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3042
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FILE TITLE:

COMMONWEALTH (INC. CHOSM)

SERIES

FOREIGN POLICY

PART

4

PART BEGINS

12 APRIL 2002

PART ENDS

29 SEPTEMBER 2003

CAB ONE

21 May

Labour Administration

Part

CLOSED

PREM 49/3042

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PART CLOSED

DATE CLOSED	29 Sept 03
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Series : **FOREIGN POLICY**

File Title : **COMMONWEALTH (INC CHOGM)**

Part : **4**

Date	From	To	Subject	Class	Secret
26/02/2002	FA/APS	FCO	Letter from John Howard to President Obasanjo	R	
21/05/2002	FCO	FA/APS	Commonwealth Study Conference	U	
19/07/2002		PM	Letter from Commonwealth Secretary General - NEPAD	U	
28/08/2002	FCO	dcu	NEPAD: Letter to PM from Commonwealth Secretary General	U	
12/09/2002		PM	From Commonwealth General Secretary - Commonwealth Observer	U	
13/09/2002	PM		Acknowledgement to Commonwealth Sec-Gen - NEPAD	U	
07/10/2002			Circular letter - Request for CHOGM meeting to be held in Abuja	U	
15/10/2002		PM	From Commonwealth Secretary General - Bali	U	
28/11/2002	FCO	FA/APS	Commonwealth Membership Criteria	R	
17/12/2002	PM	Malaysia/PM	(H) CPTM Funding	U	
24/02/2003	Australia/PM	Nigeria/Pres	Letter to President Obasanjo - Commonwealths role on Zimbabwe	C	
07/03/2003	FCO	FA/APS	Message from the Prime Minister on Commonwealth Day	U	
07/04/2003	Australia/Hcom	PM	Update on Zimbabwe	U	
29/04/2003		PM	From Dr Mohan Kaul Commonwealth Business Forum	U	
02/05/2003	FA/APS	PM	Howard Zimbabwe and the Commonwealth	C	
06/05/2003	FA/APS	PM	Howard and Zimbabwe	C	
06/05/2003	D/SEC		To Dr Mohan Kaul - Commonwealth Business Forum	U	
14/05/2003		PM	From Commonwealth Sec/Gen - Don McKinnon : Commonwealth Bu	U	
30/05/2003	PM	Commonwealth Sec	Unable to speak at Commonwealth Business Forum on 4 December	U	
30/05/2003		FA/APS	From Commonwealth Business Council: Commonwealth Trade Forum,	U	
05/06/2003	Nigeria/Pres	PM	Invitation to the Commonwealth Business Forum 2003	U	
18/06/2003	FCO	FA/APS	Commonwealth Youth for the Future	U	
21/07/2003	Nigeria/Pres	PM	(H) Ahmadu Daura	U	
24/07/2003	FA/APS	FCO	CHOGM: Bilateral Visits	C	
07/08/2003	Nigeria/Pres	PM	(H) Recent Nigeria/UK Summit & CHOGM	U	
14/08/2003	FCO	FA/APS	CHOGM and Related Visits	C	
15/08/2003	DFID	FA/APS	CHOGM : Prime Ministerial Bilateral Visits	C	
15/08/2003	DFID	FA/APS	Chogm: Prime Ministerial Bilateral Visits	C	
18/08/2003	FCO	FA/APS	Visit to Kazakhstan by Lord Levy: draft Letter from the Prime Minister	U	
29/08/2003	FA/APS	PM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Abuja, 5-8 December	C	
02/09/2003	FA/APS	FCO	CHOGM	C	
11/09/2003	PM	Nigeria/Pres	(H) Commonwealth Business Forum	U	
15/09/2003	Nigeria/Pres	PM	(H) CHOGM	U	
17/09/2003	FCO	FA/APS	CHOGM: Prime Minister's meetong with Caribbean Leaders	U	
23/09/2003	N.Zealand/PM	PM	(H) Support for Don McKinnon continuing as Commonwealth Secreta	U	
29/09/2003	FA/APS	FCO	CHOGM	C	

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

29 September 2003

Dear Asif

CHOGM

Nigel Sheinwald held a meeting today to discuss preparation for CHOGM. The following were the action points.

FCO will provide advice to the Prime Minister on CHOGM handling by **Wednesday 8 October**. This will need to cover:

- Proposed agenda – the key political commitments that we want to get into the agreed text. Ideas include trade, terrorism, governance, NEPAD and the MDGs.
- Draft letter from the Prime Minister to the Commonwealth Secretary-General on the agenda.
- Draft letter to Obasanjo, responding to the invitation to CHOGM, but also making other points as appropriate.
- A refreshed and targeted lobbying strategy on **Zimbabwe**, including contingency plans in case things go wrong in November. The Prime Minister's meetings with Howard on 11 November and with Caribbean leaders on 2 December will support this. We will consider in due course whether the Prime Minister needs to speak to Obasanjo.
- An update on arrangements, including advice on options for leaving CHOGM early and on media handling of an early departure.
- Ideas for possible visits.
- Advice on bilaterals. Substantive bilaterals are unlikely to go further than Vajpayee, Obasanjo and Mbeki, but we will need a priority list for pull-asides.

We need to keep a watching brief on **Pakistan**, as this could play awkwardly on Zimbabwe. Action: FCO.

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The **Commonwealth Secretary-General** has requested a meeting with the Prime Minister. We need to keep McKinnon's feet to the fire on Zimbabwe and encourage the Secretariat to get a grip on arrangements. Nigel Sheinwald will see McKinnon first. We will consider a Prime Ministerial meeting later, if necessary. Action: **No.10**.

The **Delegation** needs to be kept to a minimum. The PUS would normally lead the delegation at official level, but is not planning to attend Abuja. Action:

- **No.10** to advise on draft FCO delegation list;
- **No.10** to look at ways discretely to keep the media numbers down.
- **FCO** to consider whether an FCO Minister needs to go to CHOGM;
- **FCO** to advise on who is leading other delegations at official level.

These last two points should be picked up in the advice to arrive by 8 October.

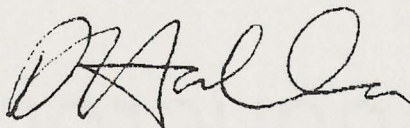
Abuja's telecommunications are likely to come under considerable strain during CHOGM. We therefore need our own independent communications. Action: **No.10 with BHC Abjua**.

On media, **No.10/FCO** are pulling together a core script.

Briefing will need to cover the CHOGM agenda and bilateral meetings. Action: **FCO**, in due course.

This is copied to Chris Chalmers (Cabinet Office), Philippa Drew, James Bevan, Andrew Lloyd and Justin McKenzie Smith (FCO) and Peter Grant (DFID).

Yours ever,



David Hallam

Asif A Ahmad, FCO



Prime Minister

23 SEP 2003

Rt Hon Tony Blair
Prime Minister
UNITED KINGDOM

SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

recd 6/10
✓ 1. NEWS
✓ 2. MTF
✓ 3. DFH
12/10
and ask for urgent
advice on a draft reply
DA 12/10

Dear Prime Minister

As you know, Don McKinnon completes his current four-year term as Commonwealth Secretary-General on 31 March 2004. At our meeting in Abuja in December this year we will be asked to consider who should fill the post of Secretary-General for the four years commencing on 1 April 2004. I am writing to you to recommend that Mr McKinnon be re-appointed to that position.

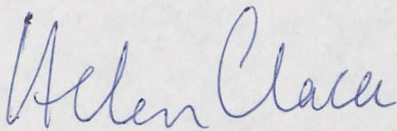
Over the past four years, the Commonwealth organisation has undergone significant change. At the 1999 Durban CHOGM leaders established the High Level Review of the Commonwealth, with a focus on the *Commonwealth in the 21st Century: Continuity and Renewal*. Since taking up his post in 2000, Mr McKinnon has led the Secretariat into a new era and been responsible for managing change within the organisation. This has been most challenging. He has sought to improve the efficiency and cost effectiveness of the Commonwealth Secretariat so it best serves members' needs. He has guided the Secretariat's work in support of the policies we have determined, and striven to uphold the values and principles which we cherish in the Commonwealth and generally to enhance the association's global image.

In his good offices role, Mr McKinnon has been able to assist many Commonwealth countries. He has actively promoted the expansion of Commonwealth co-operation with other international organisations and agencies such as the United Nations, World Trade Organisation, African Union, CARICOM, Pacific Islands Forum, the European Union and the NAM. He has been an excellent spokesperson for the Commonwealth and a staunch advocate of the Commonwealth's unique approach to advancing development and democracy in its member states. He has been a vocal champion of the interests of small states and least developed countries and of pursuing a level playing field in the world trading system. He has also worked hard to draw young people into the mainstream of the Commonwealth.

number of the reforms Mr McKinnon has initiated or led in the Secretariat need time to be consolidated. The institution of the High Level Review Group recommendations has been in place for one year, and the Secretariat moves to a four-year planning cycle in July next year. Continuity is a crucial factor in ensuring that these new processes have the best chance of being successfully implemented.

At Cyprus in 1993 it was agreed that the Secretary-General could serve for a maximum of two four-year terms. Mr McKinnon's commitment to the position has been unwavering. He has been an influential representative, not only of Commonwealth leaders but also of the people of the Commonwealth. Based on the real achievements of his first term, I recommend to you that Don McKinnon be re-appointed as Commonwealth Secretary-General, and I would encourage you to support him for a second term when the matter is raised for consideration at CHOGM in Abuja.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Helen Clark". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Helen" and the last name "Clark" clearly distinguishable.

Helen Clark
Prime Minister



COM/2/3

The New Zealand High Commission presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to request its assistance in forwarding the attached letter from the New Zealand Prime Minister to the office of the Prime Minister.

The New Zealand High Commission takes this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

New Zealand High Commission

LONDON

30 September 2003



Encl

file



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

17 September 2003

CC: M
NS
JN

Dear David,

CHOGM: Prime Minister's Meeting with Caribbean Leaders

At the Coolum CHOGM in March 2002 (which was delayed from 2001 because of 9/11), the Prime Minister and Caribbean leaders agreed to meet every two years (the idea being that this should coincide with CHOGMs).

As reported by BHC Bridgetown, the Prime Minister suggested to Owen Arthur, Prime Minister of Barbados, in July that his next meeting with Caribbean leaders could take place in London before CHOGM rather than in the margins of Abuja. Arthur indicated that he would welcome this.

We would now like to confirm this. The main arguments for a London meeting are twofold:

- (i) it would enable the Prime Minister to lobby twelve Caribbean leaders (who make up just under a quarter of CHOGM members) on UK priority issues such as Zimbabwe before CHOGM starts.
- (ii) it would help meet Caribbean concerns about their lack of access to No.10. A group photograph at Downing Street would go down extremely well with Caribbean leaders and help us reassure wider Caribbean opinion that we remain committed to the region.

The Caribbean region has not taken a prominent position on Zimbabwe in the Commonwealth, in contrast with the Pacifics and some of the Asians. This meeting would provide an opportunity to stiffen their spines before CHOGM. Of the main Caribbean players the Bahamas, a member of CMAG, are in close step with us; Barbados have been intermittently supportive; Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana have kept a lower profile. The smaller island states are likely to fall in with whatever Caricom position is agreed. Generally, while the Caribbeans do not like what is going on in Zimbabwe they will not want to see the Commonwealth split over it. A key factor in their approach will be the African position. If African solidarity prevails, Caribbean countries are unlikely to oppose them. If we can persuade some African countries to support us in arguing for Zimbabwe's continued



suspension from the Councils of the Commonwealth it will be easier to secure Caribbean support. We are lobbying key Africans now, and the Foreign Secretary will continue this at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Meeting in New York on 25 September.

In addition to Zimbabwe and other CHOGM issues, there will be a number of important issues in our relationship with the Caribbean to discuss including security and law enforcement, drugs, trade liberalisation and the work of the UK/Caribbean Forum. Ideally, given the numbers involved the issues to be discussed and Caribbean expectations the meeting should last 1½-2 hours. If the Prime Minister confirms that the meeting should go ahead in London we will write again with proposals on timing/venue enclosing a draft letter of invitation to Heads.

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

David Hallam Esq
10 Downing Street



after
HC

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

15 September 2003

SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

Dear Olu,

Thank you for your letter of 7 August following the successful 29 July Economic Summit. I agree that the meeting made real progress. I hope that we will be able to have a substantive follow-up discussion when I visit Abuja for the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in December.

You raised the issue of Daura. My officials are considering in detail the additional points that emerged at the Summit. This is a difficult issue, and I understand how strongly you feel about it. We will endeavour to come back to you with a substantive reply as soon as possible.

That issue apart, I am pleased that co-operation on financial crime between our two countries is making progress. The National Criminal Intelligence Service is visiting Nigeria in November to provide training for your Economic and Financial Crime Commission. We are also keen to press ahead with the agreement to collaborate on stolen assets by establishing a Joint Nigerian-British Technical Team. This will, I hope, ensure progress in repatriating looted wealth, and provide a framework for early settlement of specific cases.

I look forward to continuing to work closely with you on our shared agenda.

Yours truly,
Tony

His Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

FILE
cc FCO
DTI
HMA

THE PRIME MINISTER

11 September 2003

SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

Dear Olu,

Thank you for your letter of 5 June inviting me to participate in the Commonwealth Business Forum on 2-4 December.

Unfortunately, existing diary commitments mean that I will not be able to participate at the Forum. However, I will ensure that our Department for Trade and Industry is aware of the event, and that they bring it to the attention of British business. I hope you can pass on my best wishes to all concerned for a successful Forum.

Yours ever,
Tony

His Excellency President Olusegun Obasanjo

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

2 September 2003

Dear Kara

CHOGM

Thank you for your letter of 14 August to Nick Cannon, which the Prime Minister has now considered.

The Prime Minister plans to attend the whole of CHOGM, from 5 to 8 December. But he will definitely not add on bilateral visits to Kenya, Ethiopia, or anywhere else.

On other practical issues, the Prime Minister is content for the Foreign Secretary not to attend CHOGM, and for the Secretary of State for International Development and Chris Mullin to do so. He would like the size of the overall UK delegation to be reduced from about 60 to about 30.

On the substance, the Prime Minister agrees with your proposals. The FCO should continue to work to improve the CHOGM agenda. We need to ensure that Mbeki and Obasanjo are clear on our red lines on Zimbabwe, and continue to lobby the rest of the Commonwealth. We should also encourage the US to keep the pressure on Mbeki to be active.

I am copying this letter to David Prout (ODPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI), Moazzim Malek (DfID), Chris Wormald (DfES) and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office).

Yours

MATTHEW RYCROFT

Kara Owen
FCO

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File

From: David Hallam
Date: 29 August 2003

PRIME MINISTER

cc: Jonathan Powell
Nigel Sheinwald
Jeremy Heywood
Nicholas Cannon
Gavin Mackay
Kate Garvey

**COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, ABUJA, 5-8
DECEMBER**

FCO have written about CHOGM, which will be in Abuja, Nigeria, in early December. The Queen will pay a State Visit to Nigeria immediately beforehand.

The key issue remains **Zimbabwe**. The Nigerians are saying that Mugabe will not be invited. The Commonwealth Secretary General has told us that Obasanjo's plan is for CHOGM to agree, without discussion, to maintain the suspension and to remit the issue to CMAG.

Mbeki told you at the Progressive Governance Summit that Zimbabwe would be resolved "way before" CHOGM. Since then there has been no obvious engagement by Mbeki, although more may be happening behind the scenes. The MDC are adamant that there is no formal dialogue with ZANU(PF), but we know that there has been some contact.

Whatever dialogue is happening, it is unlikely that Mugabe will show his hand much before CHOGM. We need to ensure that Mbeki, Obasanjo and the rest of the Commonwealth are clear on our red lines, and encourage the US to keep on

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Mbeki's tail. Nigel is getting people together to discuss CHOGM and our Zimbabwe plan shortly.

FCO are working to improve the balance in the CHOGM agenda away from finance and towards governance and delivery. I don't think you need to focus on this now, but there are a couple of other issues you might like to think on at this stage.

Timing and representation – CHOGM will last three and a half days (over a weekend), with the last morning a wrap up session. Are you ready in principle to commit to that length of time, given that your leaving early would be noticed?

Yes

Ministers – Jack will accompany the Queen on her State Visit, but does not plan to attend CHOGM. I propose that you agree this. Valerie Amos wants to accompany you, which seems fine. (Then, if you had to leave early, she could take over the UK seat). FCO also propose that Chris Mullin should attend. With Valerie also there Chris M would have no obvious role, but this is the model from the last CHOGM and he might feel that (as FCO Africa Minister) he ought to be there. Do you have strong views?

No

Delegation - FCO say that the total UK delegation will number about sixty. This seems very unwieldy – we managed Evian with less than thirty. I think we should challenge FCO to keep the numbers down.

I agree totally.

Bilateral visits - FCO and DFID suggest that you visit Kenya and Ethiopia on the way to Abuja. There are some good reasons to do this – Kenya is an important partner on terrorism and we need to press President Kibaki to push on

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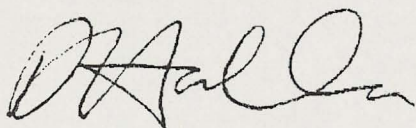
- 3 -

with reform. Ethiopia is the home of the African Union and the ECA, both key to NEPAD and the African Peer Review Mechanism. You do not need to decide on this now, but please say if you are not attracted to a bilateral visit. *No.* *X*

If you are content, I suggest a reply to FCO, copied to DFID, that says:

- You would like FCO to continue working to improve the CHOGM agenda.
- We need to ensure that Mbeki and Obasanjo are clear on our red lines on Zimbabwe, and continue to lobby the rest of the Commonwealth. We should also encourage the US to keep the pressure on Mbeki to be active.
- You are content for JS not to attend CHOGM and would like Valerie and Chris Mullin to attend.
- You would like the FCO to work to keep the number of accompanying officials down.
- You would welcome further work on possible programmes for Ethiopia and Kenya before taking a decision on whether to include them in your itinerary. *No.*

Is this OK?

Subject to x,
fine


DAVID HALLAM

CONFIDENTIAL

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14 August 2003



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

NC
✓
V.D.M.
NS
MR O/R
DFH O/R
JPO O/R

Dear Nicholas,

CHOGM and Related Visits

... The forthcoming Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Abuja, 5-8 December, will be challenging and calls for some early planning and further action. The enclosed paper identifies some of the key issues for CHOGM, the risks and the steps we should take to mitigate them.

... The Secretary General has circulated the enclosed letter to all Commonwealth Heads of Government. He sets out in very general terms the issues that are likely to form the agenda for the Abuja meeting in December. In late October, once Don McKinnon has had feedback from Commonwealth members, he will send out a provisional agenda.

Our aim should be a CHOGM which reaffirms the Commonwealth's unity, strength and action on reform while sending the right signals on the key issues – Zimbabwe, development and good governance, world trade, and the fight against terrorism. The main media and political focus will be Zimbabwe. The Nigerians will want to push the Commonwealth emphasis from good governance to development and debt forgiveness. My letter of 23 July to David Hallam gave a read-out of how Zimbabwe is likely to play in the run-up to CHOGM. We have started to explore approaches that will encourage support for our ideas. We need to build alliances with non-African Commonwealth members, most importantly the Pacifics and Caribbeans. Post-Iraq, there may also be debate on the multilateral system. Commentators will question the relevance of the Commonwealth in the 21st century; and perhaps, about its future head.

Some of the subjects in our paper are replicated in McKinnon's letter and reflect discussion between FCO and Secretariat officials. The balance of McKinnon's proposed agenda, however, leans too far towards pure development assistance (ie finance). We will want to inject more focus on the good governance and delivery aspects of development. We will also want to make sure that the Commonwealth only act where there is a clear comparative advantage in them doing so. We hope that trade is an item on which the Africans should lead. FCO officials will continue to engage with the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Nigerians and influential countries in the period leading up to the November meeting of senior officials in London where the agenda for CHOGM will be agreed.

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We will dovetail planning for HM The Queen's State Visit to Nigeria (which has been compacted into two days) immediately preceding CHOGM with her participation in CHOGM as Head of the Commonwealth.

We will also need to finalise the make up of the UK delegation. The Foreign Secretary will accompany the Queen on the State Visit and would like Chris Mullin to represent the Foreign Office at CHOGM. Ministers from other government departments are considering their participation. We will continue to liaise with DFID (on Ministerial participation and a range of other issues) and MOD (on security).

David Hallam also asked us to consider whether the Prime Minister should try and visit Ethiopia and Kenya on the way to or back from CHOGM. The paper looks at the case for the bilateral visits. We and DFID agree that a visit to Ethiopia then Kenya on the way out to Nigeria would be very useful.

Once we have your views on our overall approach to CHOGM, we will submit a reply to McKinnon from the Prime Minister's office.

A copy of this letter, together with the enclosures, goes to David Prout (DPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI), Anna Bewes (DFID), Chris Wormald (DFES) and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office).

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

Nicholas Cannon Esq OBE
10 Downing Street

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NIGERIA: COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING, THE STATE VISIT AND ASSOCIATED COMMITMENTS

UK CHOGM PRIORITIES

Zimbabwe

The Prime Minister has written to President Obasanjo and warned him that inviting Mugabe would split the Commonwealth. When the Prime Minister spoke to President Mbeki on 14 July, he said that Obasanjo did not want any problems at CHOGM. Mbeki also thought the political problems in Zimbabwe should be resolved "way before" CHOGM. It is still not clear how much active South African mediation is in train, but economic meltdown and other political pressures may change the facts on the ground by December. The issue then for CHOGM may be whether Mugabe's successor, interim or otherwise, and post-Mugabe policies, would make Zimbabwe's re-admission acceptable. If – on balance more likely – Mugabe is still in place and/ or the situation has deteriorated, the UK is likely to want to press for Zimbabwe to be fully suspended. We are unlikely to have the active support of any African countries for this. We are trying to bring Botswana, Ghana, Kenya and Sierra Leone on board, but they may not stand up to be counted. Some Caribbean and Pacific members may be helpful, but few will be represented at Head of Government level. We should at least be able to stop Zimbabwe being re-admitted to the Councils of the Commonwealth, which would leave them suspended and on the CMAG agenda. To give Heads an objective framework for judgement, we are trying to persuade Don McKinnon to publish a set of agreed benchmarks. Mbeki agreed with the Prime Minister's suggestion to do so. If the Secretariat still lacks will, the Australians may surface the benchmarks. But it would clearly be preferable for McKinnon to do so.

Development

The CHOGM theme 'Development and Democracy-Partnership for Prosperity' is potentially welcome, provided we can ensure it does not descend into a blame game or Nigerian-led demands for more aid and debt relief. We should continue to underline that the way forward is NePAD. Commonwealth members would do well to consider the NePAD model as their template and endorse the connection between good governance and security to attract inward investment. The annual investment of £1.4 billion the UK government already makes in the Commonwealth will rise substantially under NePAD. The Commonwealth can offer a comparative advantage in helping to develop human capital, for example, through distance learning for professionals. Sharing of know-how such as micro-credit and empowerment of women, can build capacity in small enterprises.

World Trade

Following on from Cancun, we should demand a strong Commonwealth statement on the need for a successful Development Round. The developing countries will want to hear how the UK is addressing reform of the Common Agricultural Policy within the EU and tackling tariff barriers imposed by the developed nations. The Commonwealth should reaffirm its commitment to the Doha development agenda and seek to show leadership on existing trade issues rather than create new unrealisable demands. The UK should continue to underline our support for the developing world and the needs of small states.

Terrorism

CHOGM is also an opportunity to build collective Commonwealth resolve in the war against terror. If there were any doubters at Coolum about the global threat of terrorism, there can be none left at Abuja. We should applaud the role of the Commonwealth through the Committee on Terrorism and the Secretariat's programme of assistance with the United Nations on model legislation and action on money laundering. We should seek a new commitment on the exchange of information, collaboration in counter-intelligence operations and bringing to justice those who commit acts of terrorism. But the biggest potential gain is the signal of collective political commitment to tackle the issue.

Other Political Issues

If the September and December Commonwealth Ministers' Action Group meetings fail to reinstate Pakistan as a full member, the UK will want to argue for its return if we accept that sufficient progress has been made in the constitutional position of the President and the elected government: here we will need to make the distinction from Zimbabwe, where – unlike Pakistan – the direction of travel is backwards. We will need to ensure that any statement on Cyprus remains within the UN framework. CMAG agenda countries, Fiji and Solomon Islands will be reviewed and we may well need to firm up the Commonwealth's stance on Cameroon and Swaziland if the efforts of the good office of the Secretary General fail. We will want to make a strong pitch for the UK to rejoin CMAG.

Some gentle prodding of Cameroon and Swaziland apart, CMAG and the Commonwealth Secretariat have taken no visible or effective action on human rights violations or capacity building since the last CHOGM. We have commissioned some work to look at how to strengthen the Commonwealth's ability to identify and monitor those who fall short on fundamental human rights. To make the initiative palatable to seasoned objectors, we would need to talk up a pastoral role for the Commonwealth, spreading best practice, assisting with legislation, and building of institutions.

Lower order issues will be covered in briefing nearer the time. These include a second term for Mckinnon, progress with the implementation of the High Level Review Group

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The Prime Minister could choose to go to Kenya and Ethiopia after CHOGM and limit possible complications. But that would reduce his flexibility to leave CHOGM when he wishes.

STATE VISIT TO NIGERIA

President Obasanjo will see the Queen's State Visit as a powerful endorsement of his international status. Buckingham Palace wants a two-day programme starting on 2 December. The itinerary will be centred on Abuja and include a visit to Kano, in the largely Muslim north.. The Duke of Edinburgh will go to Lagos on 3 December.

MANAGING RISKS

Holding CHOGM in Nigeria carries more than the usual share of political and practical risks. But with care they can be managed successfully. The risks that apply to CHOGM and the State Visit and the possible actions to mitigate against them are set out below:

RISKS	MITIGATION
Nigeria in crisis with political and ethnic/sectarian violence affecting security. Use of Sharia law for capital punishment.	Close monitoring by the FCO and JIC. Contingency planning by the Secretariat to shift CHOGM to another location (London without shifting the full burden on the UK government?). Detailed evacuation plans out of Abuja.
Nigerian facilities not ready	Recce visits by the Palace and FCO (June and September). Providing UK know-how on planning. Encouraging CHOGM-lite eg the plan to have the retreat within Abuja. Forewarn hosts of pressure points-media, air and ground transport facilities. Contingency plan by Posts in Abuja and Accra. Practical standby arrangements for communications, accommodation and catering.
Obasanjo invites Mugabe without prior consensus;	Pre-CHOGM messages to Obasanjo of the consequences; non-attendance by the Head of the Commonwealth and a number of members.
Isolation of the UK on key policy aims	Division of labour pre-CHOGM amongst like minded members; Targeted lobbying of African, Caribbean and Asia-Pacific

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	members undertaken by the Prime Minister, FCO Ministers and officials. Promoting transparent benchmarks for CMAG agenda situations.
Media focus on an ineffective Commonwealth; Waste of resources in a poor country.	Agree a media strategy. Pre-CHOGM articles by supportive commentators; ministerial articles highlighting some of the difficulties to condition expectations; Point to re-use of convention centre and September African Games sponsored vehicles (BMW's).
Parliamentary interest	Offer the FAC the opportunity pre-CHOGM to examine the UK in the Commonwealth. Detailed statement at the end of CHOGM.
Over ambitious agenda	FCO officials visit in June to Abuja to be followed up with Nigerians to inject realism. Use the November London based Committee of the Whole as a sherpa mechanism (not a Commonwealth tradition).
Poor Whitehall/No 10 and FCO co-ordination	Early and regular consultation within Whitehall. Effective division of labour. Daily briefing meetings at Abuja.
Secretariat management of CHOGM papers	Build on the close working relationship with key officials and try to obtain papers in draft.
Attendance by the Head of the Commonwealth	Close liaison with Buckingham Palace and St James's Palace; Post in Abuja to influence Nigerian decisions on accommodation, security and access.

PREPARATION

Work leading up to CHOGM is well advanced. We have established a Whitehall-wide network of officials, including No 10, who are providing input to both high priority and more routine matters. FCO officials have visited Abuja, principally to assess what needs to be done to influence the hosts on the substance and practicalities of CHOGM. The Palace looked at arrangements for the State Visit in Abuja in mid- July. As a result the programme has been reduced by one day and a request has been made to the hosts to accommodate the Queen at the Hilton rather than risk a building project that is behind schedule. A recce by officials will take place in September at the invitation of the Nigerians to look at the logistics. We will use

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ministerial level contact with Commonwealth counterparts to test the ground for our key aims. FCO officials will target the countries most likely to share aspects of our agenda. We have already been approached by a number of High Commissions seeking our input for CHOGM.

The FCO has sponsored a number of consultations with civil society organisations in London and parts of the Commonwealth. We have also created a process through which their high priorities are absorbed into the work of government officials in time for the November COW meeting.

GLIDE PATH

Some of the key stages for CHOGM are:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| - 16 July | Palace recce visit |
| - 3 September | Commonwealth Officials' recce visit (No 10/FCO) |
| - to November | Lobbying of key members on CHOGM issues |
| - 11/12 November | Committee of the Whole |
| - 2-3 December | Queen's State Visit to Nigeria |
| - 4 December | Small States Ministerial (Chris Mullin)
(CMAG meeting, no UK involvement)
Queen meets new Heads of Delegation |
| - 5 December | CHOGM - PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session
(PM's Delegation arrives overnight or on 4th)
11.30 am Queen opens CHOGM; Dinner for Heads |
| - 6 December | PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session followed by
Retreat (PM plus one)
(accommodation at the Nicon Hilton throughout)
(Queen leaves Nigeria) |
| - 7 December | Retreat (PM plus one) |
| - 8 December | PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session; Communique;
Declaration
(PM's Delegation leaves Nigeria) |

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- Week of 8 December

PM's statement to Parliament on CHOGM

Other CHOGM events:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - 25 November-3 December | Commonwealth Youth Forum |
| - 1-7 December | Commonwealth Peoples' Forum |
| - 2-4 December | Commonwealth Business Forum |

A spouses' programme will be devised by the Nigerian hosts.

Commonwealth Co-ordination Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

12 August, 2003



08 AUG 2003

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

RESTRICTED

7 August 2003

I would be grateful if the following message could be transmitted to your Head of Government as soon as possible.

Begins

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2003 Abuja, 5-8 December 2003

Possible Agenda

Further to my letters of 7 October 2002 and 23 June 2003 regarding the next Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to be held in Abuja, Nigeria, from 5-8 December 2003, I am writing to share some thoughts with you and invite your suggestions on major issues relating to the agenda for the Meeting. As you are aware, the agenda for CHOGMs is set by Heads of Government themselves and includes items on which there is broad based interest in the association and an expectation of action oriented outcomes. This letter reflects the consultations I have had with many leaders over recent months.

As indicated in my letter of 23 June 2003, a number of items on Commonwealth functional co-operation brought to your attention by Commonwealth ministerial meetings, and by myself as Secretary-General, would be considered by the Committee of the Whole (COW), which will meet in London on 12 November 2003 and submit a report for your consideration at Abuja. The purpose of the COW meeting is essentially to free up the CHOGM agenda for discussion of substantive issues of particular interest to Heads of Government. There will be an opportunity, for the first time, for senior officials to have informal consultations with Commonwealth civil society groups in London on 11 November, in advance of the COW.

Contd... 2

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e-mail: secretary-general@commonwealth.int Web site: www.the.commonwealth.org

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CHOGM Preparations

The preparations for the Meeting are on course. An Aide Memoire on Administrative Arrangements for the Meeting was circulated to governments by the Secretariat in April 2003. The administrative arrangements were subsequently discussed at a meeting of the CHOGM Liaison Committee in London on 12 May 2003. The customary advance visit for national delegations to CHOGM venues in Abuja will take place from 3-5 September 2003.

Timetable

Given the short duration of three and a half days for the Meeting, it is important to organise the CHOGM programme in the most effective way possible. The Meeting will follow the format of a single venue for all events, which was much appreciated by leaders at their last Meeting in Coolom, Australia, in March 2002. The Abuja Meeting will, however, revert to the old CHOGM timetable by starting on Friday morning and concluding by mid-day on Monday.

Opening Ceremony

The Opening Ceremony of the CHOGM will take place on the morning of Friday 5 December. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Head of the Commonwealth, will once again address the CHOGM Opening Ceremony. President Obasanjo will deliver the Address of Welcome, Prime Minister Howard will, as the outgoing Chairperson-in-Office, thank the host President on your collective behalf. I will make the customary speech by the Secretary-General.

Executive Sessions

There will be a total of four Executive Sessions as is now traditional with CHOGM. The first Executive Session will take place in the morning of Friday 5 December immediately after the Opening Ceremony. The second Executive Session will take place in the afternoon of Friday 5 December following my customary Reception for Heads of Delegation to meet the media during the lunch break. The third Executive Session will be held in the morning of Saturday 6 December before leaders break for their Retreat. The fourth and final Executive Session will take place in the morning of Monday 8 December.

Retreat

We will not be travelling outside Abuja for the two-night Retreat which, along with the informal sessions, will be held at the Presidential Villa Complex at Aso Rock. The Retreat is designed to allow more time for informal and private discussions so greatly valued by Heads of Government. As always, apart from Heads of Delegation and accompanying spouses, only one aide from each delegation will be able to gain access to the Retreat events. Informal sessions at the Retreat (or Restricted Sessions during the formal CHOGM, if any) will be confined to Heads of Delegation only.

Review of Global Developments

At the first two Executive Sessions, Heads of Government will no doubt want an opportunity to review global developments since the Coolum Summit. Given the limited time available, it would be desirable for such a discussion to be selective in terms of topics to be covered and to focus on issues that clearly demand pan-Commonwealth attention and action.

The review of political issues of concern to the Commonwealth may include the Commonwealth's role in conflict prevention and resolution and peace building, promotion and monitoring of the Commonwealth's fundamental political values, and issues on which there are standing Commonwealth Ministerial Groups and Committees, namely Belize, Cyprus and Guyana.

There will be a report to CHOGM from the Commonwealth Committee on Terrorism (CCT) on the progress of implementation of the Commonwealth Plan of Action against Terrorism.

In the context of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group on the Harare Declaration (CMAG), you will have before you the Report of the Group on its work since Coolum. CMAG will meet in Abuja on the eve of CHOGM on 4 December to update its Report and the Chairman will present the Report in the Executive Session. I expect this to include recommendations on countries currently on the CMAG's agenda. It is suggested that any sensitive or contentious issues arising from the CMAG Report may be taken up at the Retreat. At Abuja, you will also need to decide on the composition of CMAG for the next two years.

Discussions on global economic developments may cover the current world economic situation and prospects. Key issues may include uncertainties towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals, trade liberalisation and current WTO issues, institutional reform and poverty reduction strategies, debt sustainability, and investment flows. CHOGM will also receive a Report under this item from the Commonwealth Business Council, which is organising a Commonwealth Business Forum in Abuja from 2-4 December 2003.

Small States

Under this item, which I expect would be taken up before proceeding on the Retreat on Saturday 6 December, leaders will have an opportunity to consider the political, economic and security challenges facing small states. Heads of Delegation will also receive a Report from the Ministerial Group on Small States (MGSS), which will meet in Abuja on the eve of CHOGM on 4 December 2003. The MGSS Report is likely to include a review of progress in implementing the new work programme on small states' issues, adopted at the Coolum CHOGM.

CHOGM Theme

As I indicated in my letter of 7 October 2002, the Abuja Meeting will consider how the Commonwealth can take its development agenda forward by focusing on the CHOGM theme: 'Development and Democracy: Partnership for Peace and Prosperity'. Indeed the issues thrown up by the theme are very important to all our members, as they not only reinforce the linkages between democracy and good governance on the one hand, and poverty, development and conflict on the other; but they also underline the need for partnership and international co-operation both within and outside our association.

In this context, you will have before you the recommendations of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Development and Democracy which was set up following the Coolum CHOGM in March 2002 to look at ways in which democracies might best be supported in combating poverty. The Group's Report will be available to you as a CHOGM document in advance of the Meeting.

It is proposed that discussions on the CHOGM theme and the Development and Democracy Report may be concluded at the Retreat, from where a Declaration on the theme could be issued on Sunday, 7 December. The text of the Declaration may include salient points of your deliberations and a commitment to taking action on agreed objectives.

Commonwealth Functional Co-operation

This item will cover Commonwealth development co-operation issues and activities under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC), as submitted to Heads of Government in the Report of the COW.

Leaders will also receive reports from two Commonwealth inter-governmental organisations, the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth of Learning. I propose that this item be considered towards the end of the second Executive Session on Friday 5 December, to enable the release of the COW Report at the end of business on the first day of CHOGM.

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Final Documents

At Coolum, Commonwealth Heads of Government adopted a brief and concise Communiqué, which covered issues on which they actually held substantive discussion or proposed specific action. They also issued a succinct Declaration on the theme of the Meeting, focusing on those specific items they wanted to highlight at the end of the Retreat. As already indicated, at Abuja leaders may consider issuing a Declaration on the theme of the Meeting on Sunday 7 December. The Communiqué will be issued upon the conclusion of the CHOGM on Monday 8 December.

Concluding Observations

I know that President Obasanjo, our prospective host and the incoming Chairperson-in-Office, is looking forward keenly to welcoming you personally to Abuja. The Government of Nigeria is also waiting to hear from those member countries, which have not yet notified details of their delegations.

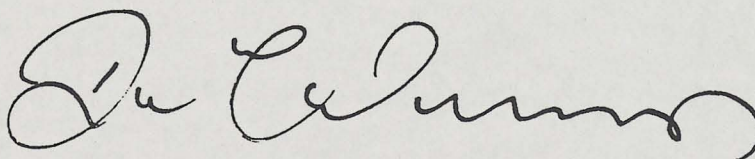
I will particularly welcome any reactions or proposals you may wish to share with me on the political, economic, social or developmental aspects of the agenda for the Meeting. Following receipt of your responses, and my further consultations with leaders on the major issues, I will write to you again in late October with an annotated Provisional Agenda and organisational details, prior to their consideration at the Senior Officials Meeting in London on 12 November 2003 for final approval by you in Abuja.

I also hope that the forthcoming Meeting will be attended personally by as many Heads of Government and accompanying spouses as possible representing all the regions and the diversity of the Commonwealth.

With best regards.

Don McKinnon

Ends



Don McKinnon

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Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

24 July 2003

cc: JF
DP/press

Dear David

Zimbabwe: Strategy and CHOGM Handling

You might like an update to the Foreign Secretary's note of 23 May, on handling Zimbabwe in the run up to, and at, CHOGM.

There are elements of progress. Our contacts with the Commonwealth Secretary General, and more broadly, suggest that no-one wants Mugabe to split the Commonwealth. Some of the new Commonwealth may speak up against Zimbabwe at CHOGM – we are expecting a statement from the Pacific Forum in August. But other elements will not. CARICOM and the African Union – at their recent respective Summits – have said nothing. But as these are the kind of groupings which have in the past been pro-ZANU(PF), a no-score draw is not a bad outcome. We are continuing to engage with key Caribbean, Pacific, Asian and African Commonwealth partners to reinforce our central message: Mugabe must not attend CHOGM, nor be allowed to split the organisation, and there is no case for Zimbabwe's re-admission to the Councils of the Commonwealth.

The Africans remain the key and the two major shareholders are Presidents Obasanjo and Mbeki. Again, we have seen progress on the Nigerian front. The Commonwealth Secretary General briefed Chris Mullin last week that Obasanjo had told Mugabe clearly (in the margins of the AU Summit in Maputo) that he would not invite him to CHOGM. Mugabe had said that he would not cause trouble for Obasanjo. This remains to be seen. Elements of ZANU(PF) are trying to insinuate that no invitation to Mugabe could mean a boycott by African – or at least Southern African – countries. But only Namibia is likely to be a real convert to this. We have seen no sign of a larger groundswell, but will continue to monitor.

President Mbeki has a major role. He feels territorial about Zimbabwe and the prospect of Obasanjo playing on his turf. But the latter has a right to assert himself as CHOGM host. Mbeki said two important things to the Prime Minister at their meeting on 14 July. First, he agreed that putting benchmarks in place to judge progress in Zimbabwe was the best way to avoid problems. Second, he said that the political process should be resolved "way before" CHOGM. His approach to

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benchmarks is helpful. His apparent confidence that he can resolve the political process – in spite of senior MDC confirmation to FCO officials on 21 July that there is no formal dialogue underway – is something we will have to raise with him again in September. The Americans will do the same. But he knows that the Prime Minister and President Bush will be looking for him to deliver on Zimbabwe.

Chris Mullin has raised benchmarks with Don McKinnon, and told him that Mbeki would not oppose them. The Secretary General is still reluctant to publish. Instead, he noted that Obasanjo had set out a list of commitments that Zimbabwe should meet before they were re-admitted. Obasanjo intended to intensify dialogue with Mugabe, building on recent visits. McKinnon thought that Obasanjo would try to make benchmarks public in some way. But it is unlikely these will be published. We will probably have to build on the "soft benchmarking" that is underway. The Prime Minister might speak to Obasanjo about this on 29 July. We will provide a note.

McKinnon added that Obasanjo's plan was to make an early statement at CHOGM, saying that Zimbabwe would not be discussed, that the suspension from the Councils of the Commonwealth would be maintained, and the issue would be remitted to the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) for further action. There are pros and cons with this approach.

Among the pros is that it secures most of our bottom lines: Mugabe not invited, no Commonwealth split, and suspension from the Councils maintained. A downside is that it does not allow for the full suspension that we might favour. But our judgement at this stage is that pressing for full suspension would split the Commonwealth. We would not get consensus on this. If we pushed too hard for full suspension, like the Australians did at the Troika meeting in the autumn of 2002, we would break the organisation, as the Australians did the Troika.

Another question is whether Obasanjo's plan is achievable. A well-choreographed pre-emptive strike is one thing. But a protracted argument with much collateral damage is another. Much of the heavy lifting here will fall to the Nigerians, and we will need to help them.

There is another theoretical complication. If Mbeki does succeed in beginning a negotiating process, one important element will be movement towards a formal succession arrangement within ZANU(PF), and the resumption – although not the conclusion – of inter-party talks. If this happens, and it would be a good thing in itself, the Africans might insist that the start of the process was enough to justify Zimbabwe's re-admission. (There could be some in the EU who might argue in parallel for lifting EU sanctions). We could then be under pressure to re-admit Zimbabwe before any outcome, far less a managed transition, was visible. We would need to insist that while any progress was welcome, this reinforced the need

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to refer Zimbabwe to CMAG with the suspension remaining in place. CMAG's task would be to monitor progress and recommend re-admission as soon as possible, but only on the basis of Zimbabwe's return to adherence with the Harare Principles.

We have much still to do, but are broadly on track. We need to maintain contact with the following: Obasanjo, to support his decision not to invite Mugabe and to nudge him forward on benchmarking; Mbeki, to take forward the inter-party process he has said is already underway; the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders, to continue their work with the Caribbean, Pacific and Asian Commonwealth (although we should not expect more than some passive support from these quarters); and lastly McKinnon, to ensure that the Secretariat plays its full role in benchmarking, supporting the Nigerians, watching the South Africans and helping orchestrate CHOGM itself.

I am copying this letter to Anna Bewes (DFID).

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Kara Owen'.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Kara Owen'.

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

David Hallam Esq
10 Downing Street

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DFID Department for
International
Development

1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE

Telephone: 020 7023 0409

E-mail: s-sabey@dfid.gov.uk

D/H o/r

From the Private Secretary

 David Hallam
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

cc: JPO

MR

NC

KK

Dear David,

15 August 2003 **EVENTS****CHOGM: PRIME MINISTERIAL BILATERAL VISITS**

Thank you for your letter of 24 July on the above. I have also seen Kara Owen's letter of 14 August to Nicholas Cannon. We have discussed your suggestions with the Secretary of State and with the FCO. Like the FCO, we would strongly support the prospect of the Prime Minister visiting, if possible, both Ethiopia and Kenya.

Visiting Ethiopia would allow the Prime Minister to meet with senior officials of the AU and the ECA, as well as Prime Minister Meles, to discuss progress on NEPAD, and in particular the workings of the African Peer Review Mechanism. It would provide the Prime Minister with an opportunity further to develop his engagement with Africa and the 'African agenda'. It may also provide the Prime Minister with an appropriate occasion to raise his idea of hosting a meeting with key African leaders in London in early 2004.

In visiting Kenya we would be able to demonstrate the UK's commitment to assisting Kenya in its fight against terrorism. Given the ban on British flights to Kenya, recently lifted, such a visit would symbolise the importance we attach both to our relationship with Kenya and the need for consistent and sustained action against terrorism in the region. It would facilitate discussion of specific areas of concern to us that remain, and encourage dialogue regarding further cooperation. Furthermore it would allow us to impress upon President Kibaki the need for continued economic reform and concerted action against corruption. Thirdly – but by no means last – it could be helpful to exchange views with a helpful Commonwealth country on Zimbabwe before CHOGM, though we acknowledge that this would require careful public handling.

These visits will carry risks: in Ethiopia the risk is one of increased local tension as relations with Eritrea may worsen over boundary issues. There are known terrorist cells operating in East Africa generally. Apart from being a cause of serious concern in itself, it may cause the FCO to reinstate its flight ban to Kenya. Domestically, President Kibaki fluctuates in health and has a wavering grip over the affairs of state. This is accentuated by the uncertainty caused by the ongoing work of the constitutional review process. A meeting with him may be less focused and productive than we would wish.

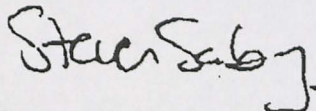
\ Notwithstanding these risks

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Notwithstanding these risks, it is recommended that we take advantage of the Prime Minister's trip further to embed HMG's leadership role in promoting the 'African agenda', both on the continent and in international fora.

I am copying this letter to Nicholas Cannon (No 10), Kara Owen (FCO), Peter Watkins (MOD), John Scarlett, Jim Drummond and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office), David Prout (DPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI) and Chris Wormald (DfES).

Yours sincerely,



Steven Sabey
Private Secretary

18 August 2003

Commonwealth Sec



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

DFH

cc JPO
press

Dear David,

**Visit to Kazakhstan by Lord Levy: Draft Letter from the Prime Minister
to President Nazarbaev**

As you know, the Prime Minister has appointed Lord Levy as his
Personal Envoy to Kazakhstan.

Lord Levy will be making his first visit to Kazakhstan from
31 August to 3 September and is likely to have substantial discussions on
bilateral and regional issues with President Nazarbaev on the Prime Minister's
behalf. With this in mind, Lord Levy would like to take a personal message for
Nazarbaev from the Prime Minister.

... I attach a self-explanatory draft letter from the PM to Nazarbaev for
... consideration. For information I also attach press lines agreed with Lord Levy.

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

David Hallam Esq
10 Downing Street

LORD LEVY: PRESS LINES

- The Prime Minister has asked Lord Levy to act as his special envoy to Kazakhstan. Lord Levy will be visiting Kazakhstan shortly, when he will be carrying a message from the Prime Minister and will meet with President Nazarbayev.
- Kazakhstan is a regional leader and an important partner for the UK. Through major investments, British companies are active in helping to develop the potential of Kazakhstan's oil and gas resources, and in other areas. The Prime Minister enjoys a good working relationship with President Nazarbayev.

Why Lord Levy?

- Lord Levy has acted as the Prime Minister's envoy to other important regions and countries, eg the Middle East, North Africa, the Gulf States and Latin America. His experience in performing in this role makes him the obvious choice.

What will Lord Levy do?

- Lord Levy's brief will be to inform himself about the situation in Kazakhstan and the state and scope of our bilateral relationship, and to report back his impressions to the Prime Minister, including any recommendations for new initiatives.

Who pays?

- Lord Levy customarily covers his own travelling expenses when travelling on behalf of the Prime Minister.

Isn't this the role of the Foreign Secretary/Office?

- Ministers decide policy. But policy can be informed from a range of sources. Lord Levy's visit will be organised in close co-operation with the FCO, and he will be supported by an FCO official. British Ministers will continue to visit Kazakhstan, as you would expect.

Is the Prime Minister planning to visit?

- Diary difficulties are likely to preclude a visit this year, which is why Lord Levy's visit is timely. But the Prime Minister has expressed his interest in visiting Kazakhstan at some stage.

Other Ministerial visits?

- Various possibilities are under consideration in the usual way.

**DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO
HE PRESIDENT NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV**

As you know the relationship with Kazakhstan is one to which I attach considerable importance. Over the past few years you and I have had a number of exchanges. In order to move forward still further I have Lord Levy to act my personal envoy. I am certain that you will find him a valuable and engaging interlocutor.

There are many important issues, on which you and I have already touched that I would like him to discuss further with you such including terrorism and regional issues. I should also like him to consider with you issues important to our bilateral relationship, including economic issues and British commercial investments in Kazakhstan.

*[Matthew Donnelly
Eastern
7008 2164]*

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for for: Commenced 14/16



DFID

Department for
International
Development

already
need
for

1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE

Telephone: 020 7023 0409

E-mail: s-sabey@dfid.gov.uk

From the Private Secretary

David Hallam
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

Dear David,

15 August 2003

CHOGM: PRIME MINISTERIAL BILATERAL VISITS

Thank you for your letter of 24 July on the above. I have also seen Kara Owen's letter of 14 August to Nicholas Cannon. We have discussed your suggestions with the Secretary of State and with the FCO. Like the FCO, we would strongly support the prospect of the Prime Minister visiting, if possible, both Ethiopia and Kenya.

Visiting Ethiopia would allow the Prime Minister to meet with senior officials of the AU and the ECA, as well as Prime Minister Meles, to discuss progress on NEPAD, and in particular the workings of the African Peer Review Mechanism. It would provide the Prime Minister with an opportunity further to develop his engagement with Africa and the 'African agenda'. It may also provide the Prime Minister with an appropriate occasion to raise his idea of hosting a meeting with key African leaders in London in early 2004.

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These visits will carry risks: in Ethiopia the risk is one of increased local tension as relations with Eritrea may worsen over boundary issues. There are known terrorist cells operating in East Africa generally. Apart from being a cause of serious concern in itself, it may cause the FCO to reinstate its flight ban to Kenya. Domestically, President Kibaki fluctuates in health and has a wavering grip over the affairs of state. This is accentuated by the uncertainty caused by the ongoing work of the constitutional review process. A meeting with him may be less focused and productive than we would wish.

\ Notwithstanding these risks

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Notwithstanding these risks, it is recommended that we take advantage of the Prime Minister's trip further to embed HMG's leadership role in promoting the 'African agenda', both on the continent and in international fora.

I am copying this letter to Nicholas Cannon (No 10), Kara Owen (FCO), Peter Watkins (MOD), John Scarlett, Jim Drummond and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office), David Prout (DPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI) and Chris Wormald (DfES).

Yours sincerely,

Steven Sabey

Steven Sabey
Private Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL



STATE HOUSE,
ABUJA,
NIGERIA.

1. NEXUS
2. MTH
3. DTH

Reference:

PRES/25

August 8, 2003

His Excellency
The High Commissioner,
British High Commission,
Garki Area 10,
Abuja.

Jon D. Williams

Reference:

1. Fax bntk

*Tim Hitchen ADE Fro.
Graham Chapman O/D house
David Itallam No 10*

A. Letter to His Excellency, Rt. Hon. Tony Blair, British Prime Minister, London, United Kingdom.

B. Letter to Baroness Valerie Amos, Honourable State Secretary for International Development, United Kingdom

I am directed to forward References A - B to you for onward transmission to their highest destinations.

2. We will appreciate your kind assistance in this regard, Sir.

Taiwo Ojo
Special Assistant to Mr. President

Encl.

1. Copy of Reference A - B.

2. cc WK O/D,

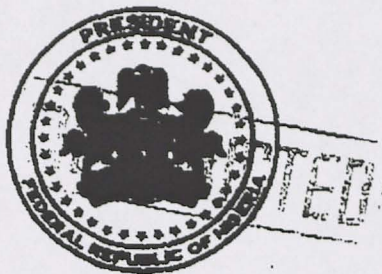
QJ

MS O/A

me.

3. pc.

A 11/11



SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

**PRESIDENT,
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

PRES/15

August 7, 2003

Baroness Valerie Amos,
Honourable State Secretary for
International Development,
United Kingdom.

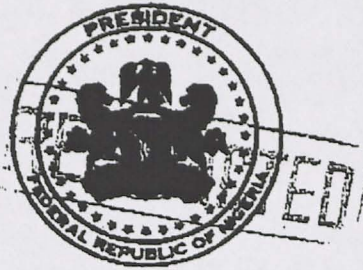
Dear Baroness,

RE: RECENT NIGERIA-UK SUMMIT

I am writing to express my appreciation to you and your colleagues in DFID, Treasury and the Foreign Office for the excellent work that went into our recent successful Summit in London. We are particularly grateful to Messrs. Graham Stegman, William Kingsmill and their colleagues for their commitment. We found the attendance and participation of the World Bank and the IMF very useful. I am also grateful to Jim Wolfensohn for punctuating his holiday in Kenya to join us. You will, no doubt, agree with me that the Summit, with its proposed follow-up, represents an innovation in the conduct of our bilateral relations, a novelty that could be replicated with other countries.

With regards to the substance of our discussions, I am happy to note that on the issue of our stolen wealth and misappropriated funds, we were able to furnish you and your colleagues with further information that should enhance our quest for the speedy repatriation of those funds.

On the reform program, our economic team, is hard at work elaborating on the program further into our new National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, NEEDS. At the same time, we have begun to reach out to various groups of stakeholders to explain the program and get inputs. We had a very lively Cabinet discussion yesterday, August 6, 2003. The



interest and engagement of Ministers was such that I have decided to organize a Cabinet Retreat to further facilitate discussion. We have also begun to share the contents of the program with the caucus of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the National Assembly and we shall soon reach out to the legislature and the grassroots.

We look forward to the various missions agreed with DFID, the Bank and the Fund with a view to making progress on our follow-up meeting in November. We also look forward to the proposed December meeting with the Prime Minister on the sidelines of CHOGM. Till then, let me reiterate our determination to move forward on the reform program.

I thank you, once again, for your kind contributions to the success of our last Summit.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
Olusegun Obasanjo
OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

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**DFID** Department for
International
Development

1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE

Telephone: 020 7023 0409

E-mail: s-sabey@dfid.gov.uk

*From the Private Secretary*David Hallam
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AADLH off
cc: JPO
MR
NC
KK15 August 2003 **EVENTS**

Dear David,

CHOGM: PRIME MINISTERIAL BILATERAL VISITS

Thank you for your letter of 24 July on the above. I have also seen Kara Owen's letter of 14 August to Nicholas Cannon. We have discussed your suggestions with the Secretary of State and with the FCO. Like the FCO, we would strongly support the prospect of the Prime Minister visiting, if possible, both Ethiopia and Kenya.

Visiting Ethiopia would allow the Prime Minister to meet with senior officials of the AU and the ECA, as well as Prime Minister Meles, to discuss progress on NEPAD, and in particular the workings of the African Peer Review Mechanism. It would provide the Prime Minister with an opportunity further to develop his engagement with Africa and the 'African agenda'. It may also provide the Prime Minister with an appropriate occasion to raise his idea of hosting a meeting with key African leaders in London in early 2004.

In visiting Kenya we would be able to demonstrate the UK's commitment to assisting Kenya in its fight against terrorism. Given the ban on British flights to Kenya, recently lifted, such a visit would symbolise the importance we attach both to our relationship with Kenya and the need for consistent and sustained action against terrorism in the region. It would facilitate discussion of specific areas of concern to us that remain, and encourage dialogue regarding further cooperation. Furthermore it would allow us to impress upon President Kibaki the need for continued economic reform and concerted action against corruption. Thirdly – but by no means last – it could be helpful to exchange views with a helpful Commonwealth country on Zimbabwe before CHOGM, though we acknowledge that this would require careful public handling.

These visits will carry risks: in Ethiopia the risk is one of increased local tension as relations with Eritrea may worsen over boundary issues. There are known terrorist cells operating in East Africa generally. Apart from being a cause of serious concern in itself, it may cause the FCO to reinstate its flight ban to Kenya. Domestically, President Kibaki fluctuates in health and has a wavering grip over the affairs of state. This is accentuated by the uncertainty caused by the ongoing work of the constitutional review process. A meeting with him may be less focused and productive than we would wish.

\ Notwithstanding these risks

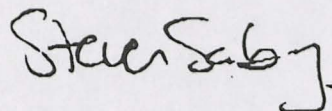
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Notwithstanding these risks, it is recommended that we take advantage of the Prime Minister's trip further to embed HMG's leadership role in promoting the 'African agenda', both on the continent and in international fora.

I am copying this letter to Nicholas Cannon (No 10), Kara Owen (FCO), Peter Watkins (MOD), John Scarlett, Jim Drummond and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office), David Prout (DPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI) and Chris Wormald (DfES).

Yours sincerely,



Steven Sabey
Private Secretary

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TOTAL P.02

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14 August 2003



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

NC
cc.
DA
NS
MR O/R
DFI O/R
JPO O/R

Dear Nicholas,

CHOGM and Related Visits

The forthcoming Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Abuja, 5-8 December, will be challenging and calls for some early planning and further action. The enclosed paper identifies some of the key issues for CHOGM, the risks and the steps we should take to mitigate them.

The Secretary General has circulated the enclosed letter to all Commonwealth Heads of Government. He sets out in very general terms the issues that are likely to form the agenda for the Abuja meeting in December. In late October, once Don McKinnon has had feedback from Commonwealth members, he will send out a provisional agenda.

Our aim should be a CHOGM which reaffirms the Commonwealth's unity, strength and action on reform while sending the right signals on the key issues – Zimbabwe, development and good governance, world trade, and the fight against terrorism. The main media and political focus will be Zimbabwe. The Nigerians will want to push the Commonwealth emphasis from good governance to development and debt forgiveness. My letter of 23 July to David Hallam gave a read-out of how Zimbabwe is likely to play in the run-up to CHOGM. We have started to explore approaches that will encourage support for our ideas. We need to build alliances with non-African Commonwealth members, most importantly the Pacifics and Caribbeans. Post-Iraq, there may also be debate on the multilateral system. Commentators will question the relevance of the Commonwealth in the 21st century; and perhaps, about its future head.

Some of the subjects in our paper are replicated in McKinnon's letter and reflect discussion between FCO and Secretariat officials. The balance of McKinnon's proposed agenda, however, leans too far towards pure development assistance (ie finance). We will want to inject more focus on the good governance and delivery aspects of development. We will also want to make sure that the Commonwealth only act where there is a clear comparative advantage in them doing so. We hope that trade is an item on which the Africans should lead. FCO officials will continue to engage with the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Nigerians and influential countries in the period leading up to the November meeting of senior officials in London where the agenda for CHOGM will be agreed.

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We will dovetail planning for HM The Queen's State Visit to Nigeria (which has been compacted into two days) immediately preceding CHOGM with her participation in CHOGM as Head of the Commonwealth.

We will also need to finalise the make up of the UK delegation. The Foreign Secretary will accompany the Queen on the State Visit and would like Chris Mullin to represent the Foreign Office at CHOGM. Ministers from other government departments are considering their participation. We will continue to liaise with DFID (on Ministerial participation and a range of other issues) and MOD (on security).

David Hallam also asked us to consider whether the Prime Minister should try and visit Ethiopia and Kenya on the way to or back from CHOGM. The paper looks at the case for the bilateral visits. We and DFID agree that a visit to Ethiopia then Kenya on the way out to Nigeria would be very useful.

Once we have your views on our overall approach to CHOGM, we will submit a reply to McKinnon from the Prime Minister's office.

A copy of this letter, together with the enclosures, goes to David Prout (DPM), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office), Mark Bowman (HMT), Erica Zimmer (DTI), Anna Bewes (DFID), Chris Wormald (DFES) and Ian Fletcher (Cabinet Office).

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

Nicholas Cannon Esq OBE
10 Downing Street

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**NIGERIA: COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT
MEETING, THE STATE VISIT AND ASSOCIATED
COMMITMENTS**

UK CHOGM PRIORITIES

Zimbabwe

The Prime Minister has written to President Obasanjo and warned him that inviting Mugabe would split the Commonwealth. When the Prime Minister spoke to President Mbeki on 14 July, he said that Obasanjo did not want any problems at CHOGM. Mbeki also thought the political problems in Zimbabwe should be resolved "way before" CHOGM. It is still not clear how much active South African mediation is in train, but economic meltdown and other political pressures may change the facts on the ground by December. The issue then for CHOGM may be whether Mugabe's successor, interim or otherwise, and post-Mugabe policies, would make Zimbabwe's re-admission acceptable. If – on balance more likely – Mugabe is still in place and/ or the situation has deteriorated, the UK is likely to want to press for Zimbabwe to be fully suspended. We are unlikely to have the active support of any African countries for this. We are trying to bring Botswana, Ghana, Kenya and Sierra Leone on board, but they may not stand up to be counted. Some Caribbean and Pacific members may be helpful, but few will be represented at Head of Government level. We should at least be able to stop Zimbabwe being re-admitted to the Councils of the Commonwealth, which would leave them suspended and on the CMAG agenda. To give Heads an objective framework for judgement, we are trying to persuade Don McKinnon to publish a set of agreed benchmarks. Mbeki agreed with the Prime Minister's suggestion to do so. If the Secretariat still lacks will, the Australians may surface the benchmarks. But it would clearly be preferable for McKinnon to do so.

Development

The CHOGM theme 'Development and Democracy-Partnership for Prosperity' is potentially welcome, provided we can ensure it does not descend into a blame game or Nigerian-led demands for more aid and debt relief. We should continue to underline that the way forward is NePAD. Commonwealth members would do well to consider the NePAD model as their template and endorse the connection between good governance and security to attract inward investment. The annual investment of £1.4 billion the UK government already makes in the Commonwealth will rise substantially under NePAD. The Commonwealth can offer a comparative advantage in helping to develop human capital, for example, through distance learning for professionals. Sharing of know-how such as micro-credit and empowerment of women, can build capacity in small enterprises.

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World Trade

Following on from Cancun, we should demand a strong Commonwealth statement on the need for a successful Development Round. The developing countries will want to hear how the UK is addressing reform of the Common Agricultural Policy within the EU and tackling tariff barriers imposed by the developed nations. The Commonwealth should reaffirm its commitment to the Doha development agenda and seek to show leadership on existing trade issues rather than create new unrealisable demands. The UK should continue to underline our support for the developing world and the needs of small states.

Terrorism

CHOGM is also an opportunity to build collective Commonwealth resolve in the war against terror. If there were any doubters at Coolum about the global threat of terrorism, there can be none left at Abuja. We should applaud the role of the Commonwealth through the Committee on Terrorism and the Secretariat's programme of assistance with the United Nations on model legislation and action on money laundering. We should seek a new commitment on the exchange of information, collaboration in counter-intelligence operations and bringing to justice those who commit acts of terrorism. But the biggest potential gain is the signal of collective political commitment to tackle the issue.

Other Political Issues

If the September and December Commonwealth Ministers' Action Group meetings fail to reinstate Pakistan as a full member, the UK will want to argue for its return if we accept that sufficient progress has been made in the constitutional position of the President and the elected government: here we will need to make the distinction from Zimbabwe, where – unlike Pakistan – the direction of travel is backwards. We will need to ensure that any statement on Cyprus remains within the UN framework. CMAG agenda countries, Fiji and Solomon Islands will be reviewed and we may well need to firm up the Commonwealth's stance on Cameroon and Swaziland if the efforts of the good office of the Secretary General fail. We will want to make a strong pitch for the UK to rejoin CMAG.

Some gentle prodding of Cameroon and Swaziland apart, CMAG and the Commonwealth Secretariat have taken no visible or effective action on human rights violations or capacity building since the last CHOGM. We have commissioned some work to look at how to strengthen the Commonwealth's ability to identify and monitor those who fall short on fundamental human rights. To make the initiative palatable to seasoned objectors, we would need to talk up a pastoral role for the Commonwealth, spreading best practice, assisting with legislation, and building of institutions.

Lower order issues will be covered in briefing nearer the time. These include a second term for Mckinnon, progress with the implementation of the High Level Review Group

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recommendations and a review of organisations and initiatives created by previous CHOGMs.

THE BIG IDEA

The tradition is to come up with some universal declaration that defines each CHOGM. The UK was instrumental in the adoption of *freedom of expression* in the Coolum Declaration. We should promote *inclusive government* at Abuja. This new Commonwealth aspiration modernises and gives an active meaning to existing declarations covering good governance and discrimination. It would encourage the adoption of constitutions and laws that are inclusive. The declaration would call for government policy and service delivery that takes into account the needs of minorities, ethnic groups, regions and political factions. We will need to work this into the thinking of the Nigerian hosts.

CHOGM DELEGATION

The core UK CHOGM delegation led by the Prime Minister. Chris Mullin will attend. Senior officials from No 10 and the FCO will be present. Additional support will be provided by the respective Private Offices, the FCO's Commonwealth Co-ordination Department and No 10. Including security, the UK total delegation size will be around 60.

STOPOVER IN ETHIOPIA AND KENYA

Since the Prime Minister will be travelling to Africa, it would make sense to undertake bilateral visits at the same time. Kenya is a candidate: a newly elected government with a reforming agenda; a tourism-based economy badly damaged by UK travel advice to tourists not to visit; a country which is now working very closely with us and the Americans on counter-terrorism; and major trade and military links. There is also a large Kenyan diaspora in the UK.

Ethiopia should also be considered. Meles came to the Progressive Governance summit, and is doing many of the right things at home. We have a burgeoning development programme. We believe that the Prime Minister should visit both countries. But if only one is possible, the FCO view is that it should be Kenya.

If the Prime Minister wants to have the flexibility of leaving Abuja before 8 December, then the visits would need to be on the way to CHOGM. There are sensitivities that need to be managed. The Queen and the Prime Minister would be in two Commonwealth countries at the same time. The Kenyans may well want to avoid being seen as coming under UK pressure just ahead of CHOGM even if the subjects discussed are wide ranging. Kenya of its own accord has the right views on Mugabe.

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The Prime Minister could choose to go to Kenya and Ethiopia after CHOGM and limit possible complications. But that would reduce his flexibility to leave CHOGM when he wishes.

STATE VISIT TO NIGERIA

President Obasanjo will see the Queen's State Visit as a powerful endorsement of his international status. Buckingham Palace wants a two-day programme starting on 2 December. The itinerary will be centred on Abuja and include a visit to Kano, in the largely Muslim north.. The Duke of Edinburgh will go to Lagos on 3 December.

MANAGING RISKS

Holding CHOGM in Nigeria carries more than the usual share of political and practical risks. But with care they can be managed successfully. The risks that apply to CHOGM and the State Visit and the possible actions to mitigate against them are set out below:

RISKS	MITIGATION
Nigeria in crisis with political and ethnic/sectarian violence affecting security. Use of Sharia law for capital punishment.	Close monitoring by the FCO and JIC. Contingency planning by the Secretariat to shift CHOGM to another location (London without shifting the full burden on the UK government?). Detailed evacuation plans out of Abuja.
Nigerian facilities not ready	Recce visits by the Palace and FCO (June and September). Providing UK know-how on planning. Encouraging CHOGM-lite eg the plan to have the retreat within Abuja. Forewarn hosts of pressure points-media, air and ground transport facilities. Contingency plan by Posts in Abuja and Accra. Practical standby arrangements for communications, accommodation and catering.
Obasanjo invites Mugabe without prior consensus;	Pre-CHOGM messages to Obasanjo of the consequences; non-attendance by the Head of the Commonwealth and a number of members.
Isolation of the UK on key policy aims	Division of labour pre-CHOGM amongst like minded members; Targeted lobbying of African, Caribbean and Asia-Pacific

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	members undertaken by the Prime Minister, FCO Ministers and officials. Promoting transparent benchmarks for CMAG agenda situations.
Media focus on an ineffective Commonwealth; Waste of resources in a poor country.	Agree a media strategy. Pre-CHOGM articles by supportive commentators; ministerial articles highlighting some of the difficulties to condition expectations; Point to re-use of convention centre and September African Games sponsored vehicles (BMW's).
Parliamentary interest	Offer the FAC the opportunity pre-CHOGM to examine the UK in the Commonwealth. Detailed statement at the end of CHOGM.
Over ambitious agenda	FCO officials visit in June to Abuja to be followed up with Nigerians to inject realism. Use the November London based Committee of the Whole as a sherpa mechanism (not a Commonwealth tradition).
Poor Whitehall/No 10 and FCO co-ordination	Early and regular consultation within Whitehall. Effective division of labour. Daily briefing meetings at Abuja.
Secretariat management of CHOGM papers	Build on the close working relationship with key officials and try to obtain papers in draft.
Attendance by the Head of the Commonwealth	Close liaison with Buckingham Palace and St James's Palace; Post in Abuja to influence Nigerian decisions on accommodation, security and access.

PREPARATION

Work leading up to CHOGM is well advanced. We have established a Whitehall-wide network of officials, including No 10, who are providing input to both high priority and more routine matters. FCO officials have visited Abuja, principally to assess what needs to be done to influence the hosts on the substance and practicalities of CHOGM. The Palace looked at arrangements for the State Visit in Abuja in mid- July. As a result the programme has been reduced by one day and a request has been made to the hosts to accommodate the Queen at the Hilton rather than risk a building project that is behind schedule. A recce by officials will take place in September at the invitation of the Nigerians to look at the logistics. We will use

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ministerial level contact with Commonwealth counterparts to test the ground for our key aims. FCO officials will target the countries most likely to share aspects of our agenda. We have already been approached by a number of High Commissions seeking our input for CHOGM.

The FCO has sponsored a number of consultations with civil society organisations in London and parts of the Commonwealth. We have also created a process through which their high priorities are absorbed into the work of government officials in time for the November COW meeting.

GLIDE PATH

Some of the key stages for CHOGM are:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| - 16 July | Palace recce visit |
| - 3 September | Commonwealth Officials' recce visit (No 10/FCO) |
| - to November | Lobbying of key members on CHOGM issues |
| - 11/12 November | Committee of the Whole |
| - 2-3 December | Queen's State Visit to Nigeria |
| - 4 December | Small States Ministerial (Chris Mullin)
(CMAG meeting, no UK involvement)
Queen meets new Heads of Delegation |
| - 5 December | CHOGM - PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session
(PM's Delegation arrives overnight or on 4th)
11.30 am Queen opens CHOGM; Dinner for Heads |
| - 6 December | PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session followed by
Retreat (PM plus one)
(accommodation at the Nicon Hilton throughout)
(Queen leaves Nigeria) |
| - 7 December | Retreat (PM plus one) |
| - 8 December | PM, Chris Mullin at Executive Session; Communique;
Declaration
(PM's Delegation leaves Nigeria) |

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- Week of 8 December

PM's statement to Parliament on CHOGM

Other CHOGM events:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| - 25 November-3 December | Commonwealth Youth Forum |
| - 1-7 December | Commonwealth Peoples' Forum |
| - 2-4 December | Commonwealth Business Forum |

A spouses' programme will be devised by the Nigerian hosts.

Commonwealth Co-ordination Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

12 August, 2003



08 AUG 2003

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

RESTRICTED

7 August 2003

I would be grateful if the following message could be transmitted to your Head of Government as soon as possible.

Begins

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2003 Abuja, 5-8 December 2003

Possible Agenda

Further to my letters of 7 October 2002 and 23 June 2003 regarding the next Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to be held in Abuja, Nigeria, from 5-8 December 2003, I am writing to share some thoughts with you and invite your suggestions on major issues relating to the agenda for the Meeting. As you are aware, the agenda for CHOGMs is set by Heads of Government themselves and includes items on which there is broad based interest in the association and an expectation of action oriented outcomes. This letter reflects the consultations I have had with many leaders over recent months.

As indicated in my letter of 23 June 2003, a number of items on Commonwealth functional co-operation brought to your attention by Commonwealth ministerial meetings, and by myself as Secretary-General, would be considered by the Committee of the Whole (COW), which will meet in London on 12 November 2003 and submit a report for your consideration at Abuja. The purpose of the COW meeting is essentially to free up the CHOGM agenda for discussion of substantive issues of particular interest to Heads of Government. There will be an opportunity, for the first time, for senior officials to have informal consultations with Commonwealth civil society groups in London on 11 November, in advance of the COW.

Contd... 2

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CHOGM Preparations

The preparations for the Meeting are on course. An Aide Memoire on Administrative Arrangements for the Meeting was circulated to governments by the Secretariat in April 2003. The administrative arrangements were subsequently discussed at a meeting of the CHOGM Liaison Committee in London on 12 May 2003. The customary advance visit for national delegations to CHOGM venues in Abuja will take place from 3-5 September 2003.

Timetable

Given the short duration of three and a half days for the Meeting, it is important to organise the CHOGM programme in the most effective way possible. The Meeting will follow the format of a single venue for all events, which was much appreciated by leaders at their last Meeting in Coober Pedy, Australia, in March 2002. The Abuja Meeting will, however, revert to the old CHOGM timetable by starting on Friday morning and concluding by mid-day on Monday.

Opening Ceremony

The Opening Ceremony of the CHOGM will take place on the morning of Friday 5 December. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Head of the Commonwealth, will once again address the CHOGM Opening Ceremony. President Obasanjo will deliver the Address of Welcome, Prime Minister Howard will, as the outgoing Chairperson-in-Office, thank the host President on your collective behalf. I will make the customary speech by the Secretary-General.

Executive Sessions

There will be a total of four Executive Sessions as is now traditional with CHOGM. The first Executive Session will take place in the morning of Friday 5 December immediately after the Opening Ceremony. The second Executive Session will take place in the afternoon of Friday 5 December following my customary Reception for Heads of Delegation to meet the media during the lunch break. The third Executive Session will be held in the morning of Saturday 6 December before leaders break for their Retreat. The fourth and final Executive Session will take place in the morning of Monday 8 December.

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Retreat

We will not be travelling outside Abuja for the two-night Retreat which, along with the informal sessions, will be held at the Presidential Villa Complex at Aso Rock. The Retreat is designed to allow more time for informal and private discussions so greatly valued by Heads of Government. As always, apart from Heads of Delegation and accompanying spouses, only one aide from each delegation will be able to gain access to the Retreat events. Informal sessions at the Retreat (or Restricted Sessions during the formal CHOGM, if any) will be confined to Heads of Delegation only.

Review of Global Developments

At the first two Executive Sessions, Heads of Government will no doubt want an opportunity to review global developments since the Coolum Summit. Given the limited time available, it would be desirable for such a discussion to be selective in terms of topics to be covered and to focus on issues that clearly demand pan-Commonwealth attention and action.

The review of political issues of concern to the Commonwealth may include the Commonwealth's role in conflict prevention and resolution and peace building, promotion and monitoring of the Commonwealth's fundamental political values, and issues on which there are standing Commonwealth Ministerial Groups and Committees, namely Belize, Cyprus and Guyana.

There will be a report to CHOGM from the Commonwealth Committee on Terrorism (CCT) on the progress of implementation of the Commonwealth Plan of Action against Terrorism.

In the context of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group on the Harare Declaration (CMAG), you will have before you the Report of the Group on its work since Coolum. CMAG will meet in Abuja on the eve of CHOGM on 4 December to update its Report and the Chairman will present the Report in the Executive Session. I expect this to include recommendations on countries currently on the CMAG's agenda. It is suggested that any sensitive or contentious issues arising from the CMAG Report may be taken up at the Retreat. At Abuja, you will also need to decide on the composition of CMAG for the next two years.

Discussions on global economic developments may cover the current world economic situation and prospects. Key issues may include uncertainties towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals, trade liberalisation and current WTO issues, institutional reform and poverty reduction strategies, debt sustainability, and investment flows. CHOGM will also receive a Report under this item from the Commonwealth Business Council, which is organising a Commonwealth Business Forum in Abuja from 2-4 December 2003.

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Small States

Under this item, which I expect would be taken up before proceeding on the Retreat on Saturday 6 December, leaders will have an opportunity to consider the political, economic and security challenges facing small states. Heads of Delegation will also receive a Report from the Ministerial Group on Small States (MGSS), which will meet in Abuja on the eve of CHOGM on 4 December 2003. The MGSS Report is likely to include a review of progress in implementing the new work programme on small states' issues, adopted at the Coolum CHOGM.

CHOGM Theme

As I indicated in my letter of 7 October 2002, the Abuja Meeting will consider how the Commonwealth can take its development agenda forward by focusing on the CHOGM theme: 'Development and Democracy: Partnership for Peace and Prosperity'. Indeed the issues thrown up by the theme are very important to all our members, as they not only reinforce the linkages between democracy and good governance on the one hand, and poverty, development and conflict on the other; but they also underline the need for partnership and international co-operation both within and outside our association.

In this context, you will have before you the recommendations of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Development and Democracy which was set up following the Coolum CHOGM in March 2002 to look at ways in which democracies might best be supported in combating poverty. The Group's Report will be available to you as a CHOGM document in advance of the Meeting.

It is proposed that discussions on the CHOGM theme and the Development and Democracy Report may be concluded at the Retreat, from where a Declaration on the theme could be issued on Sunday, 7 December. The text of the Declaration may include salient points of your deliberations and a commitment to taking action on agreed objectives.

Commonwealth Functional Co-operation

This item will cover Commonwealth development co-operation issues and activities under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC), as submitted to Heads of Government in the Report of the COW.

Leaders will also receive reports from two Commonwealth inter-governmental organisations, the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth of Learning. I propose that this item be considered towards the end of the second Executive Session on Friday 5 December, to enable the release of the COW Report at the end of business on the first day of CHOGM.

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Final Documents

At Coolum, Commonwealth Heads of Government adopted a brief and concise Communiqué, which covered issues on which they actually held substantive discussion or proposed specific action. They also issued a succinct Declaration on the theme of the Meeting, focusing on those specific items they wanted to highlight at the end of the Retreat. As already indicated, at Abuja leaders may consider issuing a Declaration on the theme of the Meeting on Sunday 7 December. The Communiqué will be issued upon the conclusion of the CHOGM on Monday 8 December.

Concluding Observations

I know that President Obasanjo, our prospective host and the incoming Chairperson-in-Office, is looking forward keenly to welcoming you personally to Abuja. The Government of Nigeria is also waiting to hear from those member countries, which have not yet notified details of their delegations.

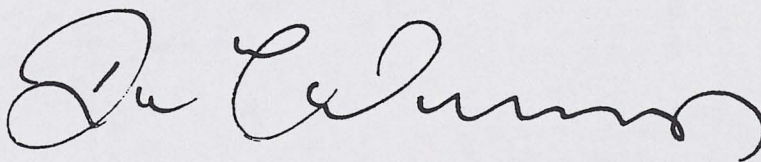
I will particularly welcome any reactions or proposals you may wish to share with me on the political, economic, social or developmental aspects of the agenda for the Meeting. Following receipt of your responses, and my further consultations with leaders on the major issues, I will write to you again in late October with an annotated Provisional Agenda and organisational details, prior to their consideration at the Senior Officials Meeting in London on 12 November 2003 for final approval by you in Abuja.

I also hope that the forthcoming Meeting will be attended personally by as many Heads of Government and accompanying spouses as possible representing all the regions and the diversity of the Commonwealth.

With best regards.

Don McKinnon

Ends

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Don McKinnon', with a stylized, flowing script.

Don McKinnon

DLO

Have we asked for
advice on this?
David H 20/8



SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:

MR
cc DFM
JPB
JON
Nexus

**PRESIDENT,
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

PRES/15

July 21, 2003

The Honourable Tony Blair, MP,
British Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London SW1A 2AA,
United Kingdom.

Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated June 24, 2003 by which you, among other things, conveyed regrets over the inability of your government to meet my request for the return of the Three Million Pounds Sterling seized from Mr. Ahmadu Daura by British Customs and Excise on March 19, 1998.

It is disappointing indeed that the money, which we are certain was part of the assets belonging to the Nigerian people that were looted and siphoned away by some unscrupulous people, is now being slated for forfeiture apparently because of some legal technicalities. I believe, however, that all hope is not lost. I suspect that you have probably not been fully informed of all aspects of the legal situation regarding the matter.

That the Nigerian government could not establish title over the seized money cannot be very correct. In fact, the Federal Government of Nigeria had no opportunity to join the proceedings in the case, and thus no opportunity to furnish proof of the origin of the money. The evidence had, however, been submitted to your government under cover of our letter dated June 23, 2000 addressed to the Home Office requesting mutual legal assistance. We also have additional evidence as to the origin of, and title over, the money.

I will be coming along with our lawyer to the talks scheduled for July 29, 2003 during which the evidence at our

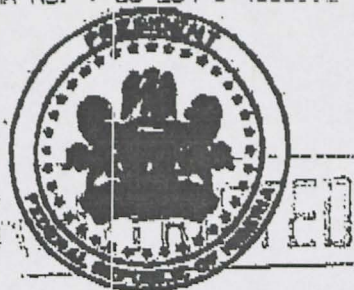


disposal can be furnished. I believe that this matter must be resolved mutually, in the interest of our two countries, as the Nigerian media might otherwise blow the whole thing out of proportion; a development which will not be in the best interest of our bilateral relations.

Please accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

Yours sincerely
Olusegun Obasanjo
OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

Drawing on the extensive Commonwealth network, which includes a wide cross-section of developed and emerging markets, the Forum will build on the successful dialogues held at previous Forums in London and Johannesburg. In the short time, since its inception in 1997, the Commonwealth Business Forum has successfully demonstrated that it is a key conduit to build partnerships between business and governments. The 2003 Forum theme - **"Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments"** - provides a valuable framework to strengthen those partnerships through commitments to sustainable development, good governance in the public and private sectors and business support for social and community development.



The Forum will be held on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting which takes place in Abuja from 5-8 December 2003, in order to facilitate participation by Heads of Government. The Forum therefore provides a unique opportunity for discussion on policy options and practical actions. There will also be significant commercial networking opportunities to identify new business opportunities and building relationships, alliances and joint ventures. I would, therefore, urge you to encourage participation by a high-level government and business delegation from your country.

The Chairman of the Commonwealth Business Council is also writing to you in this connection and I hope it will be possible for you to take part in this important meeting.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely

Obasanjo
OLUSEGUN OBASANJO

Direct Communications Unit

Original does not seem to have arrived in No 10.

Letters from Don McKinnon, Commonwealth
Secretary General, of 14 May 2003 and
Mohan Kaul, Director General of Commonwealth

Direct Line Business Council, also refer.

Stuart Pyle
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CONFIDENTIAL - VISITS



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

24 July 2003

Dear Kara

CHOGM: BILATERAL VISITS

With the Far East trip a receding memory thoughts in No.10 are turning to CHOGM. One question is whether we might tack on one or two bilateral visits at either end. My initial thoughts were that any bilaterals should be before CHOGM, therefore leaving flexibility on timing of the Prime Minister's departure from Abuja, and that the PM might usefully call on Meles and the AU/ECA in Addis and then Kibaki in Nairobi. That might be possible within a couple of days.

At this stage any ideas for an itinerary would be very tentative, of course, and would depend on other priorities for the Prime Minister's diary. **We should keep ideas very closely held, because of security concerns.** Any leak of a possible trip would be certain to ensure that it did not happen. I should be grateful for your initial ideas, coordinated with DFID and MOD, to reach me for my return from leave on 18 August.

I am copying this letter to Anna Bewes (DFID), Peter Watkins (MOD), John Scarlett and Jim Drummond (Cabinet Office).

Yours ever

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'David Hallam', with a stylized flourish at the end.

David Hallam

Kara Owen
FCO

CONFIDENTIAL - VISITS

18 June 2003



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

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JTH
AA
PD
Pres

Dear David,

Commonwealth Youth for the Future

John Howard, the Australian Prime Minister, wrote to the Prime Minister inviting the UK to send a delegation to a forum in Queensland in November. A suggested reply is enclosed.

Youth for the Future (YFF) arose from the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Coolum, Australia in March 2002. We want to help Australia, who lead on this, to achieve the aims of the YFF. A year on, very little has emerged from the programme. A key output was to be a website to provide practical information to young people in the Commonwealth but this is not yet ready. The YFF has been criticised by some youth activists as a programme that offers little youth participation and is under-resourced. There is also a need to rationalise it with existing Commonwealth programmes.

The timing of the forum and the high profile support from John Howard will allow Australia to claim it has taken action since Coolum. We have a bilateral interest in supporting one of Australia's key Coolum initiatives, especially as Scotland is hosting the next Commonwealth Education Ministers' Meeting in October. We would like Australia to send a Minister to this meeting.

There are four components to the YFF:

- Commonwealth Youth Enterprise Development
- Commonwealth Youth Volunteers
- Commonwealth Youth Mentors
- Commonwealth Youth Leadership awards

The Forum in Queensland will focus on enterprise development. The aim is to identify successful strategies and models for fostering youth entrepreneurship and enterprise development across the Commonwealth, and to enable delegates to develop action plans in their respective countries. Members will be invited to send a delegation of five people made up of two young people aged 18 to 24 (one female and one male) and one representative each from the community, government and business sector. It is anticipated that approximately 300 delegates will attend.



The FCO will liaise with the DTI to nominate a senior official to lead the UK delegation. If, available, we would ask Abigail Page, of the British Youth Council and a young person from the Prince's Trust to participate and they would pay for their participation.

I am copying this letter to Anna Bewes (DFID), Jonathan Sedgwick (Home Office) and Erica Zimmer (DTI) all of whom are engaged on Commonwealth youth issues.

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

David Hallam Esq
10 Downing Street

Draft Letter from the Prime Minister to John Howard

Thank you for your letter of 21 May which invited the United Kingdom to participate in the Commonwealth Youth Enterprise Development Forum in Queensland in November. The Forum is a very welcome sign of Australia's commitment to the Youth for the Future Initiative we endorsed at Coolumb last year.

I have asked Jack Straw to task his officials at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to select a UK delegation which will include some young people.

Ahead of the Queensland forum, Scotland hosts the Commonwealth Education Ministers' Meeting in Edinburgh in October. I hope that Australia will participate in the meeting at ministerial level. In the lead up to CHOGM in Abuja, we will need to maintain the interest of young people in the Commonwealth and it is vital that we are able to show how its programmes can make a difference to quality of their lives. I see education and youth programmes as part of the same equation and both are issues that will engage the Youth Forum in Abuja the week before CHOGM.

I very much appreciate your generous invitation to the Forum and the enthusiasm of the Australian government for youth development in the Commonwealth.

TONY BLAIR

[Asif A Ahmad

CCD

020 7008 2940]



26

Commonwealth Business Council

~~DK~~
Ms Liz Lloyd,
10, Downing Street,
London
SW1A 2AA

30th May 2003

Dear Liz,

Commonwealth Trade Forum, 7-8 July 2003, London

Many thanks for sparing the time to see me on Wednesday. I hope I was able to give you a clear idea of the activities of the Commonwealth Business Council (CBC), in particular our role in Africa. There seem to be a number of issues, including corruption/transparency, sustainable development and governance on which we could co-operate with HMG.

In particular, I believe we are uniquely placed to help on the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, based on the work which we are already doing with certain African Governments. And there should be scope to build on our relationship with the NEPAD Secretariat. I hope we can discuss these issues in more depth when convenient.

However, this letter is prompted by your mention of the Prime Minister's interest in seeing a more energetic engagement by private sector organisations from the developing world in the trade debate and in this connection I would like to draw to your attention the Trade Forum which the CBC is holding in early July.

Its overall purpose is to explore how the Commonwealth could use its unique position and diverse membership to further the prospects for a successful outcome to the trade round and to give political and business leaders the opportunity to consider concrete strategies to give effect to this objective.

I understand that DFID may have broached this with Number 10, but I would also welcome your own thoughts on how the Prime Minister might view an invitation to participate. As you can see from the attached programme, the Forum will bring together some serious players. The Director General of the WTO is signed up, as is Pascal Lamy (albeit via video link). We reckon to get trade ministers from a number of Commonwealth countries and WTO ambassadors.

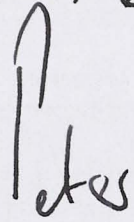
For the UK, Patricia Hewitt, Valerie Amos and Baroness Symons have agreed to speak, but the occasion and the specifics of the programme would give the Prime Minister a prestige platform from which to make a statement of substance at a timely moment between the G8 and Cancun.



If you think this is a runner, I should be grateful for your advice on how to take matters forward and whether there is any specific channel through which we should make our approach.

On a second point, I would like to confirm that we would welcome an opportunity to give a presentation on the Commonwealth Business Forum which the CBC is organising alongside CHOGM. As I mentioned, the theme is sustainable development and we expect significant participation from politicians and business people from the Commonwealth and beyond. Here again, the CBC could provide the Prime Minister with a public forum in which to set out his vision on environmental issues post-Kyoto and Johannesburg and to expound his ideas on environmental technology.

I will try to speak to David Hallam after the summer holidays, as you suggested, but I should be very grateful if you could put up a marker with him that I will be in touch.

Yours ever,


Peter Longworth
Director – Corporate & Government Relations



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 May 2003

Dear Don,

Thank you for your letter of 14 May inviting me to address the Commonwealth Business Forum on 4 December.

Unfortunately, existing diary commitments mean that I will not be able to speak at the Forum. However, I will ensure that our Department for Trade and Industry is aware of the event, and that they bring it to the attention of British business. I hope you can pass on my best wishes to all concerned for a successful Forum.

Yours ever,
Tony

His Excellency The Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon



COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

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BN

Fixed?

14 May 2003

Dear Prime Minister

Commonwealth Business Forum
Abuja, Nigeria, 2-4 December 2003

The Commonwealth Business Forum, which forms an important part of CHOGM-related activities, has become a valuable opportunity to bring together business and government leaders to interact on important trade and investment issues. The Forum's recommendations on these issues are presented directly to Heads of Government at CHOGM.

In collaboration with the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Commonwealth Business Council (CBC) is now organising Commonwealth Business Forum in Abuja, Nigeria from 2-4 December 2003. The Co-Chairs of the CBC, Rahul Bajaj and Hugh Morgan, tell me that they have written to you recently, inviting you to address the Forum which will take place on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting to be held in Abuja from 5-8 December 2003.

I am writing to encourage your favourable consideration of their invitation to you to speak at the Forum. The Forum's theme, "Achieving Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments" will complement the CHOGM discussions and add a valuable business dimension. This year's Forum will also provide an opportunity for country specific trade and investment promotion presentations by government agencies. You may therefore wish to bring this event to the attention of Cabinet colleagues and business executives who may be able to participate in the Forum.

I sincerely hope you can participate in the event and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely

Don McKinnon

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain & Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London SW1
United Kingdom

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Subject

Commonwealth Business Forum in Abuja
2-4 December 2003
Refers to invitation from Rahul Bajaj and Hugh Morgan

Spell Check Subject Field 4

Comments

See entry for Dr Mohan KAUL. KK has regretted invitation. David Hallam asked for the back papers (eam)

DFH has drafted reply for PM sig

Spell Check Comments Field 5

Enclosure Description**NO Attachments**

ADD Attachments

Medium	Letter
Type	Ministerial
Cat/Matrix	INV 92372

Reply Code	99 - Done on WP
View / EDIT Reply	
Sender	PRIME MINISTER

Con/Cor ID	8020
Created	eamccross
Modified	mjelley 30/

UPDATE

Print Record 1

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Print Letter NOW 3



**COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARY-GENERAL**

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

14 May 2003

Dear Prime Minister

**Commonwealth Business Forum
Abuja, Nigeria, 2-4 December 2003**

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Don McKinnon

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP
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Great Britain & Northern Ireland
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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

6 May 2003

Dear Dr Kaul

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 29 April inviting him to address the Commonwealth Business Forum at the concluding session on Thursday 4 December.

Unfortunately, the Prime Minister's existing diary commitments that day make it impossible for him to join you in Abuja, and he must therefore decline your kind invitation. He is sorry to have to send a disappointing reply, but has asked me to pass on to you and all concerned his good wishes for an enjoyable and successful Forum.

Yours sincerely

KATIE KAY

Dr Mohan Kaul

CONFIDENTIAL

From: Liz Lloyd
Date: 6 May 2003

PRIME MINISTER

cc: David Manning
David Hallam
Jonathan Powell

HOWARD AND ZIMBABWE

In case David and I don't have a chance to discuss with you before tomorrow morning.

On my note, you said that it was difficult for you to argue against full suspension with Howard. On the basis of the Secretary-General's March report he has grounds to argue that full suspension is warranted, but he simply does not have the numbers to deliver full suspension - either now or at CHOGM. If we do the same we may end up sounding tough for the next 6 months, but alienating the very people we need to get onside and getting nothing at all at CHOGM.

However, we might be able to get there if we follow a process of benchmarking with a new report in December.

Howard's strategy so far of being outspoken in his desire for full suspension caused the Commonwealth Troika to split and for Mbeki and Obasanjo to start arguing for re-admission. And although yesterday's meeting between Obasanjo, Mbeki and Mugabe has not resulted in Mugabe signing over power to a transitional government immediately, there are some encouraging signs from the mounting regional pressure (see attached readout for more details).

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- 2 -

If you follow the benchmarking strategy you both can say publicly that continued suspension from the Commonwealth is right (to many people suspension from the councils and full suspension is a technicality) and that you think any further action on Zimbabwe needs to be judged firmly and objectively at CHOGM by all members in December.

So I suggest you say to Howard:-

- privately agree that Zimbabwe would warrant full suspension on the basis of the SG's March report, but do you think we have the numbers to deliver this at the moment? I think we don't.
- want to work on a strategy with you for full suspension at the December CHOGM if there is no improvement in Mugabe's approach.
- Need to get a process in place which ties Zimbabwe, all commonwealth members and the SG into this so that no room to argue in December. Believe that a process of benchmarking and a new report in December is the right approach. If we have this, then can put Mbeki and Obasanjo's efforts in context.
- But this means that we cannot argue publicly for full suspension now. Can say that we believe the March report warranted it, but need to focus on the forward process of benchmarking. We should press Don McKinnon to publish the benchmarks.

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- 3 -

- Some encouraging signs (CARICOM and Pacific countries) that others agree, but they need to be part of this process too. We should agree a joint lobbying strategy.

CSJ

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DOCUMENT ATTRIBUTES SECTION: DO NOT MODIFY TEXT BELOW

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DOCUMENT ATTRIBUTES SECTION: DO NOT MODIFY TEXT ABOVE

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RESTRICTED

From: Andrew Pocock, AD(S)
Date: 06 May 2003

cc: PS/Baroness Amos
PS/PUS
PS/Mr Rammell
Peter Ricketts
James Bevan
Liz Lloyd, No 10
Tony Brennan
Philip Thomas, Abuja
Norman Ling, Lilongwe
Andy Sparkes, Pretoria
Sophie Honey, Harare
Ian Bailey, Cabinet Office

To: PS (Kara Owen)

ZIMBABWE: READOUT ON PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO HARARE

1. The Foreign Secretary asked for a readout on the visit to Harare yesterday of Presidents Mbeki, Obasanjo and Muluzi. Post will send a telegram as soon as possible, but following are the headlines.

Summary

2. There does not seem to have been a breakthrough on the question of Mugabe's departure. Indeed, we do not know yet if the Presidents raised it. Instead, they tried to broker a return to early negotiations. Both Mugabe and MDC seemed to recognise the need for early dialogue, but both remain firm on points of principle, in particular the question of MDC recognition of Mugabe's legitimacy. But potentially helpful recognition by Mbeki and Obasanjo of the gravity and nature (governance, not land) of Zimbabwe's situation.

Detail

3. The three Presidents saw Mugabe for 2-3 hours on arrival. We have not had a readout on what they said. The South Africans would only say that they were confident that Mbeki "would not have missed the opportunity to discuss all the problems facing Zimbabwe".
4. They then saw Tsvangirai. MDC have given us the following readout:
 - Obasanjo said Zimbabwe was on the brink of economic collapse. Dialogue was needed.
 - Mbeki said that the problem was not land, but governance.
 - Muluzi was "very forthright, and hit the nail on the head". No further detail.
 - All recognised that the situation was deteriorating and the political impasse needed to be broken.
 - Obasanjo said Mugabe wanted dialogue, but would not talk because the MDC did not recognise him, and had a petition before the courts against his election.

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- Tsvangirai confirmed that MDC did not recognise Mugabe's legitimacy. He had been elected in a flawed process.
 - The three Presidents then tried to persuade Tsvangirai that even if the MDC did not recognise Mugabe de jure, they might recognise him de facto. They worked hard to try to establish this distinction.
 - Tsvangirai said the MDC would not recognise Mugabe. But recognition should not stand in the way of dialogue. There should be no preconditions. If dialogue could begin, and make progress, then the question of recognition could be dealt with and might even fall away.
5. The Presidents went back to Mugabe after seeing Tsvangirai. Obasanjo then gave the following readout:
- They would try to get negotiations restarted. Talks would address the economic, political and social issues in Zimbabwe.
 - Mugabe understood the need to resume negotiations.
 - There was a problem of recognition and legitimacy (and the MDC's legal petition) as set out above.
 - The Presidents understood Mugabe's point of view on recognition. If that issue could be dealt with, all other issues could be addressed.
 - But there was one common factor: both sides wanted negotiations to resume.
 - Things in Zimbabwe were serious. Neither the Opposition nor the Government could succeed in fixing them by themselves.
6. Obasanjo summed up. The Presidents were pleased both sides wanted a resumption of dialogue. All sides now had to work hard and quickly to iron out the question of recognition/legitimacy. When this was done, negotiations would resume. The questions were when, and at what level.

Comment

7. No breakthrough. Indeed, much re-crossing of well-trampled ground. MDC will not recognise Mugabe, who does not seem willing to talk without recognition. Unless the Presidents can find a way to persuade both sides to resume without preconditions, this initiative could quickly run into the sand again. But this is a potentially important visit. The pressures on all sides are greater than after the Presidential election in March 2002, when the South Africans and Nigerians first brokered talks. The latter are therefore likely to persevere.

Andrew Pocock
E.G.07
Head, AD(S)
Tel: 020 7008 2551
Fax: 020 7008 1475

From: Liz Lloyd
Date: 2 May 2003

PRIME MINISTER

cc: David Manning
Jonathan Powell
David Hallam
Danny Pruce

HOWARD, ZIMBABWE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

During your last conversation with Howard you agreed to work on a joint strategy towards Zimbabwe at the Commonwealth. FCO officials have worked up the following strategy up which I think is basically right. Jack has not yet commented (but I don't think he will have major difficulties with it).

Situation in Zimbabwe: There are signs of mounting pressure on Mugabe to go. He is starting to talk about it and let others around him talk about it. There have been too many false dawns to get too excited as yet, but the combination of economic crisis (220% inflation, 70% unemployment), the success of the MDC and Union stayaways and the pressure from SADC leaders does seem to be having an effect. Obasanjo, Mbeki and Muluzi (Malawi) are going to Harare on Monday to see Mugabe we think to discuss an exit strategy with him. The precise formulation may not satisfy the MDC (or us) but it will help to show where Mugabe's red lines now are.

Position of Commonwealth Countries: Howard (and Helen Clark) want full suspension and say so publicly. Whilst Don McKinnon's March report on Zimbabwe is enough to warrant this, there are simply not the numbers amongst Commonwealth members to deliver full suspension at the moment. That does

not mean that we should give up, but we need a different strategy in the run up to CHOGM.

You asked specifically where the Africans are on this. It is hard to say. I would say half (eg South Africa and Nigeria) are working actively on a strategy of engagement and this would probably include bringing Zim back into the Commonwealth, especially if they are able to make progress on a govt of national unity. Some (Namibia) have political reasons for supporting Zim. The rest (eg Kenya, Ghana, Botswana) may have private doubts but would only be persuadable to take a public stand if they did not feel they were having to take sides in a bilateral UK-Zim argument or a white-black one. All would prefer to stay with the African line.

How do we get a consensus: FCO have been working closely with the Commonwealth Secretariat on a series of benchmarks against the Harare principles to measure progress in Zimbabwe. These should not be seen as UK inspired and should encompass the benchmarks that South Africa has agreed as part of the bi-national commission which Mbeki talked you through in February. The Secretariat have passed a draft set to Obasanjo ahead of his visit to Harare on Monday with Mbeki and Muluzi.

If we can get people to sign up in principle to a benchmark approach, then we can use the mechanism of another Commonwealth SG report to CHOGM to judge whether Zimbabwe has complied. *Howard or Clark or us pre-judging this by calling for full suspension at this stage will not help.* We will need to share out the lobbying and information sharing over the next few months. Too often

other countries do not get proper information on what is happening on the ground in Zimbabwe.

What you need to agree with Howard: Officials have already discussed much of this with Australian counterparts. We expect Howard to want to continue to speak out on Zimbabwe, but he might accept that calling for full suspension is counterproductive at this stage. The sooner Don McKinnon sets out his strategy the better so we can get behind it. We can still criticise the situation on the ground but we can link it to the Commonwealth benchmarks.

So we need to agree this basic strategy with Howard and a joint lobbying plan. It will mean that Howard needs to cool off calling for full suspension. Lobbying should include getting Don McKinnon to push the idea of benchmarks and to compile another report for December as well as agreeing who will lobby who in the run-up. Howard and Helen Clark have good links with the Pacific countries, we should probably focus on the moderate Africans. Chretien might like to work on CARICOM.

If you would like we can provide a one pager with the strategy for you to hand over to Howard.

CS



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Commonwealth Business Council

Director-General: Dr Mohan Kaul

Direct Tel: +44 (0) 20 7024 8215

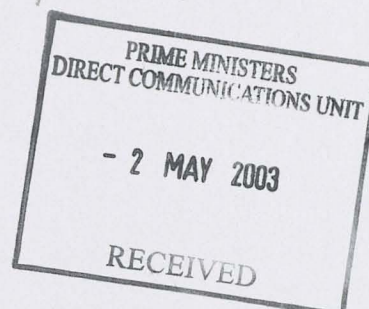
Direct Fax: +44 (0) 20 7839 2881

e-mail: mkaul@cbcnet.org

29th April 2003

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain
& Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London SW1
United Kingdom

RSVP No
+ 2/5



Dear Prime Minister,

Commonwealth Business Forum Abuja, Nigeria, 2-4 December 2003

We have greatly appreciated your support for the Commonwealth Business Council since its inception and for the Commonwealth Business Forum over the past years. Your leadership has been critical in building wider interest and support for the Council in its mission to help expand trade and investment in the Commonwealth.

We are now making arrangements for the next Commonwealth Business Forum which will take place in Abuja, Nigeria from 2nd to 4th December 2003, just prior to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to be held in Abuja. This has the full support and involvement of the President and Government of Nigeria.

The Forum in Nigeria will build on the success of previous Forums which have proved to be a valuable opportunity to bring together business and government leaders from across the Commonwealth for high level dialogue on trade and investment issues. We are expecting over 500 participants, made up equally between Nigerian participants and a similar number from Commonwealth and other countries.

Cont'd...

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Website: www.cbc.to



The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP

2

29th April 2003

As in past Forums, we look forward to the involvement of a range of Heads of Government, senior Ministers, chairmen and chief executives of leading Commonwealth and international companies. In addition to the President of Nigeria, other Heads of Government will speak and chair a number of the sessions. We will then present the Forum's Report to Heads of Government at your Meeting in Abuja.

The theme for the Forum is 'Achieving Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments'. This will reflect key issues related to new investment for sustainable development, technology, corporate governance and corporate social responsibility and setting standards for governance and sustainable development. A copy of the draft programme is attached.

Following on the constructive outcomes of previous Forums, I am confident that the 2003 Forum will provide an excellent opportunity to further develop and enhance Commonwealth trade and investment. This year's event will also offer a facility for trade and investment promotion presentations by government agencies. I therefore very much hope that you will encourage participation by a trade delegation involving ministers, senior government officials and business executives.

Given your continuing interest in promoting the Commonwealth as a global network for trade and investment, we would be most grateful if you were willing to address participants at the Concluding Session on Thursday, 4th December 2003. We believe this would be a fitting contribution from you which will provide leadership as part of the worldwide debate on these issues. The Commonwealth Secretary-General will also be writing to you in this connection.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to join us in Abuja. If there is anything that I or the Council can do to facilitate your participation, please do not hesitate to let us know.

*With best regards
Yours Sincerely
M Kaul*

Mohan Kaul

Encl:

30/04/03



Commonwealth Business Forum

**2-4 December 2003
Abuja, Nigeria**

***Achieving Sustainable Development:
Challenges for Business and Governments***

***Organised by the Commonwealth Business Council
in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat and
the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria***



**Message from the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
for the Commonwealth Business Forum 2003**

I am delighted that Nigeria will be hosting the Commonwealth Business Forum in Abuja, 2-4 December 2003 in conjunction with the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. We look forward to welcoming leaders and senior business executives from across the Commonwealth for high-level discussions on key trade and investment issues and new business opportunities.

Economic growth and development will require the active involvement of the private sector in partnership with governments. The Commonwealth Business Forum provides an ideal opportunity to build and cement those partnerships. As African nations seek to advance the objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), it is fitting that the meetings in Abuja will provide a platform to pursue these shared Commonwealth goals in support of democratic values, good governance and economic development.

The Commonwealth Business Forum theme – "Achieving Sustainable Development – Challenges for Business and Governments" – will be a good framework for finding ways in which the extensive business ties in the Commonwealth can strengthen the delivery of these goals. I therefore urge you to make every effort to participate in this important event.

**OLUSEGUN OBASANJO
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

The Commonwealth Business Forum is a major international business event which brings together business and government leaders from around the world for dialogue on practical ways to enhance trade and investment.

Organised by the **Commonwealth Business Council (CBC)**, in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the 2003 Forum will enable leading executives to review business practices and government policies, consider unfolding business trends and interact directly with government heads and ministers on important policy issues. Drawing on the extensive Commonwealth network, which includes a wide cross-section of developed and emerging markets, the Forum will build on the successful dialogues held at previous Forums.

Those events broke new ground by articulating private sector views on how to make globalisation work in a way that balances economic advance with social accountability. In order to achieve that goal, it is essential to build partnerships between business and governments through commitments to sustainable development and business support for social and community development.

The Forum will be held on the eve of the **Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting** which takes place in Abuja from 5-8 December 2003. The deliberations and recommendations of the Forum will be presented directly to the Heads of Government at their meeting. The Forum therefore provides a unique opportunity to provide high level business sector recommendations to Heads of Government on policy options and practical actions.

Speakers and panellists will include Heads of Government, Ministers of Finance, Trade and Development, Chairmen and Chief Executives of businesses and industry leaders. The Forum will also provide an excellent opportunity for business networking through one to one business meetings. The Forum will feature trade and investment promotion presentations by national agencies including a "Window on Nigeria".

The Forum programme is structured to encourage participation and achieve practical outcomes through an emphasis on interactive plenary and workshop discussions. Plenary sessions will focus on the Forum theme of "Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Government". Thematic and sectoral panels will address key issue areas and specific industry sectors.

The Commonwealth Business Council was established by the Commonwealth Heads of Government in October 1997 to promote international trade and investment. The CBC's close relationship with Commonwealth governments and institutions enables it to present policy recommendations sourced from the private sector to governments and agencies; actively promote private-public dialogue; and create networking opportunities for Commonwealth companies. The CBC is a membership based organisation with corporate members directing and funding its work. Led by business leaders drawn from all Commonwealth regions, membership is open to leading companies based in Commonwealth countries and doing business in other member states. The CBC has previously held several Commonwealth Business Forums and has

organised a number of sectoral symposiums and regional trade and investment events.

Forum Programme

Plenary Sessions

Plenary sessions will address issues related to the Forum's theme of *Achieving Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments* including: Investment in Infrastructure; Technology and Sustainable Development; Setting Standards for Governance and Sustainable Development; Corporate Governance and Corporate Social Responsibility.

Private-Public Dialogue Sessions

The sessions will focus on key themes and sectors in order to help expand trade and investment and to contribute to policy formulation on issues of importance to private sector leaders. Examples of best managerial practices and methods for developing partnerships between the public and private sectors will be examined. The sessions will also be useful to stimulate the identification of investment proposals and to facilitate discussions between potential investors and partners.

Trade & Investment Promotion Presentations

National trade and investment promotion agencies will have an opportunity to make presentations to delegates. Rooms will be reserved for country delegations to make presentations on investment opportunities and engage in dialogue with potential investors and business partners. Delegations are expected to consist of ministers, senior government officials and private sector company executives.

One to One Business Meetings

Face to face meetings will be arranged for delegates with representatives of selected companies to discuss investment proposals, partnerships, products and services.

Commonwealth Business Forum 2003

Draft Programme*

*Speakers to be Confirmed

Monday 1 December 2003

2:00 - 7:00 p.m.

Registration

Tuesday 2 December 2003

7:30 a.m. onwards

Registration

7:30 - 8:45 a.m.

CBC Members Breakfast and Annual General Meeting

9:00 - 9:30 a.m.

Welcome and Introduction to the Forum

Forum Co-chairs:

Mr Pascal Dozie, Chairman, Diamond Bank, Nigeria,
and Chair Forum 2003 Steering Committee

Mr Hugh Morgan, CEO, First Charnock, Australia and
Co-chair, Commonwealth Business Council

Mr Rahul Bajaj, Chairman and MD, Bajaj Auto Ltd, India
and Co-chair, Commonwealth Business Council

Dr Mohan Kaul, Director-General, Commonwealth
Business Council

Hon Sule Lamido, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

Chief Kola Jamodu, Minister of Industry, Nigeria

Rt Hon Don McKinnon, Commonwealth Secretary-
General

9:30 - 11:00 a.m.

**Plenary Session 1- Investment in Infrastructure for
Sustainable Development**

Lord Cairns, Chairman, CDC Capital Partners, UK

Khaya Ngqula, President/CEO, IDC, South Africa

Dr Peter Watson, President and CEO, Overseas Private
Investment Corporation, USA

Peter Woicke, Executive Vice-President, International
Finance Corporation

Corporate Sponsor

11:00 - 11:15 a.m.

Tea/Coffee

11:15 - 12:45 p.m.

Private-Public Dialogue Sessions

Approaches to Sustainable Development:

a) Mining and Minerals

Hon M S Deen, Minister of Mineral Resources, Sierra Leone

Hon Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Minister of Minerals and Energy, South Africa

Mr Sam Jonah, Chief Executive, Ashanti Goldfields, Ghana

Dr Biodun Olorunfemi, MD and CEO, National Mining Corporation, Nigeria

Corporate Sponsor

b) Travel and Tourism

Dato Paduka Abdul Kadir bin Haji Sheikh Fadzir, Minister of Culture, Arts and Tourism, Malaysia

Hon Mohammed Valli Moosa, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, South Africa

Raymond Matiba, Chairman, Kenya Tourism Board, Kenya

Mr Otto J Stehlik, Executive Chairman, Protea Hotels, South Africa

Mr Goodie Ibru, Chairman, Ikeja Hotels plc, Nigeria

Dato Mohamed Sulaiman, Chairman, Redmax Sdn Bhd, Malaysia

Corporate Sponsor

c) Oil and Gas

Hon Jose Maria Botelho de Vasconcelos, Minister of Petroleum, Angola

Dr Rilwanu Lukman, Presidential Adviser on Energy, Nigeria

Bayo Ogunlesi, Head, Global Energy and Project Finance, Credit Suisse First Boston, USA

Corporate Sponsor

d) Agriculture and Forestry

Hon Maj. (rtd) Courage Quashigah, Minister of Food and Agriculture, Ghana

Hon Kipruto Arap Kirwa, Minister of Agriculture, Kenya

Hugh Grant, Chief Operating Officer, Monsanto International

Jonathan Leslie, CEO, Sappi Ltd, South Africa

Corporate Sponsor

12:45 - 2:00 p.m.

Networking Lunches - Keynote Speakers

2:15 - 4:00 p.m.

Plenary Session 2- Corporate Governance and Corporate Social Responsibility: The Key to Sustainable Business

Mr Keki Dadiseth, Board Director, Unilever plc
Mr Charles Goodyear, Chief Executive, BHPBilliton,
Mr Paul Adams, Managing Director, BAT
Corporate Sponsor

4:00 - 4:15 p.m.

Tea/Coffee

4:15 - 6:00 p.m.

Private-Public Dialogue Sessions

Investment in Infrastructure for Sustainable Development

a) Transport

Chief Ojo Maduekwe, Minister of Transport, Nigeria
Hon Tomas Salomao, Minister of Transport and Communications, Mozambique
Mr Bongani Khumalo, Chairman, Transnet, South Africa
Papa N'Diaye, Director, Africa Infrastructure Fund
Mr DECLAN DUFF, Director of Infrastructure Development, International Finance Corporation, USA
W Greg Wood, Chairman, CPCS Transcom, Canada
Corporate Sponsor

b) Power

Hon Syda Bbumba, Minister of Energy, Uganda
Hon Nickey Iyambo, Minister of Mines and Energy, Namibia
Lord Cairns, Chairman, CDC Capital Partners, UK
Mr Thulani Gcbashe, Chief Executive, Eskom Enterprises, South Africa
Mr Higino Fabiao, Executive Board Member, Electricidad de Mozambique
Roger Unwin, Managing Director, National Grid, UK
Rhodnie Sisala, Managing Director, Zesco Ltd, Zambia
J.O Makoju, Managing Director, Nigerian Electricity Production Authority, Nigeria
Corporate Sponsor

c) Water and Sanitation

Hon Ronald Kasrils, Minister of Water Affairs, South Africa
Mr Michael Novak, President, SNC-Lavalin, Canada
Mr Neil Holt, Director, Halcrow, UK
Mr D S S Lushaba CEO, Rand Water, South Africa
Mr Gouri Ghosh, Director General, Water Supply Sanitation Council, Geneva
Mr Vic Cocker, Chairman, WaterAid UK

d) Telecommunications

Hon John Nasasira, Minister of Works, Housing & Communications, Uganda

Hon Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, Minister of Communications, South Africa

Mr Pascal Dozie, Chairman, MTN Nigeria

Letsapa Mojophoko, CEO, Botswana

Telecommunication Corporation

Philippe Vandebrouck, Managing Director & CEO, Kencell Communications, Kenya

Dr Mohamed Ibrahim, Chairman, MSI Cellular Investments, Netherlands

6.00 p.m.	CBC Members Only Roundtable with President of Nigeria
7:00 p.m.	Reception
7:30 p.m.	Inauguration Ceremony and Dinner Keynote Speaker: President of Nigeria

Wednesday 3 December 2003

7:30 - 8:45 a.m.	1 CBC Members Round Table with Heads of Government 2 Round Table Meeting on NEPAD
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9:00 - 10:30 a.m.	Plenary Session 3- Technology and Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments
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HE John Kufuor, President of Ghana

Rt Hon Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister of Mauritius

Prime Minister of Malaysia

Mr Narayana Murthy, Chief Mentor, Infosys, India

Chief Oba Otudeko, Chairman, Econet Wireless, Nigeria

Dr Md Khir Abdul Rahman, CEO, Telekom Malaysia Bhd, Malaysia

Corporate Sponsor

10:30- 11:00 a.m.	Tea/Coffee
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11:00 - 12:30 p.m.	Private-Public Dialogue Sessions
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Transformation of Key Sectors: Opportunities for Investment and Partnerships

a) Banking and Financial Services

Chair: Rt Hon Owen Arthur, Prime Minister of Barbados
Speakers:

Mr Peter Sullivan, CEO, Africa Division, Standard Chartered Bank, UK
Mr Ayo Olagundoye, CEO, National Bank of Nigeria
Mr Sim Tshabalala, Managing Director, Standard Bank, South Africa
Nana Ampen Awuah-Darko, Chairman, Vanguard Assurance, Ghana
Corporate Sponsor

b) *Information and Communications Technology*

Hon Prof Turner Isoun, Minister of Science and Technology, Nigeria
Hon Felix Owusu Adjapong, Minister of Communications and Technology, Ghana
Ayisi Makatiani, CEO, Africa Online Holdings, Kenya
Ashank Desai, Chairman, Mastek India Ltd
Mark Lewis, Chairman, Tite and Lewis, UK
CEO, EDS
Strive Masiyiwa, CEO, Econet Wireless, South Africa
Corporate Sponsor

c) *Healthcare and Services*

Chair: HE Bharrat Jagdeo, President of Guyana
Speakers: Hon Brig Gen Dr Brian Chituwo, Minister of Health, Zambia
Hon Anna Abdallah, Minister for Health, Tanzania
Paul Fletcher, CEO, CDC Capital Partners, UK
Representative, Global Fund for HIV/AIDs and Malaria
Corporate Sponsor

d) *Consumer Products, Food and Beverages*

Minister for Consumer Affairs, Kenya
Andrew Parker, Executive Director, SABMiller Africa
Ms Jannie Tay, Managing Director, The Hour Glass, Singapore
Nick Hales, General Manager, BAT Nigeria
Corporate Sponsor

12:45 - 2:00 p.m.

Networking Lunches – Keynote Speakers

2:15 - 4:00 p.m.

Plenary Session 4- Setting Standards for Governance and Sustainable Development: Partnership Between Business and Government

HE Festus Mogae, President of Botswana
HE Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda
HE Joaquim Chissano, President of Mozambique
Reuel Khoza, Chairman, Eskom, South Africa
Sir Mark Moody-Stuart, Chairman, AngloAmerican plc

4:00 - 4:30 p.m.

Tea/Coffee

- 4:30 - 6:15 p.m. Investment Windows (3 parallel sessions)
- Investment Window (1): Nigeria
Investment Window (2)
Investment Window (3)
- 7:00 p.m. Reception
- 7:30 p.m. Conference Gala Dinner
Keynote Speakers: Heads of Government
- Rt Hon Jean Chretien, Prime Minister of Canada
Rt Hon Goh Chok Tong, Prime Minister of Singapore
HE Mwai Kibaki, President of Kenya

Thursday 4 December 2003

- 7:30 - 8:45 a.m. CBC Members Roundtable with Heads of Government
- 9:00 - 10:15 a.m. Plenary Session 5- Achieving Sustainable Development: Challenges for Business and Governments
- Co-Chairs: Mr Pascal Dozie, Chairman, Diamond Bank, Nigeria, and Chair Forum 2003 Steering Committee
Mr Hugh Morgan, CEO, First Charnock, Australia and Co-chair, Commonwealth Business Council
Mr Rahul Bajaj, Chairman and MD, Bajaj Auto Ltd, India and Co-chair, Commonwealth Business Council
- HE Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa
HE Benjamin Mkapa, President of Tanzania
Hon Atal Behari Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India
Tan Sri Hassan Marican, President, Petronas, Malaysia
Mr James Wolfensohn, President, World Bank
Sir Philip Watts, Chairman, Royal Dutch Shell and Chairman, World Business Council on Sustainable Development
Corporate Sponsor
- 10:15- 10:45 a.m. Tea/Coffee
- 10:45 - 12:15p.m *Private-Public Dialogue Sessions*
- a) *Responsible Environmental Management*
- Chair: HE Levy Mwanawasa, President of Zambia
Speakers: Mr Syamal Gupta, Chairman, Tata International, India
Daniel Gagnier, Senior VP Corporate & External Affairs, Alcan Aluminium Ltd, Canada
Managing Director, TotalFinaElf

b) *Combating Corruption*

Chair: HE Tejan Kabbah, President of Sierra Leone

Mr John Githongo, Permanent Secretary for
Governance and Ethics, Office of the President, Kenya
Justice Mustafa Akanbi, Chairman, Independent
Corrupt Practices Commission, Nigeria
Baroness Lynda Chalker, Advisory Director, Unilever
plc
Dr Peter Eigen, Chairman, Transparency International
Ernst & Young, Africa
Corporate Sponsor

c) *Business Response to HIV/AIDS*

Chair: HE Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia
Prof Mrs Akinsete, Chair, Nigeria National Committee
on Action Against AIDS
Howard Pien, President, Pharmaceuticals International,
GlaxoSmithKline, USA
Ms Helen Gayle, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation,
USA
International HIV/AIDS Alliance
Corporate Sponsor

d) *Partnership between SMEs and Large Enterprises*

Chair: Rt Hon Patrick Manning, Prime Minister, Trinidad
& Tobago

Mr Allan Fields, CEO, Barbados Shipping & Trading
Ed Bickham, Vice President External Affairs, Anglo
American plc
Michael Ryder, Africa Advisory Council, Unilever plc
CEO, Africa Coca Cola
Corporate Sponsor

12:30 – 1:30

Concluding Session

Keynote Speakers:

Hon John Howard, Prime Minister of Australia
Rt Hon Tony Blair, Prime Minister of United Kingdom
HE Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria



1. Nexus
2. Krix

AUSTRALIA HOUSE
LONDON

7 April 2003

The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair MP
Prime Minister
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
London

Dear Prime Minister

I have been asked to convey to you the text of the following letter from the Prime Minister, the Hon. John Howard MP:

"Dear Tony

As Commonwealth Chairman-in-Office, I wrote to you last October foreshadowing my intention to provide an update on Zimbabwe following the Commonwealth troika's consideration of the issue in March 2003.

You will have seen the Commonwealth Statement on Zimbabwe issued by the Secretary-General on 16 March 2003, which reflects the broadly held view of leaders that the issue should be reviewed at the Abuja CHOGM in December, with Zimbabwe remaining suspended from Commonwealth councils pending those discussions.

I am now forwarding for your information the report on the situation in Zimbabwe referred to in the Secretary-General's statement. The report was prepared and submitted to the leaders' troika, in line with the requirements of the Marlborough House Statement. I am confident the report's assessment and conclusions will assist our collective deliberations when we review the matter at the Abuja CHOGM.

Yours sincerely

(signed)
(John Howard)"

The original letter will be forwarded to your office upon receipt.

Yours sincerely

Michael L'Estrange

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT TO THE COMMONWEALTH CHAIRPERSONS' COMMITTEE ON ZIMBABWE

Executive Summary

By the Marlborough House Statement of 19 March 2002, the Troika suspended Zimbabwe from the councils of the Commonwealth for one year. This Report has been prepared in accordance with that Statement which provided for a review by the Commonwealth Chairpersons' Committee on Zimbabwe (Troika) of that country's suspension from the Councils of the Commonwealth in twelve months time, "having regard to progress in Zimbabwe based on the Commonwealth Harare principles and reports from the Commonwealth Secretary-General". In addition, at their subsequent meeting in Abuja on 23 September 2002, the Commonwealth Troika decided inter alia to "see how Zimbabwe responds to the Marlborough House Statement over the next six months as foreshadowed in that Statement, at which point stronger measures might need to be considered". This Report is submitted by the Secretary-General to facilitate the review by the Troika in March 2003.

The Government of Zimbabwe rejected the Marlborough House Statement, maintaining that the Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) to the 2002 Zimbabwe Presidential Election, on which the decision to suspend Zimbabwe was based, was itself flawed and that Zimbabwe had not been given a chance to defend itself. Zimbabwe has publicly rejected the findings of the COG.

While the Secretary-General has had a meeting with the Zimbabwe Foreign Minister at the OAU/AU Summit in July 2002, all efforts by the Secretary-General, direct and indirect, to engage in dialogue with President Mugabe have been rebuffed. These include efforts made through former Secretary-General Sir Sridath Ramphal and the President of Namibia, H E Dr Sam Nujoma. Presidents Obasanjo and Mbeki have, however, maintained regular contact with President Mugabe, who has given a number of undertakings to them in terms of Zimbabwe's adherence to the principles contained in the Harare Declaration.

The dialogue between ZANU-PF and the MDC facilitated by the special envoys of the Presidents of Nigeria and South Africa has broken down. ZANU-PF maintains that the dialogue can only be resumed once the courts have ruled on the MDC petition challenging conduct and outcome of the March 2002 Presidential election. Meanwhile, the MDC leader and two other senior colleagues in the party are under trial for treason.

Reports have continued of a widespread and systematic campaign of violence and intimidation by agents of the state and supporters of ZANU-PF against leading members and activists of the MDC. While there have also been cases of violence and intimidation by MDC activists and supporters against ZANU-PF, these are not believed to be either systematic or widespread.

With the rejection by Zimbabwe of the COG Report, no steps have been taken to implement any of the Group's recommendations (or indeed the recommendations contained in the Report of the COG to the 2000 Zimbabwe Parliamentary Elections.) The constitutional, legislative and electoral framework for the conduct of elections thus remains unchanged. The Public Order and Security Act, Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (which came into effect soon after the elections) and General Laws Amendment Act, elements of which were found by the COG to be prejudicial to freedom of speech, the press, movement or association, remain on the statute books. President Mugabe has promised President Obasanjo that amendments would be introduced in the next sitting of Parliament to the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act but this is yet to be actioned. No independent electoral commission, as recommended by the COG, has been formed and elections remain the responsibility of the government appointed Registrar-General.

The institutions responsible for law and order in Zimbabwe, including the government, police, security forces and judiciary continue to function but there is widespread evidence of selective enforcement of their functions, particularly by the police, and widespread allegations of abuses of power. There continues to be a disturbing pattern of political pressure on the judiciary, especially judges thought to be unsympathetic to the Government.

On land reform, Zimbabwe has not responded to the proposals put forward by the UNDP following the visit of its team to Zimbabwe in November/December 2001 in pursuance of the Abuja Agreement brought about through the initiative of President Obasanjo in September that year. The Government of Zimbabwe has preferred to pursue its own 'Fast Track' land resettlement policy. It claims that this resettlement programme came to an end in August 2002, but compulsory acquisitions of private land continue to be gazetted and the Commercial Farmers Union maintains that further acquisitions of farms have taken place since that date.

There has never been doubt about the critical need for land reform in Zimbabwe. UNDP has also been prepared to accept that the political philosophy and socio-economic rationale of the Fast Track programme. However it has also identified a number of deficiencies and undesirable consequences which would need to be urgently addressed if the Troika's and broader international requirements of transparency, equity and sustainability are to be met and international financial and technical assistance obtained. President Obasanjo has been given some

commitments by President Mugabe in terms of addressing some of the deficiencies, but these are yet to be implemented. His Government has also not yet followed up the matters with the UNDP.

UNDP also is concerned (together with other external development agencies) that many of the 400,000 farm workers with antecedents in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia have been excluded from the Fast Track programme and face an uncertain future. This issue is compounded by the Citizenship Amendment Act 2001, introduced in the lead up to the 2002 Presidential election, which provides that those who hold or are entitled to citizenship of another country remain ineligible unless they renounce the other citizenship or claim thereto.

Overall, the UNDP has deemed the Government's 'Fast Track' land reform programme to be "chaotic" and "the cause of much political, economic and social instability". In view of the position taken by the Government, UNDP is not currently officially engaged with the Zimbabwe Government in promoting land reform.

The latest assessment of the World Food Programme (WFP) is that Zimbabwe is facing an immediate and serious food crisis. The WFP has launched an urgent international appeal for more international assistance to deal with the looming famine. While paucity of rainfall has affected the entire southern African region, the Head of the WFP, Mr James Morris, has stated that the Fast Track land resettlement programme, along with restrictions on private sector food importing and marketing, were contributing to the food crisis. There have also been allegations of selective, politically motivated food distribution policies by the Government of Zimbabwe using its control over the importation and distribution of food to direct assistance towards those areas that are supportive of the ruling ZANU-PF party.

The general economic situation in Zimbabwe has also seen a persistent downward trend.

Overall the general political, economic and social situation in Zimbabwe has deteriorated since March 2002. Regrettably to date there has been no positive response by Zimbabwe to the Marlborough House Statement's call for:

- political dialogue and national reconciliation;
- the implementation of Commonwealth observer group recommendations;
- the promotion, in collaboration with the UNDP, of transparent, equitable and sustainable measures for land reform in Zimbabwe; and
- engagement with the Secretary-General to achieve these outcomes.

Likewise, there has been no significant or substantive change of direction in Zimbabwe towards compliance with the Harare principles, as was the expectation in the Marlborough House Statement and the Abuja Mid-Term Review Statement.

Background

This Report has been prepared in accordance with the Marlborough House Statement of 19 March 2003 which provided for a review by the Commonwealth Chairpersons' Committee on Zimbabwe (Troika) of that country's suspension from the Councils of the Commonwealth in twelve months time, "having regard to progress in Zimbabwe based on the Commonwealth Harare principles and reports from the Commonwealth Secretary-General".

2. At their subsequent meeting in Abuja on 23 September 2002, the Commonwealth Troika decided inter alia to "see how Zimbabwe responds to the Marlborough House Statement over the next six months as foreshadowed in that Statement, at which point stronger measures might need to be considered".

3. This Report therefore covers Zimbabwe's response to the Marlborough House Statement as well as progress towards compliance with the Harare principles. A copy of the Marlborough House Statement is attached at **Annex 1**. A copy of the Abuja Mid-Term Review Statement is at **Annex 2**. A copy of the CHOGM Statement on Zimbabwe, which established and gave its mandate to the Troika, is at **Annex 3**.

A. Zimbabwe's Response to the Marlborough House Statement

(i) General Response

4. From the very outset, the Government of Zimbabwe rejected the Marlborough House decisions, as well as the Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group. All my efforts to engage with the Government in fulfilment of the mandates given to me by the Troika have been rebuffed. Indeed, my efforts to engage with President Mugabe predate the Troika's establishment and Marlborough House Statement.

5. In May 2000, I proposed sending Sir Shridath Ramphal, former Commonwealth Secretary General and a friend of President Mugabe, as a special envoy to help facilitate dialogue with the Zimbabwean Government but without success. Sir Shridath's telephone calls to President Mugabe were not returned.

6. In May 2001, I sent Deputy Secretary-General Florence Mugasha to Windhoek to brief President Nujoma (as a senior regional leader and a friend of Zimbabwe and the Commonwealth) on our efforts to engage with Zimbabwe and to

seek his assistance in facilitating such an engagement. But this did not lead to any engagement.

7. Following my own unsuccessful attempts to telephone President Mugabe, in the light of the mandate given to me by the troika, I wrote to him on 15 May 2002 assuring him of the Commonwealth's readiness and willingness to assist Zimbabwe in any way possible, in particular with the land issue, whose importance I had repeatedly acknowledged in virtually every public statement on Zimbabwe. I expressed my willingness to visit Harare to meet with the President and his Government in fulfilment of the mandates given to me by the Troika and with a view to finding a way forward.

8. I did not get a response to my letter but in subsequent contact with the President's office was told to deal with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. President Nujoma also came back to me with a similar message after talking to President Mugabe.

9. I received Zimbabwe's formal response to the Marlborough House Statement when I met with the Zimbabwean Foreign Minister, Dr Stan Mudenge, on 10 July 2002, in the wings of the OAU/AU summit in Durban. Dr Mudenge advised me that the Government of Zimbabwe regarded as illegitimate the 19 March Troika decisions and mandates as contained in the Marlborough House Statement. He said that this was because those decisions and mandates, including the decision to suspend Zimbabwe from the Councils of the Commonwealth, were based on a flawed Commonwealth Observer Group report. He also complained that Zimbabwe was not given an opportunity to defend itself before the Troika in accordance with what he said were standard Commonwealth and universal principles of natural justice.

10. I pointed out to Dr Mudenge that Heads of Government had given Zimbabwe a full hearing at CHOGM before establishing and mandating the Troika. I emphasised that the COG to the March 2002 Presidential elections in Zimbabwe was constituted and operated under standard Commonwealth procedures established by Heads of Government and that it consisted of eminent election experts, parliamentarians, diplomats and representatives of civil society and youth groups from across the Commonwealth, led by a distinguished former Nigerian Head of State, General Abdusalami Abubakar, who also headed the COG to the June 2000 Parliamentary elections. The Group formed their judgement, based on direct experience over an extended period of time spent in Zimbabwe.

11. Following the Abuja Troika meeting, I received a communication from the Senior Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, Mr W A Chiwewe on 22 October 2002, confirming the position stated by Dr Mudenge. Mr Chiwewe stated that the Government of Zimbabwe rejected the intentions, methodology and contents of the COG Report as being fundamentally flawed and therefore had "extreme difficulty in recognising the legitimacy and objectivity of both the Commonwealth Observer Group Report and the Marlborough House

Statement by the Troika". He, however, restated Zimbabwe's commitment to Commonwealth ideals, values, and principles and the Government's willingness to engage the Troika at any time.

12. In our response to Mr Chiwewe's letter on 7 November, 2002, we welcomed the restatement of Zimbabwe's commitment to Commonwealth ideals, values, and principles and the Government's willingness to engage the Troika at any time. In this regard, we proposed to send a team of senior Commonwealth Secretariat officials to visit Zimbabwe to pursue the modalities for further engagement between the Commonwealth and Zimbabwe.

13. In his response on 7 January 2003, Mr Chiwewe reiterated that the Government of Zimbabwe had great difficulty in recognising the legitimacy and objectivity of the Marlborough House Statement and the mandates given to the Secretary-General under that Statement. He, however, expressed the hope that I would find a formula for engaging Zimbabwe that "conformed to the good offices role enshrined in the procedures adopted by CHOGM at Coolum".

14. Following telephone contact, we wrote to Mr Chiwewe again on 4 February 2003 proposing to send a Secretariat team in the context of the Secretary-General's good offices role as proposed by him. We emphasised that such an engagement was important and indeed vital in the interest of the people of Zimbabwe. Mr Chiwewe responded on 11 February 2003 advising that "recent developments counsel us to re-approach the subject matter any time after March 2003".

15. In sum, the Government of Zimbabwe has rejected the Marlborough House Statement on the grounds that they were based on a flawed Commonwealth Observer Group Report and that Zimbabwe was not given the chance to defend itself before the Troika. They have said they would not engage with me on the basis of the mandates given to me by the Troika. All my efforts to bring about such engagement, including through regional leaders and in the context of my good offices role, have not met with any success to date. These efforts, nonetheless, continue.

16. In consultation with Presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo, Prime Minister Howard as Troika Chairperson invited President Mugabe by personal message, delivered through the normal diplomatic channels, to attend the Troika's meeting in Abuja on 23 September 2002. However, President Mugabe did not take up the invitation, with the Government of Zimbabwe claiming publicly it was unacceptable to him.

17. President Obasanjo and President Mbeki have made significant efforts at contact with President Mugabe over the past year and have indeed both visited Zimbabwe separately and held talks with President Mugabe. During his visit on 8

February 2003, President Obasanjo also met with the MDC Leader, Mr Morgan Tsvangirai.

18. President Mugabe has made a number of undertakings and commitments to President Obasanjo and President Mbeki, some of which are discussed further below.

(ii) Specific Responses

19. The Marlborough House Statement and indeed the Abuja Mid-Term Review Statement required Zimbabwe to respond positively by way of progress in a number of areas as follows:

- political dialogue and national reconciliation;
- the implementation of the recommendations of the Commonwealth Observer Group; and
- the promotion of transparent, equitable and sustainable measures for land reform in Zimbabwe.

20. There was also an expectation in both statements of progress being made in Zimbabwe towards compliance with the Harare Commonwealth Declaration. This section reviews Zimbabwe's responses to specific decisions and mandates contained in the Marlborough House Statement. The following section reviews progress towards compliance with the Harare principles.

(1) Political Dialogue and National Reconciliation

21. In line with the Marlborough House Statement, President Obasanjo and President Mbeki respectively appointed two distinguished personalities as special envoys to facilitate dialogue between the ruling ZANU-PF party and the opposition MDC in Zimbabwe: Professor Adebayo Adedeji (Nigeria), former Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and Dr Kgalema Motlanthe (South Africa), Secretary-General of the ANC.

22. Between April and May 2002, Professor Adedeji and Dr Motlanthe worked closely with ZANU-PF and the MDC and facilitated two meetings between the two, in the course of which an agenda for more substantive dialogue was agreed. However, ZANU-PF stayed away from a scheduled meeting on 13 May 2002 and

thereafter withdrew from the dialogue citing their objection to a petition which the MDC had brought before the courts at the end of April 2002 challenging the conduct and outcome of the March 2002 Presidential elections and by implication the legitimacy of Mr Mugabe's presidency.

23. All efforts since that time to re-start the dialogue, including by President Obasanjo and President Mbeki, have been unsuccessful. During his recent visit to Zimbabwe, President Obasanjo was assured by President Mugabe that ZANU-PF is ready to resume the dialogue once the courts have ruled on the MDC petition. The MDC's position is that it is ready to meet with ZANU-PF without pre-conditions but would not withdraw its court challenge, which they point out is a normal aspect of post-election activity in any democratic country, nor would they recognise the legitimacy of President Mugabe. These issues, they believe, nonetheless, could be addressed in the dialogue process.

24. Meanwhile on 3 February 2003, the trial began at the High Court in Harare of MDC Leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, and two other senior members of the party: Secretary-General, Professor Welshman Ncube, and Spokesperson on Agriculture, Mr Renson Gasela. All three are charged with treason, being accused of having actively participated in an alleged plot to assassinate President Mugabe and overthrow the Government of Zimbabwe by violent means. All three accused deny the charges. They all face the death penalty if convicted.

25. Reports have continued of a widespread and systematic campaign of violence and intimidation by agents of the state and supporters of the ruling ZANU-PF party against leading members and activists of the MDC. The MDC itself has alleged that in the period between January and November 2002, 58 of its activists were murdered, 1,060 tortured, 227 abducted and beaten, and 111 unlawfully detained. While these specific figures have not been independently verified, reports from independent and credible domestic and international NGO's, including the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum and Amnesty International, do point to a disturbing and widespread pattern of arrests and detention of leading members of the political opposition.

26. An Amnesty international delegation visited Zimbabwe in January this year. In a letter to me on 5 March, Amnesty International advised that "based on the preliminary findings of our delegation, Amnesty international is deeply concerned that supporters and officials of the opposition MDC, the independent media and human rights defenders continue to be subjected to harassment, arbitrary arrests and torture by the Zimbabwean authorities and state agents". Specific examples raised with us by Amnesty International in the last two months alone are contained in **Annex 4**.

27. During his visit to Zimbabwe, President Obasanjo was advised by President Mugabe that the Government was not involved in excesses by the police and security services and that those involved would be prosecuted if caught. President Obasanjo raised the specific case of Mr Job Sikhala, MDC MP for St Mary's, who

had written to him complaining about a breach of his fundamental human rights by the police, allegedly with Government connivance. President Mugabe indicated that Mr Sikhala had taken the matter to court and that the police were planning disciplinary actions against the officers concerned. Mr Sikhala maintains that no such disciplinary action has actually been taken against any of the officers concerned; that no apology has been issued; and that there ought to be a criminal investigation of the case by an independent authority.

28. There have also been reported cases of violence and intimidation of ZANU-PF activists and supporters by those of the MDC. Amnesty International has cited several examples of such cases in recent reports. However, neither Amnesty International nor any other reputable domestic or international human rights NGOs has found evidence that such violence by supporters of the political opposition against those of the ruling party is either systematic or widespread.¹

(2) *Implementation of the Recommendations of the Commonwealth Observer Group*

29. As indicated above, the Government of Zimbabwe has rejected the Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) to the March 2002 Presidential elections and refused to engage with me on the basis of my Troika mandates, one of which was to ensure that the specific recommendations of the COG Report, notably those on the management of future elections, are implemented.

30. The constitutional, legislative and electoral framework for the conduct of elections, which the Commonwealth Observer Group found to be flawed, remains unchanged. The Public Order and Security Act, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (which came into effect soon after the March 2002 Presidential elections) and the General Laws Amendment Act, elements of which were specifically found by the COG to have been prejudicial to freedom of speech, the press, movement and association, remain on the statute book without amendment. President Mugabe has specifically promised President Obasanjo that amendments would be introduced to the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act during the next sitting of Parliament, which commenced on 25 February 2003, in response to complaints that the act was prejudicial to freedom of the press and of speech.

31. No steps have been taken towards the establishment of an independent electoral commission as recommended by the COG. The Office of the Registrar

¹ For example, the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum's report on political violence, drawing on a reported 900 victims statements from June 2001 to June 2002, found that only a reported 1.4% of victims of political violence were ZANU-PF supporters, while the rest were MDC supporters or sympathisers.

General, which the COG found to lack sufficient independence and impartiality, remains in charge of election management in Zimbabwe, and unchanged.

32. In December 2002, the Government of Zimbabwe published a memorandum entitled "The Commonwealth and the Zimbabwe Elections 2002", in which it sought to challenge the composition, modus operandi and conclusions of the COG. The memorandum, inter alia, makes inaccurate and unsubstantiated claims against the COG of:

- bias in the selection of observers;
- disproportionate representation of Australia, Canada and New Zealand;
- unsubstantiated allegations of pre-election violence and intimidation; and
- a pre-determined conclusion.

33. As indicated earlier, the COG to the March 2002 Presidential elections in Zimbabwe was constituted and operated under standard Commonwealth procedures established by Heads of Government. It consisted of eminent election experts, parliamentarians, diplomats and representatives of civil society and youth groups from across the Commonwealth, led by a distinguished former Nigerian Head of State. 16 of the 42 members of the Group (38%), including the Chairperson, were from Africa. Every one of Zimbabwe's immediate neighbours (with the exception only of Swaziland) was represented on the Group, including two observers from South Africa. Australia, Canada and New Zealand each had two observers (12% of the Group). The Group formed an independent and collective judgement at the end of the process, based on direct experience and observation over an extended period of time spent in Zimbabwe.

(3) The Land Issue as it Relates to the Marlborough House Statement

34. As requested by the 'Troika' in the Marlborough House Statement, I have kept in constant touch with the UNDP in the period since March 2002. In July 2002, I was advised by the UNDP Administrator, that the Government of Zimbabwe had not responded to the proposals which the UNDP had put forward following the visit of an expert team to Zimbabwe in November / December 2001 within the framework of the Abuja Agreement (discussed further below). A Commonwealth Secretariat member of staff participated in the Expert Team. In its Report in January 2002, the Expert Team described the Government's 'Fast-Track' land reform programme as chaotic and the cause of much political, economic and social instability. It proposed instead a phased programme commencing with the re-distribution of 5 million hectares over a three year period; fair and speedy

compensation for those whose farms are compulsorily acquired; and a package of assistance for the new farmers.

35. In view of the Government's failure to respond to the UNDP proposals and its decision to press ahead with the 'Fast-Track' programme, the UNDP is not officially engaged with the Government of Zimbabwe in terms of promoting land reform. The Government of Zimbabwe for its part has not requested any specific support from the UNDP for the 'Fast-Track' programme. The UNDP does not believe that the 'Fast-Track' programme is sufficiently transparent, equitable and sustainable to attract the necessary international financial and technical assistance. However, the UNDP remains ready to engage with the Government of Zimbabwe when invited. Such engagement is essential to progress on the land issue, including in terms of securing international financial assistance towards land reform in Zimbabwe.

36. Further detail on the matter of land reform is provided in Section C below.

B. Progress on the Harare Principles

(i) *Democracy and Democratic Processes and Institutions*

37. As noted, the constitutional, legislative and electoral framework for the conduct of elections, which the Commonwealth Observer Group found to be flawed, remains unchanged. The Public Order and Security Act, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act and the General Laws Amendment Act, elements of which were specifically found by the COG to have been prejudicial to freedom of speech, the press, movement and association, remain on the statute book without amendment. The Office of the Registrar General, which the COG found to lack sufficient independence and impartiality, remains in charge of election management in Zimbabwe.

38. Large numbers of MDC candidates are reported to have withdrawn from local government elections in September 2002 citing pre-election intimidation by the government. The MDC claims that as a result it was only able to field 646 candidates for the 1,437 contested seats. The MDC also alleges that several of its candidates and supporters were arrested and assaulted prior to the poll and that in Masvingo province, the homesteads of several of its candidates and supporters were burnt down during the election weekend. The MDC further alleges that it did not get access to the voters' roll and that many of its potential candidates were rejected on the grounds that their names were not on the roll.

39. There were also reports of widespread violence and intimidation against known and suspected members and supporters of the MDC in the run-up to a by-

election in the constituency of Insiza in October 2002, including a reported invasion of the MDC command centre by a police riot squad using tear gas. The MDC candidate was allegedly not allowed full access to the constituency. While the immediate polling days were generally peaceful, it was notable that there was a low voter turnout.

(1) *The Public Order and Security Act*

40. The Public Order and Security Act 2002 criminalizes various types of public conduct and imposes penalties ranging from six months imprisonment to the death penalty. Most of the offences covered by the Act are the usual public order offences, including, insurgency, banditry, sabotage and terrorism. However, two categories of offences in the Act have raised domestic and international concern, including from the Commonwealth:

Undermining the authority of or insulting the President

This includes any act or gesture by any person knowing that there is a risk or possibility of engendering feelings of hostility towards or causing hatred, contempt or ridicule of the person or office of the President or acting President. It also includes making any abusive, indecent, obscene or false statement concerning the person or the office of the President or acting President. Penalties for these offences include a fine of up to Zim \$20,000 or imprisonment for a period of up to one year or both.

Unlawful public gatherings

Anyone organising a public gathering (with the exception of a list of social gatherings provided by the Act) without a permit from a regulating authority (the police) is liable (if found guilty) to a fine of up to Zim \$10,000 and / or imprisonment for up to six months. The regulating authority can refuse permission or impose conditions for such gatherings on grounds of threat to public order. Appeals can only be made to the Home Affairs Minister rather than the courts.

(2) *The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act 2002*

41. Concerns about this law have focused on the following provisions:

- it being an offence to make use of a mass media service for the purpose of denigrating, bringing to hatred or contempt or ridicule or to excite

disaffection against the President, the law enforcement agents or the administration of justice in Zimbabwe;

- the prohibition of certain classes of people, including foreigners, from owning or co-owning a mass media service;
- only those accredited by a press commission being able to work as journalists in Zimbabwe and only citizens of Zimbabwe, domiciled in the country, being able to be so accredited;
- journalists who abuse their 'journalistic privileges' or who contravene the Act being liable to imprisonment for up to two years; and
- foreign mass media services not being able to set up representative offices in Zimbabwe without the Minister's permission, and only accredited journalists may represent foreign correspondents in Zimbabwe.

42. The Government of Zimbabwe has promised to introduce amendments to this Act in response to complaints that it is prejudicial to freedom of the press. However, this has not yet been done and the proposed nature of any amendments is unclear. Meanwhile journalists have publicly complained about the onerous nature of the provisions, and the expense and difficulty of achieving registration.

(3) The General Laws Amendment Act

43. The Commonwealth Observer Group found that the General Laws Amendment Act severely restricted the deployment of independent domestic monitors and the ability of civil society groups to provide voter education in connection with elections. Three provisions of the Act have engendered particular concern in this regard:

Under Section 14B, subsection (2), only members of the Public Service can be appointed and deployed as monitors by the Electoral Supervisory Commission. However, eminent persons from within Zimbabwe and individuals representing local organisations could be invited by the Minister of Justice to observe the elections.

Under Section 14D, subsection 4, no person other than the Commission, persons appointed by it, political parties and members of registered private voluntary organisations (specifically mandated by their charters to conduct voter education) can provide voter education.

Under subsection 5 of the same section, no foreign contribution or donation can be made for the purposes of voter education except to the

Electoral Supervisory Commission, which may allocate such contributions or donations to any persons registered by it. Anyone who provides voter education in contravention of these provisions is liable to a fine of up to Zim \$10,000 and / or imprisonment of up to six months.

44. Previously, the Electoral Supervisory Commission had been able to draw on persons selected and trained by civil society organisations to serve as election monitors. It was also past practice, that civil society organisations conducted voter education without the need for clearance by the Electoral Supervisory Commission.

(4) Systematic Disenfranchisement

45. The COG found that thousands of Zimbabwean citizens were disenfranchised as a result of the lack of transparency in the registration process and the wide discretionary powers of the Registrar-General in deciding who is included and who is excluded from the electoral register.

46. The Registrar-General's application of the Citizenship Amendment Act 2001 has affected the many thousands of farm workers in Zimbabwe from neighbouring countries who had previously been allowed the rights of Zimbabwe citizenship. This in effect disenfranchised them at the time of the Presidential election. On 22 November 2002, the Government published a notice in the official gazette to the effect that mere entitlement to a foreign citizenship as opposed to the actual possession of such a citizenship should not lose any Zimbabwean their citizenship.

47. However, in a landmark case brought by Ms Judith Todd against the loss of her citizenship the Supreme Court refused to accept the Government's notice in the gazette as being of any legal value. Ms Todd is Zimbabwean born, but has a right to New Zealand citizenship through her late father, Sir Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister, who had been born in New Zealand but migrated to then Rhodesia early in his working life. On 27 February 2003, the Supreme Court decided that Ms Todd was a New Zealand citizen 'by descent' even though she has neither held nor exercised such a citizenship. The Court gave her 24 hours to formally renounce her New Zealand citizenship and show evidence of this to the Registrar-General or else lose her Zimbabwean citizenship.

(ii) Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

48. The application of the Public Order and Security Act and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act has seriously compromised respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Zimbabwe. Mention has already been made of the disturbing pattern of arrests and detention of leading members of the

political opposition. There have also been similar reports with respect to sections of civil society, particularly the press. A list of cases of arrest and general harassment of the press recorded by the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) over the past two months alone is at **Annex 5**.

49. Amnesty International as well as other reputable domestic and international human rights NGOs such as The Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust and Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark have also reported on numerous cases of arbitrary arrest, torture and general heavy-handedness by the police and other agents of the state especially against members and supporters of the opposition and civil society activists.

50. Specific concern has also been expressed about the activities of a paramilitary style youth organisation known as the "Green Bombers" (after their green uniforms). Supporters of the organisation say its objective is to provide skills, character and civic training to young men and women with a view to enhancing their job prospects. However, opposition and civil society groups have accused the ruling ZANU-PF party of recruiting and training the "Green Bombers" as a paramilitary youth militia to harass and intimidate their opponents.

(iii) ***The Rule of Law and the Independence of the Judiciary***

51. The Report of the Law Society of Zimbabwe for 2002 indicates that the forces of law and order are under pressure and tend to be selective in the performance, and non-performance, of their duties. In particular widespread allegations continue of political bias on the part of the police in the investigation of allegations of violence and generally in the enforcement of the law

(1) ***Arrest and General Harassment of Senior Judicial Officers***

52. There have been continuing pressure and direct attacks on the judiciary by the Government along the lines of those which led to the early retirement of Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay in March 2002. Concerns were expressed both nationally and internationally about the arrest of former High Court Judge Fergus Blackie in the early hours of 13 September 2002, for alleged misconduct in connection with a case he had handled. Before his retirement, Justice Blackie had ruled in a separate case that the Minister of Justice was in contempt of court and sentenced him to three years imprisonment. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Independence of the Judiciary at the time described the charges as trumped up and expressed concern about the implications of the arrest for the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary in Zimbabwe.

53. Similar concerns have been expressed recently in connection with the arrest of sitting High Court Justice Benjamin Paradza on 19 February 2003 allegedly for attempting to influence another judge. The International Bar Association has expressed deep concern that the constitutional procedures for investigating allegations against senior members of the bench were not followed. Shortly before his arrest, Justice Paradza had dismissed a case brought against the MDC Mayor of Harare, Mr Elias Mudzuri, and declared the Mayor's arrest and detention unlawful.

54. I received on 27 February from the International Commission of Jurists a copy of a letter to President Mugabe in which they expressed their alarm at the arrest of Justice Paradza and referred to a similar letter of 18 September regarding Justice Fergus Blackie, and the impact of these cases on the independence of the judiciary in Zimbabwe. They have requested the Government of Zimbabwe to investigate the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Justice Paradza to ensure the charges are not politically motivated.

55. In his Report for 2002, the President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe expressed concern about personal attacks and adverse publicity in the state-owned media against other senior sitting members of the judiciary, including Justices Moses Chinhengo, George Smith and Lawrence Kamocha.

(2) Selective Investigation of Cases

56. The COG to the March Presidential elections in Zimbabwe found that very often the police and other security forces did not take action to investigate reported cases of violence and intimidation, especially against known or suspected supporters of the MDC; and that the law enforcement agencies appeared to be heavy-handed in dealing with the MDC and lenient towards supporters of ZANU-PF. The COG concluded that the failure to impartially enforce the law seriously called into question the application of the rule of law in Zimbabwe.

57. Sadly, this situation does not appear to have changed. The President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe has publicly expressed concern that members of the public do not feel that their rights can be protected and enforced through the normal judicial process. There is no reported case of anyone having been charged and convicted in connection with the numerous and specific incidents of violence and intimidation against the opposition and sections of civil society throughout 2002, even where the Government of Zimbabwe has undertaken to pursue such cases.

(3) Non-enforcement of Court Orders

58. There have been statements in the state-owned media in Zimbabwe and by members of government suggesting that court orders which go against public policy would not be enforced. In his 2002 Report, the President of the Law Society of Zimbabwe also expressed concern about such statements and referred to a number of judicial decisions which had not been enforced in connection with the September municipal elections and the Harare mayoral elections.

59. Concern has also been expressed in the case of the Mayor of Harare, Elias Mudzuri, noted above. The initial order to release him was ignored by the police, thus forcing the judge to issue another order.

C. The Land Issue Generally

(i) The Abuja Agreement and its Non-Implementation

60. It will be recalled that at the initiative of President Obasanjo, a Committee of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers on Zimbabwe (including the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe) met in Abuja on 6-7 September 2001 and reached agreement on a way forward for resolving the land issue and related matters in Zimbabwe. A copy of the Abuja Agreement is at **Annex 6**.

61. The UNDP Expert Team which visited Zimbabwe from 13 November to 5 December 2001, in pursuance of the Abuja Agreement, found that although there had been a substantial decline in the number of farm occupations following the Agreement, the Government of Zimbabwe had not fully complied with its obligations to end the occupation of farms and to remove occupiers from undesignated farms. Instead the Government had passed a Rural Land Occupiers (Protection from Eviction Act) which effectively made it lawful for occupiers to stay on occupied farms until alternative lands could be found.

62. More importantly, the Government of Zimbabwe, as indicated above, has failed to reach agreement with the UNDP on effective and sustainable measures for land reform as required under the Abuja Agreement. It has decided to press ahead instead with its own 'Fast-Track' land reform programme.

(ii) The Fast-Track Land Resettlement Programme

63. The Government of Zimbabwe claims that the land issue is now at an end. According to official government figures, 220,000 communal peasant families and 54,000 indigenous commercial farmers have been settled on 11 million hectares of acquired land under the Fast-Track Resettlement Programme. The Government states that the programme officially came to an end on 31 August 2002,

although compulsory acquisitions of private land continue to be gazetted and the Commercial Farmers' Union of Zimbabwe claims that further acquisitions of farms have taken place since that date.

64. There has never been any doubt about the need for land reform in Zimbabwe, a fact which I have repeatedly acknowledged publicly. To the extent that the Government feels that it has sought to put right a colonial injustice, the 'Fast-Track' programme can be seen as an attempt to address a long-standing source of internal dissatisfaction. However, the overall assessment of the UNDP is that while the political philosophy and socio-economic rationale of the Fast Track programme remains valid, its current scope is not sustainable and represents an overreach of the original objectives "that is not the consequence of debated and clear government policy but rather the aggregation of a series of one-off executive actions". The UNDP has identified a number of deficiencies and undesirable consequences of the Fast-Track programme which would need to be urgently addressed if the programme is to meet the Troika's and broader international requirements of transparency, equity and sustainability.

(1) Inadequate Transparency in the Allocation of Farms

65. Reports have continued of a disproportionate number of the best farms being allocated to leading members of the ruling elite, including members of government and senior members of the security services and their families. According to the UNDP, priority has not always been given to those in the greatest need and those with past experience in agricultural production.

66. The Government of Zimbabwe admits that abuses and malpractices have taken place. It has instituted a land audit to identify cases of malpractices and corruption, which it has promised to investigate and redress. The findings of this audit have not yet been published.

(2) The Non-Payment of Fair Compensation

67. The Government of Zimbabwe has promised to pay compensation to those affected by the Fast Track programme for improvements to the land such as dams, farm houses and equipment. It states that it has allocated 4 billion Zimbabwe dollars towards such compensation in the current financial year. The Government is also currently engaged in dialogue with the Commercial Farmers Union on a way forward and has reiterated its willingness to provide land to anyone who wishes to continue farming.

68. However, the Commercial Farmers Union maintains that only 600 out of Zimbabwe's original 4,500 commercial farmers remain on their farms and that

none of its almost 4,000 members whose farms have been compulsorily acquired under the land reform programme have received any compensation from the Government.

69. The Government continues to insist, including by way of a constitutional requirement, that compensation for the true value of the land, at today's prices, be paid by the United Kingdom, which it claims did not pay anything when it took the land from their original African owners.

70. I continue to believe that there is clearly a moral case for the United Kingdom to contribute towards transparent, equitable and sustainable land reform in Zimbabwe. Indeed the Government of the United Kingdom has undertaken to do so under the Abuja Agreement in the context of a UNDP-backed programme to which the Government of Zimbabwe has also formally committed itself.² However, the Zimbabwe Government's approach in terms of a constitutional requirement is viewed by the UNDP among others as flawed to the extent that it offers no effective compensation to those whose farms have been compulsorily acquired by the state, many of whom had original titles and paid in cash for their farms. As foreshadowed in the Abuja Agreement, there is clearly a need for the Zimbabwe Government to engage with the UNDP and reach agreement on a programme that the UK as well as other international partners can support.

(3) *The Plight of the Farm Workers*

71. The Government claims that many of the approximately 400,000 former farm workers have been re-employed on the 54,000 new commercial farms and that others have been resettled under the land reform programme. However, the UNDP, the World Food Programme and most farming organisations in Zimbabwe dispute this. Their reports suggest that the former farm workers, most of whom are skilled and experienced in agricultural production, have been largely excluded from the Fast-Track land reform programme and face an uncertain future in Zimbabwe.

72. Many of the farm workers originate from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia and thus either hold or are entitled to the citizenship of those countries. Their plight is further compounded by a Citizenship of Zimbabwe Amendment Act of 2001, which requires Zimbabweans holding one or more citizenships to renounce such citizenships, not only in terms of Zimbabwe law but also in terms of the laws of the other country or countries concerned, or else lose their Zimbabwean citizenship.

73. The Registrar-General (in charge of the civil registers as well as of election management) has interpreted this Act as also applying to those who have an

² See also Statement by Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, 21 March 2002.

automatic entitlement to a foreign citizenship, even though they may not have sought or exercised such citizenship. Many of the former farm workers fall in this category and have thus lost either their Zimbabwean citizenship or their entitlement to it despite being longstanding citizens or residents.

74. During his recent visit to Zimbabwe, President Obasanjo was assured by President Mugabe that the Government had taken a decision to the effect that all foreigners who were resident in the country on or before 18 April 1980 would be entitled to Zimbabwean citizenship. However, legislation is still awaited to give this undertaking the force of law.

(4) Inadequate Support for the New Farmers

75. The Report of the UNDP Expert Team highlights the lack of material, technical and financial support for the new small-scale and commercial farmers. Other reports, including by the World Food Programme, have alluded to this as a major factor (in addition to the drought) in the significant fall in agricultural production in Zimbabwe. The UNDP and other stakeholders have also expressed concern about the fact that most of the new farmers have not been given proper title to their lands and so have had difficulty raising credit from a financial sector already sceptical about lending to the agricultural sector.

76. The Government of Zimbabwe admitted to President Obasanjo during his recent visit to Zimbabwe that support for the new farmers has been inadequate, with only 30% (according to official sources) having received financial assistance. The Government puts this down to a lack of means rather than will. No proposals have yet been put forward by the Government for dealing with the issue of land titles.

77. The case for international financial and technical assistance and for a transparent, equitable and sustainable land reform programme, is a strong one as advocated by President Obasanjo. However, in terms of expertise, the UNDP remains the most effective avenue through which such assistance could be channelled to those concerned as provided under the Abuja Agreement.

D. The Food Situation and Economic Recovery

78. The latest assessment of the World Food Programme (WFP)³ is that Zimbabwe is facing an immediate and serious food crisis which, if not quickly and

³ World Food Programme, *Food Shortages in Zimbabwe: The Facts*, Southern Africa In Depth, 2003

comprehensively addressed, is likely to result in severe malnutrition and death caused by hunger in the coming months. According to the WFP, 6.1 million Zimbabweans will need food aid for which an estimated 1,869 million tons of cereals, including 1,705 million tons of maize would need to be imported.

79. A WFP report⁴ in late November 2002 painted a bleak picture of many families eating only one meal a day; people eating poisonous wild fruits and vegetables; numbers of school children arriving in classrooms each day without having eaten; others fainting at school out of hunger; and many dropping out of school altogether to work as casual labourers in the hope of feeding themselves and their families.

80. The WFP has launched an urgent international appeal for more international assistance to deal with the looming famine. It says it has received only about a third of the US \$285 million requested by the UN appeal for Zimbabwe.

81. I have written to all Commonwealth Governments asking them to contribute generously towards the food situation in Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe. Many have already done so, including the United Kingdom, which, according to the Department for International Development, has contributed 40.2 million towards humanitarian assistance programmes in Zimbabwe since September 2001.

(i) ***Associated factors***

82. The southern African region has experienced a lack of adequate rainfall generally over the last few years, creating drought conditions in several countries, including Zimbabwe. But other man-made factors have seriously exacerbated the food scarcity in Zimbabwe.

83. On 26 February 2003, the Head of WFP, Mr James Morris, told US Lawmakers that the 'Fast Track' programme along with restrictions on private sector food marketing and the monopoly of the Zimbabwe Grain Marketing Board on food importing were "turning a drought that might have been managed into a humanitarian nightmare". He said he had failed in six meetings with President Mugabe to persuade the President to alter his economic policies or to remove bureaucratic obstacles to food production and distribution. The WFP has identified a number of factors that it believes have compounded the drought situation and some of which continue to impede their efforts to bring in and distribute food assistance.

⁴ World Food Programme, *Humanitarian Crisis Worsening in Zimbabwe*, News Release, 28 November 2002

84. Prominent amongst these is the disruption to the commercial farming sector caused by the 'Fast Track' land reform programme. WFP figures suggest that while, as a result of the Fast Track land reform programme, the area planted to maize during 2002 increased by 14% in the communal and resettled areas, the area of maize planted by large-scale commercial farms declined by 16% - a fall of 62% on 1999-2000 levels. According to the WFP, given the vastly greater yield of the large-scale commercial sector (a third of the total cereal production), the decrease in the area of commercial farms planted has had a significantly adverse impact on national food production.

85. Another factor cited by the WFP is the monopoly of the Grain Marketing Board of Zimbabwe (GMB) on the importation and distribution of grain. According to the WFP, the GMB's capacity to import enough grain is severely limited by the crippling lack of foreign exchange in Zimbabwe. The WFP has called for the removal of the GMB's monopoly so that other commercial operators could import grain possibly accompanied by a consumer subsidy scheme to help the poor. This monopoly also gives it the capacity to control the distribution of food and allow political factors to play a part in its decision making.

86. Retail price controls on grain products have effectively removed a useful incentive to move grain stocks to the markets. At the same time, only NGOs authorised by the Government can assist the WFP in the distribution of food aid. The WFP has said it would like to have additional NGO partners given the scale and complexity of the crisis. It has called for the removal of price controls and all other restrictions to the distribution of food products around the country.

87. There have also been allegations by the political opposition in Zimbabwe as well as several civil society organisations, including church groups, that the Government of Zimbabwe is using its control over the importation and distribution of food (through the GMB) to direct food assistance towards those areas that are supportive of the ruling ZANU-PF party. In a detailed report on 20 November 2002, the human rights NGO Physicians for Human Rights, Denmark, outlined details of what it said was conclusive evidence of the politicisation of food assistance. Similar concerns have also been expressed by Church groups specifically with respect to Matabeleland. The WFP has said it would vigorously investigate specific allegations of politicisation of food distribution but has thus far not reached a general conclusion on the matter.

(ii) ***The General Economic Situation***

88. The food crisis in Zimbabwe is compounded by the steep decline of the Zimbabwean economy. According to the World Bank, the November 2002 budget suggested a 12% fall in real GDP in 2002 (25% over the past four years). Unemployment stands at 70% and year-on-year inflation at nearly 300%.

89. On 19 February 2003, the Government announced an effective devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar, when it set the exchange rate for exporters at 800 Zimbabwe dollars to the US dollar. The previous rate was 55 Zimbabwe dollars to the US dollar. Exporters still have to exchange 40% of their earnings with the Central Bank at the official rate. The Zimbabwe dollar is trading at 1500 to the US dollar on the black market.

90. The combination of falling standards of living, higher costs of living and the food shortages has resulted in real and severe hardships for the majority of Zimbabweans. This situation is compounded by shortages of basic commodities such as flour, sugar, cooking oil and petrol. Very often consumers have to queue up for several hours to buy these commodities at the controlled prices. Prices on the black market are four to five times the official prices. There has also been a significant flight of skilled and unskilled workers from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries and elsewhere abroad.

91. In a rare public comment on 16 January 2003, the Commander of the Armed Forces of Zimbabwe, General Vitalis Zvinvashe, described the prevailing situation in the country as a national crisis and called for the establishment of a national task force involving all branches of government and outside the cabinet to deal with what he called an emergency.

92. This depressing situation offers even more grounds for the Government of Zimbabwe to change course and to engage in meaningful dialogue with international partners, particularly the Commonwealth and the UNDP in terms of land reform and agricultural production and the international financial institutions in terms of the general economy.

CONCLUSIONS

Government and law and order institutions in Zimbabwe, including Parliament, the police and the judiciary, are functioning but are under considerable pressure and constraints, with selective enforcement in many cases and widespread allegations of abuses of power. The MDC continues to function as an opposition, but faces considerable harassment, pressure and politically-motivated violence and intimidation.

The Government maintains that the land reform programme has been completed. However, the UNDP has described the 'Fast Track' land reform programme as chaotic and destabilising. It has impacted negatively on food production capacity of Zimbabwe and contributed to a great increase in unemployment among farm workers. The general economic situation in Zimbabwe has also seen a persistent downward trend.

President Mugabe has given a number of undertakings and commitments to President Obasanjo and President Mbeki to address ongoing concerns on the land issue and on human rights. These are yet to be put into effect.

There has been an ongoing negative response by the Government of Zimbabwe to the Marlborough House and Abuja Statements and a refusal to engage on this basis with the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

The Nigeria/South African-sponsored dialogue between the two main political parties has broken down. The harassment of opposition and civil society leaders and activists continue. There have also been several cases of harassment of the press and the judiciary. Legislation prejudicial to freedom of speech, the press and association remains on the statute book.

Overall the general political, economic and social situation in Zimbabwe has deteriorated since March 2002. Regrettably to date there has been no positive response by Zimbabwe to the Marlborough House Statement's call for:

- political dialogue and national reconciliation;
- the implementation of Commonwealth Observer Group recommendations;
- the promotion, in collaboration with the UNDP, of transparent, equitable and sustainable measures for land reform in Zimbabwe; and
- engagement with the Secretary-General to achieve these outcomes.

Likewise, there has been no significant or substantive change of direction in Zimbabwe towards compliance with the Harare principles, as was the expectation in the Marlborough House Statement and the Abuja Mid-Term Review Statement.

ANNEX 1

19 March 2002 Marlborough House Statement on Zimbabwe

The Commonwealth Chairpersons' Committee on Zimbabwe, consisting of the Prime Minister of Australia, Rt Hon John Howard, the President of Nigeria, H E Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, and the President of South Africa, H E Mr Thabo Mbeki, met at Marlborough House, London on 19 March 2002 to discuss the situation in Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Rt Hon Don McKinnon, also attended the discussions.

The Committee recalled the mandate given to them by Commonwealth Heads of Government at their recent meeting in Coolumberr, Australia, to determine appropriate Commonwealth action on Zimbabwe, in the event of an adverse report from the Commonwealth Observer Group to the Zimbabwe Presidential Election, in accordance with the Harare Commonwealth Declaration and the Millbrook Commonwealth Action Programme.

The Committee noted that the Commonwealth Observer Group, led by General Abdulsalami Abubakar of Nigeria, had concluded that the Presidential Election was marred by a high level of politically motivated violence and that "the conditions in Zimbabwe did not adequately allow for a free expression of will by the electors". They deemed these conclusions, together with other aspects of the Report of the Observer Group, to be an adverse reflection on the electoral process, requiring an appropriate Commonwealth response.

The Committee took note of the various recommendations contained in the Commonwealth Observer Group Report. It also received a Report from the Commonwealth Secretary-General on his consultations with other Commonwealth leaders.

The Committee expressed its determination to promote reconciliation in Zimbabwe between the main political parties. To this end the Committee strongly supported the initiatives of the President of Nigeria and the President of South Africa in encouraging a climate of reconciliation between the main political parties in Zimbabwe which they considered essential to address the issues of food shortages, economic recovery, the restoration of political stability, the rule of law and the conduct of future elections.

The Committee called upon the international community to respond to the desperate situation currently in Zimbabwe, especially the shortages of food.

The Committee noted the reference in the Commonwealth Observer Group Report to national reconciliation being a priority and that the Commonwealth should assist in this process: and requested the President of Nigeria and the President of South Africa to continue to actively promote the process of reconciliation in Zimbabwe between the main political parties and to appoint special representatives to remain engaged with all the parties concerned towards this end.

The Committee decided to suspend Zimbabwe from the Councils of the Commonwealth for one year with immediate effect. This issue will be revisited in twelve months time, having regard to progress in Zimbabwe based on the Commonwealth Harare principles and reports from the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

The Committee mandated the Commonwealth Secretary-General to engage with the Government of Zimbabwe to ensure that the specific recommendations from the Commonwealth Observer Group Report, notably on the management of future elections, in Zimbabwe are implemented.

In line with the Abuja Agreement and the Coolum Statement, the Committee stated that land is at the core of the crisis in Zimbabwe and cannot be separated from other issues of concern, and the Commonwealth will be ready to assist Zimbabwe to address the land issue and to help in its economic recovery in co-operation with other international agencies. The Committee requested the Commonwealth Secretary-General to remain actively involved with the United Nations Development Programme in promoting transparent, equitable and sustainable measures for land reform in Zimbabwe.

The Committee will actively promote the implementation of all the goals contained in this Statement in consultation with the Commonwealth Secretary-General and will meet at the request of the Commonwealth Chairperson-in-Office.

Marlborough House
London
19 March 2002

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ANNEX 2

Meeting of the Commonwealth Chairpersons' Committee On Zimbabwe ZIMBABWE MID-TERM REVIEW

The Commonwealth Chairpersons' Committee on Zimbabwe, consisting of the Prime Minister of Australia, Rt Hon John Howard, the President of Nigeria, HE Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, and the President of South Africa, HE Mr Thabo Mbeki, met in Abuja, Nigeria, on 23 September 2002, to discuss the situation in Zimbabwe. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Rt Hon Don McKinnon, participated in the discussions.

Following a review of recent political developments in Zimbabwe, the Committee recalled that in their Marlborough House Statement of 19 March 2002, they had mandated the President of Nigeria and the President of South Africa to continue to actively promote the process of reconciliation in Zimbabwe and to appoint special representatives to remain engaged with all the parties concerned towards this end. The Committee had also mandated the Commonwealth Secretary-General to engage with the Government of Zimbabwe to ensure that the specific recommendations from the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) to the March Presidential elections were respected and to remain actively engaged with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in promoting transparent, equitable and sustainable measures of land reform in Zimbabwe.

The Committee deeply regretted that the process of reconciliation facilitated by the Special Envoys of the President of Nigeria and the President of South Africa had stalled. The Secretary-General reported that as a consequence, the level of suspicion, division and hostility between the various parties in Zimbabwe has increased considerably in recent months and that reports of harassment of the political opposition, the press and sections of the judiciary continued.

The Committee was disappointed to note that despite repeated efforts, including in collaboration with regional Commonwealth Heads of Government, the Commonwealth Secretary-General had been unable to establish a dialogue with the Government of Zimbabwe in fulfilment of his mandates.

The Committee was also deeply disappointed that the President of Zimbabwe had not taken up their invitation to come to Abuja to dialogue with them.

The Committee also called on the Government of Zimbabwe to engage with the Commonwealth Secretary-General at an early opportunity on the basis of the mandates given to him.

Whilst all members of the 'Troika' strongly believe that efforts to engage the Government of Zimbabwe should continue, one member, Australia, supported the full suspension of Zimbabwe with immediate effect whilst the other members wish to see how Zimbabwe responds to the Marlborough House Statement over the next six months as foreshadowed in that Statement, at which point stronger measures might need to be considered.

Date Released: 23/09/2002

ANNEX 3

CHOGM STATEMENT ON ZIMBABWE, 4 March 2002

Commonwealth Heads of Government received and discussed the Report of the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group on the Harare Declaration (CMAG) concerning the current situation in Zimbabwe. They expressed their deep concern about incidents of violence and intimidation surrounding the election campaign, called on all parties to refrain from such violence and urged all concerned to work together to create an atmosphere in which there could be a free and fair election.

Heads of Government expressed their full support for regional efforts aimed at encouraging a peaceful outcome to the situation in Zimbabwe, in particular the Abuja Agreement and President Olusegun Obasanjo's ongoing mediation efforts, as well as the initiative of the Southern Africa Development Community towards a peaceful outcome to the situation in Zimbabwe.

Heads of Government recognised that as stated in the Abuja Agreement land is at the core of the crisis in Zimbabwe and cannot be separated from other issues of concern to the Commonwealth. They took note of the interim report of the United Nations Development Programme and called on the Government of Zimbabwe and the UNDP to reach early agreement on transparent, equitable and sustainable measures for land reform.

The Commonwealth will be ready to assist Zimbabwe to address the land issue and to help in its economic recovery in co-operation with other international agencies

Heads of Government noted that a Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) would report to the Commonwealth Secretary-General immediately after the Zimbabwe Presidential Election of 9-10 March 2002. They agreed to mandate the CHOGM Chairman-in-Office as well as the former and next Chairmen-in-Office in close consultation with the Secretary-General and taking into account the Commonwealth Observer Group Report, to determine appropriate Commonwealth action on Zimbabwe in the event the Report is adverse, in accordance with the Harare Commonwealth Declaration and the Millbrook Commonwealth Action Programme, which ranges from collective disapproval to suspension.

Date Released: 04/03/2002

Publication Date: 04/03/2002

ANNEX 4

**Cases of Arrests and Detention of Senior Members of the MDC Raised by Amnesty International with the Commonwealth Secretariat
January and February 2003**

- Mr Tendai Biti, *MP MDC Secretary for Economic Affairs and Shadow Minister for Home Affairs*, arrested on 8 February along with Mr Paul Madzore MP and 11 other MDC supporters whilst travelling back from a rally that had been banned by police in Mabvuku. Mr Biti was held for two nights and released without charge on 10 February 2003.
- Ms Trudy Stevenson, *MP, MDC Secretary for Research and Policy*, arrested on 10 February and later released on the same day without charge.
- Mr Gabriel Chaibva, *MP, MDC Shadow Minister for Local Government*, arrested on 8 February in Hwange with four other MDC officials whilst hosting a seminar for MDC councillors. Released without charge.
- Mr Job Sikhala, *MDC MP*, arrested on 13 February 2003 on allegations (later dismissed in court) that he was involved in the burning of a bus. He claimed he was tortured while in police custody. A medical report confirmed this and the police have admitted assaulting him and claim to have apologised.
- Mr Abednico Bhebhe, *MDC MP*, arrested on 3 January 2003 and charged under the Public Order and Security Act for holding an illegal meeting.
- Ms Pauline Mupariwa, *MP, MDC Shadow Minister for Labour*, arrested at home on 20 January 2003, held at Harare Central Police Station and released without charge on 22 January.
- Mr Paul Madzore, *MDC MP*, arrested on 12 January 2003 and allegedly tortured while in police custody. Mr Madzore was arrested again on 8 February along with Mr Tendai Biti (see above).
- Ms Evelyn Masaiti, *MDC MP*, arrested on 14 February 2003 and later released the same day without charge.
- Mr Elias Mudzuri, *MDC Executive Mayor of Harare*, arrested together with several other MDC officials in Mabvuku on 11 January 2003 and later released without charge.
- Ms Sekai Makwavarara, *Deputy Mayor of Harare*, arrested along with the Mayor on 11 January and later released without charge.

- Mr Fanuel Tsvangirai, *MDC Chairman for Ward 38 of Kuwadzana, Harare*, arrested, detained for seven days and claimed to have been tortured while in police custody.
- Mr Masunda Resias, *MDC Chairperson for Ward 44, Kuwadzana, Harare*, arrested on 24 January 2003, tortured and detained for four days before being released without charge.
- Ms Jane Chifamba, *Provincial Chair for Mashonaland East Women's Assembly*, arrested at her home on 19 January 2003 and held at Marondera Police Station for two days before being released without charge.

ANNEX 5

Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA)
Recorded Cases of Arrests and General Harassment of the Press in Zimbabwe
January and February 2003

- Norma Edwards, the editor of The Mirror, a Masvingo weekly newspaper, was arrested on 3 January 2003 and charged for contravening section 80 of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

Edwards was not charged for a story that appeared in the paper on 19 December 2002 regarding the arrests of National Constitutional Assembly activists in Masvingo.

- Fanuel Jongwe, a senior journalist with the Daily News was arrested on Friday 24 January together with five foreigners in the mining town of Zvinhavane. The five foreigners were working for the Lutheran World Federation, a Christian development organisation.

The group was charged with practising journalism without licences.

- Kenneth Gwabalanda Mathe, an official of the MDC, appeared at the Victoria Falls magistrate's court on Friday January 24 charged under section 12 (a) of the Public Order and Security Act for having given a comment to the Daily News.
- On January 29 Zimbabwean police detained Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi, the Daily News Chief Photographer and two American reporters for almost seven hours in Bulawayo. The journalists were covering Zimbabwe's food crisis when they were accused of unlawful entry into the Grain Marketing Board depot which they had visited.
- Pedzisayi Ruhanya, Deputy News Editor of the Daily News and freelance journalist Ish Mafundikwa were arrested on February 3 for allegedly obstructing police duties. They were covering the trial of opposition party Movement for Democratic Change leader Morgan Tsvangirai and two other senior members of the party.

Both Ruhanya and Mafundikwa were released after the Attorney General refused to prosecute them.

- On 20 February 2003 soldiers manning queues at Batanai Supermarket in Harare assaulted Daily News photographer Philimon Bulawayo after he took pictures of people queuing for basic commodities.
- On Sunday 16 February 2003, Financial Gazette sub-editor, Taugana Ndoro was assaulted by soldiers guarding Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's Mbare Studios. He was forced to roll on the tarmac and in a pool of mud.

ANNEX 6

Text of the Abuja agreement on Zimbabwe

Conclusions of the meeting of the Committee of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers on Zimbabwe, Abuja, Nigeria, 6 September 2001

1. The Meeting of the Committee of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers on Zimbabwe met in Abuja on 6 September 2001 at the invitation of HE Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Ministers from Canada, Jamaica, Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom, as well as the High Commissioner for Australia to the United Kingdom, representing the Australian Foreign Minister, and the Commonwealth Secretary-General attended. The Nigerian Foreign Minister, Sule Lamido, chaired the meeting.
2. The meeting recognised that as a result of historical injustices, the current land ownership and distribution needed to be rectified in a transparent and equitable manner. It also agreed on the following:
 - (a) Land is at the core of the crisis in Zimbabwe and cannot be separated from other issues of concern to the Commonwealth, such as the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and the economy. A programme of land reform is, therefore, crucial to the resolution of the problem;
 - (b) Such a programme of land reform must be implemented in a fair, just and sustainable manner, in the interest of all the people of Zimbabwe, within the law and constitution of Zimbabwe;
 - (c) The crisis in Zimbabwe also has political and rule of law implications, which must be addressed holistically and concurrently. The situation in Zimbabwe poses a threat to the socio-economic stability of the entire sub-region and the continent at large;
 - (d) The need to avoid a division within the Commonwealth, especially at the forthcoming CHOGM in Brisbane, Australia, over the situation in Zimbabwe; and
 - (e) The orderly implementation of the land reform can only be meaningful and sustainable, if carried out with due regard to human rights, rule of law, transparency and democratic principles. The commitment of the government of Zimbabwe is, therefore, crucial to this process.

The Way Forward

3. The committee recognises the need for the adoption of confidence-building measures to ensure the implementation of the conclusions of the meeting. In this regard, the meeting welcomed the assurances given by the Zimbabwe delegation as follows:

- (i) Commitment to the Harare Commonwealth Declaration and the Millbrook Commonwealth Action Programme on the Harare Declaration;
- (ii) There will be no further occupation of farm lands;
- (iii) To speed up the process by which farms that do not meet set criteria, are de-listed;
- (iv) For farms that are not designated, occupiers would be moved to legally acquired lands;
- (v) Acceleration of discussions with the UNDP, with a view to reaching agreement as quickly as possible;
- (vi) Commitment to restore the rule of law to the process of land reform programme;
- (vii) Commitment to freedom of expression as guaranteed by the Constitution of Zimbabwe and to take firm action against violence and intimidation; and
- (viii) Invitation by the Foreign Minister to the Committee to visit Zimbabwe.

4. The meeting agreed, in the overall context of the statement, that the way forward is for Zimbabwe's international partners:

- (a) to engage constructively with the UNDP and the government of Zimbabwe in pursuing an effective and sustainable land reform programme, on the basis of the UNDP proposals of December 2000;
- (b) to respond positively to any request from the government of Zimbabwe in support of the electoral process; and
- (c) to continue to contribute to poverty reduction programmes for the benefit of the people of Zimbabwe;

and that those partners present (Australia, Canada and United Kingdom), would actively pursue these objectives.

5. The meeting also welcomed the re-affirmation of the United Kingdom's commitment to a significant financial contribution to such a land reform programme and its undertaking to encourage other international donors to do the same.

Appreciation

6. The meeting expressed its profound gratitude and appreciation to President Olusegun Obasanjo for his continuing efforts at finding a durable solution to this problem. It also expressed gratitude to the Chairman, Foreign Minister Sule Lamido, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the proceedings. Lastly it expressed gratitude to the

Government and people of Nigeria for the hospitality and the conducive atmosphere provided for the meeting. The spirit of camaraderie, informality, honesty and forthrightness that was brought to bear on the proceedings of the meeting, was also recognised as being consistent with the best Commonwealth tradition.

7. Finally, the Committee agreed to convey to President Obasanjo its willingness to hold further consultations, if he so desires.

7 March 2003

File
fax to Kara Owen
- 10/3/03

Ok with some
minor amendments. To
do with as you
please!



London SW1A 2AH

DH
cc JLP
Press

Dear David,

David H 7/3 (20:25) → 44

Message from the Prime Minister on Commonwealth Day

Many Commonwealth Heads of Government will be marking Commonwealth Day on 10 March 2003 by making a short statement to highlight their country's commitment to the Commonwealth, its values, and the work it achieves.

... The Queen's Commonwealth Day message, which is read out at the Observance at Westminster Abbey, is given in her capacity as Head of the Commonwealth and not as Head of State. It would be entirely appropriate, therefore, for the Prime Minister to issue a short statement (draft enclosed) perhaps as a press release on Monday 10 March.

Cs ever

(Kara Owen)
Private Secretary

David Hallam Esq
10 Downing Street

DRAFT MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO MARK
COMMONWEALTH DAY 2003: "PARTNERS IN DEVELOPMENT"

Commonwealth Day is our opportunity to celebrate what brings us together and ^{to} take pride in being part of the Commonwealth of 54 member countries. This year's Commonwealth Day theme, "Partners in Development" applies as ~~much~~ to people in Britain ~~as it does~~ ^{and} to Commonwealth citizens around the world.

^{the} Commonwealth Day is an important reminder of how much ^{the} peoples ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{Commonwealth} have contributed to our national life and identity. Our diverse multi-cultural society has emerged largely through our Commonwealth heritage. Commonwealth citizens living in the UK are able to vote in general and local elections and add to the prosperity and fabric of our society.

It is vital that young people ^{are encouraged to} share the same enthusiasm for the Commonwealth that has helped it to move with the times and face the challenges of political and social change. In our schools, knowledge about the Commonwealth is a part of the national curriculum. This year Scotland will host the 15th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers in Edinburgh.

The Commonwealth is also about enjoyment. Last year Manchester hosted the biggest ever Commonwealth Games. The people who gave their time as volunteers, the sponsors and the athletes from all parts of the Commonwealth, all contributed to an occasion that was one of the highlights of the Queen's Jubilee.

When I meet the heads of Government of the Commonwealth in Nigeria in December, I will commit the United Kingdom to support further ~~the role we~~ ^{play} in the development of the Commonwealth of nations.

RESTRICTED - PERSONAL



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

File
m DSO mhor

From the Senior Policy Adviser

26 February 2003

Dear Kara,

Letter from John Howard to President Obasanjo

We have received in confidence from the Australians a copy of Prime Minister Howard's response to President Obasanjo for the personal attention of the Prime Minister. I am passing you a copy for the Foreign Secretary but I would be grateful if it was not copied further given the Australian request.

Yours ever,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Liz Lloyd'.

LIZ LLOYD

Kara Owen
FCO

RESTRICTED - PERSONAL



THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

AUSTRALIA HOUSE
LONDON

IN-CONFIDENCE

Monday 24 February 2003

The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair MP
Prime Minister
United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London

Dear Prime Minister

I have been asked to forward to you the following text of Mr Howard's 22 February 2003 reply to President Obasanjo's 10 February correspondence concerning the Commonwealth's role on Zimbabwe.

"My Dear President

Thank you for your letter of 10 February 2003 regarding Zimbabwe. While I am deeply grateful for your continuing personal engagement on the issue, I must confess to some surprise and concern at what you had to say.

Our mandate from the Coolom CHOGM was to take collective responsibility for determining appropriate Commonwealth action if the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG), led by Nigeria's General Abdulsalami Abubakar, reported negatively on the Zimbabwe presidential elections. In light of the unambiguously negative report we agreed to a specific programme of action at Marlborough House on 19 March 2002. We also undertook actively to promote its implementation, and foreshadowed collective revisitation of the one year suspension of Zimbabwe from Commonwealth Councils in light of progress made and objective reporting, including from the Secretary-General.

As I see it, the fundamental question is whether Zimbabwe has shown any concrete sign of responding to the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) report or to the various elements of our Marlborough House declaration. I have to say that the content of your letter strongly confirms my own judgment that it has not, and that therefore there are no objective grounds for agreeing any proposal to readmit Zimbabwe to the Councils of the Commonwealth.

IN CONFIDENCE

Australia's approach to the problems in Zimbabwe has always been motivated by our commitment to Commonwealth principles and democratic values. This underpinned our support for Zimbabwe's independence and freedom for its people, as well as for the restoration of democracy and human rights in Nigeria.

Your letter notes that your efforts jointly with our colleague President Mbeki to promote political reconciliation in Zimbabwe have not borne fruit. It is of course disappointing that a core element of the aspirations embodied in our Marlborough House declarations remains unresolved as a result of a withdrawal from talks by the Government of Zimbabwe. I agree with you that Zimbabweans of all parties need to enter into dialogue. But the government's insistence as a precondition on others first dropping a legal action broadly consistent with the Commonwealth's official findings seems counterproductive and inconsistent with its own legal pursuit of Mr Morgan Tsvangirai. The resulting artificial stalemate is surely unacceptable and inconsistent with any professed commitment to progress.

You correctly make mention of the disturbing case of the torture in Police custody of Mr. Job Sikhala, an MDC MP. As you know, this is but one of a number of recent well-documented incidents of ongoing human rights abuses, including police torture of members of the opposition. I agree with you that the Government of Zimbabwe must take the lead in stopping this reign of terror and violence. My point is that aside from assurances given bilaterally to you (the reliability and veracity of which is strongly contested by those on the ground, including Mr. Sikhala), the picture is one of continuing and possibly worsening abuse of human rights and the breakdown of the rule of law. This is not the sort of progress we in the Commonwealth usually welcome or reward.

Secondly, as you know, the Zimbabwe Government has consistently refused to meet or engage with our Secretary-General on implementation of the COG report's recommendations, notably on the management of future elections. This was another core element of our Marlborough House agreement.

While CHOGM mandated our role specifically in the context of the COG report and the political issues I have touched on, I was interested to note your suggestion that there has been good progress on Zimbabwe's land reform programme. In our Marlborough House statement we of course focussed on encouraging the existing processes which had been engaged under the Abuja Agreement and through the UNDP to promote transparent, equitable and sustainable land reform in Zimbabwe. I regret to tell you that all information

IN-CONFIDENCE

available to me indicates that the Zimbabwe Government refuses to discuss this programme with the UNDP and that, far from being complete, land confiscations continue. As you say in your letter, the Government of Zimbabwe now recognises that its programme has been characterised by corrupt and unsustainable practices, and that it has failed to deliver on previous promises. I believe that Commonwealth leaders will want to see concrete action to address these abuses before agreeing to readmit Zimbabwe to their Councils. The fact is we see no such action.

Regrettably, we do not currently appear to be at one within the Troika on the way ahead nor on undertaking the one year review to which we had committed. I therefore intend to write to you soon in my role as Chairman of the Troika, advising of the outcome of the Commonwealth Secretary-General's review of the situation, a review which in our March 2002 statement we commissioned him to make. In the absence of agreement among us, I would then write to all Commonwealth leaders. I believe this is the principled and proper course of action for us to take, consistent with Commonwealth procedures and with our shared desire to be clear as to the facts of the matter.

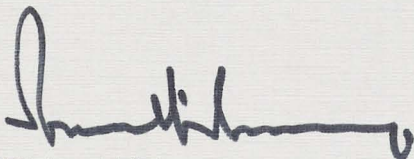
In closing, might I emphasise my concern that we be seen to be steadfast and consistent in defence of Commonwealth values. We need to be consistent in supporting the cause of democracy in Zimbabwe no less than elsewhere in Africa in the past. We also need to be consistent in treatment of members from different regions such as Pakistan and Fiji. This is a question of considerable sensitivity in the broader Commonwealth.

I have taken the liberty of copying this letter to our colleague President Mbeki and to Secretary-General McKinnon for their respective information.

Yours Sincerely

(John Howard)"

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Michael L'Estrange', with a stylized, flowing script.

Michael L'Estrange



THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

AUSTRALIA HOUSE
LONDON

IN-CONFIDENCE

24 February 2003

Sir David Manning
Chief Foreign Policy Adviser
Prime Minister's Office
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1A 2AA

Dear David,

Attached for the Prime Minister's personal information is the text of a letter from the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, to President Obasanjo concerning the situation in Zimbabwe. Given its sensitivity, I would be grateful if your possession of it is protected.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Michael'.

Michael L'Estrange



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

**SUBJECT
MASTER
Filed:**

THE PRIME MINISTER

17 December 2002

Dear Mr. Mahatma,

Thank you for your letter of 31 October concerning the funding of the CPTM.

As you are aware, an Intergovernmental Committee has been established, under the Chairmanship of Trinidad and Tobago and including UK and Malaysian participation, to review the activities of the ten Commonwealth organisations which were established at the request of Commonwealth governments for specific purposes. These organisations include the CPTM, the Commonwealth Business Council and the Commonwealth Science Council. Rather than pre-empt the findings of the Committee by committing to devote considerable resources to one organisation rather than others, I think we need to consider its report carefully and, of course, the funding implications.

Funding its operations is clearly a major challenge for the CPTM. It would appear that Government contributions derive mainly from Malaysia and the UK and, furthermore, that private sector contributions have failed to grow adequately. If the CPTM's tripartite approach is to have substance, however, then it needs to rely less on government subvention and persuade business of the value of its activities in the field of technology management. CPTM seems

gr

unable to convince major businesses that its activities add value to their own, notwithstanding the quality and commitment of partners from the developing world. This is a pity and something which the organisation needs to address to secure its financial future. Furthermore, I am not sure that CPTM becoming an investor in the London property market gives out the right signals to participating governments and other members.

I look forward with interest to reading the findings of the Intergovernmental Committee.

Yours ever,
Tony

His Excellency Dato Seri Dr Mahathir Bin Mohamad

Dr Mahathir Bin Mohamad
Prime Minister of Malaysia
Kuala Lumpur

① for PM via An.

**COMMONWEALTH PARTNERSHIP FOR TECHNOLOGY
MANAGEMENT (CPTM)**

Thank you for your letter of 31 October concerning the funding of the CPTM.

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I look forward with interest to reading the findings of the Intergovernmental Committee.

TONY BLAIR

✓ AM cc: DME
Mo

Private Office
pass to N° 10.

Tan Goham
SEAD

CT 95/02

7008 2242

The High Commission of Malaysia presents its compliments to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has the honour to forward herewith a copy of the letter from the Honourable Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, Prime Minister of Malaysia addressed to the Rt. Hon. Tony Blair, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain concerning the Commonwealth Partnership for Technology Management (CPTM).

The High Commission would highly appreciate if the Foreign and Commonwealth Office could forward the letter to its highest destination. The original copy will be forwarded once received.

The High Commission of Malaysia avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office the assurances of its highest consideration.

Malaysian High Commission
London

8 November 2002



FCU

please circulate
a reply from DTI
cc FCO + DfID.

Amey
18/11

PM/DTI / AM
cc FCO
DfID



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

AW Rend.

18/11/02

Malaysia

PM of

Date: 18/11/02

To: Margaret. H.

From: Ben Grover

Dept: DTI

No.10 Direct Communications

Cc: FCO/DFID

GTN 3580 Ext. 3236

REMEMBER IF YOU ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR A REPLY TO CO-ORDINATE WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS.

Please deal with the enclosed correspondence as:-

- ☒ PM reply
- ☐ No. 10 PS reply
- ☐ Dept. SoS reply
- ☐ Dept. Minister reply
- ☐ Dept. PS reply
- ☐ Suitable reply

PLEASE ENSURE YOU CHECK THE BACKGROUND, IS IT APPROPRIATE FOR THE PM, ONE OF HIS PSs OR EVEN YOUR OWN MINISTER TO REPLY?

- ☒ Return draft by email to xpsicorres@no10.gsi.net or by disc, before 02-12-02
- ☐ We do not need to see reply

Special instructions:

- ☒ Advice
- ☒ Message
- ☐ Note date

Thank you

JAN TAYLOR

Ministerial Checklist

Commissioning

Entered on database



Noted on Excel (PM/PA reply)



E-mailed to Dept(s)



Entered in Matrix



Any cc done



Ack printed



Draft returned

Print out draft



Update database



Update Excel spreadsheet



Save reply in ~~PA~~ folder



Save reply in Matrix



Complete MP reply coversheet





PRIME MINISTER
MALAYSIA

31 October 2002

The Rt Hon Tony Blair
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Northern Ireland
London

Dear Prime Minister,

As you are aware, the value of the various activities of The Commonwealth Partnership for Technology Management (CPTM) has been reaffirmed many times by Commonwealth Heads of Government, the most recent one being at CHOGM in Cooolum in Australia in March 2002. A number of us who meet regularly as Fellows of CPTM particularly during the Smart Partnership International Dialogues realise that CPTM is a major force for good in the Commonwealth and beyond. The dialogues provide an open platform for sharing experiences and exploring new ideas in national development, and understanding new global issues. The dialogues also offer unparalleled opportunities for Heads of Government to interact directly with the various groups of participants (government officials, business leaders, media, labour, young entrepreneurs) from all the participating countries giving valuable insights into matters concerning governance. In addition the dialogues provide excellent opportunities for business networking.

As Fellows we have always felt the need for strengthening the financial resources of CPTM which is currently dependent on voluntary contributions from a small number of Commonwealth countries and private companies. This subject was discussed during the Global 2001 International Dialogue in Uganda. My own concern in this matter led to a further discussion with H.E. President Museveni of Uganda in London in February 2002 during which we agreed to explore the establishment of an endowment fund for CPTM. This matter was reported to CHOGM in March 2002 by President Museveni.

During The Global 2002 Langkawi International Dialogue in August, the subject of an endowment fund was further discussed by the 12 Heads of Government and representatives who were present. Our conclusion was to raise a fund of around £11 million from both the government and private sector companies of countries supporting CPTM. This fund will be used to purchase a building in London which will yield at least a net return of £50,000 per month to cover CPTM running costs. It is envisaged that the participating governments will raise a major part of the required sum, while private sector companies will contribute the rest.



2

You will recall that the British Government has been a contributing member of CPTM since its inception, and at CHOGM 1997 you announced a doubling of the UK grant because of CPTM's outstanding performance. It would be fitting, therefore, if the UK Government were to announce a confirmation of its grant to CPTM, and would make a commitment to the Endowment Fund. You may be pleased to know that the fund will be invested in the UK, and by special request of our supporting Heads of Commonwealth Government, the property that we propose to purchase will be in London in the Westminster area.

It is now my pleasure to invite you on behalf of my colleagues, Heads of Government associated with CPTM, to participate in this endowment project and to contribute to the fund to be raised. We would welcome your indication of commitment as soon as possible, bearing in mind that your actual contribution will determine your country's proportion of ownership of the property, and that your country will benefit in the long run from capital gain on the said property.

The detailed structure of ownership and management of the endowment will be worked out once we have indication of your commitment. In the meantime, a special Endowment Account is being established. To assist you in your decision we enclose an Aide Memoire on the endowment project as well as a Transfer Authorisation Form.

I am also pleased to announce that my government will contribute a sum of £1 million towards the endowment and I will endeavour to bring in further contributions from private sector companies.

I look forward to your positive response and commitment soonest, upon which implementation action can proceed in earnest. There is urgency in the matter as it was decided to implement the project before Fellows of CPTM meet in Swaziland in August 2003 for the Global 2003 Smart Partnership Dialogue.

Yours sincerely,

DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD

RESTRICTED

28 November 2002



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

AW
CJB
DM
Pres
LL

Dear Anna,

Commonwealth Membership Criteria

President Bouteflika mentioned Commonwealth membership to the Prime Minister in the margins of WSSD in Johannesburg in August. He also referred publicly to his interest in joining during President Mbeki's recent visit to Algiers. The South African Ambassador in Algiers has told ours that Mbeki seemed to support an Algerian bid.

Bouteflika told our Ambassador in July that he admired the Commonwealth, suggesting it was a much better forum for settling disputes in a quiet and civilised way than either the African Union or the UN. He wanted to know more about the political functions of the Commonwealth and also the rationale behind the decision to allow Mozambique to join.

All member states of the Commonwealth - except Mozambique - have experienced direct or indirect British rule or have been linked administratively to another Commonwealth country. This has bequeathed to them similar systems of law, education and government, shared cultural traditions such as the use of English, and the sense of belonging to a family of nations. All Commonwealth countries accept HM The Queen as the symbol of their free association and Head of the Commonwealth.

At CHOGM in Auckland in 1995, South Africa wanted to give Mozambique some recognition for its efforts to bring about constitutional change in South Africa. With this support, all Commonwealth members decided, as an exceptional case, to accept Mozambique's application for membership by Mozambique. At CHOGM in Edinburgh in 1997, Heads of Government considered the criteria for Commonwealth membership. They agreed "that in order to become a member of the Commonwealth, an applicant country should, as a rule, have had a constitutional association with an existing Commonwealth member; that it should comply with Commonwealth values, principles and priorities as set out in the Harare Declaration; and that it should accept Commonwealth norms and conventions."

RESTRICTED



Algeria has no such historical link with the UK or any other commonwealth country. It has a better claim to membership of the Francophonie. Its difficult relationship with France since independence has precluded its membership. But at the recent Francophonie Summit in Beirut, the Algerians - who attended as observers - were making overtures to join, reflecting a warming of their relations with France over the last few years.

President Chirac was pleased with Algeria's participation, as the second largest francophone country in terms of population. Some are interpreting the Algerian Foreign Minister's recent references to the Commonwealth and the Organisation of Spanish Speaking Countries as a way of giving the Algerian Government cover for its entry into the Francophonie. For many Algerians this is still a sensitive issue. The Algerian press is sceptical about Algeria's membership of the Commonwealth for both historical and linguistic reasons. But President Bouteflika's interest in membership appears to be genuine.

We want to encourage the Algerians in their efforts to build democracy and a market economy. But it is difficult to see on what grounds Algerian membership of the Commonwealth could be considered under the present rules. A final decision on Algerian membership would, of course, be a matter for the Commonwealth as a whole.

...

I enclose a draft letter to Bouteflika should the Prime Minister wish to write.

Yours ever,

Patrick

(Patrick Davies)
Private Secretary

Ms Anna Wechsberg
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

**DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO
HE M ABDELAZIZ BOUTEFLIKA**

It was good to meet you again in Johannesburg at the World Summit on Sustainable Development. We have a mutual interest in ensuring NePAD is a success and I hope I was able to convey the strong commitment of the UK to the process.

We also touched on the Commonwealth. After Mozambique joined the organisation at the request of South Africa in 1995, members reviewed and restricted the criteria for membership. They agreed "that in order to become a member of the Commonwealth, an applicant country should, as a rule, have had a constitutional association with an existing Commonwealth member; that it should comply with Commonwealth values, principles and priorities as set out in the Harare Declaration; and that it should accept Commonwealth norms and conventions."

Without such an historical constitutional link with an existing Commonwealth member, it is likely that Algeria would find it difficult to secure a consensus in favour of its membership. But this would be a matter for the Commonwealth as a whole to consider.

I know you are keen to see how some of the values of the Commonwealth could be applied to the multilateral institutions to which Algeria belongs. If it would be helpful, we would be happy to explore with you and Commonwealth members the possibility of creating a link between the Commonwealth and the new African Union. On a working level, our officials either in Algiers or in London could brief yours on the Commonwealth and its areas of activities. A visit by an Algerian delegation to the Secretariat in London is also an option you may wish to consider. I hope these ideas will go some way to meeting your aspirations for a closer relationship with the Commonwealth.

I look forward to continuing to work with you on NePAD, the NATO-MED dialogue and the Barcelona Process.

*[John Gillan
Commonwealth Coordination Department
020 7008 2936]*

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File



AW
cc DM
JPO
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press

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

HE Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

15 October 2002

Dear Prime Minister

I was appalled to learn of the tragedy in Bali last Saturday night. You may have seen my statement on this atrocity - I enclose a copy in case you have not. I thought I should write, nevertheless, to convey my deepest sympathy and solidarity at the large number of British citizens who were killed. The loss of so many innocent lives is terribly shocking and I would also wish to convey, through you, my condolences to the bereaved families.

Needless to say, the grim events in Bali must strengthen further our collective resolve to combat and defeat the forces of terror.

Sincerely

Don McKinnon

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain & Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

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COMMONWEALTH

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TONG
TRINIDAD AND TOBAG
TUVALU
UGANDA
UNITED KINGDOM
UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
VANUAT
ZAMBIA
ZIMBABWE*

02/76

14 October 2002

Commonwealth Secretary-General condemns Bali terrorist killings

Commonwealth Secretary-General Don McKinnon today condemned the terrorist attacks on the Indonesian island of Bali on Saturday.

"These cowardly and abhorrent actions violate our common humanity. The lives and livelihoods of many innocent people have been destroyed. My heart goes out to the families of all the victims, many of whom are Commonwealth citizens.

"These bombings will only strengthen the resolve of Commonwealth leaders to combat all forms of terrorism.

"Commonwealth countries have all committed themselves to implement the Commonwealth Action Plan on Terrorism endorsed by leaders in Coolum in March 2002 and Law Ministers will be examining the issue of terrorism when they meet in November.

"We will continue our efforts to cut the sources of funding for terrorists and those who support them and to assist our member countries to fulfil their international obligations in fighting terrorism, including those detailed in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373."

Note to Editors:

In November 2001, the Commonwealth Secretary-General constituted a Commonwealth Committee on Terrorism (CCT) comprising ministers from Australia, The Bahamas, Canada, India, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tonga, the United Kingdom and the United Republic of Tanzania.

At their meeting in Coolum in March 2002, Commonwealth Heads of Government welcomed the report of the CCT and adopted a Commonwealth Plan of Action on Terrorism.

ISSUED BY THE COMMUNICATIONS & PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIVISION

Commonwealth Secretariat Marlborough House Pall Mall London SW1Y 5HX
United Kingdom

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E-mail: info@commonwealth.int Web Site: <http://www.thecommonwealth.org>

* These countries are currently suspended from the councils of the Commonwealth



COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

12/22/10

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cc: DM
CC
pen

Circular Letter No. 33 / 2002

7 October 2002

I would be grateful if the following message could be conveyed to your Head of Government by the speediest mean possible:

Begins

You will recall that I wrote to you on 22 July 2002 regarding the proposal from the Government of Nigeria that the next Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) take place in Abuja from 5 to 8 December 2003.

I am now writing to advise that no Commonwealth Government has objected to the proposed dates. It is therefore confirmed that CHOGM will take place from Friday, 5 December to Monday, 8 December 2003, in Abuja, Nigeria. The Government of Nigeria and the Commonwealth Secretariat will shortly make a public announcement of the dates and venue of the Meeting.

In keeping with the broad mandates arising from the Coolum CHOGM and based on a proposal from the Government of Nigeria, the proposed theme of the 2003 CHOGM is: *'Development and Democracy: Partnership for Peace and Prosperity'*. My recent consultations with some Leaders indicate that the next CHOGM offers a fresh opportunity for Heads of Government to reflect on the important issues of partnership, cooperation and development with renewed emphasis and commitment.

...(2)

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May I also take this opportunity to inform you that in keeping with the format of your previous Meeting, which was commended for the future, the Abuja CHOGM will combine the Executive Sessions and the Retreat in the same location (Abuja), thereby minimising the travel of Heads of Government and accompanying spouses, and giving them more time to interact with one another informally.

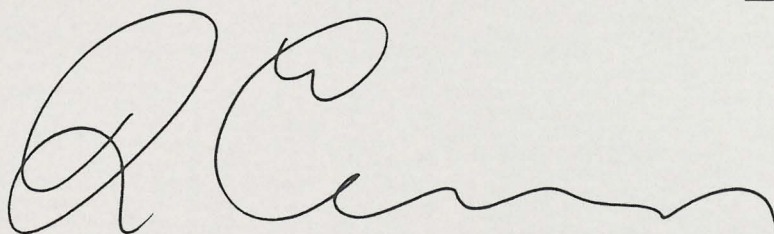
The one-day meeting of the CHOGM Committee of the Whole (COW), which discusses functional co-operation issues and reports thereon to CHOGM, will take place in London about a month before CHOGM. The Senior Officials Meeting (SOM), which approves the CHOGM agenda and timetable, will also take place in London the same day. A date for these meetings will be indicated in due course.

I will be writing to you early next year with my initial thoughts on the agenda for the Meeting.

With best regards,

Don McKinnon

Ends

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Don McKinnon', with a large, stylized initial 'D' and a long, flowing horizontal stroke at the end.

Don McKinnon



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

File to

ccfo

92372

13 September 2002

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Ian,

Thank you for your further letter of 19 July about NEPAD which you also copied to Valerie Amos.

I know that Valerie is following up the points you have raised.

Yours ever,
Tony

His Excellency The Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

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1. cc Pakist. Sec. Gen. Res
2. Ltr.



Top: FA/PS (MR)

✓ COS
FA/PS
FA/PS (AW) ok
Press (DP)

COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARY-GENERAL

H E Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

Circular Letter No.29/2002

Mc's 20/9
12 September 2002

**Commonwealth Observer Group
Pakistan National and Provincial Assembly Elections
10 October 2002**

I would be grateful if you could arrange to have the following message transmitted to your Head of Government:

Begins

I have received invitations from the Government and Election Commission of Pakistan to send Commonwealth Observers for the National and Provincial Assembly Elections, which are scheduled to be held on 10 October 2002.

In keeping with established practice and the *Guidelines for the Establishment of Commonwealth Groups to Observe Elections in Member Countries* (agreed by Heads of Government in Harare in 1991), I sent an Assessment Mission to Pakistan in April. Following consultations with representatives of the main political parties and others the mission confirmed that there would be broad support for the presence of Commonwealth Observers and that the Observer Group will have free and open access to polling places and counting stations and that it will be free generally to pursue its mandate. I therefore decided to constitute a Commonwealth Observer Group.

The Group will consist of twenty-three eminent Commonwealth citizens. Those who have confirmed their membership of the Group at present are as follows, in alphabetical order:

- Dato' Tan Sri Musa bin Hitam (Chair)
Former Deputy Prime Minister
Malaysia

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e-mail: secretary-general@commonwealth.int Web site: www.the commonwealth.org

SKP 20/9/02

- Dr D N Acha-Morfaw
Vice-President
National Elections Observatory
Cameroon
- Mr Mohamed Mokhtar bin Ahmad
State Election Officer for Penang
Malaysia
- Mr Richard Bourne
Chair of the Trustee Committee of the Commonwealth Human
Rights Initiative and Head of the Commonwealth Policy
Studies Unit of the University of London, United Kingdom
- Mr Hugh Cholmondeley
Former senior United Nations official
Guyana
- Professor Dilara Choudhury
Professor of Political Science, Jahangirnagar University
Bangladesh
- Mr David Connolly AM
Former Parliamentarian and High Commissioner to South Africa
Australia
- Dr Nemata Eshun-Baiden
Former Chairperson, 50/50 Group
Sierra Leone
- Mr Hugh Garland
Deputy Chief Election Officer
New Zealand
- Mr Charles Gregoire
Vice-President, Caribbean Association of Local Government
Authorities and Chair, Local Government Association,
Dominica
- Mr Selwyn Jones
Supervisor of Elections
St Vincent and the Grenadines
- Mr M M Rezaul Karim
Former High Commissioner and Secretary to Government
Bangladesh

- Hon Douglas Kidd
Former Speaker and Minister
New Zealand
- Ms Veronic Kofie
Head of International Affairs
Trade Union Council
Ghana
- Mr R I C Kuruppu
Consultant to the Department of Elections
Sri Lanka
- Hon Leroy H McClean
Senator
Barbados
- Ms Michelle Meredith
Former President of 'Women in Business'
Samoa
- Dr Helen Nkandi-Shiimi
Vice-President of the African Union of Local Authorities and
President of the Association for Local Authorities
Namibia
- Mr Joe Billy Oge
Interim Chairman
National Youth Council
Solomon Islands
- Ms Diana Organ MP
Member of Parliament
United Kingdom
- Mr M I Abdool Rahman
Electoral Commissioner
Mauritius
- Mr Walter Rigamoto
Supervisor of Elections
Fiji Islands

We are currently awaiting confirmation from one further eminent person.

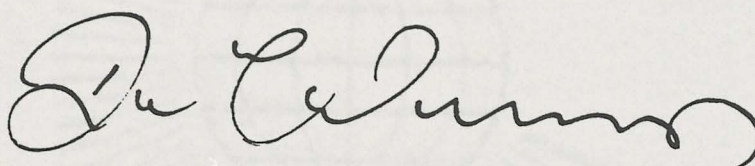
The observers have been invited in their individual capacities and the views they express regarding the elections will be their own and not those either of their respective Governments or of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The Observer Group will be supported by a Commonwealth Secretariat Support Team of ten officials led by Mr Jon Sheppard, Director of the Political Affairs Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Three members of the Group and a member of the Secretariat Support Team have been present in Pakistan since 9 September and will deploy today as an 'Advance Group' of Observers and report to the rest of the Observers on their arrival in Pakistan on 28 September.

The Observer Group will submit its report to me on completion of its assignment. I will then transmit this to the Government of Pakistan, the Chief Election Commissioner and the principal parties concerned. As usual, I will thereafter circulate copies to all Commonwealth governments.

Ends

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Don McKinnon', with a stylized, flowing script.

Don McKinnon

OCO Do you have pp's? N/T in GR.

R2818

152049

28 August 2002



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Jan

NEPAD: Letter to PM from Commonwealth Secretary General

The Commonwealth Secretary General wrote to the Prime Minister on 19 July. You asked whether the Prime Minister should reply or whether the letter should simply be acknowledged.

Our advice, agreed with DFID, is that the letter should be acknowledged. A copy was also sent to Baroness Amos who has asked officials to follow up on the Commonwealth Secretariat's plans to support NEPAD.

I am copying this letter to Anna Bewes (DFID).

Your ever
Simon

(Simon McDonald)
Principal Private Secretary

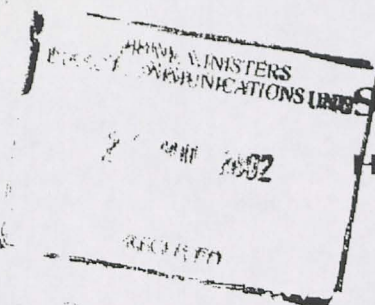
Ms Jan Taylor
10 Downing Street



**COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARY-GENERAL**

THE Rt Hon Donald C McKinnon

19 July 2002



Dear Prime Minister

Thank you very much for your letter to me of 24 June 2002 in response to mine to you of 23 May on the eve of the G8 Summit in Kananaskis.

Your letter raises many important substantive points, which I have asked my officials to take up separately with their counterparts. I write to you at this juncture specifically on the issue of the New Partnership for African's Development (NEPAD) since my very recent return from the Durban OAU Summit which saw the launch of the African Union (AU) and much discussion of NEPAD, and some time since your successful Kananaskis G8 Summit at which NEPAD was a also key focus.

As regards the outcome of Kananaskis, I must at the outset praise you for your leadership within that fora to ensure Africa maintained a profile, and also the hard work of your G8 sherpa, Baroness Amos, whose efforts went into creating a most comprehensive G8 Action Plan for Africa.

I met with Commonwealth African High Commissioners on the closing day of the G8 Summit to ensure I was apprised of their sentiment before going to the OAU Summit. All were resolute in their praise for the leadership shown by the Commonwealth G8 members – the United Kingdom and Canada. And also for South Africa and Nigeria.

I also discerned a feeling that it would have been most helpful if the G8 had 'front-loaded' more goodwill in their approach to NEPAD, even though the extensive agreed commitments are impressive. Also of great significance is the decision to extend the mandates of sherpas for an additional year and the agreement to monitor progress at your next G8 meeting. Leaders are concerned, nevertheless, that capacity strapped Africa needs much technical assistance to now transform those commitments into implementable, costed, and time-bound programmes. This will come I am sure, however a clear announcement of this sort of an initiative at Kananaskis may have helped underpin with confidence the strong framework provided by the G8 Action Plan for Africa. Especially at a time when the world is weary of good promises alone.

In addition, and this is a linked concern, there did not seem to be a clear process or benchmarks through which the G8 Action Plan for Africa/NEPAD would be realised. My statement made after Kananaskis sought to reflect these concerns.

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP

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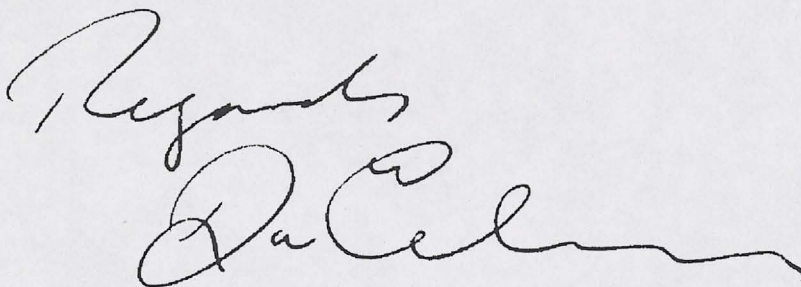
The G8 Action Plan for Africa now needs to be seen as a beginning not an end point. It appears crucial for both Africa and individual G8 countries to move quickly to positively underpin the initiative with substantive action. To ensure it is bolstered by 'quick runs' on the board.

Having just returned from the launch of the new Africa Union in Durban, I am greatly encouraged to see that this is happening. Heads of Government I spoke with evinced a strong commitment to see NEPAD deliver for Africa. The AU considered the report of the NEPAD Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee. The NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance has been adopted. A NEPAD African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has been established to see implementation of the Declaration. These are all positive developments.

And the G8 are moving too. It is common knowledge that the United Kingdom has been a champion of Africa. Your efforts have contributed to its rise in the consciousness of the West, for which you deserve much praise. The fact that President Chirac has committed the G8 to evaluate progress in implementing the G8 Africa Action Plan when it meets next year in France will I hope be a prompting factor for much substantive action to be taken before that meeting by both the G8 and Africa. In addition the extension of sherpas' mandates for another year should help ensure the G8 Action Plan does deliver. Your continued leadership will help this process.

The Commonwealth, spanning as it does both G8 and African country members, is well placed to lend its support to NEPAD. At our recent governance meetings Commonwealth governments underscored the importance they attach to NEPAD by directing the Secretariat to orientate our development work in Africa to support the NEPAD initiative. This is now without a doubt one of my top priorities and I invite the United Kingdom to consider how it might wish to utilise the Commonwealth to this end. Given their leadership in the NEPAD/G8 process to date, I will also be writing to Canada, South Africa and Nigeria to ascertain their views.

I look forward to hearing from you.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Don McKinnon', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Don McKinnon

The Rt Hon Tony Blair, MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain & Northern Ireland
10 Downing Street, London SW1

cc: Baroness Valerie Amos
Minister for Commonwealth Affairs
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Downing Street, London SW1A 2AL

21 May 2002



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office

London SW1A 2AH

Dear Anna,

AW
✓ DM
AA
PI
C-R

Commonwealth Study Conference

... Allan Bridgewater, Chairman of the Commonwealth Study Conference Liaison Group, wrote to the Prime Minister on 28 February about the next Study Conference in Australia in October 2003. I enclose a short draft PS reply.

The Duke of Edinburgh initiated the first Study Conference in 1956. Its aim was to allow 16 representatives from industry and the trade unions of member countries to work in close proximity for a period of two weeks. They were selected as potential future leaders, then in their 30s. During the Conference, they exchanged information and experiences and reported to the Duke at the end of the Conference.

The format has developed over the years. It now also involves representatives of civil society, academia and government. Different Commonwealth countries host the conference every six years, inviting 200 participants, divided into 15 teams, to undertake a programme of visits and discussions highlighting the diversity and complexity of modern industrial society. The participants continue to present their findings to the Duke of Edinburgh, who responds in person. The Duke of Kent is the current President of the Trustees.

The Liaison Group is a voluntary one. Nick Sanders, Director, Higher Education, Department for Education and Skills is the UK's representative on the Group. It is not supported by UK public funds.

Yours ever,
Patrick

Patrick Davies
Private Secretary

Ms Anna Wechsberg
10 Downing Street

1010 P.02

Draft letter to Alan Bridgewater CBE

XX May 2002

Alan Bridgewater Esq, CBE
Chairman
Commonwealth Study Liaison Group
C/o Swiss Re GB plc
Tower 42
International Finance Centre
Old Broad Street
London EC2N 1HQ



Thank you for your letter to the Prime Minister of 28 February about the 2003 Commonwealth Study Group's next conference in Australia and New Zealand.

The Group's conferences have a proven track record. I am sure the 2003 event will be of great value to the participants and will contribute to better understanding between countries of the Commonwealth.

I wish the event every success.

Anna Wechsberg
Private Secretary

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