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Mr. Suring Read, an acquaintance of Mr. Grandhi, requested a westing with the Prime Himiter.

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16 July 1980

Indo-British Exchange Conference

The Prime Minister has seen and taken note of your letter to me of 15 July on this subject.

MODBA

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Primie Printer Foreign and Commonwealth Office I'm told he land that you would London SWIA 2AH enquie into the back from I for the had 15 July 1980 The hours fever war among the farbifonds i that The Remark Levin was among the person pour of ansiendle about worth cause to freen busin book constantle signed. Pour 15/2 Indo-British Exchange Conference In your letter of 2 July about Mr Swraj Paul's call on the Prime Minister, you asked for a full account of what happened in connection with the Indo-British Exchange Conference. The Conference was held on 25/27 June. It was the third in a series of privately organised conferences following a proposal launched in 1977 by Mr Roderick MacFarquhar to bring together leading figures from Britain and India with a view to achieving a better bilateral understanding, rather on the lines of the Konigswinter Conferences. The Government was not involved in their organisation and no Ministers or officials were to be invited. The two previous conferences were successful. They drew together academics, journalists and parliamentarians from different parties, with particular interest in bilateral Indo-British relations. On the British side a number of MPS from both sides of the House have been involved as back-benchers or members of the opposition. (For example, the Rt Hon Patrick Jenkin and Mr Timothy Raison have been involved in the past). The conference has been well supported by members of the Labour Party. But we are not aware of any specific involvement of the Socialist International as

For the two previous conferences (both held in India) the Government provided 22.000 and 16.000 respectively towards the costs of the British delegates. On this occasion it was decided, in advance of the detailed planning, to contribute up to 1,500 towards administrative expenses and that the Government would also offer a reception for those attending. However, pending details of the Indian participants, we did not issue any invitations.

The Indian organiser, Mr Thapar, who has made the arrangements for the last three years, ran into difficulty in assembling a balanced group of participants. This was brought to our attention by Mr Swraj Paul on 2 June. Although no official representations were received from the Indian Government we immediately asked the High Commission in Delhi to find out how matters stood. The High Commission advised that Mr Thapar was still trying to get a

/balanced group

M O'D B Alexander Esq 10 Downing Street

suggested by Swraj Paul.



balanced group together and had approached specific supporters of Mrs Gandhi with invitations to attend. But when by 16 June it had become apparent that no progress was being made in this direction, we reviewed the situation again.

In retrospect it appeared that Mr Thapar had been ill-advised to issue invitations to members of the Opposition before getting acceptances from Government back-benchers. He was also hampered by having himself been a critic of Mrs Gandhi in the past. We were committed to the support for administrative expenses but judged that this was unlikely to come to notice. Mr Blaker decided that the idea of a reception, which would certainly have attracted Indian criticism, should be abandoned. (No invitations had been issued).

The postponement of bilateral official talks, to have been held in London on 27/80 June, was notified to us on 13 June. The reason given was that the Indian Foreign Secretary could not be away from Delhi at the same time as his Minister. There was no suggestion at the time that the decision was linked to concern about the Exchange Conference. The talks have been rearranged for September.

The Conference took place (a list of participants and the programme is attached). It has attracted no publicity here. Comments made to us by Mr Swraj Paul and the Indian High Commissioner subsequent to Mr Paul's call on Mrs Thatcher suggest that the matter is now closed as far as the Indians are concerned.

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(R M J Lyne) Private Secretary



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From the Private Secretary

2 July 1980

Ken Roberic,

Call by Mr. Swraj Paul

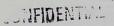
Mr. Swraj Paul called on the Prime Minister this morning as arranged.

Mr. Paul said that Mrs. Gandhi had asked him to seek a meeting with the Prime Minister in order to convey Mrs. Gandhi's concern that relations between India and the United Kingdom were drifting and to express the hope that something positive could be done to reverse this trend. Mrs. Gandhi hoped that the Prime Minister might be able in future to take a rather greater personal interest in the question of relations with India.

Mr. Paul expressed concern on two specific points. He said that there was a strong feeling in New Delhi that the media in the United Kingdom were consistently and unfairly critical of India. Both the press and the broadcasting companies here seemed to Indians to be more critical than their colleagues in other western countries. Mr. Paul mentioned in this connection an article by Mr. MacFarquhar in the Economist and a series of three television programmes carried by ITV. Both the article and the programmes had appeared on the eve of the recent Indian elections. The Prime Minister told Mr. Paul that she had little influence over the press (a point Mr. Paul readily acknowledged) but that she had taken careful note of what he had said.

Mr. Paul then referred to the Indo-British Exchange Conference. He recalled the circumstances in which the Exchange had originally been established in 1977 and said that it had always been a centre of criticism of Mrs. Gandhi. It was unfortunate that HMG had continued to support the Exchange until very recently and that they had only cancelled the official reception connected with the recent conference when the Indian Government had cancelled a planned session of inter-Governmental talks. This had been an unfortunate affair which had caused a great deal of ill feeling in Delhi. The Prime Minister said that she had known nothing about the difficulties with the Exchange Conference

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until she had seen the briefing for her meeting with Mr. Paul. She undertook to look into the background. I should be grateful if you could let me have a full account of what happened. It would be helpful if your analysis could deal with the suggestion that we were very slow to disengage ourselves from the conference. (Mr. Paul suggested that the Socialist International are involved with the conference.)

In the course of a general discussion about how relations might be improved, Mr. Paul said that Mrs. Gandhi was looking forward to receiving Prince Charles in India in the autumn. The Prime Minister commented that he was very keen to make the visit. Mr. Paul added that the Prime Minister would shortly be receiving a reply from Mrs. Gandhi to her letter about the steel plant contract which is shortly to be awarded. He went on to express the hope that the links between the Prime Minister and Mrs. Gandhi could be further developed. He believed that Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher could achieve a great deal if they worked together. He asked whether it would be possible for the Prime Minister to visit India in the near future. The Prime Minister said that she had always greatly enjoyed her discussions with Mrs. Gandhi. She was very enthusiastic about the idea of a visit to the sub-continent but she thought it would be right to wait until after Prince Charles' visit had taken place. She added that anything she could do to cement the friendship between the United Kingdom and India, she would do.

Towards the end of the conversation Mr. Paul commented that the western world was quite wrong to assume that Mrs. Gandhi was in any way pro-Soviet or 'leftist' inclined. There had been a period between 1969 and 1973 when many of her advisers had been pro-Soviet. This situation had ended in 1973 when her then Private Secretary had been moved. It was true that Mrs. Gandhi was suspicious of the United States. She was not convinced that the United States had the same interest in the security of Asia as it had in the security of Europe. The Indians could not share the confidence in American intentions that the Europeans enjoyed. The Prime Minister recalled that Mrs. Gandhi had referred to her doubts about the Soviet Union during their conversation in Belgrade.

Mr. Paul and the Prime Minister discussed briefly the death of Sanjay Gandhi. Mr. Paul confirmed that the death of her son had been a terrible blow for Mrs. Gandhi. He had spent some time alone with Mrs. Gandhi shortly before the funeral and Mrs. Gandhi had told him that she had come to regard Sanjay not as a son but as an elder brother. Although she was putting a brave face on things, she was now in an extremely lonely and isolated position. None of her Ministers were her equals either socially or educationally, in experience or in

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ability. She had in effect no-one to talk to. Mr. Paul said that he had flown out to the funeral with Mrs. Gandhi's other son who had been holidaying in Italy at the time of the accident. The elder brother had confirmed to Mr. Paul that he had no wish to become involved in Indian politics.

You will no doubt wish to consider further the timing of a possible visit by the Prime Minister to India. In doing so you will need to bear in mind that the Prime Minister is already committed to longish visits to Canada next summer for the Economic Summit and to Australia in the autumn for the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting. The Prime Minister would like to spend several days in India: it will therefore not be easy to link it with any other visit except, perhaps, elsewhere in the sub-continent. A possible time might be next April.

Yours ever Nichael Abxander

Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,

COMPIDEN

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR SWRAJ PAUL: 2 JULY 198 POINTS TO MAKE 1. Sanjay Gandhi's death a sad loss. His capacity for leadership was becoming increasingly evident. His main activities seem to have been in domestic politics, but on international issues we shared his anticommunist views and his strong disapproval of Soviet invasion of Bilateral Relations 2. Believe we can extend cooperation between our two countries. Very pleased that Government of India have accepted the proposal for a visit by Prince Charles in November. Recently wrote to Mrs Gandhi about our interest in participating in the economic and industrial development of India, through ventures such as the coastal steel plant. Press Treatment of India 3. Knowm that Mrs Gandhi is disappointed about attitude of British media. Best way of encouraging them to focus on Indian achievement is to develop bilateral commercial links and to encourage visitors in both directions. Perhaps more could be done on the Indian side to promote good publicity for Indian achievements. 4. We remain convinced that complete Soviet withdrawal is the only

4. We remain convinced that complete Soviet withdrawal is the only satisfactory answer for Afghanistan. West ready to agree to Afghanistan outside competition between powers. We think that India would welcome such an outcome. Hope that Mrs Gandhi will continue to press for Soviet withdrawal. Hope conclusion of Indo/Soviet arms deal at present time does not lead Soviet Union to suppose that continued occupation of Afghanistan acceptable to India.

Indo-British Exchange Conference

5. A privately arranged conference. Understand that participation did not properly represent Indian public opinion but this was not a matter in which HMG had any responsibility. When we heard that participation was unrepresentative we cancelled the official reception which was to have been given.

/Jaguar

Jaguar (defensive)

6. Glad to see Mrs Gandhi's statement in Lok Sabha in March confirming her support for the contract.

Aid to Pakistan (defensive)

7. Increased assistance to Pakistan is not in any way threat to India. Our bilateral aid programme to India remains very much larger and is our single largest bilateral aid programme.

Visits (defensive)

8. Glad that Lord Carrington could visit Delhi in January. Mr Blaker and Mr Marten have been there since. We should like to see more Indian Ministers here. Visits by the Foreign and Commerce Ministers would be particularly welcome.

CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY MR SWRAJ PAUL: 2 JULY 1980

ESSENTIAL FACTS

Sanjay Gandhi

1. Sanjay Gandhi's input into Mrs Gandhi's administration since January 1980 had been in party organisation and economic management, in which he had advised on the distribution of portfolios. He brought many young people into Parliament and into the government. He had favoured private sector development and criticised communist aims. Mrs Gandhi may herself be inclined to pay more heed to advisers sympathising with the Soviet Union.

Ministerial Visits

2. We have been able to arrange for some (although not all) senior Indian visitors to call on UK Cabinet Ministers: the Minister for Education met Mr Carlisle and Mr St John Stevas, the Governor of the Indian Reserve Bank met the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Indian Law Minister met Lord Hailsham. The Prime Minister had agreed to see the Commerce Minister when he cancelled his visit. The Indian Speaker was received by our Speaker.

Afghanistan

3. Indian Foreign Minister's May visit to Moscow produced no meeting of minds on Afghanistan, but in his subsequent statement to Indian Lok Sabha he avoided apportioning more blame to East than to West. Little sign that Indians prepared to exert pressure on Soviet Union.

Arms Deal

4. India buys from both East and West. We do not think that latest Indo/Soviet arms deal of \$1.6 billion represents any change in policy. It is in total of less value than the Jaguar contract if this is completed. Soviet Union made deal attractive to India by offering very soft terms.

Commercial Links

5. British exports to India (£456m) up 31% in 1979 compared with 1978. Coastal steel plant contract is worth £1,000m. Main competitors are

Davy/Lazards and German firm Demag. Indian Cabinet decision to proceed to award of contract expected soon. <u>Jaguar</u> contract signed in October 1978. Worth some £800m and involves purchase of 40 Jaguar ground attack aircraft and manufacture of 110 under licence. Mrs Gandhi dismissed allegations of impropriety in award of contract in her March parliamentary statement. But subsequently BAe management has been criticised. Possibility is that some Indians see profit in cancellation. We have pressed BAe to improve performance.

Indo-British Exchange Conference

6. Conference took place privately at Kingston on 26/27 June. Proceedings private but understand from a participant that there was substantial criticism of Mrs Gandhi.

Aid to Pakistan

7. Although aid to Pakistan has been almost doubled in current financial year, at just over £30m it is substantially less than the £120m programme for India. SWRAJ PAUL

A well-known figure in British industrial circles. A close confident of Mrs Gandhi who, although resident in Britain and registered as a UK citizen, maintains very close links with the Congress (I) Party (he is the UK organiser) and with Mrs Gandhi personally.

Vice-Chairman (past Chairman) of the Indo/British Association and the driving force behind the Association since it was established in 1976.

He was present in Mrs Gandhi's party at the Independence Celebrations in Salisbury and at Tito's funeral in Belgrade, when he greeted Mrs Thatcher when she met Mrs Gandhi. He claims that Mrs Gandhi offered and he refused the post of Indian High Commissioner in London. Whatever the truth, he is certainly her man in London. He handles certain large financial matters for her and is privy to many family concerns.

He has considerable business interests in Britain, is the Managing Director of Ambika Shipping Co Ltd, a UK registered company. Mrs Gandhi opened a new private steel fabrication factory which he owns in South Wales when she visited Britain in November 1978. He is typical of the new men who have risen to the top in India by backstairs influence. He will make money where he can and there is some reason to suppose that he was closely concerned with the Giscard visit to New Delhi in January 1980 and may have a personal interest in forwarding the claims of the French competitor to Jaguar. Mrs Gandhi has made it clear to us that although Swraj Paul is a friend of hers she has nothing to do with his business interests and is not concerned about them. This prudent caveat does not lessen the fact that Swraj Paul probably has considerable influence in Indian Government contracts.

He has close links with Mr Eldon Griffiths MP, who is currently Chairman of the Indo/British Association.

ONDIA: BACKGROUND FACT SHEET

Population 675 million

Government Congress (Indira) Party (since January 1980)

Opposition in disarray:

Opposition in disarr Main Parties in Lower House

Lok Dal 41 seats
C.P(M) 35 seats
Janata 31 seats

352 seats

67 seats

Economy Gross domestic product grew by 7.2% in 1977/78 and by 3-4% in 1978/79.

Industrial output grew by 8-10% in 1978/79 but agricultural sector dominates the economy, employing over two-thirds of labour force.

Others

Main exports: engineering goods, tea, goms, leather and leather goods, tobacco, silver, jute goods,

clothing.

Aid

Trade

Excellent harvests of 1977 and 1978 offset by severe drought in 1979, reducing grain reserves to about 18 million tons.

Current account surplus down from US \$ 1 billion in 1977/78 to US \$ 400 million in 1978/79

UK bilateral aid totalled £114 million in 1979/80. India is recipient of largest UK bilateral aid programme.

British exports to India totalled £456 million in

Indian exports to Britain totalled £366 million in same period.



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THE PRIME MINISTER



The British Government is keenly interested in working with the Government of India to open up fresh opportunities for participation by British industry in India's continuing economic and industrial development. I believe that British industry has the potential to contribute to India's requirements in many sectors, but I should like to take this opportunity to mention in particular the important sector of steel production.

I understand that your Government may shortly be reaching important decisions about the major new coastal steelworks project. The British company Davy International, which is leading a bid for this project, is a highly experienced and reputable company with a considerable international record in steelworks construction, including much experience of India. I would like you to know that the British Government is giving Davy the fullest support in their bid: and we believe that the package which Davy has put forward is technically advanced, competitive and designed to meet India's requirements. I therefore hope that the Indian authorities will decide to

/award

award this important contract to Davy, and I have every confidence in pavy's ability to carry out the project in a satisfactory manner, thus making a substantial contribution to meeting India's growing steel requirement over the coming years.

I had hoped to have an opportunity to talk to your Minister of Commerce about ways in which the British and Indian Government could work more closely together on projects which will be of benefit both to our industry and to your economic and industrial development. I understand that the high Nukherjee has been unable to confirm arrangements for a visit this month, but I hope that you will be able to arrange for such a Ministerial visit, as I think this would be very useful at the present time from the point of view of both our countries.

With very best wishes,

Que our helper

Her Excellency Shrimati Indira Gandhi

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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I understand the P. H. is seeing lung;
Paul tomorrows, Survey in an old friend and
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important, and it may be helpful if I jost down a
few notes about him (and Indire).

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 June 1980 Door Michael, (See altode tel) Apre to

Proposal for call on Prime Minister by So. Mr. Swraj Paul

You mentioned to me last week the approach which you had received from Mr Swraj Paul for a meeting with the Prime Minister.

received confirmation from our High Commission We have in New Delhi that Mr Paul has been asked by Mrs Gandhi personally / to seek this appointment (Delhi telegram 472, which I enclose). We recommend that the Prime Minister should in the circumstances agree to see Mr Paul.

I attach a note on Mr Paul. The Indians have not yet appointed a High Commissioner to replace the last Indian High Commissioner who resigned prior to the Indian General Election. In the absence of an appointee who enjoys Mrs Gandhi's confidence, Mr Paul appears to have a closer link with the upper echelons of the Indian government than India House. India House are unaware of any reason for Mrs Gandhi to send a personal message at the present time.

If an appointment is arranged for Mr Paul to call on the Prime Minister, we shall supply appropriate briefing.

yours ever Rodoic Lyne

(R M J Lvne) Private Secretary

Michael Alexander Esq 10 Downing Street London

CONFIDENTIAL

GRS 80 COMFIDENTIAL FM DELHI 191039Z JUN 80 TO PRIORITY FCO TELEGRAM NUMBER 472 OF 19 JUNE

SWARAJ PAUL

 MRS GANDHI'S PRIVATE SECRETARY INFORMED ME TODAY OF A REQUEST WHICH SWARAJ PAUL HAS APPARENTLY VERY RECENTLY MADE FOR AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. THE PRIVATE SECRETARY UNDERSTOOD THAT SWARAJ PAUL HAD BEEN ASKED WHETHER

THE REQUEST WAS AT HIS OWN INITIATIVE OR WHETHER HE WAS MAKING
IT WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S BLESSING, WOULD I PLEASE TELL
YOU THAT SWARAJ PAUL HAD BEEN ASKED BY MRS GANDHI PERSONALLY
TO SEEN THIS APPOINTMENT

EWANS

THIS TELEGRAM WAS NOT ADVANCED

FILES
SAD
PS
PS|LPS
PS|MC BLAKER
PS|PUS
SIR.D. MAITLAND
MC DONALD

SWRAJ PAUL

Vice Chairman (Past Chairman) Indo/British Association and the driving force behind the Association since it was established in 1976.

Organiser in UK of Congress (I) Supporters Group.

A confidant of Mrs Gandhi who although resident in Britain and registered as a UK Citizen maintains very close links with the Congress (I) Party and with Mrs Gandhi personally. He was present in her party at the Independence Celebrations in Salisbury and at Tito's funeral in Belgrade when he greeted Mrs Thatcher when she met Mrs Gandhi. Rumours, which we think may be authentic, suggest that Mrs Gandhi may have prepared to nominate him as Indian High Commissioner in London. He is said to have declined for business reasons. His British nationality would have been another complication.

He has considerable business interests in Britain, is the Managing Director of Ambika Shipping Co Ltd, a UK registered company. Mrs Gandhi opened a new private steel fabrication factory which he owns in South Wales when she visited Britain in November 1978.

He has close links with Mr Eldon Griffiths MP who is currently Chairman of the Indo British Association.

23 JUN 1980

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NOTE FOR THE RECORD

BU 9 July

Mr. Swraj Paul

Mr. Swraj Paul, having earlier spoken to Mr. Pattison, rang me yesterday to pursue his request for a meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss the present state of Anglo-Indian relations. These, according to Mr. Paul, are deteriorating. He implied that there was a certain amount of activity directed against the Indian Government going on in London and Delhi which HMG should be aware of.

I told Mr. Paul that I did not think it would be possible for him to call on the Prime Minister as an emissary of Mrs. Gandhi - which was the role he was claiming - unless he were preceded by a letter from Mrs. Gandhi asking the Prime Minister to receive him. Mr. Paul appeared to take this in good part and said he would get in touch with Delhi.

I subsequently spoke to Mr. Lyne in the FCO. Mr. Lyne told me that Mr. Paul was well-known to the FCO, and that he was indeed an acquaintance of Mrs. Gandhi. However, Mr. Paul's role now that Mrs. Gandhi was once more in office was not altogether clear. Mr. Lyne thought that the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary would agree that the Prime Minister should not receive Mr. Paul unless specifically asked to do so by Mrs. Gandi. It would, obviously, be preferable for Mrs. Gandhi to use her High Commissioner here to convey any concerns which she had about the state of relations between the two countries.

18 June, 1980.



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Mr 30VAS PAUL gues to M lathon but not spelt.

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12/6.

PA SWRAT PAUL.

