

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS, 1965

(London, 17-25 June)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

At the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, which ended today, Pakistan, Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia were represented by their Presidents. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Malawi, Malta and The Gambia were represented by their Prime Ministers. Jamaica was represented by the Acting Prime Minister; Ceylon by the Minister of Justice; Cyprus and Kenya by the Ministers of External Affairs.

This was the first Meeting at which Malta, Zambia and The Gambia were represented as Members of the Commonwealth; and the other Commonwealth Heads of Government were pleased to welcome them. The Prime Minister of The Gambia informed the Meeting that it was his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth after introducing a republican form of Constitution and to accept The Queen as the symbol of the free association of the independent member nations and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth. The Heads of Delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of The Gambia that they would be happy to recognise The Gambia's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

The Prime Ministers took note that their Meeting was being held during the International Co-operation Year which itself stemmed from a proposal by the former Prime Minister of India, the late Mr Nehru. They recorded their sympathy with its objectives and their desire to assist in its success.

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations fell on the last day of the Meeting. The Prime Ministers sent a message of greetings and of good wishes to the Organisation to mark this occasion.

The Prime Ministers recognised that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association, is opposed to discrimination on grounds of race or colour; and they took the opportunity of their Meeting to reaffirm the declaration in their Communiqué of 1964 that, 'for all Commonwealth Governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.'

In the course of a comprehensive review of the major current international issues, the Prime Ministers noted with concern that, despite the efforts of many countries to promote peace and stability throughout the world, dangerous conflict, or the threat of conflict, persists in several areas. They expressed their

conviction that in these circumstances all possible steps should be taken to reinforce the authority of the United Nations Organisation; and they discussed in this context the question of China's representation in the Organisation. They also reaffirmed their belief in the importance of the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations; and they renewed their support for the efforts now being made by a Committee of the United Nations to establish just and equitable principles for authorising, organising and financing peace-keeping operations. They considered it essential that the General Assembly, when it reconvened, should be able to function normally. They welcomed the voluntary and unconditional contributions which had been made to the United Nations in order to help towards relieving it of its financial difficulties; and they expressed the hope that, as a result of these and other actions, the United Nations would be able to discharge its functions. The Prime Ministers pledged their loyalty to the United Nations, the success of which they considered to be essential to the maintenance of world peace.

The Prime Ministers expressed serious concern over the grave situation in Vietnam and the danger of its developing into a major international conflict. They reviewed the various efforts which had been made to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem; and, bearing in mind that the Commonwealth, by virtue of its wide membership, represented a very broad spectrum of opinion in the world and that their Meeting was taking place at a time when the peril to world peace was rapidly increasing, they considered, on the first day of the Meeting, a proposal for a new attempt to move forward to a peaceful solution. To this end a Mission was established to make contact with the parties principally concerned with the problem of Vietnam.

The Mission is composed of the Prime Minister of Britain, the President of Ghana and the Prime Ministers of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago. The Prime Minister of Britain, as Chairman of the Meeting, was appointed Chairman of the Mission. Its object is to explore with the parties principally concerned how far there may be common ground about the circumstances in which a conference might be held leading to a just and lasting peace in Vietnam and, having ascertained such common ground, to seek agreement on a time, place and composition of a conference. The Mission will report progress from time to time to the Prime Ministers by whom they were appointed. The Meeting approved a statement of guidance to the Mission, a copy of which is attached to this Communiqué, together with copies of two statements issued by the Mission.

Malaysia

The Prime Ministers reviewed other developments in South-East Asia. They noted, with concern, that tension still persisted between Malaysia and Indonesia, thus disturbing the peace and security of the area, despite the interval since they had last collectively considered the matter and had stated in the Communiqué issued at the end of their Meeting in 1964, that 'they assured the Prime Minister of Malaysia of their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries'. They recognised and supported the right of the Government and people of Malaysia to defend their sovereign independence and territorial integrity, and expressed their sympathy to the Prime Minister of Malaysia in his country's efforts to this end. They looked

forward to the establishment of peaceful, friendly and mutually advantageous relations between Malaysia and Indonesia on a just and honourable basis.

Cyprus

The Prime Ministers expressed concern about the situation regarding Cyprus. They reaffirmed their full support for the U.N. Security Council resolutions on the subject. The Prime Ministers asserted that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the framework of the U.N. and its Charter and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice and in conformity with the wishes of the people of Cyprus.

They appealed to all countries concerned to act in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of the 4th March 1964, and to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force to which a number of Commonwealth countries are contributing. They also expressed their appreciation of the work and persistent efforts of the United Nations Mediator.

Africa

The Meeting took note of the widely expressed regret at the failure of the Portuguese Government to give due recognition to the legitimate political aspirations of the peoples of the Portuguese territories in Africa. The Meeting expressed support for the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa and unanimously called upon South Africa to bring the practice to an end.

Caribbean

In discussion of Caribbean problems the Prime Ministers took note of the situation in the Dominican Republic. They expressed the hope that peace would be restored there and a final settlement reached within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations on the basis of self-determination and in accordance with the wishes of the people of the Republic.

Disarmament

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the aim which they had expressed in their Statement on Disarmament on 17th March 1961, namely to achieve total and world-wide disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control. They commended the thorough and useful work which had been done in furtherance of that aim by the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference since it first met in March 1962, both on general and complete disarmament and on preliminary measures to build international confidence. They recognised that the non-aligned members of the Conference, by playing a constructive and intermediary role, had contributed to the progress already achieved and had increased world understanding of the importance of disarmament.

The Prime Ministers believed that there was an urgent need for further progress in the disarmament field, both in the interests of world peace and in order to enable the nations of the world to devote their resources to more

fruitful purposes. They considered that the problems involved in the elaboration of an agreement for general and complete disarmament should be re-examined, in the light of their Statement on Disarmament of March 1961, by the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. They considered that, in order to create the optimum conditions for the success of their efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee should resume its detailed negotiations at Geneva with a view to reaching agreement on the next steps to disarmament which could be submitted to an eventual World Disarmament Conference which should be open to participation by all States.

They welcomed the various proposals which had been put forward for measures to reduce tension and build up international confidence. They hoped that early progress would be made towards an acceptable agreement on some of these measures, including the limitation and reduction of stocks of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles and a phased reduction in conventional armaments, as steps towards a world agreement for general and complete disarmament. They emphasised the urgency of arms control and, recognised that in appropriate areas agreement on nuclear-free zones could assist such control. In this connection the hope was expressed that in the preparation of the appropriate Treaties, the declarations by the Organisation of Africa Unity and certain Latin American States regarding the establishment of nuclear-free zones in their own geographical areas would be respected.

The Prime Ministers emphasised that ways and means should be found for associating the People's Republic of China with future discussions on disarmament. Indeed they felt that the importance of a solution of the disarmament problem had been underlined by the fact that, since their last Meeting, the Government of the People's Republic of China had exploded two nuclear devices and had clearly demonstrated their intention to develop nuclear weapons.

The Prime Ministers wished to record their firm conviction that the continuing spread of nuclear weapons had created a serious danger for mankind. They believed that the development of new national nuclear weapon capabilities might jeopardise further efforts to bring about general and complete disarmament. Moreover, the prospects for achieving a fair settlement of disputes would suffer as international tension increased and there would be a growing risk that nuclear proliferation might cause a local conflict to escalate to a nuclear exchange into which the major nuclear powers might be drawn.

Accordingly, the Prime Ministers, fully aware of the gravity of the situation and of their responsibility to each other and to other members of the international community, expressed their determination to give urgent and wholehearted support to measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. To this end they reaffirmed their willingness to join with other countries in signing as soon as possible any appropriate international agreement which would halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

They expressed the hope that efforts to extend the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water should be extended to cover underground tests as well. They called on all nations to abstain from actions which might make agreement on general and complete disarmament or preliminary measures more difficult.

Dependent Territories

Britain made the following statement to the Meeting about the progress of British Colonial dependencies towards independence. The independent members of the Commonwealth now amounted to no less than 21, including a population of more than 750 million; Britain had 31 remaining dependencies with only 10 million inhabitants, of whom over half were in Hong Kong and the South Arabian Federation. Nineteen of these dependencies contained less than 100,000 people and six less than 10,000. It was hoped that many of these remaining dependencies would reach independence in the next three years, including Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Swaziland and the South Arabian Federation; and also some or all of the territories in the East Caribbean, whether in a federation or separately.

The Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries noted with approval the further progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth since their last Meeting. They welcomed the assurance of the Prime Minister of Britain that it remained the objective of his Government to lead to independence, on the basis of democratic government and the principle of universal adult suffrage, such of the remaining territories as desired it and could sustain it; and that the British Government would continue to seek to devise the most appropriate alternative arrangements for such smaller territories as were unable, or unwilling, to proceed to full independence.

In relation to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland the view was expressed that such economic assistance and guarantees of territorial integrity as were necessary to maintain the territories as independent states should be given.

As regards British Guiana, while differing views are held on the constitutional arrangements best suited for the country, the Prime Ministers welcomed the British Government's intention to hold a conference later this year, one of the tasks of which would be to devise a constitution, and to fix a date, for independence. The Prime Ministers noted the British Government's recognition of the need for adequate machinery to ensure human rights and due judicial processes.

As regards the countries of the Eastern Caribbean, the Meeting expressed the hope that the assistance urgently required to strengthen their economies and ensure their viability so as to enable them to sustain the obligations of independence would not be delayed by the discussions on political arrangements.

Rhodesia

The Commonwealth Secretary informed the Meeting of the attempts which the British Government had made in recent months to resolve the problem of the further constitutional development of Rhodesia. He explained the considerations by which they were and would continue to be guided in their approach to the question of Rhodesian independence and emphasised that central to these was the necessity to provide guarantees that future constitutional development should conform to the principle of unimpeded progress to majority rule, together with an immediate improvement in the political status of the African population and the progressive elimination of racial discrimination. As they

had repeatedly made clear, the British Government would only recommend to Parliament the grant of independence to Rhodesia if they were satisfied that this was on a basis acceptable to the people of the country taken as a whole. He emphasised the dangers of the use of force or unconstitutional methods by any party; and he reaffirmed in this connection the policies of the British Government as indicated in their statements of 27th October 1964 and 29th April 1965.

The Heads of Government of the Commonwealth took note of the Commonwealth Secretary's statement. They reaffirmed their previous statement that they were irrevocably opposed to any unilateral declaration of independence by the Government of Rhodesia, and further reaffirmed their insistence on the principle of majority rule.

While the Prime Ministers reaffirmed that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining Colonies, including Rhodesia, to independence must continue to rest with Britain, they also reaffirmed that the question of membership of the Commonwealth by an independent Rhodesia, or by any other newly independent territory, would be a matter for collective Commonwealth decision.

The British Prime Minister was urged by other Prime Ministers to convene a constitutional conference at an early date, say within three months, which all the political leaders in Rhodesia should be free to attend. They reaffirmed that the object of such a conference should be to seek agreement on the steps by which Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable date on a basis of majority rule. In this connection they welcomed the statement of the British Government that the principle of 'one man one vote' was regarded as the very basis of democracy and this should be applied to Rhodesia.

An appeal was made for the immediate release of all the detained or restricted African Leaders as a first step to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for a constitutional conference. A further appeal was made that the death sentences passed on persons now awaiting execution for offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act should be respite.

It was further urged that, should the Rhodesian Government refuse to attend such a conference and to release the detainees, the British Government should introduce legislation to suspend the 1961 Constitution and appoint an interim Government, which should repeal oppressive and discriminatory laws and prepare the way for free elections.

The British Government said that they were actively engaged in discussions with the Government of Rhodesia; and they undertook to take full account, in relation to these discussions, of all the views which had been expressed during the Meeting. In this process of seeking to reach agreement on Rhodesia's advance to independence a constitutional conference would, at the appropriate time, be a natural step. If the discussions did not develop satisfactorily in this direction in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government having regard to the principle enunciated by the Commonwealth Secretary of unimpeded progress towards majority rule would be ready to consider promoting such a conference in order to ensure Rhodesia's progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

The Prime Ministers renewed their call to all leaders and their supporters in Rhodesia to abstain from violence and to co-operate in the work of fostering tolerance and justice, as the basis of a society in which all the inhabitants would be assured that their interests would be protected.

Economic Affairs

The Prime Ministers then turned to consider problems of aid and development. They recognised that economic and social development constitute a long-term co-operative enterprise in which all countries can work together. The importance of economic planning in relation to development would call for an increased supply of experts; and concerted measures would therefore be required in order to enlarge and mobilise resources of this kind by means of adequate facilities for education and training.

The Prime Ministers appreciated the importance of programmes of economic aid to the developing Commonwealth countries. They took note of the contributions made to such programmes by Commonwealth countries both collectively and individually; and they agreed that these programmes should be maintained and expanded as far as possible. They endorsed the concept of co-operative forward planning of development aid which would apply not only to matching the assistance provided by the developed countries with the needs of the developing countries but also to the supply of personnel for schemes of technical assistance, to which they agreed that high priority should be given. They welcomed the establishment of the British Ministry of Overseas Development together with the decision of the British Government to provide loans free of interest in appropriate cases; they also expressed their appreciation of the similar loans already provided by the Government of Canada and of the fact that the Government of Australia makes its aid available wholly on the basis of grants. It was suggested that, in those cases where financial assistance would remain unused, or give rise to serious internal problems, because of the inability of some recipient countries to finance local costs, donor countries should consider making financial contributions to cover a proportion of such costs. The Prime Ministers recognised the importance of the flow of direct investment to developing countries and expressed the hope that, insofar as economic circumstances permit, the minimum restriction would be placed in its way.

The Prime Ministers recorded their satisfaction at the constructive outcome of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa last August; they looked forward to an equally successful result for the Commonwealth Medical Conference which is to be held in Edinburgh in October 1965.

The Prime Ministers agreed that effective development is promoted not only by aid but even more by trade. Moreover, they were convinced that an expanding exchange of goods and services, by emphasising the interdependence of the countries of the world, was one of the most effective ways of promoting the growth of international understanding and the elimination of the causes of friction.

In further discussion of economic development in the Commonwealth, emphasis was laid on the importance to the economies both of Britain and of certain other Commonwealth countries of emigration to Britain from those countries. The Prime Ministers recognised that the extent of immigration into

Britain was entirely a matter for the British Government to determine. The hope was expressed that in operating such immigration controls as they might think necessary, the British Government would continue to give preferential treatment to Commonwealth citizens; and they welcomed the assurance of the British Prime Minister that there would be no differentiation in any restrictions on account of colour or creed.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the work which had been done since their last Meeting in carrying forward the initial impetus to the expansion of trade which was provided by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; and they pledged themselves afresh to press for more outlets for the trade of developing countries.

They stressed the importance to the development of the economies of member countries of the Commonwealth of the prices obtained for their primary commodities, particularly where the prices of primary produce fell in relation to prices of manufactured goods. The low levels to which the prices of cocoa and some other commodities have fallen are a matter of serious concern to producers. The problem of commodity prices extended beyond the Commonwealth and the Prime Ministers endorsed the need for consideration of the strengthening of existing international commodity agreements, where appropriate, and stressed the urgent need of negotiating further agreements of this kind.

The Prime Ministers agreed on the desirability of exploring means by which Commonwealth trade might be encouraged and expanded. One possibility would be to enable Commonwealth Governments, in planning their economic development, to take into account each others' plans. An exchange of information of this kind might enable production to be more effectively matched to requirements in the Commonwealth and thus increase trade between Commonwealth countries.

The Prime Ministers accordingly agreed on the following measures designed to further these objectives, while at the same time re-affirming their support for the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations now proceeding at Geneva, which these measures will not affect. They agreed to arrange discussions between officials of Commonwealth Governments in the first instance, with the help of the Commonwealth Secretariat, in order to examine these issues further and to prepare for an early meeting of Commonwealth Trade Ministers. These official discussions could also pay special attention to problems of individual commodities of particular interest to Commonwealth countries, in order to see how far policies could be co-ordinated within the Commonwealth with a view to appropriate further action, whether on a Commonwealth or international scale.

They also agreed that subsequently the appropriate Ministers or officials in Commonwealth countries should meet to consider the extent to which each country's production and plans, as foreseen, could meet requirements in other Member countries.

Ministers decided to consider through the medium of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council means of promoting a closer understanding of the basic civil air transport requirements of member countries.

In addition the Commonwealth Secretariat will examine the possibility of arranging for the results of research to be shared more widely among Commonwealth countries.

Commonwealth Foundation

At their previous Meeting in 1964 the Prime Ministers considered that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields; officials were instructed to consider this proposal in greater detail. At their present Meeting the Prime Ministers approved a report by officials and an Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Foundation which is attached to this Communiqué.

Commonwealth Secretariat

At their 1964 Meeting Prime Ministers saw a Commonwealth Secretariat as being a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth and instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth Secretariat. At their present Meeting the Prime Ministers had before them a report by officials which they approved and an Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Secretariat is attached. As already announced, they have unanimously approved the appointment of Mr Arnold Smith as the first Secretary-General.

COMMONWEALTH MISSION ON VIETNAM STATEMENT OF GUIDANCE

To enable the Mission to approach its assignment meaningfully, there should be certain broad areas of agreement regarding the requirements for ending the conflict in Vietnam peacefully.

There is already general agreement on certain basic considerations:

- (a) there is an inherent risk of the conflict in Vietnam escalating into a wider war;
- (b) for this reason there are grave doubts as to an early or final solution by military means;
- (c) a comprehensive cease-fire and a conference of all the parties directly involved in the situation seem to provide the essential precondition to the solution of the problem.

Bearing in mind these considerations and also the purpose of the Mission, it should be guided by the following ultimate objectives during its consultations with the parties principally concerned:

- (a) a suspension of all United States air attacks on North Vietnam;
- (b) a North Vietnamese undertaking to prevent the movement of any military forces or assistance or material to South Vietnam;

(c) a total cease-fire on all sides to enable a conference to be convened to seek a peaceful solution;

(d) the objectives of such a conference might be to:

(i) end the war in Vietnam;

(ii) secure the withdrawal of all foreign military presence from Vietnam and the neutralisation of the area;

(iii) establish, for a period, an international peace force, under the auspices of the Geneva Agreement, to safeguard peace in Vietnam;

(iv) establish principles for the eventual unification of the country through free and internationally supervised elections.

COMMONWEALTH MISSION ON VIETNAM FIRST STATEMENT

The following statement was issued by the Mission on 19th June 1965:-

The Mission appointed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting is to explore the circumstances in which a conference might be held to end the fighting in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, in order to create the conditions in which the Mission can carry through its work, the Mission is appealing to all parties concerned to show the utmost restraint in military operations as a step towards the total cease-fire which the Mission hopes will be established at the earliest possible opportunity. The Mission would wish to meet all the parties concerned.

SECOND STATEMENT

The following statement was issued by the Mission on 24th June 1965:-

Because of certain misunderstandings which have gained currency during the last few days, the Heads of Government of Britain, of Ghana, of Nigeria and of Trinidad and Tobago wish to clarify the basis on which they agreed to form a Mission in connection with the problem of Vietnam.

The Mission was appointed by the London meeting of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth and on behalf of the Commonwealth as a whole.

The Commonwealth as such is in no way committed to either side of the conflict in Vietnam and has formed no collective view except on the urgency of re-establishing conditions in which the people of Vietnam may be able to live in peace. Although within the Commonwealth there is diversity of opinion on the Vietnam problem, there is complete unanimity as to the need to find a peaceful solution.

In the discharge of the task entrusted to it the Mission will be guided by the views of the Commonwealth as a whole and not by the views of any individual member of the Commonwealth.

It is in this context that the Commonwealth is satisfied that its Mission must make direct contact with all the Vietnamese parties. It is reiterated that positive steps should be taken by all outside parties to exercise restraint in military operations while the Mission is carrying out its task.

AGREED MEMORANDUM ON THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

The text of the Agreed Memorandum on the establishment and functions of the Commonwealth Secretariat, published at the conclusion of the 1965 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London, is as follows.

I Establishment of the Secretariat

Pursuant to their decision announced after the conclusion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in July 1964 the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have decided to establish forthwith a Commonwealth Secretariat. As envisaged in the communiqué issued at the close of the 1964 Meeting, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers see the Secretariat as being at the service of all Commonwealth Governments and as a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth.

II Site of the Secretariat

The British Government will arrange for the Secretariat to be accommodated in Marlborough House.

III Functions of the Secretariat

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers have given further consideration to the role of the Commonwealth Secretariat, and the following paragraphs record the functions which they have agreed it should perform.

The Secretary-General and his staff should approach their task bearing in mind that the Commonwealth is an association which enables countries in different regions of the world, consisting of a variety of races and representing a number of interests and points of view, to exchange opinions in a friendly, informal and intimate atmosphere. The organisation and functions of the Commonwealth Secretariat should be so designed as to assist in supporting and building on these fundamental elements in the Commonwealth association. At the same time the Commonwealth is not a formal organisation. It does not encroach on the sovereignty of individual members. Nor does it require its members to seek to reach collective decisions or to take united action. Experience has proved that there are advantages in such informality. It enables its members to adapt their procedures to meet changing circumstances; conversely there would be disadvantages in establishing too formal procedures and institutions in the association.

General Considerations

Both the Secretary-General and his staff should be seen to be the servants of Commonwealth countries collectively. They derive their functions from the authority of Commonwealth Heads of Government; and in the discharge of his responsibilities in this connection the Secretary-General should have access to

Heads of Government, who will indicate the appropriate channels of communication to them.

The Secretariat should not arrogate to itself executive functions. At the same time it should have, and develop, a relationship with other intra-Commonwealth bodies.

The Secretariat should have a constructive role to play. At the same time it should operate initially on a modest footing; and its staff and functions should be left to expand pragmatically in the light of experience, subject always to the approval of Governments.

Against this background and in the expectation that, as its contacts spread, the Secretariat could expect to receive increasing calls on its resources, the various functions which it will exercise fall under the following broad headings: international affairs, economic affairs and general and administrative functions.

International Affairs

Consultation is the life blood of the Commonwealth association. At their Meeting in July 1964, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers expressed the view that on matters of major international importance a fuller exchange of views could very appropriately be promoted on an increasingly multilateral basis through the agency of the Secretariat. They were particularly anxious to ensure that there should be opportunity for fuller participation by all member countries in the normal processes of Commonwealth consultation. At the same time they showed themselves conscious of the importance of maintaining the unwritten conventions which have always determined those processes. The Secretary-General will observe the same conventions and act in the same spirit.

In so far as Commonwealth Governments agree that the Secretariat should discharge any specific task, it will be fully at their disposal. In general, however, its purpose will be to serve them by facilitating and promoting consultation on matters of common concern. To this end, subject to the general principles set out in paragraphs 12 and 13 below, the Secretary-General will arrange to prepare and circulate papers on international questions of common concern to all Commonwealth Governments where he considers it useful to do so. It may also prove helpful if, in consultation with the Governments concerned, he arranges occasional meetings of officials of member Governments for the exchange of information and views on agreed subjects. Such meetings might on occasion, if member Governments agreed, take place in various Commonwealth capitals or elsewhere.

The general principles which the Secretary-General will observe are set out in the following paragraphs.

The functions of the Secretariat are envisaged as being inter alia the dissemination of factual information to member countries on matters of common concern. 'Factual' information cannot be precisely defined; but, provided that the Secretary-General proceeds with circumspection in the exercise of this function, he is authorised, where he thinks it useful to do so, to prepare and circulate, either on his own initiative or at the request of a member Government, papers on international questions of common concern, provided

that these papers do not propagate any particular sectional or partisan points of view, contain no policy judgements or recommendations by the Secretariat and do not touch upon the internal affairs of a member country or disputes or serious differences between two or more member countries. In addition, the Secretary-General has discretion to refuse to prepare or circulate any paper, whatever its origin, which in his view propagates any sectional or partisan point of view or would for any other reason be liable to be offensive to any member country or countries.

The position of the remaining dependent territories within the Commonwealth is one matter which continues to command lively interest among member countries. The Secretariat could play a role in this field; and it might circulate to member Governments balanced papers on the constitutional advance of the remaining territories or on their progress towards independence, on the understanding that the responsible member Governments would always be closely consulted in the preparation of the papers.

The Secretariat will be guided by the principles outlined in the preceding paragraphs because it is important that it should develop as a unifying element within the Commonwealth. But, provided that it begins modestly and remains careful not to trespass on the independence and sovereignty of the member Governments whose servant it will be, it will be possible for it to grow in the spirit of the Commonwealth association itself. All Commonwealth Governments wish to contribute to this process and will be ready to assist the Secretary-General in every possible way. In particular the Secretary-General will from the outset establish close relations with Commonwealth Governments and with their representatives in London; and Governments will arrange to keep the development of the Secretariat's functions under regular review, by means of an annual report on its work. By these means the Secretariat will gradually accumulate, with the passage of time, a body of knowledge and experience which will contribute to an even closer understanding among member Governments on those major international issues which are of common and continuing concern to all the members of the Commonwealth.

Economic Affairs

The Secretariat will discharge several valuable roles in the economic field, the more important of which are outlined in the following paragraphs. Several intra-Commonwealth bodies are already actively at work in this field, and their relationship to the Secretariat is to be examined in accordance with the arrangements set out in paragraphs 23 to 26.

The Secretary-General will initiate, collate and distribute to member Governments material bearing not only on economic problems, but also on social and cultural issues in respect of which the potential value of his work could be considerable. He is authorised to follow up the specialised factual reports of the various agencies already at work in these fields by promoting wider ranging studies on, e.g., the inter-relationship of agricultural and industrial growth in the new Commonwealth. In this connection the Secretary-General may implement such tasks by commissioning, within the limits prescribed by his approved budget, specialist studies from outside expert sources rather than by engaging additional permanent staff.

Apart from servicing meetings of the various Commonwealth economic bodies, the Secretariat may, as appropriate, be represented at meetings of these specialised agencies in order to keep in close touch with their activities; and it will also keep in touch with the various United Nations agencies whose work in Commonwealth countries will on occasion be of direct concern to it.

In connection with the general economic aspects of the Secretariat's work, the proposals advanced at the last meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for the initiation of joint Commonwealth Development Projects in individual Commonwealth countries are relevant. The passage from the 1964 Communiqué reads:

In particular they considered a proposal that development projects might be launched in individual Commonwealth countries, which would be implemented by various members acting in close collaboration and contributing whatever resources—in men, money, materials and technical expertise—they could most appropriately provide. Such projects, which would be additional to the support which Commonwealth countries already provide to the United Nations Special Fund and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, could be directed to a number of different purposes—the improvement of agricultural production and the development of natural resources through extension services, training and research; the enlargement of professional and technical training; the development of new industries; and so forth. But they would all be inspired by the common purpose of promoting the development of the Commonwealth by a co-ordinated programme of joint or bilateral projects. The British Government said that they would be prepared to make a substantial contribution of projects of this kind within their expanding programme of development aid. The other member Governments expressed support for the objective of the proposal and agreed that further consideration should be given to the basis on which such a programme might be established.

As regards the Secretariat's general functions and, in particular, its activities in the economic field, it is important that nothing should be done which might disturb the existing channels of economic and technical assistance to member countries or duplicate the present bilateral and multilateral links. The functions of the Secretariat in connection with the Commonwealth Development Projects are therefore expert and advisory and will not detract from the right of member countries to determine their own aid and development programmes.

Subject to these basic considerations the Secretariat will be able to play a valuable part in assisting member Governments, at their request, in advancing, and obtaining support for, development projects and technical assistance in a variety of fields on a multilateral Commonwealth basis, as appropriate. It will also help in the expeditious processing of requests for such assistance made by one Commonwealth country to another. In this connection, it will prepare and make available to Commonwealth Governments up-to-date information on the possibility of securing aid and technical assistance in various fields from individual countries of the Commonwealth.

Thus the Secretariat, by accumulating a reliable body of knowledge on the aid potential of the Commonwealth to which member countries can usefully have

recourse for the purpose of promoting their own development, will enable Commonwealth countries generally to co-operate to the maximum extent possible in promoting the economic development of all.

In general, the Secretary-General, in discharging his functions in this field of economic and related affairs, will be guided by the principles set down in paragraphs 12 and 13.

Proposed Review of Intra-Commonwealth Organisations

A comprehensive review of existing intra-Commonwealth organisations concerned with economic and related affairs will be carried out, in view of the changing nature of the Commonwealth and of the fact that the multiplicity of organisations working in these fields has created problems of staff and finance.

The main purpose of this review will be to examine whether existing work on economic and related affairs is being unnecessarily duplicated; how far the activities of the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations now supersede those of existing intra-Commonwealth bodies; what Commonwealth bodies might usefully be absorbed within the Secretariat; which have functions so specialised that they cannot profitably be so absorbed; and how close co-operation between these latter and the Secretariat, particularly in the light of the needs of the changing Commonwealth, can most effectively be achieved.

In order to secure an impartial appraisal and to protect the future relationship between the Secretariat and other Commonwealth organisations this review will be carried out by a small committee, appointed by Commonwealth Governments, under an independent Chairman. In order to safeguard the Secretary-General's position he will not be a member of the Committee. Nevertheless, he will have the right to be present or to be represented throughout the proceedings of the committee and to participate in its discussions. The Commonwealth organisations concerned will, of course, have the right to submit evidence to the Committee.

Pending the outcome of the review the Secretariat and the Commonwealth Economic Committee will work in the closest consultation. Again without prejudice to the review, the Secretariat will take over from the Commonwealth Relations Office as soon as convenient the secretarial functions which that Department at present carries out on behalf of the Commonwealth Liaison Committee.

Servicing of Commonwealth Meetings

The Secretariat, operating as the visible servant of the Commonwealth association, will carry out the task of servicing future meetings of Commonwealth Heads of Government and where appropriate, other Ministerial and official meetings open to all members of the Commonwealth. The Secretariat will be able to rely on the host country for such secretarial help as it cannot itself provide and for assistance in matters of accommodation, hospitality, transport and the like.

The Secretariat will service the annual conference of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council and meetings of the Commonwealth Liaison Committee. The more technical or specialised organisations, e.g., the Com-

monwealth Education Conference, the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee or the Commonwealth Telecommunications Board will, pending the proposed review of Commonwealth organisations, continue to organise their own meetings.

As regards Meetings of Prime Ministers the Secretary-General will henceforth serve as Secretary-General to each Meeting. Subject to the principles set out in paragraphs 12 and 13 above, his duties will include the preparation, collation and circulation of papers on agenda items, together with such background papers as appear appropriate; the production of minutes; and, with the assistance of the host Government, the general organisation of the Meeting.

As to the preparation of the agenda itself, the Secretary-General will be responsible for co-ordinating this process in the light of such direct discussions as Commonwealth Heads of Government may find convenient. Heads of Government will maintain the practice whereby the provisional agenda is drawn up, after consultation among themselves, in the form of a list of broad headings for discussion and they also reserve to themselves decisions on the timing and location of their Meetings.

IV Administrative Arrangements

In consonance with the above functions of the Secretariat, its administrative organisation will be as follows.

The Chief Officer of the Secretariat will be the Secretary-General, and all members of the staff of the Secretariat will be responsible only to him.

The Secretary-General will be appointed by Commonwealth Heads of Government collectively. He will be a man of high standing, equivalent in rank to a Senior High Commissioner. A significant part of his duties will be visiting member countries of the Commonwealth.

The Deputy Secretary-General will be appointed by Commonwealth Heads of Government acting through their representatives in London. One Deputy Secretary-General will have the necessary qualifications and special responsibilities for economic matters and should deal, on request, with the development projects. As the work of the Secretariat expands, it may become necessary to appoint a second Deputy Secretary-General who will be primarily concerned with the other functions of the Secretariat.

The paramount consideration in the selection of staff and in the determination of conditions of service will be the necessity of integrity, due regard being paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible within the Commonwealth. The Secretary-General will have discretion, in the light of the above considerations, to appoint senior staff to the service of the Secretariat from among panels of names submitted by Commonwealth Governments, who need not feel themselves limited to Government servants in submitting nominations.

The Secretary-General has authority to make appointments of junior staff, subject to the approved budgetary limitations.

All persons appointed to the staff of the Secretariat must be subject to clearance to the extent that their own Governments raise no objection to their suitability for employment. All members of the Secretariat, whatever their origin, must be strictly impartial in the discharge of their functions and place loyalty to the Commonwealth as a whole above all other considerations.

Senior officers, including the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary-General, will be appointed in the first instance for not more than five years and preferably not less than three in order to ensure continuity of administration. In determining the period of tenure of other individual officers, the Secretary-General will no doubt wish to have regard to the need to stagger appointments in order to avoid a complete change of senior staff at any one time.

The British Government will introduce legislation in order to give the Secretariat a legal personality under United Kingdom law and to accord to the Secretariat and its staff the immunities and privileges which are set out in Annex A.

Other Commonwealth Governments will take steps to accord corresponding immunities and privileges to the staff of the Secretariat when visiting their territories, subject to whatever constitutional processes are required.

The cost of the Secretariat will be borne in agreed shares by Commonwealth Governments; the scale of contributions is set out in Annex B.

The annual budget will be considered by the Commonwealth High Commissioners in London or their representatives, together with a United Kingdom representative, meeting as a Finance Committee. The budget will then be submitted to Commonwealth Governments for their approval. The Senior Commonwealth High Commissioner in London or a representative of the British Government will be responsible for convening the Finance Committee as necessary.

AGREED MEMORANDUM ON THE COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION

A Commonwealth Foundation will be established to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organisations in professional fields throughout the Commonwealth. It will be the purpose of the Foundation to provide assistance where it is needed in order to foster such interchanges.

The Foundation will be an autonomous body, although it will develop and maintain a close liaison with the Commonwealth Secretariat. Like the Secretariat, the Foundation will be accommodated at Marlborough House.

Within the broad purpose indicated above, the Foundation will include among its aims the following objects:-

- (a) To encourage and support fuller representation at conferences of professional bodies within the Commonwealth.
- (b) To assist professional bodies within the Commonwealth to hold more conferences between themselves.

- (c) To facilitate the exchange of visits among professional people, especially the younger element.
- (d) To stimulate and increase the flow of professional information exchanged between the organisations concerned.
- (e) On request to assist with the setting up of national institutions or associations in countries where these do not at present exist.
- (f) To promote the growth of Commonwealth-wide associations or regional Commonwealth associations in order to reduce the present centralisation in Britain.
- (g) To consider exceptional requests for help from associations and individuals whose activities lie outside the strictly professional field but fall within the general ambit of the Foundation's operations as outlined above.

The Foundation could usefully develop informal contacts with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. To avoid the risk of duplication with the activities of existing organisations concerned with cultural activities and the Press, the Foundation should not initially seek to assume any functions in these fields.

The policy of the Foundation will be directed by a Chairman, who will be a distinguished private citizen of a Commonwealth country appointed with the approval of all member Governments, and a Board of Trustees who should be expected to meet at least once a year. The Board of Trustees will consist of independent persons, each subscribing Government having the right to nominate one member of the Board. These nominees, even if officials, will be appointed in a personal capacity. The Commonwealth Secretariat will be represented on the Board of Trustees by the Secretary-General or an officer appointed by him.

There will be a full-time, salaried Director who will be appointed, initially for a period of not more than two years, by Commonwealth Heads of Government collectively acting through their representatives in London. He will be responsible to the Board of Trustees.

The Director will require a small personal staff: general office services will be provided by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

It is hoped that Commonwealth Governments will subscribe to the cost of the Foundation on an agreed scale. Payment of the first annual subscriptions will be made as soon as the Director has indicated that a bank account for the Foundation has been opened. It is hoped that, in addition, private sources may be willing to contribute to the funds of the Foundation.

The accounts of the Foundation will be audited annually by the British Comptroller and Auditor-General, whose report will be submitted to the Board of Trustees. The financial year of the Foundation will be from 1st July to 30th June.

The budget of the Foundation will be subject to the approval of the board of Trustees.

The British Government will draw up the necessary documents to set up the Trust and take any further steps needed to constitute the Foundation as a legal charity.

25 June 1965

Heads of Delegation

Australia	The Rt Hon R G Menzies, Prime Minister
Britain	The Rt Hon Harold Wilson, Prime Minister
Canada	The Rt Hon Leslie B Pearson, Prime Minister
Ceylon	The Hon A F Wijemanne, Minister of Justice
Cyprus	The Hon Spyros Kyprianou, Minister of Foreign Affairs
The Gambia	The Hon D K Jawara, Prime Minister
Ghana	HE Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President
India	Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister
Jamaica	The Hon D B Sangster, Deputy Prime Minister
Kenya	The Hon J Murumbi, Minister of External Affairs
Malawi	Dr The Hon Hastings Banda, Prime Minister
Malaysia	Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister
Malta	Dr The Hon G Borg Olivier, Prime Minister
New Zealand	The Rt Hon Keith J Holyoake, Prime Minister
Nigeria	The Rt Hon Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister
Pakistan	Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan, President
Sierra Leone	The Rt Hon Albert Michael Margai, Prime Minister
Tanzania	HE Julius K Nyerere, President
Trinidad and Tobago	Dr The Rt Hon Eric Williams, Prime Minister
Uganda	Dr The Hon A Milton Obote, Prime Minister
Zambia	HE Dr Kenneth D Kaunda, President