

WEEKEND BOX



10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

Here are your notes from
CHOGM. Would you like to keep
them or shall I ask Confidential
to do so along with all the top
copies of your speeches?

CJ.

1 December 1983



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UNITED KINGDOM

Mrs. Gandhi

Time of "Trigger Readiness"

Two new crises

Grenada, Cyprus

what has happened has come as a shock.
Must do something about Namibia.

Useful - western control groups.

Anti Race. - Responsibility for
nuclear arms reduction.

U.N. rule has to be renewed & reinforced

Procedural. - Strategic issues this afternoon.



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Prime Trudeau.

Situation getting worse.

Dialogue to ease tensions through
communication - agrees with M.T.

High political leadership in trying to solve
world tensions.

None of us at table of Geneva.

Some at table in Vienna. - 10 countries.

· · · · · Stockholm C.D.T.
Jan

Military Budgets too high - \$150 bi p.a.
in military budgets of developed
countries.

S-nuclear power conference. (Nor U.S.A.
U.K.
Fr.)



HAWI other REDUCTION.

Sov. Am. Joint along with U.S.A.



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Brk. position on counting of weapons.

Dr. Fr. Ch. - what level to protect.

Hasid. seen two super-powers

Non Prol Treaty - India, new nuclear power
6-10 others.

6 small 2-lin power before Goa -
on at Goa.

P.T. have brought 15 lines.

Kenneth Kaunda. Could 2 or 3 lines
join you?

P.T. - Not on N.A.T.O matter.

C.D.G. 37 countries.

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K.K.

Unless one can avert confrontation?

Reduce tension.

One fears anything could happen.

Mr. Gandhi - Committee to end of
nuclear weapons.

Shog reaches about N.P.T.

Juho Nyerere - Not sign N.P.T.



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Seydler - N/S dialogue more
important than E/W.

S/S co-operation.

" I believe in setting examples "

Hawke - On side of U.S.

Nuclear free zone in
S.W. Pacific.

- Verification crucial pre-condition
of progress

- Capacity to monitor nuclear explosions.
S. Africa - unacceptability of apartheid became



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nuclear - covered.

Have obligations under Art 4 N.P.T.
(as a producer)
∴ improve international safeguards.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

1) Chemical & Biological Weapons
Int. Conventions need strengthening.
1925 protocol on chemical.
Biological weapons.

2) Arms race or not - via outer space.

Mr. Pichler - Signing NPT as chemical
Biological weapons by small
states would make any difference



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Pridging - Bahamas.

Whether we have - may think of a
formula under which small states
sovereignty right, be protected

? Some security system? What
Commonwealth participating?

if - course of it too called its
question.

Does one have the right to be
independent.

Guatemala - Stop spreading
of destabilizing nuclear weapons.
no threat in other Ocean



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Antigua.
UNITED KINGDOM

Aligned members more binding commitment

Focus on what is practical

Not to be left just to superpowers

Commonwealth can bring moral pressure
to bear

Give support to Perez in his effort

to arrive at some sort of

understanding

Malaysia.

- Salt II failed to be ratified

"Interventionism - when does it
begin to be legal"

Two big powers concerned with
interventionism.



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9
Ask China to participate.
U.S.S.R. things Mr. Reagan will decide
on 'just' feelings.
Opportunity in South Asia - option of
withdrawal of Vietnamese.
Useful exchange. Consensus - should
be developed
N/S matter already clearly E/W
confrontation

Peter the Great

↓
Wynne



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Russian - on
same planet

→ Moscow - 1917

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1/3 down
Zero

- strategic

- intermediate -

Washington

Concluded

- Believed 900,000



①

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Deputy P.M. - Mr. Birk

Antigua. - No country in Caribbean
would tolerate aggression by S. Africa
against any S. African state.

Many of us Africans.

Never abandoned our Caribbean course.

- and tied to Grenada by blood.

- islands ~~struggled~~ struggled together

- fostered concept of 'Caribbean man'.

University of West Indies

Caribbean team of

An Atlantic urge to drop together.

- Caricom -

O.E.C.S. - Grenada active participant
from beginning

Pool our resources
Some currency & central bank

Bishop's third - law structures together

When Bishop died - only a matter of time

before other islands were threatened.

To say we feel threatened - we feel honored.
When anyone threatens our people - we
were afraid.

That is the past.

Withdrawal of all foreign troops
provided immediate need for
police force.

Free & fair ground election

We stand ready to give whatever
assistance we can.

Foreign military forces to leave - ~~fast~~
someone will provide police force

Helping hand

Be +ve in assisting Grenada
No purpose will be served by uncertainty.



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Police force, plus training, fund for
technical cooperation.

Supplement for state election

St. Kitts News - P.M.

1) Resue to assist a fund

Not a loan - a mission of resue
to people of Grenada,
who are members of OECS.

Prospect of many more Grenadians dying.

2) Resue for self-preservation
Who rears?

Country in our midst preparing
people for subversion.

Do not get so concerned about foreign forces -
think first about people of Grenada.

Commonwealth has role to play

Miss Charter

Democracy - Majority of People

Sovereign - land

Three attempts at Cops in Dominica.

Non-intervention - Not ask others to
overcome people threatening your state.

Invasion - at request of Gov - Gen.
No fort. existed.

Not time to give all information.

Went in to support Armed Forces

"Peace-keeping force" - for Grenade to decide.

We knew Grenade wanted us to come in

"take-and-leave"

Own security.

Within our treaty rights.



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Dominica and
UNITED KINGDOM

We had lived for 4 1/2 ideas with the ideology
No reason to change his ideology.
Grenada has the right
or we (OCEAS) have the right to both.
Legal right, moral right or political right.

Grenadians - most happy people after
the revenue mission.

And OCEAS people happy.
Small, poor, but not stupid.

Future - Must have police force.

Until then military have to be there.

Don Adams



Collective right to self-defense

Can't support withdrawal of
foreign troops.

Believe U.S.S.R. will go home at end
of 60 days

No organized police force.
authority undermined.

Request for power officers

Request to Balladas to prepare
electoral roll.

Computerized poplⁿ regⁿ.

Needs economic aid.

Stand ready to assist with
ec. development.

Collective - self defense in O.E.C.S
countries united



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Mr Gandhi

- Some countries prefer to have
show a double standards.
Word 'invasion' first used by Reagan.
We (India) have not occupied any
land outside our boundaries.

Pakistan / Bangladesh - No Indian
intervention - just
10 m. refugees.

Made round of world's capitals saying
stop genocide.

On 3 Dec - 9 cities of India were
bombed. Amongst destroyed people
killed - Ayra bombed

Then at 2 a.m. at cabinet meeting

India went to war on E. W. Pakistan.
Then went to help Bangladesh.
Returned all Pakistan prisoners

Armaments given by U.S.A. to Pakistan.

All Western publications talk about this wrongly.
Indo-Pakistan in ways other than military.

No recent comparisons.

See Voted against in U.N. - because
of horrendous consequences

But that's East Pakistan side
did the right thing.

'Consideration undoubtedly given
to our viewpoint'



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St. Lucia

Small countries - have complicated
international relations.

When does intervention start?

handing?

sending young people for training
in Sov. Un. or Cuba

O.E.C.S. - one army of 60 persons

From outside, sometimes taking
advantage of small countries to subvert

O.E.C.S. - One people, one nation.

Security of Small States

How to defend - regional security force
to protect us from
subversion



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Went

- Police force substituted for
over 10 years.

Want us to get out.. ~~And in~~
~~lack of police resolution.~~

If by - they will have
outaged and welcome. One
embroidered credit, they wish
for. However dollar year.

Don't have a vacuum,

Military force (Cambodia) from

then small military force
plus police

Tamara

7

What was the alternative?

Overturn of a job not easily done.

Philips Hughes - Ready on for loan
support but please do not attempt
to tell us what we must do.

—

Will not support any linkage
between Namibia & removal
of troops from ~~the~~ Angola.
This incident has not changed
foreign policy.



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Day 2

2/
(No 1)

Mrs. G.

Agreed - dialogue is
inescapable

Dispiriting news from Geneva -
breakdown of talks. Belief that
only temporary

Retreat - led to political escalation.

People want peace - except
armament manufacturers

No talk of force - Geneva
Committee. Could we urge them
(UK & S) to meet.

Five might even agree to withdraw
their stocks.

The three might even withdraw



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3

then states . could be done
with that .

The N.P.T. - Mrs. G. has expressed
her views.

India has carried out her part
of contract

80% of arms spent to developed
countries - $\frac{1}{5}$ of arms expenditure

That most countries started for 200

And must focus to admit countries

Must aim for C/W problem.

Increasing sophistication arising from
strategic response of great powers

As to GDP - India - low



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1945 - 75

120 was

64 - interventions by
industries

6 - Soviets

18 - interstate wars.

Non-aligned - convention on nuclear weapons
etc.

Kanada

Liver we buy arms

British Colonial Power imposed
Feds on 3 states

K. M. Shree Jadhav to nationalists in
S. Rhodesia on freedom.

Late - sent a message to Pahlaj
about ~~the~~ Pahlaj's dependence

Selaram - Calcutta - demand for independence
No 2/5



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1969 - Asked U.S.A. for arms for Zambia
Refused.

Nixon refused to return
No western power prepared to take
steps to ease trouble in S. Africa.

Later went to West Germany - refused
Olaf Palme - refused.

All that time - not much spent on
arms.

Thur. S. Rhodesia - ~~go~~ received a lot
from Britain.

1975 - Ford gave him 45 mil. - but
nothing else.

1978 - Jimmy Carter - 3 days on discussion
but no arms



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1978 - Jim Callaghan - went to W. Mexico.

No arms.

- Then raids on border began,
600 killed in first.

- Then China gave us arms.

To tell great men - like Christians
when my Xmas friends reported me.
But no sophisticated weapons

∴ went to U.S.S.R.,

Had to pay "through the nose"

Told Dotha at border 'I have bought
Soviet Arms to defend us from you'.

We buy because of pressure on us from
north S. Mexico



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Guyana

- "Balance of terror"
why is term used
- How many
- Why so many warheads

No European war because of nuclear
deterrent.

Nuclear deterrent by Jan means a foul?

= Sanctity of treaties =

Nuclear non-proliferation treaty

- If whole world stands to lose
- affects all of us.

Kiribati

- Dialogue - what is meant?

We do not need always to be
on the side of the West



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Years ago signed Treaty of Friendship.
Can now sign treaties between
unequal powers

If we talk to Soviet - hope we
will not be seen as bad boys
of club.

We shall go to those who shall be
our traditional friends in post.

- Mr. A
- We are committed to democracy
 - But we believe in co-existence.
 - If talk more, better understanding
could be created



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Hawk - 1st Committee of U.N. voted on
3 draft res^{ts} on testing
99 for / none against
31 abstentions. U.S. for
Oppⁿ to abstentions.
No NEGATIVE vote.
We shall open up process on
Comprehensive nuclear test-ban
treaty.

SRI Lanka - Listening to stories of violence
for 2 days.
Gandhi - aspects of non-violence
Good that War in Europe prevented by
nuclear weapons



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/

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But not prevented back-out of
other wars.

Non invasion by Soviet Union of
~~Poland~~, Czech, Hungary ~~etc~~
and control of Poland.

Required. Some system of monitoring
manufacturing of arms.

We can't influence U.S.A., U.S.S.R.
to give up their weapons.

Can't ask other people to refuse to
manufacture weapons.

Thus G. should lead this Commonwealth
on Gandhi's path.
Give up arms all together



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Ans. A

- believe in non-violence to all living beings.
- but have been invaded 6 times and large portions of our land still under occupation.

Try to sort out disputes first by negotiation.

Am opposed by people who believe in systems other than democracy
Communists & extreme rightists,

Trudeau.

- Answer to "Terror" -

(i) Fear - if afraid various options better need than need.

Patience.

Unilateral disarmament

?? But to say no to terrorism is not the consistent answer ??



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Other answer to terror is
anger - leads to aggression

But just - not submissive stance
nor unilateral disarmament
Deterrents are not enough.

Have to find something in between
fear and anger.

i.e. increased security at lower levels of
armament.

Need tool or argument to
increase disarmament.

But key to security is
psychological disposition

Know other side - other influence
Then can make agreements



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Work for hung up on words
Peace depends on nuclear deterrent.
"Unacceptable damage"

A lot of ways in which
deterrent could be
needed at lower level

↗ Salt II - signed by both sides
Military people - let you things
when they return

President Tito - Can't find a way to go
about what we agree on.

Each super power knows the
step at which the other has gone
could be forced by hand



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uncertainty. Hope certain reasons will
prevail. Should not have any power
to subdue those who are responsible
for "disruption".

~~Modifying~~

Julius Nyerere - Went to U.S.S.R. at
N.P.T. time

- 1) Was impressed in Soviet Union
by "power" in atmosphere.
- 2) Obsessed with peace! Convinced
me. Had sword wars fought
on their soil.

U.S.A. doesn't have that experience.
3) Impression that they "only people who
want peace".



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When small are frightened -
no-one need feel nervous

Only when powerful are frightened.

Logic is sometimes - dangerous

Avoid logic

Unsafe place -

Really want a dialogue

"Where the elephants fight it is
the grass that suffers"

Henry Lee

make love it
is the grass that suffers



16.

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K.K.

UNITED KINGDOM

Grenada.

- We condemned the
assassination of Bishop.

Then invasion.

Another source of tension

from most countries

If Tanzania - calls for Zanzibar

to be invaded - end of security

No-one safe, no matter how

big or how small.

I have come from the

Soviet Union, from N. Korea,

Others have visited the U.S.

We are in a target.

And S. Africans are everywhere. On this
planet, all
are a bit, etc



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17.

Zimbabwe - — Has had a struggle
to free itself from colonisation
~~To~~ have democracy.

- Int community condemned
~~the~~ int^l in Grenada.
- If Commonwealth countries gave
cover to U.S.A for action
which violated int^l law.
- U.S. obeyed to Bishop's regime
other than those who were even
more leftist.
- More Cubans in U.S. than in
Grenada



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All accept that action has been
accompanied by some degree of legitimacy

But action will have given comfort
to S. Africa. Cuban Communists in
Angola. N. Korean Communists in
Zimbabwe. Communists in Zambia.

We criticized the U.S. on
Afghanistan, Vietnam or
Cambodia. So did OECS. - But
they with us today? What
about Nicaragua? By what
will we then try to manipulate us, if
they do not like our regime



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Accept for military assistance from
Britain - granted. Also for N. Korea
also technical assistance for India.
Pakistan: We go about our business
without anyone dictating to us.

Allow our neighbours to have
the freedom to choose their own system.

Mr. G.

Have two states formally
declared Namik joint.

Namibia

What has happened
must be condemned by every
civilised country.



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~~① Overseas~~

~~② Africa~~

Solomon Islands

Grenada crisis - That incident
could happen anywhere.

Were concerned about what
happened in Grenada

Not sure whether that incident
was an invasion or not.

Although we have been about possible
nuclear war

What is more dangerous is ideological
race & competition



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What is dangerous is not U.S., USSR,
or British, are the smaller countries,
- the Cubans, the North Koreans -
others who profess themselves as democrats.
They could destabilise countries in the
region. We don't know what
Non-aligned is.

Developed competition that will
involve conflict.

Nigeria - Must hear other side of the
story.

Generally predict against intervention
but we decided to wait them down



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Own colleagues.

Not all democracies, not all communists
are we not all entitled to protect
our own way of life.

We are threatened by other systems,
- apartheid. Can't be protected ourselves
against it. - Military dictatorship

What happens if democracy is overthrown
by those systems

Let the democracies come & help us
against those - and help us to
protect our way of life.

Must have some direction - not
merely complain



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Commonwealth cherishes democracy &
should work towards its preservation.
Does that justify intervention?
Should divert our attention to
these issues