and agreed that there was an urgent need for practical measures to reduce these difficulties being experienced. The specific proposal for the establishment of a volunteer corps was considered and the Secretary-General was asked to undertake a detailed study for the consideration of Commonwealth Governments.

#### Women in Public Affairs

52. While recognising that there was increasing participation by women in the national affairs of many Commonwealth countries, Heads of Government emphasized the need to focus greater attention on the rights of women to ensure the availability of opportunities for them to participate on a basis of full equality in the political, economic, social and cultural activities of their countries. As far as possible existing and future Commonwealth programmes should take into account the needs and aspirations of women and genuine efforts should be made to provide for their

full participation in national and international affairs.

Commonwealth Foundation

53. Heads of Government expressed appreciation of the achievements and progress of the Commonwealth Foundation which they regarded as having an important role to play in strengthening professional co-operation throughout the Commonwealth and noted the increased budgetary requirements for 1976/79.

Report of the Secretary-General

54. Heads of Government took note of the Fifth Report of the Secretary-General.

Election of Secretary-General

55. Heads of Government paid warm tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr Arnold Smith, C H, for his distinguished service to the Commonwealth over the past ten years and elected Honourable Shridath Ramphal, Foreign Minister of Guyana, to succeed him.

Next Meeting

56. Heads of Government accepted with pleasure an invitation by the United Kingdom Government to hold their next meeting in London in mid-1977 at the time of the celebrations of the Silver Jubilee of H M the Queen's accession as Head of the Commonwealth.

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COMMUNIQUE FINAL DE LA REUNION DE 1975  
DES CHEFS DE GOUVERNEMENT DU COMMONWEALTH

Les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth se sont réunis à Kingston du 29 avril au 6 mai. Tous les pays du Commonwealth y étaient représentés, dont vingt-huit par leur Président ou leur Premier ministre. Le Premier ministre de la Jamaïque a présidé la réunion.

2. Cette réunion était tenue pour la première fois aux Antilles. Les chefs de gouvernement ont remercié les gouvernements des Antilles du Commonwealth et notamment le Premier ministre de la Jamaïque pour le chaleureux accueil que leur a réservé son gouvernement.

3. Les chefs de gouvernement ont ensuite souhaité la plus cordiale bienvenue au Premier ministre de la Grenade, pays qui a adhéré au Commonwealth depuis la dernière réunion. Tous ont déclaré qu'ils accueilleraient favorablement la demande d'adhésion au Commonwealth que pourrait faire le Papua Nouvelle-Guinée après son accession à l'indépendance.

4. Les chefs de gouvernement ont rendu hommage au regretté Norman Kirk, Premier ministre de Nouvelle-Zélande, et rappelé avec respect et sympathie l'intérêt profond et réaliste de cet homme pour l'humanité et sa contribution personnelle remarquable à l'essor du Commonwealth d'aujourd'hui.

5. Les chefs de gouvernement ont également rappelé l'importance qu'ils attachent à ces réunions et se sont dits satisfaits du climat constructif et de la confiance mutuelle qui ont marqué leurs délibérations. Ils ont entièrement approuvé le recours de plus en plus fréquent aux institutions du Commonwealth comme moyen de mettre en application les principes de la déclaration du Commonwealth et de favoriser la consultation, la coopération et l'action concertée entre les régions et au sein même des régions. Cette

consultation constitue une partie importante de la contribution des pays membres du Commonwealth à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle structure de relations internationales qui tiendra compte de la réorientation globale des forces politiques et économiques. Les chefs de gouvernement ont insisté sur la nécessité d'intensifier les initiatives que le Commonwealth a déjà prises à cet égard, afin de promouvoir la paix et la sécurité, la justice économique et sociale et l'harmonie entre les races.

6. Les chefs de gouvernement ont principalement axé leurs discussions sur la réduction des disparités économiques toujours inacceptables, l'équilibre instable entre les forces politiques et économiques ainsi que sur le colonialisme et le racisme en Afrique australe.

7. Les chefs de gouvernement ont rappelé un des principes de la Déclaration de Singapour, savoir: "Nous affirmons que les disparités énormes qui existent du fait de la distribution inégale des richesses entre les différentes sections de l'humanité sont trop grandes pour que nous puissions nous en accommoder", et se sont engagés à promouvoir dans toute la mesure du possible un nouvel ordre économique qui soit équitable.

#### EVOLUTION DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE ET DU COMMONWEALTH

8. A la lumière des intérêts et des préoccupations diversifiés des pays membres, les chefs de gouvernement ont passé en revue les événements politiques survenus dans le monde depuis leur dernière réunion. Ils ont reconnu qu'un climat de détente peut favoriser un certain relâchement des tensions à l'échelle internationale et ont demandé instamment à tous les pays de poursuivre cet objectif. Toutefois, les participants ont noté qu'il subsiste dans le monde certaines régions

en proie aux crises, où la paix et la stabilité ne sont pas encore assurées, et que ces régions sont encore soumises à la rivalité entre les superpuissances et à leur ingérence. Ils ont exprimé l'opinion que le maintien de la paix et de la stabilité ne peut être obtenu par la voie d'arrangements entre les seules superpuissances mais qu'il doit être pris en charge par la communauté internationale tout entière. Les chefs de gouvernement ont notamment mis en relief les occasions qui s'offrent au Commonwealth d'apporter une contribution positive à la solution des problèmes qui existent en Afrique australe, et ils ont souligné la responsabilité particulière des pays membres de l'Association qui se doivent de rechercher ensemble une solution au conflit en Rhodésie.

#### **DESARMEMENT**

9. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont dits préoccupés par la poursuite des essais nucléaires et la prolifération des armes nucléaires et ils ont à nouveau souligné la nécessité d'adopter de toute urgence des mesures facilitant l'imposition d'une interdiction globale des essais d'armes nucléaires, étape essentielle vers un désarmement général et complet qui serait soumis à un contrôle international efficace.

#### **CHYPRE**

10. Profondément troublés par la crise qui sévit à Chypre, les chefs de gouvernement ont exprimé leur solidarité envers le Gouvernement de ce pays et réitéré leur volonté de contribuer à la négociation d'un règlement politique qui serait fondé sur l'indépendance, la souveraineté,

l'intégrité territoriale et le statut d'État non aligné de la République de Chypre. Ils ont également réaffirmé qu'ils souscrivent à la résolution 3212 (XXIX) de l'Assemblée générale et aux résolutions 365 (1974) et 367 (1975) du Conseil de sécurité et ont notamment demandé le retrait rapide de toutes les forces armées étrangères stationnées en République de Chypre, l'adoption de mesures d'urgence visant à faciliter le retour des réfugiés dans leurs foyers en toute sécurité et la poursuite des efforts, par la voie de pourparlers intercommunaux, pour parvenir à un règlement politique librement et mutuellement acceptable. Ils ont noté la bonne volonté manifestée par le Gouvernement de Chypre à l'égard de la reprise des pourparlers intercommunaux sous les auspices et la direction du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies et ils ont exprimé l'espoir que ces pourparlers portent fruit.

11. En guise de témoignage concret de la solidarité qui anime les pays membres du Commonwealth, les chefs de gouvernement ont convenu de mettre sur pied un comité formé des représentants des gouvernements d'Australie, de Grande-Bretagne, de la Guyane, de l'Inde, du Kenya, de Malte, du Nigeria et de la Zambie pour rencontrer le Secrétaire général du Commonwealth dans les plus brefs délais possibles afin d'étudier la situation à Chypre, de faire des recommandations pertinentes et de participer par tous les moyens possibles à la mise en application rapide des résolutions onusiennes susmentionnées.

#### MOYEN-ORIENT

12. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont dits préoccupés par le danger de reprise des hostilités au Moyen-Orient. Ils ont à nouveau

insisté sur la nécessité d'instaurer de toute urgence une paix durable dans cette région du monde et ont prié instamment toutes les parties en présence de redoubler d'efforts pour atteindre cet objectif. A cette fin, les chefs de gouvernement ont réitéré leur appui aux résolutions onusiennes sur le Moyen-Orient et leur ferme conviction que le succès de cette entreprise repose sur la participation de représentants véritables et légitimes du peuple palestinien à la prochaine ronde de négociations sur la paix à Genève.

#### OCEAN INDIEN

13. Notant que l'océan Indien est une région qui présente un intérêt particulier pour un nombre important de pays du Commonwealth, les chefs de gouvernement sont revenus sur la nécessité de ne pas troubler la paix et la stabilité qui y règnent. Les participants se sont déclarés vivement préoccupés par la recrudescence des activités navales menées par les grandes puissances ainsi que par l'établissement et l'expansion des installations militaires dans cette région. Les chefs de gouvernement ont instamment demandé à toutes les nations, et notamment aux grandes puissances les plus directement visées, d'oeuvrer ensemble à la mise en application des résolutions de l'ONU faisant de l'océan Indien une zone de paix.

#### ASIE DU SUD

14. Les chefs de gouvernement ont noté les importants progrès réalisés dans le cadre du processus de normalisation des relations entre les pays du sous-continent sud-asiatique. Sous ce rapport, ils

ont toutefois exprimé leur inquiétude face aux obstacles que constituent un certain nombre de problèmes en suspens, qui se traduisent par la détérioration de la conjoncture économique et le ralentissement du processus de reconstruction nationale au Bangladesh. Ces problèmes comprennent entre autres le rapatriement des nationaux et la répartition des revenus. Les chefs de gouvernement ont exprimé l'espoir de voir ces problèmes être résolus de façon rapide et satisfaisante par la voie de discussions entre les pays intéressés, dans l'intérêt plus général de la paix et de la stabilité dans la région.

#### INDOCHINE

15. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont réjouis de la fin de la longue guerre d'Indochine, ont prié instamment tous les pays qui peuvent le faire de participer aux efforts d'aide internationale dans les secteurs prioritaires de la réadaptation et de la reconstruction et ont exprimé l'espoir que les nouveaux gouvernements de la région participeront à part entière aux activités de la communauté des nations.

#### ANTILLES

16. Les chefs de gouvernement ont reconnu à nouveau le droit des peuples de tous les pays à choisir la forme de gouvernement pouvant le mieux permettre la réalisation de leurs objectifs sociaux, économiques et politiques.

#### BELIZE

17. Les chefs de gouvernement ont souscrit entièrement aux aspirations à l'indépendance du peuple de Belize. Par suite de la reprise récente des pourparlers avec le Guatemala et conscients des responsabilités



particulières de la Grande-Bretagne comme puissance administratrice, les chefs de gouvernement ont encouragé les parties en cause à prendre toutes les dispositions nécessaires pour en arriver rapidement à une solution qui pourrait être endossée par la communauté internationale par l'entremise des Nations Unies, en conformité avec le principe du droit à l'autodétermination des peuples énoncé dans la Charte de l'Organisation.

#### CUBA

Les chefs de gouvernement ont exprimé l'espoir que tous les pays normaliseront maintenant leurs relations avec Cuba et respecteront la souveraineté et l'intégrité territoriale de cet Etat et le droit de son peuple à choisir son gouvernement.

#### AFRIQUE AUSTRALE

17. Les chefs de gouvernement ont procédé à une analyse approfondie et constructive des transformations qui surviennent à l'heure actuelle en Afrique australe et de leurs répercussions pour le Commonwealth. Ils se sont dits d'avis que l'indépendance imminente du Mozambique et de l'Angola a radicalement modifié l'équilibre des forces dans la région et ils ont rendu hommage aux mouvements de libération qui ont contribué de façon si marquée à ce changement.

18. En ce qui concerne la Rhodésie, les chefs de gouvernement ont souligné qu'il s'agit pour ce pays d'accéder à l'indépendance sur la base du gouvernement par la majorité. Ils se sont réjouis des initiatives prises par les chefs d'Etat du Botswana, de la Tanzanie et de la Zambie ainsi que par le président du FRELIMO afin d'atteindre si possible

cet objectif par des moyens pacifiques. Lors d'une rencontre officielle, les chefs de gouvernement ont entendu la déclaration prononcée par l'évêque Muzorewa, président du Conseil national des pays africains. Les participants ont noté que le mouvement nationaliste maintenant unifié au sein du Conseil national des pays africains cherchait de façon sincère et résolue le fondement à un règlement mutuellement acceptable du conflit.

19. Les chefs de gouvernement ont réaffirmé leur appui sans réserve à la lutte de la population du Zimbabwe pour l'indépendance selon le principe du gouvernement par la majorité et se sont engagés à unir leurs efforts pour que cet objectif soit rapidement atteint. Ils ont pris note de la détermination des combattants pour la liberté africaine qui, avec l'appui des Etats africains et d'autres Etats, cherchent à en arriver à leur but en ayant d'abord recours à des moyens pacifiques, et ont reconnu l'inévitabilité d'une intensification des luttes armées si le régime raciste et illégal ne répond pas à leurs revendications pacifiques. Dans ces circonstances, le gouvernement de la minorité et ceux qui ont choisi de le supporter auraient à en porter la responsabilité morale.

20. Les participants ont noté que l'Afrique du Sud continue à soutenir le gouvernement rebelle en lui fournissant l'aide économique et militaire dont il a besoin pour survivre; ils ont réaffirmé leur opinion selon laquelle l'Afrique du Sud doit s'acquitter de ses obligations envers la communauté internationale, se conformer strictement aux

sanctions décrétées par l'ONU et retirer ses forces de la Rhodésie.

21. Tous ont reconnu que les possibilités de règlement seraient grandement accrues si l'ensemble de la communauté internationale se conformait strictement à ces sanctions. Les chefs de gouvernement ont décidé de porter cette question à l'attention des gouvernements qui ne sont pas membres du Commonwealth par des représentations répétées lorsqu'on aura contrevenu aux sanctions décrétées. Ils ont également convenu de prendre les mesures nécessaires à l'échelle internationale pour le renforcement et l'accroissement des sanctions.

22. En prenant connaissance des recommandations du Comité des sanctions du Commonwealth et en l'autorisant à poursuivre ses travaux, les chefs de gouvernement ont insisté sur la nécessité de prendre immédiatement des mesures pratiques en vue d'aider le Mozambique indépendant à appliquer les sanctions décrétées, car la Rhodésie dépend de ce pays pour le transport de la majorité de ses exportations et de ses importations. Ils ont unanimement accepté de fournir immédiatement une aide financière en ce sens au nouveau gouvernement du Mozambique. Ils ont également appuyé la recommandation voulant que les gouvernements des pays du Commonwealth proposent à l'ONU de créer un programme d'aide au Mozambique, conformément aux articles 49 et 50 de la Charte.

23. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont dits préoccupés par le fait que l'Afrique du Sud continue à occuper illégalement la Namibie, défiant ainsi l'opinion mondiale et allant à l'encontre des résolutions prises à l'Assemblée générale et au Conseil de sécurité et de l'opinion émise en juin 1971 par la Cour internationale de justice. Réaffirmant que le partage de la Namibie est inacceptable, ils ont rappelé l'obligation de

la communauté internationale de protéger l'intégrité territoriale de ce pays et le droit de son peuple à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance.

24. Les participants ont déclaré qu'ils seraient heureux d'accueillir un jour le Gouvernement et le peuple de la Namibie au sein du Commonwealth si c'est là leur désir.

25. Les chefs de gouvernement ont réaffirmé leur condamnation entière et sans réserve de l'apartheid et de toutes les formes de racisme. Ils ont bien accueilli la décision du Gouvernement britannique de se conformer strictement à l'embargo sur la vente d'armes à l'Afrique du Sud décrété par l'ONU et de mettre un terme aux Accords de Simonstown. Ils ont condamné la violation de l'embargo par les pays qui continuent à fournir des armes à l'Afrique du Sud ou qui permettent leur fabrication dans ce pays. Face à l'augmentation alarmante des dépenses de l'Afrique du Sud au chapitre de la défense, les chefs de gouvernement se sont inquiétés de la possibilité que ce déploiement militaire n'accroisse la tension dans une région qui est déjà le théâtre de sérieux conflits. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont également mis d'accord pour maintenir et intensifier les pressions sur l'Afrique du Sud dans la lutte pour l'élimination de l'apartheid.

26. Les chefs de gouvernement ont réitéré leur appui à l'aide humanitaire accordée aux populations indigènes de l'Afrique du Sud dans leurs efforts pour obtenir l'autodétermination et l'indépendance. Plusieurs chefs de gouvernement ont décrit leurs contributions à divers programmes bilatéraux ou multilatéraux et indiqué leur intention d'accroître cette aide. Les participants ont également constaté avec satisfaction la création du Programme spécial d'aide du Commonwealth à l'éducation des Africains

rhodésiens et ils ont exprimé le désir d'élargir ce programme de façon à satisfaire des besoins nouveaux et urgents. En particulier, les chefs de gouvernement ont reconnu la nécessité de diversifier les possibilités d'éducation et de formation offertes aux populations du Zimbabwe, surtout en ce qui concerne la formation technique et industrielle, l'expérience "en cours d'emploi" et la formation administrative. Il a également été convenu que l'assistance multilatérale du Commonwealth devrait être offerte aux populations de la Namibie pour répondre aux besoins en matière de perfectionnement et de formation.

#### QUESTIONS ECONOMIQUES

27. Les chefs de gouvernement du Commonwealth ont reconnu la nécessité de prendre immédiatement des mesures en vue de l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre économique international qui soit rationnel et équitable. Ils ont réaffirmé le principe énoncé dans la Déclaration du Commonwealth adoptée à Singapour en 1971, à savoir que "les disparités actuelles dans la répartition des richesses entre les hommes sont trop marquées et ne doivent pas être tolérées...il nous faut les faire disparaître progressivement"; ils ont reconnu que les problèmes actuels sont complexes, vastes et étroitement liés entre eux. Ils se sont dits d'accord pour qu'un petit groupe d'experts soit invité à élaborer à l'intention du Commonwealth, dans le contexte du dialogue international actuel, un programme général de mesures pratiques et interdépendantes en vue de combler le fossé entre pays riches et pays pauvres. Ces mesures seraient destinées à promouvoir le développement des pays pauvres et à accroître le transfert des ressources réelles vers les pays en voie de développement, notamment en ce qui concerne la production, la distribution et l'échange de produits primaires

et secondaires et de services. Dans ce contexte, les chefs de gouvernement ont reconnu l'importance de la coopération en vue d'améliorer l'économie et le commerce dans le monde.

28. Les experts devront être choisis au sein du Commonwealth selon leurs aptitudes personnelles et leur expérience des problèmes actuels en matière de développement économique international; ils seront groupés de façon à ce que les vues des différentes régions du Commonwealth et les diverses méthodes de développement national soient appliquées à l'étude des problèmes en cause.

29. Le groupe d'experts devra se pencher sur les questions et les propositions énoncées dans

I) La Déclaration et le programme d'action sur l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre économique international tels qu'adoptés par l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies,

II) les principes pertinents de la Déclaration du Commonwealth adoptée à Singapour en 1971, et

III) les concepts et les propositions formulés au cours des discussions sur la situation économique internationale dans le cadre de la réunion des chefs de gouvernement à Kingston, y compris l'exposé du gouvernement de la Guyane au nom des Antilles et celui du Gouvernement britannique.

30. En établissant un programme de mesures pratiques, le groupe d'experts devra s'attarder particulièrement sur

I) les mesures visant le transfert des ressources réelles des pays industrialisés vers les pays en voie de développement au moyen de la coopération internationale dans le domaine du commerce international des

produits primaires; ils étudieront surtout le Programme intégré pour les produits de base recommandé par le Secrétaire général de la CNUCED, les propositions actuelles concernant les stocks régulateurs en vue de l'indexation des produits et d'autres propositions pertinentes dont celle concernant un accord général sur les produits de base;

II) les mesures que la communauté internationale peut adopter pour aider les pays en voie de développement

a) à augmenter leur production alimentaire,

b) à encourager le développement rural,

c) à promouvoir la coopération économique entre eux par des échanges entre sous-régions, à l'intérieur d'une région et entre les régions,

d) à faire une révision des organismes existants de coopération et de développement industriels, et

d) à mieux contrôler des domaines d'activités tels l'expédition des marchandises, l'assurance, les opérations bancaires et d'autres composantes de l'infrastructure du commerce et du développement internationaux, et à en bénéficier davantage;

III) les programmes de développement industriel impliquant des formes nouvelles et plus développées de coopération industrielle, l'accroissement des chances d'emploi dans les pays en voie de développement et un meilleur accès aux marchés des pays développés;

IV) l'étude des organismes existants de coopération et de développement industriels;

V) les mécanismes visant à accroître les crédits consacrés au développement à long terme et le transfert de la technologie et des ressources réelles vers les pays en voie de développement; et

VI) la réforme et, au besoin, la restructuration des institutions internationales s'occupant de la gestion des finances et du commerce internationaux, et l'existence possible de moyens d'augmenter la participation réelle des pays en voie de développement au processus de prise de décisions des principales institutions financières internationales.

De toutes les questions mentionnées ci-dessus, une attention spéciale serait portée aux besoins particuliers des Etats les moins développés, les plus défavorisés, des Etats enclavés ou des Etats insulaires aux ressources naturelles limitées.

31. En élaborant ses recommandations, le groupe d'experts devrait étudier la possibilité de se servir des principes et des mécanismes mis en application dans les derniers accords de coopération économique entre certains pays développés et d'autres en voie de développement.

32. Le groupe d'experts devrait être formé d'au plus 10 personnes.

33. Les membres du groupe devraient être nommés par le Secrétaire général après consultation des gouvernements membres.

34. Le groupe devrait viser à soumettre aux gouvernements un rapport provisoire sur les résultats de ses travaux, indiquant les mesures qui se prêtent à une exécution prompte et efficace. Ce rapport devrait être soumis assez tôt pour que les ministres du Commonwealth puissent en discuter à leur prochaine réunion et pour que les gouvernements en prennent connaissance avant la septième session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée générale.



35. Le groupe doit s'efforcer de tenir sa première réunion vers la fin de mai ou le début de juin.

36. Il serait souhaitable que le Secrétaire général élu participe le plus tôt possible aux travaux du groupe.

37. Les chefs de gouvernement ont nommé à la présidence du groupe M. Alister McIntyre, Secrétaire général de la communauté des Antilles.

#### CONVENTION DE LOMÉ

38. Les chefs de gouvernement ont accueilli favorablement l'adoption de la Convention de Lomé rédigée conjointement par la Communauté économique européenne et par quarante-six pays d'Afrique, des Antilles et du Pacifique. Ils se sont réjouis également de la coopération accrue, dans le cadre de la Convention, entre des pays de ces régions qui font partie du Commonwealth et d'autres qui n'en font pas partie et ont exprimé le souhait que les principes fondamentaux de la Convention de Lomé puissent contribuer dans l'avenir à l'extension des relations de la CEE avec, d'une part, d'autres pays industrialisés et, d'autre part, avec des pays en voie de développement, dont des pays d'Asie et d'autres pays du Commonwealth.

39. Les chefs de gouvernement ont fait bon accueil à l'appui précieux que prête le Secrétariat aux pays du Commonwealth dans les négociations multilatérales sur le commerce.

#### PRODUCTION ALIMENTAIRE ET DEVELOPPEMENT RURAL

40. Les chefs de gouvernement ont étudié le rapport de la réunion des ministres du Commonwealth sur la production alimentaire et l'aménagement rural, tenue à Londres en mars 1975. Ils se sont réjouis de l'occasion qui s'est ainsi offerte d'étudier, dans le cadre du

Commonwealth, les problèmes des trois quarts de la population des pays en voie de développement du Commonwealth, qui vivent dans des régions rurales. Ils sont d'avis que les problèmes de développement rural et de production alimentaire commandent une approche globale et justifient que les gouvernements et les organismes d'aide leur accordent une haute priorité. Ils ont insisté sur la nécessité pour ces mêmes organismes d'adapter leurs méthodes et leurs programmes aux besoins particuliers de la production alimentaire et du développement rural, et ont souscrit à la proposition d'établir au sein du Secrétariat une nouvelle division qui s'occuperait spécialement de ces problèmes. Orientée essentiellement vers l'action pratique, cette nouvelle division rendrait plus efficaces les efforts déjà appréciables du Secrétariat dans ce domaine.

41. Les chefs de gouvernement ont attiré l'attention sur le recul qu'a connu la production agricole en raison de la rareté et du prix élevé des engrais, et ont salué les efforts déployés, tant dans le Commonwealth qu'ailleurs, en vue d'assurer des approvisionnements suffisants d'engrais à des prix réduits. Ils ont également signalé l'opportunité d'efforts semblables en ce qui concerne la machinerie agricole, les fourrages et autres investissements agricoles.

#### SECHERESSE ET AUTRES FLEAUX NATURELS

42. Les chefs de gouvernement ont reconnu l'utilité du Commonwealth en tant que forum où peuvent se discuter et s'élaborer les grandes stratégies concernant les mesures à prendre dans la région sahélienne de l'Afrique et dans les autres régions touchées par les fléaux naturels, et ils ont entériné la résolution de la réunion interministérielle sur la production alimentaire et l'aménagement rural recommandant que l'action

du Commonwealth dans ce domaine complète l'action des organismes internationaux.

#### COOPERATION POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT INDUSTRIEL

43. En soulignant l'importance d'une augmentation de la production agricole, les chefs de gouvernement ont insisté sur la nécessité d'accélérer parallèlement le développement de l'industrie et ont approuvé l'extension de la coopération industrielle, en particulier entre les pays du Commonwealth. A ce propos, ils ont fait valoir la nécessité de promouvoir la transformation sur place des produits de base et la levée des barrières commerciales pour les produits de base ainsi transformés et les autres produits manufacturés.

44. Les chefs de gouvernement ont fait valoir qu'ils estiment essentiel que les activités des sociétés multinationales soient conformes aux politiques des gouvernements qui les accueillent et à l'objectif d'une redistribution équitable des richesses arrêtée par ceux-ci. Ils ont pris note des études effectuées sur les sociétés multinationales par le Secrétariat du Commonwealth et certains organismes des Nations Unies et se sont entendus sur la nécessité pour les pays de se doter de meilleurs mécanismes dans leurs rapports avec ces sociétés.

#### AIDE AU DEVELOPPEMENT

45. Les chefs de gouvernement ont soutenu qu'il était nécessaire pour tous les pays en mesure de le faire, de maintenir et, si possible, d'augmenter l'aide aux pays en voie de développement, particulièrement à ceux qui ont été le plus durement touchés par les derniers bouleversements économiques. Tous les pays en mesure de le faire devraient aussi travailler à l'industrialisation rapide des pays en voie de développement.

#### FONDS DU COMMONWEALTH POUR LA COOPERATION TECHNIQUE

46. Les chefs de gouvernement ont réaffirmé leur conviction que l'assistance mutuelle et la responsabilité partagée étaient des éléments essentiels à la coopération au sein du Commonwealth. Ils se sont dit satisfaits de l'expansion qu'a prise le Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique depuis sa fondation il y a quatre ans, ont constaté avec satisfaction sa flexibilité et son aptitude à répondre rapidement aux requêtes des pays membres et ont loué sa bonne administration.

47. Reconnaissant que les ressources allouées au Fonds du Commonwealth pour la coopération technique doivent suivre les besoins croissants des gouvernements du Commonwealth, les chefs de gouvernement ont constaté avec satisfaction l'augmentation soutenue des ressources du Fonds et l'accroissement considérable des engagements pris à cet égard par les pays membres industrialisés et en voie de développement. Ils ont également pris note de l'intention manifestée par certains gouvernements d'augmenter leur contribution et ont exprimé l'espoir de voir se poursuivre cette tendance.

#### BANQUE D'INVESTISSEMENT DU COMMONWEALTH

48. Les chefs de gouvernement ont fait état des études menées par le Secrétaire général à la demande des ministres des Finances du Commonwealth lors de leur réunion en 1974; ces études portaient sur la rentabilité d'une Banque d'investissement du Commonwealth et la nécessité des services qu'elle pourrait offrir suivant les grandes lignes proposées par un groupe d'experts du Commonwealth. Ils en ont conclu qu'un certain nombre de questions restaient à discuter avant que la proposition

ne soit soumise aux différents gouvernements pour une décision finale. Les chefs de gouvernement ont demandé au Secrétaire général de réunir un comité formé de hauts fonctionnaires du Commonwealth afin de préparer une proposition détaillée et précise concernant les questions pendantes qu'il faut résoudre avant qu'une telle institution ne soit créée. Ce comité devrait produire son rapport lors de la prochaine réunion des ministres des Finances du Commonwealth.

#### COMITE SCIENTIFIQUE DU COMMONWEALTH

49. Signalant l'importance capitale de la science et de la technologie pour le développement économique et social, les chefs de gouvernement ont accueilli favorablement la proposition visant à créer un Comité scientifique du Commonwealth afin d'élargir le programme de coopération scientifique et technologique entre les pays membres du Commonwealth et favoriser une meilleure intégration des activités de ce programme au sein du Secrétariat. Ils ont exprimé le souhait que le programme élargi de coopération scientifique et technologique tienne compte des questions écologiques.

#### PROGRAMME DU COMMONWEALTH POUR LA JEUNESSE

50. Reconnaissant que tous les pays du Commonwealth ont une population toujours plus importante de jeunes gens dont les talents et le potentiel devraient être pleinement utilisés pour relever les défis posés par le développement de leurs communautés et de leurs nations, les chefs de gouvernement ont noté avec satisfaction les progrès accomplis depuis la création récente du Programme du Commonwealth pour la jeunesse et ont convenu que le Programme devait être prolongé au-delà de 1976.

#### EXODE DES COMPETENCES

51. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont montrés conscients des problèmes que pose l'exode des compétences et ont reconnu l'urgence d'adopter des mesures pratiques visant à réduire les difficultés sur ce plan. Ils ont examiné la proposition de création d'un service de volontaires et ont demandé au Secrétaire général d'entreprendre une étude détaillée à l'intention des gouvernements du Commonwealth.

#### LES FEMMES DANS LES AFFAIRES PUBLIQUES

52. Tout en reconnaissant la participation accrue des femmes dans les affaires nationales d'un grand nombre de pays du Commonwealth, les chefs de gouvernement ont souligné le besoin de mettre plus en évidence les droits des femmes afin qu'elles aient la chance de participer, sans discrimination aucune, aux activités politiques, économiques, sociales et culturelles de leur pays. Les programmes du Commonwealth, actuels et à venir, devraient tenir compte, dans toute la mesure du possible, des aspirations et des besoins des femmes; de véritables efforts devraient être consentis en vue de leur assurer une part pleine et entière dans les affaires nationales et internationales.

#### FONDATION DU COMMONWEALTH

53. Les chefs de gouvernement se sont dits satisfaits des réalisations et des progrès de la Fondation du Commonwealth, pour laquelle ils voient un rôle important dans la consolidation de la coopération professionnelle au sein du Commonwealth. Ils ont également pris note des besoins financiers accrus pour 1976/1979.

#### RAPPORT DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

54. Les chefs de gouvernement ont pris connaissance du cinquième rapport du Secrétaire général.

#### ELECTION DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL

55. Les chefs de gouvernement ont rendu un hommage chaleureux au Secrétaire général, M. Arnold Smith, pour les brillants services qu'il a rendus au Commonwealth au cours des dix dernières années et ils ont élu pour le remplacer l'honorable Shridath Ramphal, ministre des Affaires étrangères de la Guyane.

#### PROCHAINE REUNION

56. Les chefs de gouvernement ont accepté avec plaisir l'invitation du gouvernement britannique à tenir la prochaine réunion à Londres au milieu de 1977, époque où l'on célébrera la vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'accession de Sa Majesté la reine à la fonction de chef du Commonwealth.





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