

CONFIDENTIAL

TO ALL HEADS OF DELEGATION

I promised last night to circulate an 'outline declaration' on international security for consideration at Goa. It is attached. If broadly acceptable, I will have fleshed out paragraphs which we might then look at.

If we can settle this "declaration" at Goa and some communique paragraphs on Grenada as well the processes of this Meeting would have been greatly assisted. I will try to produce some Grenada paragraphs at Goa.

'Sonny'

New Delhi  
25 November, 1983



## OUTLINE FOR DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. Shared sense of crisis.. Apprehension about state of world order. Despite differences of approach, common perception that super power confrontation is assuming new and menacing dimensions. Danger of complete breakdown in communication between antagonists. Build up of nuclear arsenals threatens human annihilation.
2. General breakdown of stability and order in international community and increasing disregard of moral and legal principles which should govern conduct of states.
3. First objective is resumption of genuine political dialogue between super powers so as to lead to relaxation of tension.
4. Need to increase human contacts and political confidence-building measures at various levels of governments and peoples.
5. Importance of political will recognised and emphasised by all. Prime Minister Trudeau's call for new political dimension to international security welcomed. Support for his approach that more effective dialogue must take place among nuclear weapon powers.

*It's the Soviets that have walked out.*



6. Pre-condition of progress on de-nuclearisation world-wide is halting and reversal of nuclear arms race between super powers. The link between disarmament and development is also relevant.

7. Crisis of confidence in multilateral approach to international affairs. Renewal of support for United Nations. Importance of taking carefully considered and practical measures to make organisation better able to fulfill objectives of Charter.

8. Concern at vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference. These countries though unable to defend themselves are members of international community which has obligation to provide effective guarantees for their territorial integrity and independence. Consideration should be given to appropriate action responsive to the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter.

*— Note required by  
Commonwealth Secretariat.*

9. The ethic of non-violence is at the heart of ensuring peace and harmony in the world and of pursuing conflict resolution through adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement and the non-use of force.



Mr Coles

These are the texts of the passages for the Communique on Grenada & Cyprus which were agreed in Goa by Heads of Government.

As I told Mr Butler on the telephone, I think that the one on Grenada is very good indeed. The one on Cyprus will upset the Turks, I fear, since Cypriotes has succeeded in hitching up the language of the Security Council resolution quite considerably.

I think we shall just have to tell the Turks that our position is based on our resolution - & that the Commonwealth meeting is a very different forum.

John King Ireland 26  
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DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

GRENADA

1. Commonwealth leaders discussed recent events in Grenada which have caused such deep disquiet among them, and in the wider international community, and on which most of them had already expressed their views at the United Nations. They re-affirmed their commitment to the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for the strict observation of these principles. They recorded their profound regret over the tragic loss of life in Grenada.
2. Heads of Government agreed, however, that the emphasis should now be on re-construction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an Interim Sovereign Administration in Grenada, looked forward to its functioning free of external interference or pressure and noted its intention to hold, as early as possible, elections which would be seen by the international community to be free and fair. On this basis and in the context of the prompt withdrawal of foreign military forces from Grenada at the instance of the Interim Administration and the readiness of the countries of the Caribbean community to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Grenada if so requested by that administration, Commonwealth leaders confirmed their readiness to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from the Island State. In doing so, they stressed the importance they attached to an early return <sup>by</sup> to Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean to the spirit of fraternity and co-operation that had been so characteristic of the Region.
3. Time and again in their discussions, Commonwealth leaders were recalled to the special needs of small States, not only in the



Caribbean, but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They recognised that the Commonwealth itself had given some attention to these needs in the context of economic development, but felt that the matter deserved consideration on a wider basis, including that of national security. Recalling the particular dangers faced in the past by small Commonwealth countries, they requested the Secretary General to undertake a study, drawing as necessary on the resources and experience of Commonwealth countries, of the special needs of such States consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they shared with all nations.

## CYPRUS

1. Heads of Government condemned the Declaration by Turkish Cypriot Authorities issued on 15 November 1983 to create a Secessionist State in Northern Cyprus in the area under foreign occupation. Fully endorsing Security Council Resolution 541 they denounced the Declaration as legally invalid, and reiterated the call for its non-recognition and immediate withdrawal. They further called upon all States not to facilitate or in any way assist the illegal Secessionist entity. They regarded this illegal act as a challenge to the international community and demanded the implementation of the relevant UN Resolution of Cyprus.

2. At this critical moment for a member country of the Commonwealth, Heads of Government reaffirming their Lusaka and Melbourne Communiques and recalling the relevant Security Council Resolutions pledged their renewed support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, and in this respect they expressed their solidarity with their colleague, the President of Cyprus.

3. They agreed to establish a special Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus at high level to assist in securing compliance with Security Council Resolution 541. The Group would consist of the following five countries together with the Secretary General: Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

5. Finally, they urged all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might further exacerbate the situation.



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CONFIDENTIAL

TO ALL HEADS OF DELEGATION

I circulate herewith revised draft communique paragraphs on Grenada. They are the result of the consultations requested by you. Those involved were the Heads of Delegation of Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, Zimbabwe, and myself.

The revised draft paragraphs have their unanimous agreement and they commend them for your acceptance without further ammendment - as do I.

Sonny

Goa

26 November 1983



DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

Grenada

Commonwealth leaders discussed recent events in Grenada which have caused such deep disquiet among them and in the wider international community, and on which most of them had already expressed their views at the United Nations. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for the strict observance of these principles. They recorded their profound regret over the tragic loss of life in Grenada.

Heads of Government agreed, however, that the emphasis should now be on reconstruction, not recrimination. They welcomed the establishment of an interim civilian administration in Grenada. <sup>They</sup> looked forward to its functioning free of external interference, <sup>or pressure, or the presence of foreign military forces</sup> and noted its intention to hold, as early as possible, elections which would be seen by the international community to be free and fair. On this basis, ~~and in the context of the prompt withdrawal of foreign military forces from Grenada at the instance of the Interim Administration~~ <sup>given</sup> and the readiness of the countries of the Caribbean Community to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Grenada if so requested by that Administration, Commonwealth leaders confirmed their readiness to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from the island state. In doing so, they stressed the importance they attached to an early return of Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean to the spirit of fraternity and co-operation that had been so characteristic of the region.



Time and again in their discussions, Commonwealth leaders were recalled to the special needs of small states, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They recognised that the Commonwealth itself had given some attention to these needs in the context of economic development but felt that the matter deserved consideration on a wider basis, including that of national security. Recalling the particular dangers faced in the past by small Commonwealth countries, they requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study, drawing as necessary on the resources and experience of Commonwealth countries, of the special needs of such states consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they shared with all nations.



DRAFT COMMUNIQUE PARAGRAPHS

Cyprus

Heads of Government condemned the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities issued on 15 November 1983 to create a secessionist state in Northern Cyprus, in the area under foreign occupation. Fully endorsing Security Council Resolution 541, they denounced the declaration as legally invalid and reiterated the call for its non-recognition and immediate withdrawal. They further called upon all states not to facilitate or in any way assist the illegal secessionist entity. They regarded this illegal act as a challenge to the international community and demanded the implementation of the relevant UN Resolutions on Cyprus.

At this critical moment for a member country of the Commonwealth, Heads of Government, reaffirming their Lusaka and Melbourne Communiques and recalling the relevant Security Council resolutions, pledged their renewed support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; and in this respect, they expressed their solidarity with their colleague the President of Cyprus.

They agreed to establish a special Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus at high level to assist in securing compliance with Security Council Resolution 541. The Group would consist of the following five countries, together with the Secretary-General: Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria and Zambia.



Finally, they urged all states and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might further exacerbate the situation.



CONFIDENTIAL

TO ALL HEADS OF DELEGATION

Further to the 'outline declaration' on international security which I circulated in New Delhi, I attach a 'fleshed out' version of the declaration for your additional consideration in Goa. I also attach draft paragraphs for the communique on Cyprus and Grenada which have been taken out of the Communique Committee in New Delhi and left for consideration by Heads of Government directly.

The draft paragraphs on Grenada, in particular, seek to follow our tradition of trying to find consensus through conciliation while respecting strongly held views.

Sonny

Goa  
26 November 1984



① Commonwealth Conference  
with immediate  
GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

② Canadian's 5-point column  
Anderson Reagan Summit

Representing as we do a third of the world's people from every (continent and many regions, we share a sense of crisis as we meet together in New Delhi at the end of 1983. We are all deeply troubled and apprehensive about the state of the world. Despite differences of approach which affect the way we analyse and judge events, it is our common perception that super-power confrontation is assuming new and menacing dimensions. As antagonisms deepen, the danger increases that communication between them could break down completely. In the context of a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, human beings in vast numbers could face the grim prospect of annihilation. None of our countries or peoples would be insulated from that fate.

2. Simultaneously, the world is threatened with a general break-down of order in the international community. We are alarmed by the increasing evidence of a willingness to disregard the moral and legal principles which should govern the conduct of states; by the degree to which the ethic of peaceful settlement of disputes is being eroded and by the readiness of nations to resort to the illegal use of force. Subventor

3. At this time of crisis, we believe to be imperative that the Soviet Union and the United States should summon up the political vision of a world in which their nations can live in peace. Their first objective must be to work for the resumption of a genuine political dialogue between themselves so as to lead to a relaxation of tensions. We believe that Commonwealth Governments can make a practical contribution in encouraging them to do so and in promoting a larger measure of international understanding than now exists.



4. Essential to that enlargement of understanding is the need to increase contacts at a variety of levels between the governments and peoples of East and West. A concerted effort is required to restore to the conduct of East-West relations the basic elements of dialogue ? if a climate of confidence is to be rebuilt in place of the prevailing one of fear and mistrust.

5. In all these pursuits we emphasise the supreme importance of political will. We therefore welcome Prime Minister Trudeau's call for a new political dimension in the quest for international security. We support his efforts to restore active political contact and communication among the nuclear weapon powers, and } would be willing to help those efforts in all appropriate } ways. ?

6. We regard the stopping and reversal of the nuclear arms race between the super-powers as a pre-condition for progress in working towards a world released from the menace of nuclear weapons. Because the questions of disarmament and development are so closely linked, that release could bring manifold gains. If the benefits from a reduction in both nuclear and conventional armaments were ploughed back in some measure into world development, the needs of the developing countries which are in the forefront of our concern could be significantly met.

7. A crisis of confidence also affects the capacity of international institutions to play an effective role in world affairs. Rejecting that negative trend, we pledge our renewed support for the United Nations and reiterate our belief in the principles enshrined in its Charter.



There is, in our view, a need to take carefully considered and practical steps to improve the capacity of the United Nations to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

8. We are particularly concerned at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs. These countries, though unable to defend themselves, are members of the international community which has, at the very least, a moral obligation to provide effectively for their territorial integrity and independence. We have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues. Additionally, however, we will assist in helping the international community to make an appropriate response to the UN Secretary-General's call for a strengthening of collective security in keeping with the Charter.

9. We cannot emphasise too strongly our belief that an ethic of non-violence must be at the heart of all efforts to ensure peace and harmony in the world. That ethic requires that the resolution of any conflict must start with the renunciation of force in the search for a peaceful settlement. Only by commitment and adherence to it on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security.

10. Finally, we do not despair, however dark and menacing the prospect. We retain faith in human capacity to overcome the dangers and difficulties that threaten and to secure a more peaceful, just and habitable world.



Mr. Cummings

Peter Dunder



DRAFT COMMUNIQUE

Grenada

Commonwealth leaders discussed recent events in Grenada which had caused such deep disquiet among them and in the wider international community, and on which most of them had already expressed their views at the United Nations. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and called for the strict observance of these principles in respect of Grenada. They recorded their profound regret over the tragic <sup>loss of life in Grenada.</sup> death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Heads of Government agreed, however, that the emphasis now should be on <sup>reconciliation</sup> recuperation, not recrimination. They <sup>welcomed</sup> noted the establishment of an interim civilian administration in Grenada, <sup>looked forward to its functioning free of</sup> external interference or pressure, <sup>and urged the holding,</sup> as early as possible, of elections which would be seen by the international community to be free and fair. On this basis, and in the context of the prompt withdrawal of <sup>at the instance of the interim administration</sup> foreign military forces from Grenada, Commonwealth leaders confirmed their readiness to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from the island state. In doing so, they stressed the importance they attached to an early return of Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean to the spirit of fraternity and co-operation that had been so characteristic of the region. <sup>and the readiness of the countries of the Caribbean Community to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Grenada if so requested by that Administration</sup>

Chambers for next print

Time and again in their discussions, Commonwealth leaders were recalled to the special needs of small states, not only in the Caribbean but elsewhere in the Commonwealth. They recognised that the Commonwealth itself had given some



attention to these needs in the context of economic development but felt that the matter deserved consideration on a wider basis, including that of national security. Recalling the particular dangers faced in the past by small Commonwealth countries, they requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study, drawing as necessary on the resources and experience of Commonwealth countries, of the special needs of such states consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they shared with all nations.

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JOHN

Brian Fall rang to say that it is possible that Forbes Burnham may seek to have a chat to the PM (although not necessarily a bilateral - maybe a private word over coffee) about what really happened in Grenada.

He thought you may want to mull this over in your mind.

Janice

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