From: PUS

Date: 27 November 1983

Mr Coles

cc: Sir R Armstrong
Sir J Leahy
Mr Goldsmith

## THE COMMUNIQUE

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

- (d) Guyana satisfactory.
- (e) Indian Ocean unsatisfactory. We fought a battle against allcomers about the inclusion of the date. Australia was content with the text. Perhaps the saving grace is that Heads of Government call upon all the Governments concerned "to reach agreement...." This is really a best endeavours clause and though the Americans and indeed we ourselves do not like the idea of a Conference in 1984 or 1985 unless the terms of reference are properly agreed, I doubt if the Prime Minister should try to re-open the matter.
- (f) South Pacific largely similar to Melbourne.

  Not unduly hostile to the French. We got out
  much worse reference to nuclear testing and
  dumping of nuclear waste.
- (g) Middle East as always a long wrangle. A pretty awful text in terms of language but acceptable in terms of substance. The PLO "on an equal footing" is qualified by "most" Heads of Government and our position is thus reserved. The Canadians object to a reference to selfdetermination which we could accept and this may have to be dealt with by Heads of Government.
- (h) Mediterranean not a very good text which somewhat advances Malta's position in the CSCE. We got out three unsatisfactory references and no-one else was interested.
- (i) Belize just all right. We got out a reference to a British <u>commitment</u> to preserve Belize's security.

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

# 4. Still to come we have:

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

### Possibly

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

### And of course

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

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

Antony Acland

Automy Adams

### FALKLANDS

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