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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 929 OF 28 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS (FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY)

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY FOR PS/PRIME MINISTER AND PUS

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Lee Foreign Pol: East West relations

RECEIVED
 DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
 CH. SECRETARY
 29 NOV 1983
 DUPLICATES

OF LETTER
 OF ENCLOSURES
 LOCATION

✓ Prime Minster.

Agree this line?

A-S-C-29/11

GOA DECLARATION: EAST/WEST AND ARMS CONTROL

1. SUBJECT TO THE VIEWS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN BRUSSELS, AND WITH AN EYE ON POSSIBLE REACTIONS IN WASHINGTON. WE PROPOSE THAT THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE SHOULD TAKE THE FOLLOWING LINE IF QUESTIONED ABOUT THE GOA DECLARATION IN THE HOUSE ON 29 NOVEMBER. THIS WOULD ALSO SERVE AS GUIDANCE TO FCO NEWS DEPT IN RESPONDING TO PRESS ENQUIRIES.

POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

2. THE PRIME MINISTER HAS MADE CLEAR IN A NUMBER OF SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS, FOR EXAMPLE IN HER GUILDHALL SPEECH ON 14 NOVEMBER, THAT HMG WANT A BETTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND ARE READY TO PURSUE A SENSIBLE DIALOGUE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE PRIME MINISTER HERSELF HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO VISIT HUNGARY EARLY NEXT YEAR. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF DIALOGUE FOR ITS OWN SAKE. THE POINT IS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND TO RESTORE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. THAT IS ALSO THE MESSAGE OF THE GOA DECLARATION.

IS THIS A TIME OF CRISIS?

3. CERTAINLY TRUE THAT THE PRESENT STATE OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS IS A MATTER FOR SERIOUS CONCERN. MANY ASPECTS OF THIS, INCLUDING A SOVIET MILITARY BUILD UP, INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, POLAND AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS NECESSARY TO DEAL COOLLY AND AS CONSTRUCTIVELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THE INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS ON THE AGENDA. BUT SUCCESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE WEST ALONE. PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE SOVIET RESPONSE. THE SOVIET WALK-OUT FROM GENEVA IS A STEP IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.

MR TRUDEAU'S INITIATIVE

4. WE FULLY SHARE HIS BELIEF IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS. BUT, AS HE KNOWS, WE HAVE SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE PRACTICALITY OF SOME OF HIS SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS.

FIVE POWER NEGOTIATIONS (IF PRESSED)

5. SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PREMATURE AT THIS STAGE. THE FIRST PRIORITY MUST BE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO NEGOTIATE REDUCTIONS IN THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS. WE THEREFORE REGARD IT AS ESSENTIAL THAT THE RUSSIANS SHOULD SOON RETURN TO THE INF TALKS AND THAT THEY SHOULD NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN THE START TALKS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO LONDON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 979 OF 29 NOVEMBER 1983

INFO IMMEDIATE UKREP BRUSSELS

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER.
YOUR TELNO 929 : GOA DECLARATION.

THE PRIME MINISTER IS CONTENT WITH THE LINE PROPOSED IN YOUR
TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE.

WADE-GERY

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OUTLINE FOR DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. Shared sense of crisis.. Apprehension about state of world order. Despite differences of approach, common perception that ^{powerful / nuclear} 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.

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.

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.

PRIME MINISTER

"The New Delhi Declaration on International Security"

I dictated to New Delhi the draft which you are to discuss this morning and Sir Antony Acland and Sir Robert Armstrong have been carefully through it.

They have suggested some specific amendments which I have marked on the attached copy; and they have made the following general points:

- (i) This version is better than previous ones, particularly on the British deterrent and what is said on that aspect in this version does not cause them any worries.
- (ii) But the general tone of the statement is still too alarmist, particularly in the opening paragraph.
- (iii) The draft is still too critical of the US and NATO; and suggested amendments to the second sentence of paragraph 1 does something to correct that.
- (iv) There could still be more reference to the threat of subversion, but they welcome the reference to "interference" as well as "external attack" in para 8.
- (v) As a general point, as the statement is revised, you will want to keep at the fore-front of your mind how the result will look in the House of Commons and the British press in relation to the line you have taken on these matters in your statements and speeches.

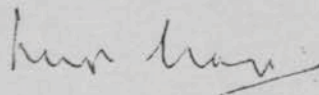
F.R.B.

27 November 1983

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
NEW DELHI 1983

FOR THE INFORMATION OF DELEGATIONS

... Attached for your information is the GOA DECLARATION
ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY agreed by Heads of Government at
their weekend Retreat and released in Goa yesterday,
27 November 1983.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

28 November 1983

THE GOA DECLARATION
ON
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

As we meet together in India at the end of 1983, representing a quarter of the world's people from every continent and many regions, we have shared both our concerns and our hopes for international security. Despite differences of approach which affect the way we analyse and judge events, it is our perception that relationships between the world's major military alliances are in danger of becoming more confrontational. In the context of heightened tensions and a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, the future of civilisation as we know it could be threatened. None of our countries or peoples would be insulated from that fate.

We are alarmed by increasing disregard for 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.

At this time of crisis, we believe it 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 leading 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.

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 constructive dialogue to the conduct of East-West relations. Only thus can a climate of confidence be rebuilt in place of the prevailing one of fear and mistrust.

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 all the nuclear weapon powers, and are willing to help these and other such efforts in all appropriate ways.

As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on disarmament is the stopping of the nuclear arms race. These are essential steps for progress in working towards a world released from the menace of nuclear weapons and their wider spread. If the resources released by disarmament 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.

We are concerned also over the diminishing capacity of international institutions to play an effective role in world affairs. Rejecting this negative trend, we pledge our renewed support for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. There is, in our view, an urgent need to consider what practical steps can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity to fulfil the objectives of the Charter.

We are particularly concerned at the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs. These countries are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, has a moral obligation to provide effectively for their territorial integrity. We have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues. Additionally, however, we will play our part 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.

Meeting here in India, 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 close adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement. Only by such a commitment on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security.

Finally, we retain faith in human capacity to overcome the dangers and difficulties that threaten the world and to secure for all its people the prospect of a more peaceful international environment. We shall work together to fulfil that faith.

Fort Aguada, Goa
27 November, 1983



CHOGM
NEW DELHI - 1983

TRANSCRIPT OF THE CHOGM PRESS BRIEFING BY THE
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL, MR. SHRIDATH S. RAMPHAL
WHILE RELEASING THE GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY, AT THE MEDIA CENTRE, GOA AT 2.30 PM
ON NOVEMBER 27, 1983

.....

Members of the Press and especially those of the media in Goa, I thought I should come to the Centre before we left Goa and say a word or two, which I know the Heads of Government themselves would have liked to say if they had a chance of meeting you before going back to New Delhi. And that first of all is the word of very deep appreciation of the authorities and the people of Goa. Anyone who has been involved with the Retreat, whether in terms of the arrangements at Fort Aguada or the arrangements for the media here in town, I think now I have a little idea of how much care and thoughtfulness and the great measure of creativity that has gone into the preparations. Heads of Government from the Commonwealth are very deeply appreciative. It has been a retreat of very considerable satisfaction. They had the thrill of Goa itself, they have been enormously satisfied with the facilities available for them at Fort Aguada, and they have worked very hard. They won't complain that they worked hard; if there was an area of complaint, it might have been that the Secretary General and the Chairman have driven them a little hard. But they have not only worked hard, they have worked well and successfully. In a way, Goa has been good for the Commonwealth. It has been good for the Heads of Government Meeting. We had already been making significant progress when we left New Delhi - and I think all of you would have had a scent of the success of those discussions in terms of

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RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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their frankness, the level of intellectual stimulation, the feelings that the leaders had that they really were talking about serious and important matters and finding the points of convergence. At Goa, all that went much further forward and they were able to advance the basis of consensus for the communique on various important issues. On some of those, you must just await the Communique. But on one of them I am in a position to be more definitive with you. You will recall that the Conference opened in its plenary session on Wednesday afternoon with a debate on world political trends. And that I have explained to everyone in a Banquet meeting that this would hopefully be an occasion on which Commonwealth leaders would not be so immersed in the specific trouble spots and troubled issues of the world but be reflective about the state of the world, sharing their concerns, their anxieties about the dangers of confrontation, of the fragility of international order and the heightened tensions that are now affecting heads of government and peoples and that they would want to give expression to this and they would want to explore what they could do to help. Well, in Goa, they pursued these conversations and as they leave Goa, because they will be in another few minutes, they have authorised me to make available to you what in Commonwealth annals, I am glad to say, we will hereafter describe as the Goa Declaration on International Security. And I would like to read it to you and I know that the Centre will make copies of it available to you as soon as possible. And this is the Declaration unanimously agreed to by Commonwealth Heads of Government and I release now, as I say we call it the Goa Declaration on International Security and it is as follows:-

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THE GOA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

As we meet together in India at the end of 1983, representing a quarter of the world's people from every continent and many regions, we have shared both our concerns and our hopes for international security. Despite differences of approach which affect the way we analyse and judge events, it is our perception that relationships between the world's major military alliances are in danger of becoming more confrontational. In the context of heightened tensions and a continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals, the future of civilisation as we know it could be threatened. None of our countries or peoples would be insulated from that fate.

We are alarmed by increasing disregard for 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.

At this time of crisis, we believe it 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 leading 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.

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RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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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 constructive dialogue to the conduct of East-West relations. Only thus can a climate of confidence 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 all the nuclear weapon powers, and are willing to help these and other such efforts in all appropriate ways.
6. As Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has so consistently emphasised, the central issue in securing wider progress on disarmament is the stopping of the nuclear arms race. These are essential steps for progress in working towards a world released from the menace of nuclear weapons and their wider spread. If the resources released by disarmament 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. We are concerned also over the diminishing capacity of international institutions to play an effective role in world affairs. Rejecting this negative trend, we pledge our renewed support for the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter. There is, in our view, an urgent need to consider what practical steps

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RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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can be taken to strengthen the United Nations system and to improve its capacity 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 are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, has a moral obligation to provide effectively for their territorial integrity. We have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues. Additionally, however, we will play our part 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. Meeting here in India, 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 close adherence to the principle of peaceful settlement. Only by such a commitment on all sides will the world's people enjoy an environment of true international security.

10. Finally, we retain faith in human capacity to overcome the dangers and difficulties that threaten the world and to secure for all its people the prospect of a more peaceful international environment. We shall work together to fulfil that faith.

Fort Aguada, Goa
27 November, 1983

Q: Can you elaborate on the Study Group you have referred to?

A: Well, you will recognise that the Declaration says that we have separately agreed on an urgent study of these issues, that is separately dealt with in our Communique. And when we go to talk about the Communique on Tuesday, I would prefer to dilate on that.

Q: Would you please elaborate on your concept of collective security? How would you bring it about?

A: Well, what they have said in the Declaration is that the Commonwealth countries will play their part in helping the international community to make a proper response to the United Nations Secretary General's call. You know that in 1982 and again in 1983, the UN Secretary General reported to the General Assembly and called directly and strongly for strengthening of collective security as was envisaged in the Charter, calling the international community back to the **concept** that the world has to be made free for all in terms of collective efforts.

Q: Not clear (About Mr. Trudeau's proposed visit to China).

A: I know nothing of another visit over the week end. I saw Trudeau this morning. He, of course, has played an enormous part in the evolution of the ideas that have found a mention in this Declaration. He will be in a position to take it as he goes to Beijing. My understanding is that he will be back in New Delhi tomorrow.

RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

Q: How difficult was it to get the Commonwealth leaders to avoid denouncing the United States' invasion of Grenada and to avoid having any mention of Grenada in the Declaration?

A: I have said not one word in this about Grenada and how does your question arise?

Q: How do you reach the position where no word of Grenada is mentioned?

A: This is confined, let me make it very clear that this has nothing to do with Grenada. The conclusions of the conference on Grenada will be a part of the Communique. I would not like any inferences to be drawn and if they are, they will be drawn inaccurately and wrongly. The absence of any mention of Grenada here implies that the Conference has not been able to reach any agreement. That agreement has to be reached and will form a separate part of the Communique which you will have on Tuesday.

Q: Will there be a separate communique on Grenada?

A: We are going to have a Communique supplemented by a Declaration and the conclusions on Grenada will form part of the Communique.

Q: Would this Declaration prevent, in your view, any future invasion of small states?

A: Well, how do you prevent people acting in illegal ways, acting in wanton ways. Not even the Charter of the United Nations has prevented aggressions. But what this Declaration does, well I hope and expect that the Communique

RAMPHAL/DECLARATION

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will do, is to heighten awareness of the various problems and needs of small states both in the area of security and in the area of development. And this question, of course, has been brought to the fore-front by the developments in Grenada. The New Delhi meetings, the discussions there and here in Goa have both provided an opportunity. It is significant that this statement on international security was not confined to the problems of big countries; the Commonwealth leaders have taken care to draw attention to the special vulnerability of small states.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TEL NUMBER 964 OF NOVEMBER 27
RPTD FOR INFO TO WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, AND
UKMIS NEW YORK.

FOR RESIDENT CLERK FROM PUS.

1. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN GOA HAVE NOW AGREED A DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THE TEXT AS I AT PRESENT HAVE IT IS IN MIFT. THERE MAY BE SUBSEQUENTLY SOME SMALL CHANGES OR TIDYINGS UP.
2. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT ARE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ISSUING IT AND IN PARTICULAR WHETHER IT WILL BE PUBLISHED FROM GOA BEFORE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT RETURN TO DELHI THIS EVENING. AS WITH PREVIOUS AGREED TEXTS HOWEVER IT IS BOUND TO START TO LEAK OUT, BUT IT SHOULD NOT (NOT) OF COURSE BE RELEASED IN LONDON UNTIL CONFIRMATION OF PUBLICATION IS RECEIVED FROM HERE.
3. THE DECLARATION IS ALMOST CERTAINLY BASED ON A COMBINATION OF INDIAN DELEGATION AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT DRAFTING. IT WENT THROUGH SEVERAL STAGES. THE FIRST DRAFT WAS MUCH MORE ALARMIST AND HIGHLY COLOURED. IT TENDED TO EQUATE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES TO AN UN-SATISFACTORY DEGREE AND WAS MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE FIVE NUCLEAR POWERS, THUS CALLING IN QUESTION THE NON-INCLUSION OF THE BRITISH INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DETERRENT IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRIME MINISTER PLAYED A LEADING PART IN TONING DOWN THE UNDESIRABLE FEATURES OF THE EARLIER DRAFTS. THE PRESENT DECLARATION IS BY NO MEANS PERFECT BUT LARGELY STICKS TO GENERALITIES AND DOES NOT CONTAIN SPECIFIC POINTS WHICH NEED CAUSE US TOO MUCH DIFFICULTY.
4. FURTHER COMMENT WILL BE SENT AS NECESSARY AFTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S RETURN FROM GOA.
5. PLEASE ENSURE THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE SEES THE TEXT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. PLEASE ALSO CONSIDER WHETHER IT NEEDS TO BE REPEATED MORE WIDELY BEARING IN MIND THAT IT WILL BE IN THE MEDIA FAIRLY SOON AND THAT WE SHALL HAVE TO SEND GUIDANCE ON THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN ANY CASE BEFORE TOO LONG.

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NEW DELHI 271108Z NOV 83

TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 965 OF 27 NOVEMBER.
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, UKDEL NATO, UKMIS NEW YORK.

FOR RESIDENT CLERK FROM PUS

MIPT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY:

DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. AS WE MEET TOGETHER IN INDIA AT THE END OF 1983, REPRESENTING A QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE FROM EVERY CONTINENT AND MANY REGIONS, WE HAVE SHARED BOTH OUR CONCERN AND OUR HOPES FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH WHICH AFFECT THE WAY WE ANALYSE AND JUDGE EVENTS, IT IS OUR PERCEPTION THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WORLD'S MAJOR MILITARY ALLIANCES IS IN DANGER OF BECOMING MORE CONFRONTATIONAL. IN THE CONTEXT OF GREATLY HEIGHTENED TENSIONS AND A CONTINUING BUILD UP OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, CIVILISED SOCIETY ITSELF COULD BE THREATENED. NONE OF OUR COUNTRIES OR PEOPLES WOULD BE INSULATED FROM THAT FATE.
2. WE ARE ALARMED BY INCREASING DISREGARD FOR THE MORAL AND LEGAL PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE CONDUCT OF STATES AND 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.
3. AT THIS TIME OF CRISIS, WE BELIEVE IT 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 LEADING 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 CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE TO THE CONDUCT OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS 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 ALL THE NUCLEAR WEAPON POWERS, AND ARE WILLING TO HELP THOSE EFFORTS AND OTHER EFFORTS IN ALL APPROPRIATE WAYS.
6. AS PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI HAS SO CONSISTENTLY EMPHASISED, THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN SECURING WIDER PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT IS THE REVERSAL OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. THESE ARE ESSENTIAL STEPS FOR PROGRESS IN WORKING TOWARDS A WORLD RELEASED FROM THE MENACE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THEIR WIDER SPREAD. IF THE

EMPHASISED, THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN SECURING WIDER PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT IS THE REVERSAL OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. THESE ARE ESSENTIAL STEPS FOR PROGRESS IN WORKING TOWARDS A WORLD RELEASED FROM THE MENACE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THEIR WIDER SPREAD. IF THE RESOURCES RELEASED BY DISARMAMENT 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. WE ARE CONCERNED ALSO OVER THE DIMINISHING CAPACITY OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO LPLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. REJECTING THIS NEGATIVE TREND, WE PLEDGE OUR RENEWED SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLES ENSHRINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THERE IS IN OUR VIEW AN URGENT NEED TO CONSIDER WHAT PRACTICAL STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM AND TO IMPROVE ITS CAPACITY 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 ARE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WHICH MUST RESPECT THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND, AT THE VERY LEAST, HAS A MORAL OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVELY FOR THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE HAVE SEPERATELY AGREED ON AN URGENT STUDY OF THESE ISSUES. ADDITIONALLY, HOWEVER, WE WILL PLAY OUR PART IN HELPING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO MAKE AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL'S CALL FOR A STRENGTHENING OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN KEEPING WITH THE CHARTER.

9. MEETING HERE IN INDIA WE CANNOT EMPHASIS TOO STRONGLY OUR BELIEF THAT THE ETHIC OF NON-VIOLENCE MUST BE AT THE HEART OF ALL EFFORTS TO ENSURE PEACE AND HARMONY IN THE WORLD. THAT ETHIC REQUIRES A CLOSE ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. ONLY BY SUCH A COMMITMENT ON ALL SIDES WILL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE ENJOY AN ENVIRONMENT OF TRUE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.

10. FINALLY, WE RETAIN FAITH IN HUMAN CAPACITY TO OVERCOME THE DANGERS AND DIFFICULTIES THAT THREATEN THE WORLD, AND TO SECURE FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE THE PROSPECT OF A MORE PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. WE SHALL WORK TOGETHER TO FULFIL THAT FAITH.

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OO FCO

OO WASHINGTON

OO MOSCOW

OO WDELL NATO

OO UNIS NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

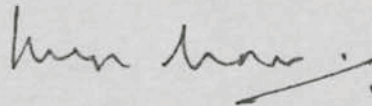
FORS

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING

NEW DELHI 1983

FOR THE INFORMATION OF DELEGATIONS

The attached paper is being circulated at the request of the Deputy Prime Minister of Jamaica.



Hugh Craft
Conference Secretary

Commonwealth Secretariat
Vigyan Bhavan
New Delhi

27 November 1983

BACKGROUND NOTES FOR A STATEMENT
BY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER SHEARER
ON THE WORLD POLITICAL SCENE
CHOGM NEW DELHI 1983

International peace and security and the work of international institutions responsible for their maintenance are clearly of major contemporary concern.

It is widely acknowledged that the Security Council has not fulfilled satisfactorily the role envisaged in the Charter and that its prestige and authority have, especially in recent years, been considerably eroded. In the past two years the Secretary General of the United Nations in his Report on the work of the United Nations Organisation has brought this forcefully to the attention of the international community. The situation, as he has presented it, is that member states are straying from their obligations under the Charter which prohibits the use of force and enjoins members to settle disputes by peaceful means. States have been resorting to unilateral action and avoiding the use of the United Nations where conflict situations arise and even for certain peacekeeping arrangements. Resolutions of the Security Council are often defied or ignored and the powers given to the Security Council under the Charter to apply enforcement measures are seldom used. In short, the system of collective security envisaged under the Charter is far from becoming a reality and is continually being undermined by

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the action of states. The Secretary General sees the need for strengthening multilateral institutions, particularly the Security Council and has encouraged the adoption of new and imaginative approaches to the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The most urgent need is to revitalise and reconstruct the Charter system of collective security.

The most fundamental problem in this regard is that the expectation of Great-Power cooperation for the maintenance of international peace and security at the time the Charter was drafted was quickly demolished. In the immediate post-war period with the cold-war confrontation between the two major powers. The collapse of the basic assumptions on which the Charter was based meant that the Security Council came to be used by the major powers to protect and promote their national interests at the expense of broader interest of international peace and security (which they nevertheless oftentimes deemed to be coterminous with their own interests). A necessary consequence has been the legitimate recourse to other measures to do what the Security Council cannot now do.

Proposals for a more effective Security Council that call for reform of the structure and work procedures of the Security Council do not get to the core of the problem. The Secretary General has urged that there should be more systematic and less last-minute use of the Security Council. The Council should maintain an active monitoring of situations that could lead to a breach of the peace and initiate discussion with parties concerned

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before a situation of crisis arises. This would involve the Council in more "preventive" diplomacy and the Secretary General could be effectively used in offering good offices for negotiations between parties to any dispute. In addition, the Secretary General could make more use of his own powers under Article 99 to initiate Council action. Other procedural reforms designed to develop the potential for consensus of action are also helpful.

I concur generally in the analysis of the situation presented by the Secretary General. Jamaica has stated its concern and has stressed the need for strengthening the multi-lateral institutions particularly the Security Council. Jamaica supports the adoption of procedures whereby the Council and the Secretary General would become more involved in acting to prevent problems from reaching crisis proportions.

Some proposals affecting the structure of the Council do not really contribute to its effectiveness. Some countries seek an expansion in the current membership to provide greater representation for Third World countries. This has the advantage of providing a more equitable distribution of seats, but that is about all. Other proposals concern the abolition or modification of the veto power of the permanent members. In practical terms these proposals are unlikely to reach any where because of the unyielding opposition of the Permanent Members who themselves would have to agree for any change to take place affecting the veto.

Resort/....

Resort to the General Assembly using the procedures of the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution has not proven worthwhile. Although an apparently attractive option, its real result is another rhetorical flourish. Here, as in the Security Council, what is important is a fair measure of consensus, including the agreement of the Permanent Members, on action to be adopted through this procedure and the willingness and capacity to do so.

There are perhaps three issues that need to be alluded to. They are -

1. the often indiscriminate and unnecessary recourse to the Security Council (yet a state's right to call on the Council should not be circumscribed);
2. the continued failure to develop the procedures envisaged in Articles 43 and 44 of the Charter (the difficulties are known but should there not be a renewed effort?)
3. the engagement of the prestige and interest of the Superpowers (and their alliance systems) in every conceivable dispute.

The Commonwealth can indicate and publicise its support for the United Nations system and call on states in particular the Permanent Members of the Security Council, to adhere to their Charter obligations and responsibilities and to cooperate fully in making the Council better able to deal with the current critical situation facing the world. But we need to try to do a bit more.

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One of the paradoxes of contemporary life is that the increasing power and strength of the Super Powers have made conflict among smaller countries more likely and more frequent. As the major powers become more powerful they become less able to control regional conflicts. One hundred and forty wars and ten million dead since the Second World War are a grim testimony of the "efficacy" of the nuclear balance. In this situation the international security system built on the ashes of the Second World War offers less and less hope. Whether we speak of Chad or of South East Asia, of Afghanistan or Western Sahara, of Central America or Southern Africa, the picture is the same. The United Nations system has not been able to go beyond passing resolutions which are themselves of neither literary nor historical value. The regional institutions and arrangements, whose role is recognised by the United Nations Charter, are themselves handicapped by the same malaise. Nevertheless, we must note with some appreciation the efforts of the OAU and the ASEAN to deal with the problems that are bedevilling their respective regions. But the very limited successes achieved underscore the point.

I do not know how it will be possible to persuade the Super Powers to delink their prestige and assumed vital interests from all the conflicts around the world. But some delinking has to take place.

Not every conflict, not every internal dispute or attempt at changes is of interest or ought to be of interest to the Superpowers. There is no reason why their prestige and pride ought to be so lavishly engaged.

The CHOGM, in addition to dealing with the points raised, may seek to encourage the return to a multilateralism which understands the distinction between the larger interests of the international community and the more narrowly conceived national interests of its constituent members. The retreat from multilateralism needs to be halted.

In this vein I support the initiatives undertaken by Prime Minister Trudeau to get the nuclear weapon states to deal at the highest political level with the task of arms control and disarmament. So important is the issue of the arms build up both nuclear and conventional and concomitant arms trade that new imaginative ways are needed to secure verifiable arms reduction and control. No one will be satisfied with proposals which are in effect onesided and therefore detrimental to perceived security interests. Hence a careful nurturing of a climate of confidence and trust is indispensable.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

9 December, 1983.

We spoke the other day about the first draft of the Goa Declaration on International Security. I enclose a copy of this which I found among my papers. This was preceded by some notes prepared by the Commonwealth Secretary General and, in case you do not already have these, I attach them for completeness.

E. E. R. BUTLER

Michael Jay, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.