

SECRET

AP/4

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Assassination of Mrs Gandhi.

DEATHS

~~Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi~~
(21.5.91) - New file created by Gray 25/11/2014

(BRIEFING FOLDER ATTACHED) - Added to main file by Gray

OCTOBER 1984.

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
31.10.84							
3/11/84							
8.11.84							
16.11.84							
20.11.84							
12.12.84							
22.5.91							
30.5.91							
14.6.91							

PREM 19/1663

Assassination of Rajiv Gandhi Documents

The following documents relating to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi which were enclosed on this file have been removed and a new file created for them.

The documents cover the period 21 May 1991 to 19 June 1991 and are therefore not part of the Margaret Thatcher administration.

The new file will be released in 2017 with other John Major administration files for 1991.

The removed documents are:

Letter Shukla to Wall dated 19 June 1991
Letter Singhvi to PM dated 14 June 1991
Letter Venkataraman to PM dated 5 June 1991
Letter Shekar to PM dated 27 May 1991
Letter Singhvi to PM dated 27 May 1991
Telegram 530 dated May 1991
Minute Cradock to Wall dated 22 May 1991
Telegram 502 dated May 1991
Telegram 501 dated May 1991
Letter Wall to Gass dated 21 May 1991 with enclosures

Signed

J. Gray

Date

28/11/2014

PREM Records Team


Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Telephone 01- 273 3633

Sir Robert Wade-Grey KCMG , KCVO
 British High Commission
 New Delhi

Your reference

Our reference

Date 12 December 1984

MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

1. I am sorry not to have replied earlier to your letter of 20 November about the return journey by RAF VC10 from Delhi to London after Mrs Gandhi's funeral.
2. On the first point Mr Callaghan was offered a seat on the RAF VC10 (FCO tel no 766 of 2 November) and indeed was told after on arrival in Delhi we could also fit his detective in, albeit in an 'uncomfortable seat', probably with the crew. In the end Mr Callaghan preferred to go on an earlier Air India flight. I do not think this decision was in any way due to the proposed seating arrangements on the RAF aircraft. From a conversation I had with him at your luncheon Mr Callaghan was anxious to get back to the UK as soon as possible.
3. With regard to Mr Griffiths' comment about the four spare seats, I am not sure where he found them. However he probably did not realise the complications of the fit of this particular aircraft. Certain sections of it were set aside for HRH Princess Anne and her party and we, the Prime Minister's party, had no control over the allocation of those seats. In the official compartment itself, where Mr Griffiths was seated, there was in fact only one spare seat, next to the Irish Prime Minister.
4. I hope this clarifies the points raised by Mr Griffiths. I am as you suggest copying this letter and yours to Charles Powell at No 10.

S Waghorn (Miss)
 Protocol Department

RESTRICTED



BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION
NEW DELHI, INDIA

From the High Commissioner
Sir Robert Wade-Gery

20 November 1984

Miss S M Waghorn
Overseas Conferences and Visits Section
Protocol and Conference Department
FCO

Dear Sheila,

RAF FLIGHT DELHI/LONDON: 4 NOVEMBER

Many thanks for your nice letter. It was great fun seeing you here, and we were all most grateful for your help in organising the whole party so smoothly.

2. There is one small point which I should perhaps report, in case it should have any repercussions. You may remember that Mr Callaghan asked whether he and his detective could have a lift home in the VC10 on 4 November. He was told that there would be room for him but not for his detective. I had just heard of this decision when I was asked by Mr Eldon Griffiths MP whether he too might have a lift in the VC10. I said I thought this would be impossible, since I understood that we had only just been able to find one spare seat for Mr Callaghan. When I reported this conversation to the Prime Minister and her staff (I am not sure whether it was Robin Butler or Charles Powell who was present) she said that she would very much like an effort made to fit Mr Griffiths in. This was found to be possible, and someone (you?) telephoned him back to say so. Subsequently, Mr Callaghan withdrew altogether; I never discovered myself whether this was because there was no room for his detective or for some other reason.

3. I have now had a thank you letter from Mr Griffiths in which he mentions, in passing, that when he eventually got on to the VC10 there were "at least four spare seats". He did not sound particularly querulous about this, but he did clearly want me to know that I appeared to have been wrong in telling him that the aeroplane was already full. Although I shall not trouble to say so to him (or to answer his letter at all) I imagine the answer may be that for weight reasons the RAF were unable to fill all the seats. But it occurs

/to

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to me that Mr Callaghan might conceivably take umbrage if he were to hear by chance from Mr Griffiths that in the end there had been several spare seats on the plane. To avoid this probably remote danger, it might just be worthwhile somebody (eg the Prime Minister's PPS) explaining to Mr Griffiths why there were empty seats and urging him not to mention the matter in Mr Callaghan's hearing.

3. I am enclosing a spare copy of this letter which you may wish to pass to Charles Powell at Number 10.

Yours ever

Robert Henderson

113 DEC 1984

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9 3
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File 10

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

20 November 1984

I enclose a copy of a letter
to the Prime Minister from Rajiv Gandhi.

CHARLES POWELL

Peter Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

to

Pushkar Johari
Acting High Commissioner



सत्यमेव जयते

INDIA HOUSE
ALDWYCH, LONDON, WC2B 4NA

No. 659 /AHC/84

November 20, 1984

Dear Mr Powell,

I shall be grateful if the attached sealed cover from Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India to the Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, is transmitted to its high destination.

Yours sincerely,

(Pushkar Johari)

Mr Charles Powell
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Encl: As above.

PRIME MINISTER

20 v

Sikh Demonstration

The demonstration planned for 18 November has been banned.

But there is a hiccup. The DOE had already granted permission for Hyde Park to be used as an assembly point. That permission has now been revoked but it may be too late to stop some Sikhs from converging on it. The police will judge on the spot how best to handle any who do come, with the aim of not provoking them into heading off towards the Indian High Commission.

CAP

16 November 1984

Death of Gandhi

Prime Minister
CDP
25/11



PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T1868/84

PRIME MINISTER
INDIA

New Delhi
November 8, 1984

Dear Prime Minister,

I was touched by your coming all the way to Delhi to share in our grief and sorrow. Your presence was a source of strength to us. I myself was profoundly moved by your words of comfort.

Thank you for your kind invitation. I should welcome an opportunity to pay a visit to your great country at a time mutually convenient to both of us.

Once again, may I thank you sincerely for your expression of sympathy and solidarity with us.

With best regards,
Rohilla

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,
London.

GRS 440

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FM NEW DELHI 080815Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 926 OF 9 NOVEMBER

MIPT: CHAUHAN

1. TEXT OF BBC DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S LETTER AS FOLLOWS:

BEGINS:

DEAR HIGH COMMISSIONER,

File. Indian High Commissioner

I AM WRITING TO EXPRESS MY DEEP SORROW AND DISTRESS AT THE NEWS OF THE DEATH OF MRS GANDHI. I RECALL SO WELL MY MEETING WITH HER EARLIER THIS YEAR DURING MY MEMORABLE AND HAPPY VISIT TO INDIA. ONE COULD NOT FAIL TO BE IMPRESSED BY HER DIGNITY.

MRS GANDHI'S DEATH WAS A GREAT SHOCK TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND WE SOUGHT TO REFLECT THIS IN OUR BROADCASTS. YOU MAY KNOW THAT BBC 2 AND RADIO 4 ON SATURDAY MORNING CARRIED COVERAGE OF THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES FOR MRS GANDHI. ON THE DAY OF THE ASSASSINATION THERE WAS EXTENSIVE BROADCASTING ON BBC RADIO AND TELEVISION OF THE EVENTS IN INDIA AND THE WIDESPREAD SORROW AND REVULSION AMONGST BRITISH AND WORLD LEADERS.

ALTHOUGH I KNOW THERE HAS BEEN ANGER AND CONCERN IN INDIA, AND INDEED IN THIS COUNTRY, AT THE UNRESTRAINED AND TO MANY OF US DEEPLY DISTATEFUL PUBLIC RESPONSE OF SOME SIKHS TO MRS GANDHI'S DEATH, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THE BBC SHOULD REPORT THIS IMMEDIATE REACTION WITHIN A SMALL PART OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE ASSASSINATION WAS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY TWO SIKHS MEMBERS OF MRS GANDHI'S BODYGUARD.

I WOULD EMPHASISE THAT THIS WAS ONLY A VERY SMALL ELEMENT WITHIN THE COVERAGE AS A WHOLE, WHICH CONCENTRATED ON THE SENSE OF GRIEF AND LOSS AT THE DEATH OF MRS GANDHI. INDEED, MANY CONTRIBUTORS TO OUR PROGRAMMES STRESSED THE NEED FOR ALL INDIANS TO WORK TOGETHER FOR RECONCILIATION.

I KNOW THAT THE INTERVIEWING OF DR JAGJIT SINGH CHAUHAN ON RADIO LONDON ON 31 OCTOBER HAS CAUSED PARTICULAR DISMAY AND ANGER. I REGRET VERY MUCH THAT DR CHAUHAN'S CLAIM TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE KHALISTAN GOVERNMENT AND, INDEED, HIS STATUS WITHIN THE SIKH COMMUNITY, WAS NOT CHALLENGED WITHIN THE PROGRAMME: AND I SHARE THE DISTASTE OF SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AT THE SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY HIM, AND I HAVE MADE CLEAR MY RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF CARRYING THE INTERVIEW AT ALL.

-1-
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/MAY

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MAY I ASSURE YOU THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF DR CHAUHAN BEING INVITED TO BROADCAST AGAIN WITHOUT THE PERSONAL PERMISSION OF MY ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL, ALN PROTHEROE. ONE FURTHER POINT, DR CHAUHAN HAS NOT BROADCAST ON THE WORLD SERVICE OR ON ANY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE SERVICES OF OUR EXTERNAL SERVICES. IN FACT, THE INTERVIEW WAS USED ONLY ON OUR RADIO LONDON LOCAL STATION: IT WAS NOT RE-BROADCAST ON NATIONAL RADIO.

YOUR SINCERELY (ALASDAIR MILNE)

ENDS

WADE-GERY

LIMITED

SAD
SCU
PUSD
MUD
PS
PS / LADY YOUNG.
PS / MR. RENTON.
PS / PUS.
SIR W. HARDING.
MR. WILSON.
MR. BARRINGTON.

COPIES TO .

MR HARRINGTON - F4 DIV
HOME OFFICE.

COPIES SENT TO
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

- 2 -
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PP DHAKA

PP ISLAMABAAD

PP NEW DELHI

GRS 360
UNCLASSIFIED
FM COI LONDON
TO PRIORITY INFORMATION ADDRESSEES
TELNO RETRACT 003
OF 030719Z NOV 84

PRINCESS ANNE AND MRS THATCHER LEAD BRITISH MOURNERS
BY JACK ENSOLL, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI (LPS) BRITISH POLITICAL LEADERS LED BY PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER ARRIVED HERE TODAY (3 NOVEMBER) FOR THE FUNERAL OF ASSASSINATED INDIAN LEADER MRS INDIRA GANDHI. THE SIZE OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION IS EVIDENCE OF BRITAIN'S SUPPORT FOR THOSE WHO ARE GUIDING INDIA IN THE DIFFICULT DAYS THROUGH WHICH IT IS NOW PASSING AND ITS CONCERN THAT THE CONTINUITY OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ENSURED.

MRS THATCHER WAS ACCOMPANIED ON THE PLANE FROM LONDON BY MR NEIL KINNOCK, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION; MR DAVID STEEL, LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY; AND DR DAVID OWEN, LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND A FORMER LABOUR PARTY FOREIGN MINISTER.

THEY JOINED PRINCESS ANNE, WHO HAS BEEN IN INDIA ON WORK FOR THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND, AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER BEFORE GOING TO PAY THEIR LAST RESPECTS TO MRS GANDHI WHO HAS BEEN LYING IN STATE AT TEENMOURTI HOUSE, THE FORMER HOME OF HER FATHER, MR PANDIT NEHRU. THE PARTY WAS ALSO JOINED IN DELHI BY A FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR JAMES CALLAGHAN, WHO HAS BEEN IN INDIA ON PRIVATE BUSINESS.

THE QUEEN WILL BE REPRESENTED AT TODAY'S FUNERAL BY PRINCESS ANNE AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY MRS THATCHER. THERE WERE WREATHS TODAY FROM BOTH BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND DOWNING STREET, THE ONE STATING SIMPLY 'IN MEMORY— ELIZABETH AND PHILIP' AND THE OTHER INSCRIBED FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

LATER THIS MORNING PRINCESS ANNE CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA, MR ZAIL SINGH AND MRS THATCHER HAD A BRIEF MEETING WITH MRS GANDHI'S SON AND SUCCESSOR MR RAJIV GANDHI. IT IS BELIEVED THAT AT THIS MEETING THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ASSURED HIM THAT BRITAIN WOULD STAND BY INDIA.

MRS THATCHER AND THE OPPOSITION LEADERS SPOKE TO JOURNALISTS BEFORE LEAVING LONDON YESTERDAY AND APPEALED FOR CALM BETWEEN THE HINDU AND SIKH COMMUNITIES IN BRITAIN. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN CONDEMNED MINORITY DEMONSTRATIONS AND WERE LAW-ABIDING.

ACCORDING TO MR KINNOCK THE BRITISH COMMUNITY WAS DEMONSTRATING CALM AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THE COMMONWEALTH SPIRIT. INDIANS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WERE GOOD CITIZENS AND COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY.
WADE-GERY

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OO NEW DELHI

GRS 1400

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FM COI LONDON

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELNO RETRACT 006

OF 032240Z NOV 84

AND TO PRIORITY NO 10

IMMEDIATE - "FOLLOWING FOR PRIME MINISTER AND CHIEF PRESS
SECRETARY"

COPY TO NO-TEN - PRESS OFFICE

FOLLOWING IS LPS SUMMARY OF FIRST EDITIONS OF PAPERS OF SUNDAY 4
NOVEMBER:

THE FUNERAL OF MRS INDIRA GANDHI IS THE MAIN NEWS STORY IN ALL
THE FIRST EDITIONS WITH THE OBSERVER CARRYING A PARTICULARLY
STRIKING FRONT PAGE PICTURE ACROSS SEVEN COLUMNS OF MRS THATCHER
PAYING HER LAST RESPECTS BESIDE THE BODY OF THE MURDERED PRIME
MINISTER. THE REPORT BY ROBIN LUSTIG AND SHYAM BHATIA IN NEW DELHI
POINTS OUT THAT ONLY A FRACTION OF THE EXPECTED MILLION-PLUS CROWD
TURNED OUT FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION AND THAT EVEN AS THE BODY WAS
BEING CARRIED ON TO THE FUNERAL PYRE, POLICE WERE CHARGING INTO THE
CROWD WELDING RIOT STICKS. JUST HOW MUCH OF A DYNASTIC RITUAL THE
FUNERAL WAS COULD BE GAUGED BY THE FACT, SAY LUSTIG AND BHATIA, THAT
TELEVISION COMMENTATORS REFERRED REPEATEDLY TO RAHUL GANDHI, RAJIV'S
YOUNG SON AS "THE FOURTH GENERATION." INEVITABLY, THE REPORT
CONCERNS ITSELF VERY LARGELY WITH THE PREVAILING UNREST IN INDIA AND
THE LIKELY IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THAT COUNTRY. SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS,
THE OBSERVER REPORTS, ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE TIGHT
RESTRAINTS UNDER WHICH THEY ARE OPERATING IN DELHI. IN AIDING THE
CIVIC POWER THEY CANNOT ACT ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE WITHOUT SPECIFIC
CABINET AUTHORITY, INCLUDING THE USE OF FIREARMS. IN INSIDE PAGES,
THERE ARE PICTURES OF THE WOMAN WHOM THE HEADLINE WRITER REFERS TO
AS "THE NATIONS MOTHER." THERE IS A CLOSE UP PHOTOGRAPH OF THE
BODY BEDECKED IN PETALS AND GARLANDS AND THERE IS ALSO A PICTURE OF
MRS THATCHER AND RAJIV GANDHI LEAVING FOR THE FUNERAL. IN ADDITION
TO A PROFILE OF RAJIV GANDHI HEADED "BORN WITH A SENSE OF
DYNASTY", THERE IS A DOUBLE PAGE SPREAD ON WHAT IS CALLED "INDIA'S
AGONY". A LEADING ARTICLE STATES: "IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AWFUL
EVENT WHICH TRIGGERED THE VIOLENCE, THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IS NOT,
ALAS, SURPRISING, BUT THEIR MANNER, WITH ITS TERRIBLE ECHOES OF THE
MAYHEM THAT PRECIPITATED PARTITION IN 1947, IS A EARNING OF THE ABYSS
THAT COULD OPEN UP IF THE MOBS ARE NOT QUICKLY CHECKED." ON MRS
GANDHI HERSELF THE PAPER SEES HER LEAVING "A MIXED LEGACY. THERE
HAS BEEN SOLID PROGRESS DURING HER PERIOD OF LEADERSHIP -- A HIGH
IMPROVEMENT IN FOOD PRODUCTION, CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ON THE
INDUSTRIAL FRONT. ON THE DEBIT SIDE, THERE HAS BEEN A DANGEROUS
GROWTH OF COMMUNALISM IN INDIA, FED BY HER APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO
PLAY FOR THE HINDU VOTE AND TO ALIENATE SUPPORT FROM BOTH MUSLIMS
AND SIKHS." THE LEADER ALSO CRITICISES THE SUCCESSION OF RAJIV WHICH
IT SEES "MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE MOGHUL EMPERORS OR THE
NAHARAJAHS." IN A TRIBUTE, MICHAEL FOOT WRITES: "IN SERVING THE
GREAT CAUSE OF THE UNITY OF INDIA, INDIRA GANDHI NEVER ACTED IN
HASTE OR IN REVENGE OR FOR PERSONAL INTEREST. SOMETIMES, MAYBE, SHE
ACTED WITH TOO MUCH PREHENSIVENESS, AS IN THIS LAST CRISIS. BUT WHO

PLAY FOR THE HINDU VOTE AND TO ALIENATE SUPPORT FROM BOTH MUSLIMS AND SIKHS." THE LEADER ALSO CRITICISES THE SUCCESSION OF RAJIV WHICH IT SEES "MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE MOGHUL EMPERORS OR THE MAHARAJAHS." IN A TRIBUTE, MICHAEL FOOT WRITES: "IN SERVING THE GREAT CAUSE OF THE UNITY OF INDIA, INDIRA GANDHI NEVER ACTED IN HASTE OR IN REVENGE OR FOR PERSONAL INTEREST. SOMETIMES, MAYBE, SHE ACTED WITH TOO MUCH PREMEDITATION, AS IN THIS LAST CRISIS. BUT WHO WILL DARE ELEVATE THAT JUDGEMENT INTO AN INDICTMENT? THE COOLNESS AND THE CALCULATION WERE NOT A POSE. THEY DERIVED FROM HER DEEP, LOVING KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA." UNDER THE HEADLINE "VENGEANCE", ROBIN LUSTIG AND SHYAM BHATIA DEVOTE ELEVEN COLUMNS DESCRIBING THE ASSASSINATION AND HOW IT WAS PLANNED AND BY WHOM. IT CONCLUDES: "...FIVE DAYS AFTER HIS (RAJIV'S) MOTHER'S ASSASSINATION, INDIA IS BALANCED ON THE BRINK. IF YESTERDAY'S FUNERAL PROVES TO HAVE BEEN THE FINAL OUTPOURING OF GRIEF AND RAGE, THE COUNTRY WILL STILL BE ABLE TO BIND ITS WOUNDS AND START COMING TO TERMS WITH THE START OF THE RAJIV ERA. BUT IF THE VIOLENCE CONTINUES -- AND PARTICULARLY IF THE SIKHS IN PUNJAB RISE TO WREAK THEIR OWN REVENGE -- THE FUTURE COULD BE BLEAK INDEED."

"ARMY CLAMP DOWN AS DEATHS TOP 1,000" IS HEADLINE IN THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH LEAD NEWS STORY WHICH ALSO CARRIES AN ITEM ON THE FUNERAL HEADED "MOTHER INDIA'S FIERY END." A FEATURE BY GORDON BROOK-SHEPHERD HEADED "CAN RAJIV RELY ON THE ARMY NOW..." STATES: "AFTER LAST WEEK'S EVENTS, ANY HINDU COLONEL COMMANDING AN INFANTRY BATTALION COULD NOT BE BLAMED FOR LOOKING ACROSS THE MESS-ROOM TABLE... IN A RATHER SPECULATIVE WAY AT HIS SIKH ADJUTANT. AFTER ALL, DESPITE THE LOYALTY OF THE SIKH SOLDIERY AS A WHOLE, THE MEN WHO STRUCK DOWN MRS GANDHI WERE SIKHS FROM HER OWN BODYGUARD, THE MOST TRUSTED AND CAREFULLY SELECTED OF ALL MEN... IN THE SHORT TERM, THE STRAINS AND SUSPICIONS GENERATED BY THE LONG-RUNNING SIKH CRISIS ARE BOUND TO AFFECT THE ARMY JUST AS THEY AFFECT THE NATION."

IN ITS "WEEK IN FOCUS" REPORT, THE SUNDAY TIMES GIVES A GLOOMY PROGNOSIS ON RAJIV STATING: "INDIA'S LIFE AND VALUES HAVE CHANGED RAPIDLY OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS., A DECLINE IN TRADITIONAL MORALITY WHICH HAS STILL TO BE MATCHED BY A GROWTH IN THE RULES WHICH REGULATE MODERN SOCIETY. RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM, HINDU AND MUSLIM AS WELL AS SIKH, APPEARS AS A SALVATION AND REFUGE AND A THREAT. RAJIV GANDHI HAS TO COPE WITH A MUCH MORE TROUBLED COUNTRY THAN HIS MOTHER INHERITED, AND ALL HE SEEMS TO HAVE WANTED FROM LIFE WAS A CAREER IN INDIAN AIRLINES AND A HAPPY FAMILY TO COME HOME TO. WHO WOULD WANT TO CHANGE PLACES WITH HIM NOW?"

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, ALONG WITH THE NEWS OF THE WORLD (THE ONLY OTHER OF THE FIRST EDITIONS AVAILABLE), GIVES PARTICULAR PROMINENCE TO MRS THATCHER'S CONDEMNATION OF SIKH DEMONSTRATIONS IN BRITAIN SUPPORTING MRS GANDHI'S KILLING. THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH GIVES ELEVEN PARAGRAPHS ON A BACK PAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S REVELATION IN NEW DELHI THAT POLICE IN BRITAIN HAD CONSIDERED BRINGING A PROSECUTION AGAINST DR JAGJIT SINGH CHAUHAN, THE SIKH LEADER WHO LAST JUNE PREDICTED THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS GANDHI AND HER FAMILY. THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH REPORT CITES A REUTERS ITEM THAT MRS THATCHER STATED THAT POLICE HAD INVESTIGATED THE REMARKS BUT "COULD NOT FIND ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO PROSECUTE HIM FOR INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE." THE PAPER REVEALS THAT DR SINGH HAS SET UP HEADQUARTERS IN WESTBORNE GROVE, BAYSWATER, FROM WHERE HIS FOLLOWERS ARE ISSUING "KHALISTAN" PASSPORTS, POSTAGE STAMPS AND CURRENCY.

ON OTHER TOPICS, MR ARTHUR SCARGILL CONTINUES TO COMMAND A GOOD DEAL OF SPACE, NOTABLY IN SUNDAY TELEGRAPH WHERE GEORGE JONES AND CHRISTOPHER ELLIOTT FILE A STORY STATING THAT DETAILED INVESTIGATIONS ARE UNDER WAY BY THE BUSINESS GROUP AIMS OF INDUSTRY TO DETERMINE WHETHER MR SCARGILL'S STRIKING MINERS ARE RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EASTERN BLOCK COUNTRIES. THE GROUP IS SAID TO BE INVESTIGATING A SERIES OF VISITS MADE BY MR SCARGILL TO THE SOVIET UNION, CUBA, BULGARIA AND EAST GERMANY. THE SUNDAY TIMES DEVOTES AN "INSIGHT" INVESTIGATION INTO DISCUSSIONS BY THE MINERS LEADER WITH LIBYANS. THE STORY STATES: "ARTHUR

SUNDAY TIMES DEVOTES AN "INSIGHT" INVESTIGATION INTO DISCUSSIONS BY THE MINERS LEADER WITH LIBYANS. THE STORY STATES: "ARTHUR SCARGILL'S MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF LIBYA IN PARIS ON OCTOBER 8, WHICH LED DIRECTLY TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS GOING TO TRIPOLI TO SEE COLONEL GADAFI, WAS NOT THE CHANCE ENCOUNTER HE CLAIMS. IT LASTED FOR OVER SIX HOURS AND WAS SET UP IN ADVANCE BY A WELL-KNOWN FIXER FOR LIBYA SPECIFICALLY TO DISCUSS FINANCIAL AID FROM LIBYA FOR THE STRIKING MINERS." ALSO IN SUNDAY TIMES AND ON THE MINERS' STRIKE, DONALD MACINTYRE, THE PAPER'S LABOUR EDITOR, REPORTS THAT THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD HAS STARTED TELLING INDIVIDUAL MINERS FORMALLY THAT IT HAD ENDED ALL ATTEMPTS TO REACH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN THE 34-WEEK STRIKE. IT IS HOPED, MACINTYRE REPORTS, THAT AN INTENSIVE NEW PROPAGANDA DRIVE, DESIGNED TO COUNTER THE EFFECTS OF MONDAY'S DELEGATE CONFERENCE OF THE NUM AND THE WEEK OF COALFIELD RALLIES PLANNED BY MR SCARGILL WILL LEAD TO A STEADY UPSWING IN THE NUMBERS RETURNING TO WORK IN KEY BAROMETER COALFIELDS SUCH AS LANCASHIRE AND NORTH DERBYSHIRE.

THE FIRST EDITIONS REPORT THE ARRIVAL OF TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT FROM THE RAF IN ADDIS ABABA, SPEARHEADING AN INTERNATIONAL AIRLIFT OF GRAIN TO STARVING PEOPLE IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES. JAMES MACMANUS IN ADDIS ABABA FOR THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH REPORTS THAT SHORTLY AFTER THREE HERCULES TOUCHED DOWN AT THE END OF A SIX HOUR FLIGHT FROM AKROTIRI THE FIRST RUSSIAN ANTONOV MILITARY TRANSPORT PLANES BEGAN TO LAND AT THE AIRPORT TO JOIN THE RELIEF OPERATION. THE REPORT SAYS THAT THE SOVIET AIR FORCE, WHICH IS SUPPLYING BOTH TRANSPORT PLANES AND HELICOPTERS, HAD NOT BEEN EXPECTED UNTIL NEXT WEEK. SAYS THE PAPER: "DIPLOMATS REPORT THAT THE RUSSIANS, WHO ARE ETHIOPIA'S CLOSEST ALLIES, WERE ANXIOUS NOT TO BE SEEN COMING SECOND TO THE RAF IN THE RELIEF OPERATION AND HAD BROUGHT FORWARD THE DESPATCH OF THEIR OWN AIRCRAFT."

OF INTERNATIONAL STORIES, THERE IS A REPORT FOR THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH BY HUGH DAVIES IN PEKING THAT NEW SINO-SOVIET TALKS, WHICH HAVE ENDED IN THE CHINESE CAPITAL, SHOWED NO SIGN OF ANY MAJOR STRIDES TOWARDS RAPPROACHMENT, DESPITE A RECENT MOSCOW SPEECH BY PRESIDENT CHERNENKO WHO HAD VOICED HOPE OF AN IMMINENT THAW IN THEIR "CHILLY RELATIONS." THERE ARE ACCOUNTS IN ALL THE PAPERS OF THE CROWDS GATHERED IN THE WARSAW SUBURB OF ZOLIBORZ FOR THE FUNERAL OF SOLIDARITY SUPPORTER PRIEST, FATHER JERZY POPIELUSZKO. THE FUNERAL IS REPORTED TO BE ONE OF THE LARGEST-EVER DEMONSTRATIONS OF SYMPATHY FOR THE OUTLAWED TRADE UNION. PRIESTS ESTIMATED THAT ALMOST HALF A MILLION PEOPLE ATTENDED FROM ALL OVER POLAND.

ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE SUNDAY TIMES "POLL OF POLLS" PUTS PRESIDENT REAGAN AHEAD OF WALTER MONDAILE BY 20 POINTS. THE LATEST SEVEN NATIONWIDE POLLS GIVE THE PRESIDENT A LEAD RANGING FROM 16 TO 24 POINTS.

ENDS LPS SUMMARY OF FIRST EDITIONS OF PAPERS FOR SUNDAY 4 NOVEMBER.

COI LONDON

NNNN

LUK 916/3RD

LXE 928/3

LDQ 992/03

OO FCO

OO NEW DELHI

OO ABU DHABI (ACTIONED)

OO PSO HSP

GRS 100

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BAHRAIN 030645Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 231 OF 3 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

INFO IMMEDIATE ABU DHABI AND PSO HSP

FOR HEAD OF SHIFT

FCO TELNO 155 OF 1 NOV - PM'S RETURN JOURNEY FROM NEW DELHI COMMUNICATIONS

1. OUR LATEST INFORMATION ON TIMING SUGGESTS PM'S FLIGHT WILL LEAVE NEW DELHI AT 040105Z AND ARRIVE BAHRAIN 040605Z (HQ 1 GP TELNO 021630Z). MIGHT I SUGGEST THAT WE OPEN COMMUNICATIONS LINK WITH ABU DHABI AT 040430Z AS NORMAL. BEING THE UK WEEKEND THIS SHOULD GIVE AMPLE TIME FOR ANY FLASH AND DESKBY TELEGRAMS FOR DELIVERY TO AIRCRAFT HERE. IF THESE TIMES SLIP THEY WILL SIMPLY MOVE INTO OUR NORMAL OFFICE HOURS.

HOLMES

NNNN

Destroy after			
Register			
Received in Registry			
3 - NOV 1984			
Desk Officer		Registry	
INDEX	PA	ACTION	
	1	2	NONE
PRIORITY			

CONFIDENTIAL

IMMEDIATE

LUK 890/03

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OO NEW DELHI

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI
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AND TO PRIORITY NO. 10

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IMMEDIATE - FOLLOWING FOR PRIME MINISTER AND CHIEF PRESS SECRETARY
COPY TO NO. 10 - PRESS OFFICE

FOLLOWING IS LPS SUMMARY OF FIRST EDITIONS OF PAPERS OF SATURDAY 3
NOVEMBER 1984:

THE TIMES' SPLASH IS WHAT IT CALLS THE APPALLING HINDU VENGEANCE
BEING EXACTED FROM THE SIKH COMMUNITY IT CONTINUED YESTERDAY AT A
SOMEWHAT LOWER LEVEL. BUT A NEW HORROR CAME TO LIGHT AS TRAINS,
WHICH HAD BEEN TRAVELLING OVERNIGHT BEGAN TO ARRIVE IN DELHI. MOBS
OF HOOLIGANS BOARDED THE CARRIAGES AND KILLED ANY SIKHS THEY FOUND.
THE STORY RUNS ALONGSIDE A PICTURE OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND HER
HUSBAND WALKING OUT TO THE PLANE WHICH WAS LATER BOARDED BY
OPPOSITION LEADERS. THE PRIME MINISTER IS QUOTED AS DISMISSING
SECURITY RISKS AS "JUST SOMETHING ONE LIVES WITH". IT ALSO QUOTES
HER SAYING SHE HAD RECEIVED A MESSAGE OF INDIGNATION FROM THE INDIAN
GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE "REALLY OUTRAGEOUS BEHAVIOUR OF A TINY
MAJORITY OF PEOPLE" WHO GLOATED OVER THE MURDER. THE OVERWHELMING
MAJORITY IN BRITAIN, SHE ADDED, CONDEMN SUCH DESPICABLE BEHAVIOUR.
BOTH SHE AND OPPOSITION LEADERS APPEALED FOR CALMBETWEEN HINDUS AND
SIKHS IN BRITAIN. THE PAPER, AS DO OTHERS, HAS REUTER REPORTS SAYING
THAT PRESIDENT ZIA OF PAKISTAN WILL ATTEND THE FUNERAL DESPITE THE
SECURITY RISKS. HE WAS THE FIRST TO PHONE MRS GANDHI'S SON AND
SUCCESSOR RAJIV AND OFFERED HIM FULL SUPPORT FROM PAKISTAN, WHICH
HAS DECLARED THREE DAYS MOURNING AND FULL SUPPORT FOR ANY ATTEMPT TO
IMPROVE RELATIONS.

THE EXPRESS SAYS THAT MRS THATCHER "SLAMMED GLOATING SIKHS"
PRIOR TO LEAVING HEATHROW AND THE HOME SECRETARY HAS BANNED ALL
MARCHES IN WEST LONDON AFTER FEARS OF CLASHES AT A HINDU RALLY IN
SOUTHALL TOMORROW (SATURDAY) TO MOURN MRS GANDHI'S DEATH.

THE MAIL CARRIES FRONT PAGE STORY AND PICTURE OF SIKHS BEING
BURNED ALIVE. IT ADDS THAT MANY OF THE PICTURES COMING OUT OF INDIAN
WERE TOO HORRIFIC TO PRINT AND THAT THE INDIAN CABINET WAS SHOCKED
AT THE SCALE OF THE MASSACRE. THE MAIL ALSO QUOTES THE SURVIVING
ASSASSIN AS BEING JUBILANT IN HOSPITAL DESPITE THE REMOVAL OF FOUR
BULLETS AND CLAIMING THAT AN INDIAN GENERAL ORGANISED THE PLOT. THE
PAPER ADDS THAT AS MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED WORLD LEADERS GATHERED IN
THE CAPITAL, A GROUP CLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KILLING WARNED
THAT THEY WOULD STRIKE AGAIN AT THE FUNERAL.

THE SUN, PUTTING THE RIOT TOLL AT 500, HAS A PICTURE OF THE PRIME MINISTER LEAVING HEATHROW SAYING THAT SHE MUST LIVE WITH THE RISKS.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES ALSO REPORTS THAT 500 ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE DIED DURING THE PAST THREE DAYS AND THAT AS WORLD LEADERS ARRIVED FOR THE CREMATION, POLICE OPENED FIRE AT 20 DIFFERENT PLACES IN THE CAPITAL TO TRY TO QUELL RIOTING. IT ALSO HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH RAJIV GANDHI LAST JANUARY WHEN HE WAS ASKED IF HE WAS REALLY READY FOR THE TOP POST. HIS REPLY WAS: "THAT'S A VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION BECAUSE I'VE ONLY BEEN IN THIS GAME FOR A COUPLE OF YEARS. YES, I THINK I'M IN IT FOR LIFE, BUT I DO THINK I NEED MORE EXPERIENCE." IT COMMENTS THAT HE HAS MADE AMAZING PROGRESS, GRADUATING FROM DOMESTIC AIRLINE PILOT TO PRIME MINISTER IN UNDER FOUR YEARS AND AT THE AGE OF ONLY FORTY.

AS DO OTHER PAPERS, THE FINANCIAL TIMES SAYS THAT THE FUNERAL WILL PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR HIGH-LEVEL TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS A CHANCE OF IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. IT REFERS TO OTHER STATE FUNERALS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND SAYS THAT DESPITE THE ABSENCE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRESIDENT CHERNENKO, MR SHULTZ AND MR TIKHONOV ARE SUFFICIENTLY SENIOR TO MAKE USEFUL CONTACTS.

THE TIMES SAYS THAT MR RAJIV GANDHI FACES THE PROBLEM OF WHEN TO HOLD A GENERAL ELECTION. IT SUGGESTS THE MOST APPROPRIATE TIME WOULD BE THE TURN OF THE YEAR WHEN THE FIVE YEARS LIFE OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT ENDS ON 20 JANUARY. THIS WOULD BE IN KEEPING WITH THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD SEE A NEW GOVERNMENT ASSEMBLING EARLY IN FEBRUARY. IT ADDS THAT THE ABSENCE OF PRESIDENTS REAGAN AND CHERNENKO WILL LIMIT THE PROSPECT OF THE FUNERAL BECOMING A HIGH-LEVEL INFORMAL SUMMIT LIKE SOME STATE FUNERALS IN THE PAST.

OTHER ITEMS BEING COVERED INCLUDE REPORTS OF TENSION SPREADING THROUGH POLAND AS 10,000 WAIT FOR THE BODY OF THE MURDERED PREIST TO ARRIVE AT THIS WARSAW CHURCH WHERE IT WILL LIE IN STATE THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT.

THE US HAS CARRIED OUT ITS FIRST EXECUTION OF A WOMAN FOR 22 YEARS WITH REPORTS SAYING THAT WHEN SHE WAS FINALLY EXECUTED CELEBRATING MODS WAVED PLACARDS AND OPENLY ENJOYED THE DEATH.

TALKS ON THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE US WHICH HAVE RAISED HOPES OF A SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN DISPUTE ARE TO CONTINUE NEXT WEEK WITH MR RF BOTHA LIKELY TO MEET DR CROCKER IN MUNICH ON TUESDAY.

CARDINAL BASIL HUME IS FLYING TO ETHIOPIA TOMORROW (SUNDAY) FOR A STUDY OF THE FAMINE AID CONDITIONS. TASS HAS ANNOUNCED THAT SVETLANA STALIN HAS RETURNED TO MOSCOW.

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(ONPASS TEN DOWNING STREET (PRESS OFFICE) AND FCO NEWS DEPT)

NOTE TO COI TELEPRINTERS: FOR AGREED DISTRIBUTION

PRINCESS ANNE AND MRS THATCHER LEAD BRITISH MOURNERS
 BY JACK ENSOLL, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI (LPS) BRITISH POLITICAL LEADERS LED BY PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER ARRIVED HERE TODAY (3 NOVEMBER) FOR THE FUNERAL OF ASSASSINATED INDIAN LEADER MRS INDIRA GANDHI. THE SIZE OF THE BRITISH DELEGATION IS EVIDENCE OF BRITAIN'S SUPPORT FOR THOSE WHO ARE GUIDING INDIA IN THE DIFFICULT DAYS THROUGH WHICH IT IS NOW PASSING AND ITS CONCERN THAT THE CONTINUITY OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ENSURED.

MRS THATCHER WAS ACCOMPANIED ON THE PLANE FROM LONDON BY MR NEIL KINNOCK, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION; MR DAVID STEEL, LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY; AND DR DAVID OWEN, LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND A FORMER LABOUR PARTY FOREIGN MINISTER.

THEY JOINED PRINCESS ANNE, WHO HAS BEEN IN INDIA ON WORK FOR THE SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND, AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER BEFORE GOING TO PAY THEIR LAST RESPECTS TO MRS GANDHI WHO HAS BEEN LYING IN STATE AT TEENMOURTI HOUSE, THE FORMER HOME OF HER FATHER, MR PANDIT NEHRU. THE PARTY WAS ALSO JOINED IN DELHI BY A FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR JAMES CALLAGHAN, WHO HAS BEEN IN INDIA ON PRIVATE BUSINESS.

THE QUEEN WILL BE REPRESENTED AT TODAY'S FUNERAL BY PRINCESS ANNE AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY MRS THATCHER. THERE WERE WREATHS TODAY FROM BOTH BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND DOWNING STREET, THE ONE STATING SIMPLY 'IN MEMORY - ELIZABETH AND PHILIP' AND THE OTHER INSCRIBED FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND.

LATER THIS MORNING PRINCESS ANNE CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA, MR ZAIL SINGH AND MRS THATCHER HAD A BRIEF MEETING WITH MRS GANDHI'S SON AND SUCCESSOR MR RAJIV GANDHI. IT IS BELIEVED THAT AT THIS MEETING THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER ASSURED HIM THAT BRITAIN WOULD STAND BY INDIA.

MRS THATCHER AND THE OPPOSITION LEADERS SPOKE TO JOURNALISTS BEFORE LEAVING LONDON YESTERDAY AND APPEALED FOR CALM BETWEEN THE HINDU AND SIKH COMMUNITIES IN BRITAIN. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN CONDEMNED MINORITY DEMONSTRATIONS AND WERE LAW-ABIDING.

ACCORDING TO MR KINNOCK THE BRITISH COMMUNITY WAS DEMONSTRATING CALM AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THE COMMONWEALTH SPIRIT. INDIANS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WERE GOOD CITIZENS AND COMMITTED TO DEMOCRACY.

WADE-GERY

TelexCentroform London (No. 915 444) onpass ten Downing Street (Press Office)
and FCO News Dept

Note to COI teleprinters: For agreed distribution
PRINCESS ANNE AND MRS THATCHER LEAD BRITISH MOURNERS

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by Jack Ensoll, Chief Political Correspondent

New Delhi (LPS) British political leaders ~~arrived~~ led by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher arrived here today (3 November) for the funeral of assassinated Indian leader Mrs Indira Gandhi. The size of the British delegation is evidence of Britain's support for those who are guiding India in the difficult days through which it is now passing and its concern that the continuity of lawful government should be ~~ensured~~ ensured.

Mrs Thatcher was accompanied on the plane from London by Mr Neil Kinnock, Leader of the Opposition; Mr David Steel, Leader of the Liberal Party; and Dr David Owen, Leader of the Social Democratic Party and a former Labour Party Foreign Minister.

They joined Princess Anne, who has been in India on work for the Save the Children Fund, at the residence of the British High Commissioner before going to pay their last respects to Mrs Gandhi who has been lying in state at Teenmourtli House, the ~~house~~ former home of her father, Mr Pandit Nehru. The party was also joined in Delhi by a former British Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, who has been in India on private business.

The Queen will be represented at today's funeral by Princess Anne and the British Government by Mrs Thatcher. There were wreaths today from both Buckingham Palace and Downing Street, the one stating simply 'In Memory - Elizabeth and Philip' and the other inscribed from the Government and people of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Later this morning Princess Anne called on the President of India, Mr Zail Singh and Mrs Thatcher had a brief meeting with Mrs Gandh's son and successor Mr Rajiv Gandhi. It is believed that at this meeting the British Prime Minister assured him that Britain would stand by India.

Mrs Thatcher and the Opposition leaders spoke to journalists before leaving London yesterday and appealed for calm between the Hindu and Sikh communities in Britain. The overwhelming majority of the Indian community in Britain condemned minority demonstrations and were law-abiding.

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Haw

According to Mr Kinnock the British community was demonstrating calm at the present time and the Commonwealth spirit. Indians in the United Kingdom were good citizens and committed to democracy.

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TO FLASH NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 788 OF 3 NOVEMBER 1984

PLEASE PASS TO PRIME MINISTER IN TIME FOR HER MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ.

LAKER : LONDON CONSULTATIONS 1/2 NOVEMBER

1. LATEST ROUND OF OFFICIAL CONSULTATIONS WITH AMERICANS ON QUOTE FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS UNQUOTE IN LAKER DISPUTE ENDED IN LONDON ON 2 NOVEMBER. NEXT ROUND WILL BE IN WASHINGTON 8/9 NOVEMBER.

2. TALKS WERE FRIENDLY AND FRANK. PROGRESS MADE ON DETAIL OF AGREEMENT TO ALLOW QUOTE TRANSPARENT UNQUOTE INTER-AIRLINE DISCUSSIONS ON TARIFFS IN RETURN FOR NEW US LEGISLATION TO RELIEVE BILATERAL AIR SERVICES OF CIVIL ANTI-TRUST LIABILITY, BUT STILL A LONG WAY TO GO ON REST OF PACKAGE, IE MORE LIBERAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR TARIFF SETTING.

3. CHEAP WINTER FARES PROBLEM STILL UNRESOLVED: US SIDE AGREED TO CONSIDER OUR IDEAS TO TIGHTEN US ANTI-TRUST IMMUNITY GUARANTEES SO FAR OFFERED.

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 789 OF 3 NOV

FOR PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY TO SEE BEFORE DEPARTURE.

1. YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT REUTERS AND ASSOCIATED PRESS CARRIED THE FOLLOWING REPORTS AT 031725Z AND 031738Z RESPECTIVELY.
2. BEGINS.

THE EXILED HEAD OF THE SECESSIONIST SIKH REPUBLIC SAID TODAY THAT ASSASSINATED INDIAN LEADER INDIRA GANDHI DESERVED TO DIE AND HER SON AND SUCCESSOR RAJIV WOULD SUFFER THE SAME FATE. JAGJIT SINGH CHAUHAN, PRESIDENT OF THE SELF-STYLED REPUBLIC OF KHALISTAN, TOLD A LONDON NEWS CONFERENCE: WE WILL NOT PRAY FOR HER ... SHE EARNED IT.

HE SAID RAJIV GANDHI WAS AN ACCOMPLICE TO THE STORMING BY INDIAN TROOPS IN JUNE ON HIS MOTHERS ORDERS OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE, THE SIKHS HOLIEST SHRINE.

BUT HE STRESSED THAT HE WAS NOT INCITING SIKHS TO ASSASSINATE THE NEW INDIAN LEADER. I AM NOT INSTIGATING PEOPLE ... I AM SIMPLY TELLING YOU A HISTORICAL FACT.

HE SAID: SIKHS WILL NOT ALLOW TO LIVE THOSE WHO COMMIT SACRILEGE AGAINST THEIR HOLY PLACES. SIKHS WILL NEVER REST UNLESS AND UNTIL THEY TAKE REVENGE, AND THEY ALWAYS HAVE DONE. IT IS THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

REFERRING TO COMMUNAL VIOLENCE THAT FOLLOWED MRS GANDHIS MURDER BY TWO SIKH BODYGUARDS, CHAUHAN SAID HINDUS WERE EXTERMINATING SIKHS AND HE ACCUSE RAJIV OF BEING PARTY TO THIS.
ENDS

3. THE HOME OFFICE ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE POLICE ASKING THEM TO CONSIDER URGENTLY WHETHER THESE LATEST STATEMENTS INVOLVE THE COMMISSION OF ANY CRIMINAL OFFENCE. THEIR INITIAL IMPRESSION HOWEVER, IS THAT ONCE AGAIN CHAUHAN HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID USING WORDS WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY PROSECUTION, HOWEVER OFFENSIVE HIS REMARKS MAY BE.

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ITEM: BRITISH PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS OF SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING WITH MRS GANDHI
BY JACK ENSOLL, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI (LPS) TOGETHER WITH ABOUT 100 OTHER WORLD LEADERS, PRINCESS ANNE AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER ATTENDED THE FUNERAL TODAY (3 NOVEMBER) OF MRS INDIRA GANDHI IN THE BANK OF THE YAMUNA RIVER HERE. THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER WAS CREMATED AFTER A FUNERAL PROCESSION THROUGH THE HISTORIC STREETS OF THE INDIAN CAPITAL WHERE SHE HAD LAIN IN STATE SINCE HER ASSASSINATION LAST WEDNESDAY.

AMONG OTHER BRITISH NOTABLES WHO ATTENDED THE TENSE BUT EXTREMELY MOVING CEREMONY WERE THE LEADER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION, MR NEIL KINNOCK: THE LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, MR DAVID STEEL: AND THE LEADER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, DR DAVID OWEN: AS WELL AS FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR JAMES CALLAGHAN.

MRS THATCHER TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THIS EVENING (3 NOVEMBER): "THIS IS A JOURNEY I HAD HOPED NOT TO MAKE BUT THE MOMENT I HEARD THE TERRIBLE NEWS OF MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT. I HAD TO COME."

THIS THE PRIME MINISTER SAID WAS BECAUSE OF HER ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR MRS GANDHI'S WORK AS AN INDIAN LEADER, FOR THE WAY IN WHICH SHE HAD DOMINATED INDIAN POLITICS OVER THE YEARS, FOR HER INFLUENCE IN THE COMMONWEALTH AND IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. MRS THATCHER ALSO FELT THAT SHE HAD SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING WITH MRS GANDHI BECAUSE BOTH OF THEM WERE FAMILY WOMEN. "WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO BE WARM, HUMAN AND LOVING AND AT THE SAME TIME FIRM, DETERMINED AND DECISIVE. IT IS A PARADOX THAT WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD. FOR INSTANCE WE BOTH KNEW LONELINESS BUT I THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS A SPECIAL QUALITY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WHEN WE MET."

MRS THATCHER WENT ON TO SAY THAT AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT SHE REPRESENTED IN BRITAIN WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN IN THE COUNTRY FOR GENERATIONS. THEY HAD BEEN JOINED MORE RECENTLY BY SOME SIKHS, MUSLIMS AND HINDUS. ALL THESE BRITISH PEOPLE HAD BEEN DEEPLY MOVED BY WHAT HAD HAPPENED TO MRS GANDHI AND SHARED THEIR SORROW AT THAT "TREACHEROUS DEED".

SPEAKING OF TODAY'S EVENTS THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO FIND WORDS TO DESCRIBE HOW DEEPLY IMPRESSIVE THE FUNERAL HAD BEEN. IT HAD BEEN CONDUCTED WITH DIGNITY AND THERE HAD BEEN A SENSE OF TOGETHERNESS WHICH MADE HER FEEL THAT SHE HAD BEEN PRESENT WITH THE FAMILY OF INDIA IN MOURNING.

SHE WENT ON: "I FELT ALSO THE FINALITY OF IT BECAUSE IT REPRESENTED THE CLOSING CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF MRS GANDHI BUT AS ONE CHAPTER CLOSED ANOTHER ONE OPENED," SAID MRS THATCHER, REFERRING TO A BRIEF MEETING THAT SHE HAD THIS MORNING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS GANDHI'S SON, RAJIV. OF HIM SHE SAID THAT SHE RESPECTED HIM GREATLY, ADMIRING HIS QUIET COURAGE AND HIS DIGNITY. HIS GREAT SORROW AT THE FUNERAL TODAY HAD BEEN THERE FOR ALL TO SEE. "I FEEL INDIA AND HE ARE ONE TOGETHER IN THEIR DESTINY OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS." IN THE TASK THAT LAY AHEAD SHE PLEDGED THAT HE WOULD HAVE ALL THE LOYALTY, SUPPORT, AFFECTION AND RESPECT BRITAIN COULD GIVE HIM.

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BELIEVED GREATLY IN INDIA AND FELT THAT IT WAS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT COUNTRY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. "I BELIEVE ITS PEOPLE HAVE A GREAT FUTURE AND HAVING SUFFERED THIS GREAT SORROW THEY WILL MAKE EVEN MORE OF THE FUTURE THAT IS YET TO COME."

UNITY

MRS GANDHI HAD ALWAYS BEEN STRONG ON THE UNITY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND AT THE FUNERAL TODAY THIS COULD BE FELT AND PEOPLE BECAME CONSCIOUS OF A UNITY IN WHICH MAHATMA GANDHI AND PANDIT NEHRU HAD PLAYED A PART. SHE BELIEVED THAT OUT OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES AND TRAGEDIES COULD COME STRENGTH AND THAT UNITY WOULD BE PRESERVED. INDIA WAS A DEMOCRACY AND MRS THATCHER BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD REMAIN SO AND IN A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION WOULD BE AN INSPIRATION FOR THE THIRD WORLD.

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WAS ASKED IF DURING TODAY'S ACTIVITIES SHE HAD BEEN REMINDED THAT ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO SHE HERSELF SURVIVED AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT WHEN THE IRA EXPLODED A BOMB DURING THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE IN BRIGHTON. SHE REPLIED THAT HER THOUGHTS TODAY HAD BEEN ONLY OF MRS GANDHI WHO AFTER THE BRIGHTON OUTRAGE HAD BEEN ONE OF THE FIRST TO WRITE A LETTER OF SYMPATHY TO THE BRITISH LEADER.

ASKED IF SHE HAD ANY MISGIVING ABOUT THE UNITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, MRS THATCHER SAID THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF BRITISH SIKHS, HINDUS AND MUSLIMS WERE MOURNING MRS GANDHI'S DEATH. SHE ADDED: "WE SAW A TINY IRRESPONSIBLE MINORITY BEHAVING OUTRAGEOUSLY AFTER THE ASSASSINATION. AS A RESULT THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WERE ANGERED, DISMAYED AND DISGUSTED." PEOPLE ABROAD SHOULD NOT BE MISLED BY THE ACTIONS OF A TINY MINORITY.

ASKED ABOUT INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS FROM OVERSEAS WHICH ARE BASED IN LONDON, MRS THATCHER SAID: "WE CANNOT CONTROL THEM BUT IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW THE POLICE AND THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS I HAVE NOT THE LEAST SHRED OF DOUBT WOULD TAKE THEM TO COURT. SO IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW THE NORMAL PROCESSES OF JUSTICE WOULD TAKE CARE OF THEM."

ASKED IF THAT WAS GOOD ENOUGH, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID IT WAS A PROBLEM WHICH WORRIED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT A GREAT DEAL. "IT IS A QUESTION WE ARE ASKED A GREAT DEAL BY MANY MANY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WHO COME TO LONDON AND WHO SAY TO ME THAT THERE IS A DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN THE CAPITAL WHICH IS PREACHING HATRED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF AN OVERSEAS COUNTRY. I SAY I AM SORRY BUT I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANYTHING I CAN DO ABOUT IT UNLESS THEY GET INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE WHICH, OF COURSE, IS DIFFERENT. THAT OF COURSE WOULD BE AN OFFENCE BUT I DO GO ON TO SAY, 'YOU SHOULD HEAR WHAT SOME OF THEM SAY ABOUT ME BUT I CANNOT DO ANYTHING ABOUT THAT EITHER'."

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING IN A FREE SOCIETY WAS THAT THERE WERE MANY MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DOING WRONG THINGS THAT WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN A TYRANNY. "WE ARE WELL AWARE," SHE ADDED, "OF THE ADVOCATES OF VIOLENCE AND THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING EVIDENCE TO BRING CASES TO COURT."

TOWARDS THE END OF MRS THATCHER'S PRESS CONFERENCE, THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NEW DELHI, SIR ROBERT WADE-GERY, SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTION OF THE ENGLISH CRICKET TEAM, AT PRESENT IN INDIA, PLAYING WHILE THE COUNTRY WAS IN A STATE OF MOURNING. HE ADDED THAT A NUMBER OF MATCHES HAD BEEN ARRANGED IN SRI LANKA. IN FACT AFTER MEETING THE PRESS THIS EVENING MRS THATCHER HAD TALKS WITH MR J R JAYAWARDENE, THE PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA.

HE WAS AMONG A NUMBER OF WORLD LEADERS WITH WHOM MRS THATCHER HELD DISCUSSIONS INCLUDING GEN. M ZIA-UL-HAQ, PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN. SHE WAS ALSO DUE TO SEE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE AND POSSIBLY UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ. BEFORE SHE STARTS HER JOURNEY BACK TO LONDON TOMORROW (4 NOVEMBER) MRS THATCHER HOPES TO HAVE A MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER NAKASONE OF JAPAN.
WADE-GERY

(LPS)

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3. 11. 84

PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE : SATURDAY 3 NOVEMBER

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, OBVIOUSLY THIS IS A JOURNEY I HAD HOPED NOT TO HAVE TO MAKE, BUT THE MOMENT I HEARD THE TERRIBLE NEWS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS. GANDHI THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, I HAD TO COME. I HAD TO COME BECAUSE OF MY ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR HER WORK AS PRIME MINISTER AND THE WAY IN WHICH SHE HAS DOMINATED INDIAN POLITICS FOR SUCH A LONG TIME. BECAUSE OF MY ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR HER WORK FOR THE COMMONWEALTH AND HER WORK AS A WORLD STATESMAN BOTH IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, THE CANCUN CONVENTION, WHERE WE WERE BOTH PRESENT, AND IN SO MANY THINGS. ALSO BECAUSE I FELT THAT IN ONE WAY, A VERY SPECIAL WAY, SHE AND I HAD SOMETHING IN COMMON. WE WERE BOTH PRIME MINISTERS; WE WERE BOTH FORTUNATE IN HAVING A WONDERFUL FAMILY; AND I THINK PERHAPS WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD WHAT TO SOME PEOPLE IS A PARADOX - NAMELY THAT ONE CAN BE WARM, HUMAN, LOVING, KNOWING ALL OF THE LITTLE THINGS OF LIFE AND AT THE SAME TIME FIRM, DETERMINED AND DECISIVE. IT WAS A PARADOX WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD. WE UNDERSTOOD THE LONELINESS OF THE WORK AND THEREFORE WHENEVER I SPOKE WITH MRS. GANDHI THERE WAS A QUALITY THAT WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN I SPOKE WITH OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AND SO OF COURSE I HAD TO COME. WE ARRIVED, PRINCESS ANNE OF COURSE IS REPRESENTING HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, AND I CAME REPRESENTING THE GOVERNMENT AND I HOPE THAT WE BOTH REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WHO WHETHER THEY HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR GENERATIONS OR WHETHER THEY HAVE COME TO BRITAIN RECENTLY, SOME OF THE HINDUS, SIKHS, MUSLIMS, SO MANY DIFFERENT KINDS, I THINK I SPEAK FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WHEN I SAY THAT WE ALL DEEPLY MOURN THE LOSS OF MRS. GANDHI AND WE SHARE THE SORROW AND SHOCK IN INDIA AT THAT TREACHEROUS DEED. WHEN WE CAME THIS MORNING WE WENT TO THE LYING IN STATE. I WAS VERY GLAD TO GO BECAUSE IN A WAY ONE CAME A LITTLE BIT NEARER TO MRS. GANDHI AT THAT MOMENT. AND THEN WE WENT THIS AFTERNOON TO THE FUNERAL. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND WORDS TO DESCRIBE HOW DEEPLY IMPRESSIVE THAT OCCASION IS. IT IS IMPRESSIVE BECAUSE OF ITS DIGNITY, ITS TOGETHERNESS, AND THE FACT THAT ONE FEELS ONE IS PRESENT WITH THE FAMILY OF INDIA IN MOURNING A LOSS. I FELT TOO IN A WAY THE FINALITY OF IT AS A CLOSING CHAPTER OF THE LIFE OF MRS. GANDHI. THAT VOLUME HAS NOW BEEN CLOSED. BUT AS ONE VOLUME IS CLOSED, SO ANOTHER ONE BEGINS.

AND SO I SAW RAJIV GANDHI THIS MORNING. I HAVE KNOWN HIM FOR QUITE A LONG TIME. I LIKE HIM VERY MUCH INDEED. I RESPECT HIM GREATLY. I ADMIRE HIS QUIET COURAGE, HIS DIGNITY. HIS GREAT SORROW AT THE FUNERAL CEREMONY THIS AFTERNOON WERE THERE FOR ALL TO SEE AND I FELT THAT INDIA AND HE ARE ONE TOGETHER IN THEIR DESTINY FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS. WHEN I SAW HIM THIS MORNING WE SPOKE OF COURSE OF THE DEEP PERSONAL THINGS AND OF THE DEEP PERSONAL SORROW, BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT HE WILL HAVE ALL THE LOYALTY, SUPPORT, AFFECTION AND RESPECT THAT WE CAN GIVE HIM IN THE DAYS AND MONTHS AND YEARS THAT LIE AHEAD. I BELIEVE GREATLY IN INDIA. I LOVED IT THE DAY I FIRST VISITED IT AND I LOVE IT STILL. IT IS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT COUNTRY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. I BELIEVE THAT ITS PEOPLE HAVE A GREAT FUTURE AND I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL, HAVING SUFFERED THIS GREAT SORROW, MAKE EVEN MORE OF THE FUTURE THAT IS YET TO BE. THANK YOU.

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Q. MRS. THATCHER, A QUESTION OF A RATHER PERSONAL NATURE. A FEW WEEKS AGO YOU YOURSELF COULD HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT. WERE YOU REMINDED OF THAT TODAY?

PM. IN A STRANGE WAY IT DIDN'T BECAUSE MY THOUGHTS WERE ALL UPON MRS. GANDHI, AND THE TERRIBLE LOSS TO INDIA. MY THOUGHTS WERE WITH THE FAMILY WHO WERE ALL THERE TAKING SUCH A CLOSE PART AND ALL TOGETHER IN THE FUNERAL CEREMONY. I DO RECALL THAT MRS. GANDHI WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO SEND ME A MESSAGE AND I DO RECALL THAT EARLY IN THE MORNING AT ABOUT HALF PAST SIX WHEN I SWITCHED ON TO HEAR THE NEWS OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION, AND WE DID NOT THEN KNOW THE RESULT, THAT I COULD NOT THEN BELIEVE IT. BUT SOMEHOW I MANAGED TO SEPARATE THE TWO THINGS IN MY MIND EXCEPT THAT I UNDERSTAND AGAIN PERHAPS IN HAVING THIS IN COMMON WITH HER, YES THERE ARE DANGERS BUT THE WORK MUST GO ON. WITH HER THE WORK DID GO ON. WITH ME THE WORK WILL GO ON.

Q. MR. GANDHI HAS ASKED FOR UNITY BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT SECTS ...

PM. LOOK, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SIKHS, HINDUS AND THE MUSLIMS MOURN MRS. GANDHI'S DEATH. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WILL ACT TOGETHER AS DIFFERENT RELIGIONS BUT IN ONE COUNTRY AND A COUNTRY HAS MANY, MANY DIFFERENT VARIETIES, MANY DIFFERENT RELIGIONS, MANY DIFFERENT HABITS, AND MANY DIFFERENT CUSTOMS. BUT IT HAS AN ESSENTIAL UNITY THAT HAPPENS WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM - IT HAPPENS WITH INDIA TOO. YES, WE SAW A TINY IRRESPONSIBLE MINORITY BEHAVING OUTRAGEOUSLY, AND THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WERE ANGRY AND DISMAYED AND DISGUSTED. AND SO WERE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF SIKHS, MUSLIMS AND HINDUS, AND THEY SHOWED IT. AND THOSE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO REPRESENTED CONSTITUENCIES WHO HAVE MANY HINDUS AND MUSLIMS AND SIKHS WERE JUST AS SORROWFUL, JUST AS SINCERE AND DEEP IN THEIR ADMIRATION FOR MRS. GANDHI AND WHAT SHE HAD DONE

AS OTHERS WERE REPRESENTED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR MANY GENERATIONS. DO NEVER NEVER NEVER BE MISLED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR MANY GENERATIONS. DO NEVER NEVER NEVER BE MISLED BY A TINY MINORITY. JUST LOOK AT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY THAT FEEL THE SAME WAY AS WE DO. AND WOULD USE THEIR STRENGTH TO GO FORWARD TO SECURE THE UNITY AND PROGRESS OF INDIA.

Q. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN DO TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE MINORITIES, THESE REVOLUNTIONARY INDEPENDENT MOVEMENTS IN BRITAIN?

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Q. BUT IS THAT GOOD ENOUGH?

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Q. (NAME) ACTUALLY CALLED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS. GANDHI ON BRITISH TELEVISION.

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THEY DECIDE TO PROSECUTE OR NOT IS A MATTER FOR THEM. BUT THEY DID NOT AND THAT MUST HAVE BEEN BECAUSE THERE WAS IN THEIR VIEW NOT A SUFFICIENT CASE TO PROSECUTE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, DO YOU NOT FEEL THAT THERE IS A CASE THEREFORE FOR TIGHTENING UP OR ALTERING THE LAW ... INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE?

PM. INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE - I THINK THE LAW IS FAIRLY CLEAR. SOMETIMES IT IS NOT EASY TO GET THE PRECISE EVIDENCE BUT WE WILL HAVE A LOOK AT IT IF NEED BE. VIOLENCE IS SOMETHING WHICH IS AFFLICTING MANY DEMOCRACIES AT PRESENT. AND AS YOU KNOW, I FIGHT IT ON ALL FRONTS WHEREVER AND WHENEVER IT APPEARS. IT IS THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND I DO STAND VERY FIRMLY FOR DEMOCRACY. BUT WE MUST RECOGNISE AGAIN WHAT IS AN APPARENT PARADOX THAT IF YOU ARE A FREE COUNTRY THEN YOU ARE FREE TO SAY WHAT YOU THINK WITHIN THE LAW, BUT A FREE SOCIETY OFFERS MANY MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DOING THE WRONG THING THAN OF COURSE A TYRANNY. BUT THEN OF COURSE WHO WOULD WISH TO LIVE UNDER TYRANNY. AND THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN YOU DO HAVE A DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ASK. DO YOU RESORT TO THE METHODS OF A TYRANNICAL SOCIETY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE FREEDOM? YOU CAN SEE THE PARADOX. NOW I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE GOT JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT ANSWER IN BRITAIN. BUT WE ARE VERY WELL AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF VIOLENCE AND OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING EVIDENCE SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE OUR POLICE AND THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR INDICTING THESE PEOPLE TO BRING CASES TO COURT.

Q. DURING YOUR MEETING WITH MR. GANDHI DID HE COMMENT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE SIKHS?

PM. LOOK, THE MEETING I HAD THIS MORNING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ENTIRELY PRIVATE. WE DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL. I HAD MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR AND REPEATED AGAIN THE SAME THING WHICH I HAVE SAID TO YOU IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS EVENING, BECAUSE I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WHATEVER THEIR BACKGROUND ARE ABSOLUTELY AT ONE WITH ALL OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HAVE COME TO THE FUNERAL. WE GREATLY MOURN THE LOSS OF MRS. GANDHI

WE GREATLY ADMIRE HER AND MANY OF US HAD A VERY GREAT AFFECTION FOR HER AS WELL.

Q. DID YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI HELP BRITAIN TO WIN CONTRACTS IN THIS COUNTRY? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL HAVE EXACTLY THE SAME SORT OF RAPPORT WITH THE NEW PRIME MINISTER?

PM. WELL ONE CANNOT WIN CONTRACTS UNLESS ONES PEOPLE ARE EFFICIENT AND PUT IN VERY GOOD OFFERS AND VERY GOOD TENDERS FOR THE CONTRACTS. I OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT WILL CONTINUE. I THINK WE DO HAVE A SPECIAL FEEL FOR INDIA AND THAT ALWAYS HELPS. IN ADDITION TO THAT I THINK OUR COMPANIES ARE NOW VERY EFFICIENT AND THAT THEY WILL HAVE A VERY GOOD CHANCE OF GETTING FUTURE CONTRACTS IN INDIA BECAUSE OF THEIR EFFICIENCY. AND OF COURSE WE COME IN BEHIND THEM BECAUSE SOMETIMES IT IS A QUESTION OF ONE COMPANY IN ONE COUNTRY PLUS A GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY AGAINST ANOTHER COMPANY IN ANOTHER COUNTRY PLUS THE GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY. WE TRY TO SUPPORT OUR OWN COMPANIES JUST AS OTHER GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT THEIRS.

Q. YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI AT SOME POINT ...

PM. I THINK IT WAS A RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA. DOUBTLESS IT HELPED THAT I SAW MRS. GANDHI AND MADE A POINT OF SEEING HER QUITE FREQUENTLY AND IF EVER I CAME THROUGH INDIA OF COURSE I SAW MRS. GANDHI. BUT I THINK YOU HAVE TO MAKE CONTRACTS ON YOUR PERFORMANCE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, CAN I ASK YOU HOW MANY PEOPLE YOU ARE SEEING TODAY, THIS EVENING?

PM. QUITE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE, INDEED IT GOES UP RATHER FAST. PRESIDENT ZIA, PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE, PRESIDENT MACHEL, AND MR. SHULTZ, - THAT IS 4 THIS EVENING. I HAD JUST A BRIEF WORD WITH MR. GARRET FITZGERALD. OF COURSE I DO SEE HIM QUITE OFTEN. TOMORROW, WE LEAVE AS YOU KNOW AT 1030 BECAUSE I HAVE TO GET BACK FOR THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND I AM SEEING MR. NAKASONE EARLY TOMORROW MORNING BEFORE I LEAVE.

Q. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ENGLAND CRICKET TEAM ARE CONSIDERING THE FUTURE, OR INDEED THE LAUNCHING OF

INDIA. HAS YOUR GOVERNMENT MADE ANY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CRICKET AUTHORITIES?

PM. NOT AS FAR AS I AM AWARE. OBVIOUSLY IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE RIGHT TIME TO MAKE SUCH A REPRESENTATION. CRICKET MATTERS I AM SURE WILL BE DEALT WITH BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE MANAGING THE CRICKET TEAM AND THEIR INDIAN HOSTS. UNTIL TODAY WAS OVER I DOUBT VERY MUCH WHETHER THEY COULD HAVE CONSIDERED THE FUTURE OF THE TOUR OR WHAT TO DO IN THE INTERIM.

HIGH COMMISSIONER. COULD I SAY A WORD HERE? I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH TEAM WHO ARE HERE AND THEY HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES AND THEY HAVE REACHED FULL AGREEMENT WITH THEM THAT OF COURSE THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THE BRITISH TEAM PLAYING CRICKET IN INDIA, PUBLICLY, OR INDEED PRIVATELY, IN THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL MOURNING - NOBODY WILL BE DOING SO. THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT WHAT SOUND TO ME ARE GOING TO BE VERY SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESUMING THEIR INDIAN TOUR AS SOON AS THE PERIOD OF MOURNING IS OVER WITH THE MINIMUM ALTERATION TO IT. MEANWHILE, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT AND CONSENT OF THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES, THEY ARE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO SPEND A FEW DAYS NEXT WEEK OUT OF INDIA PLAYING CRICKET IN SRI LANKA. IT HAS BEEN SORTED OUT JUST IN THE LAST HALF HOUR.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, WHEN YOU SPOKE TO THE NEW PRIME MINISTER DID HE GIVE YOU THE IMPRESSION ... ASSASSINATION?

PM. LOOK, IT WAS BOTH A PRIVATE AND A COURTESY VISIT, AND OBVIOUSLY ON THE MORNING OF THE FUNERAL OF A DEARLY LOVED MOTHER AND PRIME MINISTER, IT WAS NOT THE OCCASION TO GET INTO GREAT DIFFICULTY, AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TACTLESS AND HEARTLESS AND THOUGHTLESS TO HAVE DONE SO.

Q. COULD YOU DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WILL BE TALKING ABOUT TO PRESIDENT ZIA?

PM. I DO NOT NORMALLY DESCRIBE WHAT I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT BEFORE I TALK ABOUT IT. I DO NOT THINK THERE WILL BE ANY SURPRISES IN THE CONVERSATION THAT WE HAVE.

Q. AND THE SAME APPLIES TO EVERYONE ELSE I PRESUME?

PM. I THINK SO.

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PM. LOOK, I SHARE YOUR SHOCK ABOUT THAT AND WAS PRETTY OUTSPOKEN ABOUT IT TOO. WHETHER OR NOT WHAT HE SAID ACTUALLY AMOUNTED TO A POSSIBLE CRIME WAS A MATTER FOR THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS AND THE POLICE, NOT FOR A POLITICIAN. BUT I BELIEVE THEY LOOKED AT IT, LOOKED VERY CAREFULLY AT WHAT WAS SAID, AND CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY COULD NOT IN FACT PROSECUTE. YOU KNOW THERE ARE SOMETIMES VERY DIFFICULT CASES. BUT WHETHER THEY DECIDE TO PROSECUTE OR NOT IS A MATTER FOR THEM. BUT THEY DID NOT AND THAT MUST HAVE BEEN BECAUSE THERE WAS IN THEIR VIEW NOT A SUFFICIENT CASE TO PROSECUTE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, DO YOU NOT FEEL THAT THERE IS A CASE THEREFORE FOR TIGHTENING UP OR ALTERING THE LAW ... INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE?

PM. INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE - I THINK THE LAW IS FAIRLY CLEAR. SOMETIMES IT IS NOT EASY TO GET THE PRECISE EVIDENCE BUT WE WILL HAVE A LOOK AT IF NEED BE. VIOLENCE IS SOMETHING WHICH IS AFFLICTING MANY DEMOCRACIES AT PRESENT. AND AS YOU KNOW, I FIGHT IT ON ALL FRONTS WHEREVER AND WHENEVER IT APPEARS. IT IS THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND I DO STAND VERY FIRMLY FOR DEMOCRACY. BUT WE MUST RECOGNISE AGAIN WHAT IS AN APPARENT PARADOX THAT IF YOU ARE A FREE COUNTRY THEN YOU ARE FREE TO SAY WHAT YOU THINK WITHIN THE LAW, BUT A FREE SOCIETY OFFERS MANY MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DOING THE WRONG THING THAN OF COURSE A TYRANNY. BUT THEN OF COURSE WHO WOULD WISH TO LIVE UNDER TYRANNY. AND THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN YOU DO HAVE A DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ASK. DO YOU RESORT TO THE METHODS OF A TYRANNICAL SOCIETY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE FREEDOM? YOU CAN SEE THE PARADOX. NOW I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE GOT JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT ANSWER IN BRITAIN. BUT WE ARE VERY WELL AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF VIOLENCE AND OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING EVIDENCE SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE OUR POLICE AND THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR INDICTING THESE PEOPLE TO BRING CASES TO COURT.

Q. DURING YOUR MEETING WITH MR. GANDHI DID HE COMMENT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE SIKHS?

PM. LOOK, THE MEETING I HAD THIS MORNING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ENTIRELY PRIVATE. WE DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL. I HAD MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR AND REPEATED AGAIN THE SAME THING WHICH I HAVE SAID TO YOU IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS EVENING, BECAUSE I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WHATEVER THEIR BACKGROUND ARE ABSOLUTELY AT ONE WITH ALL OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HAVE COME TO THE FUNERAL. WE GREATLY MOURN THE LOSS OF MRS. GANDHI WE GREATLY ADMIRE HER AND MANY OF US HAD A VERY GREAT AFFECTION FOR HER AS WELL.

Q. DID YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI HELP BRITAIN TO WIN CONTRACTS IN THIS COUNTRY? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL HAVE EXACTLY THE SAME SORT OF PARGORT WITH THE NEW PRIME MINISTER?

PM. WELL ONE CANNOT WIN CONTRACTS UNLESS ONES PEOPLE ARE EFFICIENT AND PUT IN VERY GOOD OFFERS AND VERY GOOD TENDERS FOR THE CONTRACTS. I OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT WILL CONTINUE. I THINK WE DO HAVE A SPECIAL FEEL FOR INDIA AND THAT ALWAYS HELPS. IN ADDITION TO THAT I THINK OUR COMPANIES ARE NOW VERY EFFICIENT AND THAT THEY WILL HAVE A VERY GOOD CHANCE OF GETTING FUTURE CONTRACTS IN INDIA BECAUSE OF THEIR EFFECIENCY. AND OF COURSE WE COME IN BEHIND THEM BECAUSE SOMETIMES IT IS A QUESTION OF ONE COMPANY IN ONE COUNTRY PLUS A GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY AGAINST ANOTHER COMPANY IN ANOTHER COUNTRY PLUS THE GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY. WE TRY TO SUPPORT OUR OWN COMPANIES JUST AS OTHER GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT THE IRS.

Q. YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI AT SOME POINT...

PM. I THINK IT WAS A RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA. DOUBTLESS IT HELPED THAT I SAW MRS. GANDHI AND MADE A POINT OF SEEING HER QUITE FREQUENTLY AND IF EVER I CAME THROUGH INDIA OF COURSE I SAW MRS. GANDHI. BUT I THINK YOU HAVE TO MAKE CONTRACTS ON YOUR PERFORMANCE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, CAN I ASK YOU HOW MANY PEOPLE YOU ARE SEEING TODAY, THIS EVENING?

PM. QUITE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE, INDEED IT GOES UP RATHER FAST. PRESIDENT ZIA, PRESIDENT JAYWEARDENE, PRESIDENT MACHEL, AND MR. SHULTZ, - THAT IS 4 THIS EVENING. I HAD JUST A BRIEF WORD WITH MR. GARRET FITZGERALD. OF COURSE I DO SEE HIM QUITE OFTEN. TOMORROW, WE LEAVE AS YOU KNOW AT 1030 BECAUSE I HAVE TO GET BACK FOR THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND I AM SEEING MR. NAKASONE EARLY TOMORROW MORNING BEFORE I LEAVE.

Q. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ENGLAND CRICKET TEAM ARE CONSIDERING THE FUTURE, OR INDEED THE LAUNCHING OF INDIA. HAS YOUR GOVERNMENT MADE ANY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CRICKET AUTHORITIES?

PM. NOT AS FAR AS I AM AWARE. OBVIOUSLY IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE RIGHT TIME TO MAKE SUCH A REPRESENTATION. CRICKET MATTERS I AM SURE WILL BE DEALT WITH BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE MANAGING THE CRICKET TEAM AND THEIR INDIAN HOSTS. UNTIL TODAY WAS OVER I DOUBT VERY MUCH WHETHER THEY COULD HAVE CONSIDERED THE FUTURE OF THE TOUR OR WHAT TO DO IN THE INTERIM.

HIGH COMMISSIONER. COULD I SAY A WORD HERE? I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH TEAM WHO ARE HERE AND THEY HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES AND THEY HAVE REACHED FULL AGREEMENT WITH THEM THAT OF COURSE THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THE BRITISH TEAM PLAYING CRICKET IN INDIA, PUBLICLY, OR INDEED PRIVATELY, IN THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL MOURNING - NOBODY WILL BE DOING SO. THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT WHAT SOUND TO ME ARE GOING TO BE VERY SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESUMING THEIR INDIAN TOUR AS SOON AS THE PERIOD OF MOURNING IS OVER WITH THE MINIMUM ALTERATION TO IT. MEANWHILE, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT AND CONSENT OF THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES, THEY ARE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO SPEND A FEW DAYS NEXT WEEK OUT OF INDIA PLAYING CRICKET IN SRI LANKA. IT HAS BEEN SORTED OUT JUST IN THE LAST HALF HOUR.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, WHEN YOU SPOKE TO THE NEW PRIME MINISTER DID HE GIVE YOU THE IMPRESSION ... ASSASSINATION?

PM. LOOK, IT WAS BOTH A PRIVATE AND A COURTESY VISIT, AND OBVIOUSLY ON THE MORNING OF THE FUNERAL OF A DEARLY LOVED MOTHER AND PRIME MINISTER, IT WAS NOT THE OCCASION TO GET INTO GREAT DIFFICULTY, AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TACTLESS AND HEARTLESS AND THOUGHTLESS TO HAVE DONE SO.

Q. COULD YOU DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WILL BE TALKING ABOUT TO PRESIDENT ZIA?

PM. I DO NOT NORMALLY DESCRIBE WHAT I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT BEFORE I TALK ABOUT IT. I DO NOT THINK THERE WILL BE ANY SURPRIZES IN THE CONVERSATION THAT WE HAVE.

Q. AND THE SAME APPLIES TO EVERYONE ELSE I PRESUME?

PM. I THINK SO.

CCNS: ANSWER NO.8 LINE 3 HAVE A LOOK AT IT IF NEED BE
ANSWER NO.9 LINE 9 OF MRS. GANDHI WE GREATLY...

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IMMEDIATE NEWSROOM

BRITISH PREMIER SPEAKS OF SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING WITH MRS GANDHI

BY JACK ENSOLL, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

1. NEW DELHI (LPS) TOGETHER WITH ABOUT 100 OTHER WORLD LEADERS, PRINCESS ANNE AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER ATTENDED THE FUNERAL TODAY (3 NOVEMBER) OF MRS INDIRA GANDHI IN THE BANK OF THE YAMUNA RIVER HERE. THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER WAS CREMATED AFTER A FUNERAL PROCESSION THROUGH THE HISTORIC STREETS OF THE INDIAN CAPITAL WHERE SHE HAD LAIN IN STATE SINCE HER ASSASSINATION LAST WEDNESDAY.
2. AMONG OTHER BRITISH NOTABLES WHO ATTENDED THE TENSE BUT EXTREMELY MOVING CEREMONY WERE THE LEADER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION, MR NEIL KINNOCK; THE LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, MR DAVID STEEL; AND THE HEAD OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, DR DAVID OWEN; AS WELL AS FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MR JAMES CALLAGHAN.
3. MRS THATCHER TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THIS EVENING (3 NOVEMBER): "THIS IS A JOURNEY I HAD HOPED NOT TO MAKE BUT THE MOMENT I HEARD THE TERRIBLE NEWS OF MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT. I HAD TO COME."
4. THIS THE PRIME MINISTER SAID WAS BECAUSE OF HER ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR MRS GANDHI'S WORK AS AN INDIAN LEADER, FOR THE WAY IN WHICH SHE HAD DOMINATED INDIAN POLITICS OVER THE YEARS, FOR HER INFLUENCE IN THE COMMONWEALTH AND IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. MRS THATCHER ALSO FELT THAT SHE HAD SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING WITH MRS GANDHI BECAUSE BOTH OF THEM WERE FAMILY WOMEN. "WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE TO BE WARM, HUMAN AND LOVING AND AT THE SAME TIME FIRM, DETERMINED AND DECISIVE. IT IS A PARADOX THAT WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD. FOR INSTANCE WE BOTH KNEW LONELINESS BUT I THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS A SPECIAL QUALITY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WHEN WE MET."
5. MRS THATCHER WENT ON TO SAY THAT AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT SHE REPRESENTED IN BRITAIN WERE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN IN THE COUNTRY FOR GENERATIONS. THEY HAD BEEN JOINED MORE RECENTLY BY SOME SIKHS, MUSLIMS AND HINDUS. ALL THESE BRITISH PEOPLE HAD BEEN DEEPLY MOVED BY WHAT HAD HAPPANED TO MRS GANDHI AND SHARED THEIR SORROW AT THAT "TREACHEROUS DEED".

6. SPEAKING OF TODAY'S EVENTS THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO FIND WORDS TO DESCRIBE HOW DEEPLY IMPRESSIVE THE FUNERAL HAD BEEN. IT HAD BEEN CONDUCTED WITH DIGNITY AND THERE HAD BEEN A SENSE OF TOGETHERNESS WHICH MADE HER FEEL THAT SHE HAD BEEN PRESENT WITH THE FAMILY OF INDIA IN MOURNING.

7. SHE WENT ON: "I FELT ALSO THE FINALITY OF IT BECAUSE IT REPRESENTED THE CLOSING CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF MRS GANDHI BUT AS ONE CHAPTER CLOSED ANOTHER ONE OPENED," SAID MRS THATCHER, REFERRING TO A BRIEF MEETING THAT SHE HAD THIS MORNING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS GANDHI'S SON, RAJIV. OF HIM SHE SAID THAT SHE RESPECTED HIM GREATLY, ADMIRING HIS QUIET COURAGE AND HIS DIGNITY. HIS GREAT SORROW AT THE FUNERAL TODAY HAD BEEN THERE FOR ALL TO SEE. "I FEEL INDIA AND HE ARE ONE TOGETHER IN THEIR DESTINY OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS." IN THE TASK THAT LAY AHEAD SHE PLEDGED THAT HE WOULD HAVE ALL THE LOYALTY, SUPPORT, AFFECTION AND RESPECT BRITAIN COULD GIVE HIM.

8. THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER BELIEVED GREATLY IN INDIA AND FELT THAT IT WAS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT COUNTRY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. "I BELIEVE ITS PEOPLE HAVE A GREAT FUTURE AND HAVING SUFFERED THIS GREAT SORROW THEY WILL MAKE EVEN MORE OF THE FUTURE THAT IS YET TO COME."

9. MRS GANDHI HAD ALWAYS BEEN STRONG ON THE UNITY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND AT THE FUNERAL TODAY THIS COULD BE FELT AND PEOPLE BECAME CONSCIOUS OF A UNITY IN WHICH MHAATMA GANDHI AND PANDIT NEHRU HAD PLAYED A PART. SHE BELIEVED THAT OUT OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES AND TRAGEDIES COULD COME STRENGTH AND THAT UNITY WOULD BE PRESERVED. INDIA WAS A DEMOCRACY AND MRS THATCHER BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD REMAIN SO AND IN A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION WOULD BE AN INSPIRATION FOR THE THIRD WORLD.

10. THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER WAS ASKED IF DURING TODAY'S ACTIVITIES SHE HAD BEEN REMINDED THAT ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO SHE HERSELF SURVIVED AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT WHEN THE IRA EXPLODED A BOMB DURING THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY CONFERENCE IN BRIGHTON. SHE REPLIED THAT HER THOUGHTS TODAY HAD BEEN ONLY OF MRS GANDHI WHO AFTER THE BRIGHTON OUTRAGE HAD BEEN ONE OF THE FIRST TO WRITE A LETTER OF SYMPATHY TO THE BRITISH LEADER.

11. ASKED IF SHE HAD ANY MISGIVING ABOUT THE UNITY OF RELIGIOUS SECTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, MRS THATCHER SAID THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF BRITISH SIKHS, HINDUS AND MUSLIMS WERE MOURNING MRS GANDHI'S DEATH. SHE ADDED: "WE SAW A TINY IRRESPONSIBLE MINORITY BEHAVING OUTRAGEOUSLY AFTER THE ASSASSINATION. AS A RESULT THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WERE ANGERED, DISMAYED AND DISGUSTED." PEOPLE ABROAD SHOULD NOT BE MISLED BY THE ACTIONS OF A TINY MINORITY.

12. ASKED ABOUT INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS FROM OVERSEAS WHICH BASED IN LONDON, MRS THATCHER SAID: "WE CANNOT CONTROL THEM BUT IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW THE POLICE AND THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS I HAVE NOT THE LEAST SHRED OF DOUBT WOULD TAKE THEM TO COURT. SO IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW THE NORMAL PROCESSES OF JUSTICE WOULD TAKE CARE OF THEM."

13. ASKED IF THAT WAS GOOD ENOUGH, THE PRIME MINISTER SAID IT WAS A PROBLEM WHICH WORRIED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT A GREAT DEAL. "IT IS A QUESTION WE ARE ASKED A GREAT DEAL BY MANY MANY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WHO COME TO LONDON AND WHO SAY TO ME THAT THERE IS A DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN THE CAPITAL WHICH IS PREACHING HATRED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF AN OVERSEAS COUNTRY. I SAY I AM SORRY BUT I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANYTHING I CAN DO ABOUT IT UNLESS THEY GET INVOLVED IN VIOLENCE WHICH, OF COURSE, IS DIFFERENT. THAT OF COURSE WOULD BE AN OFFENCE BUT I DO GO ON TO SAY, 'YOU SHOULD HEAR WHAT SOME OF THEM SAY ABOUT ME BUT I CANNOT DO ANYTHING ABOUT THAT EITHER'."

14. ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING IN A FREE SOCIETY WAS THAT THERE WERE MANY MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DOING WRONG THINGS THAT WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN A TYRANNY. "WE ARE WELL AWARE," SHE ADDED, "OF THE ADVOCATES OF VIOLENCE AND THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING EVIDENCE TO BRING CASES TO COURT."

15. TOWARDS THE END OF MRS THATCHER'S PRESS CONFERENCE, THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NEW DELHI, SIR ROBERT WADE-GERY, SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTION OF THE ENGLISH CRICKET TEAM, AT PRESENT IN INDIA, PLAYING WHILE THE COUNTRY WAS IN A STATE OF MOURNING. HE ADDED THAT A NUMBER OF MATCHES HAD BEEN ARRANGED IN SRI LANKA. IN FACT AFTER MEETING THE PRESS THIS EVENING MRS THATCHER HAD TALKS WITH MR J R JAYAWARDENE, THE PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA.

16. HE WAS AMONG A NUMBER OF WORLD LEADERS WITH WHOM MRS THATCHER HELD DISCUSSIONS INCLUDING GEN. M ZIA-UL-HAQ, PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN. SHE WAS ALSO DUE TO SEE PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL OF MOZAMBIQUE AND POSSIBLY UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ. BEFORE SHE STARTS HER JOURNEY BACK TO LONDON TOMORROW (4 NOVEMBER) MRS THATCHER HOPES TO HAVE A MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER NAKASONE OF JAPAN.

WADE-GERY

NNNN

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Retract 99 of 3/11

Immediate Newsroom

097 / 975

BRITISH PREMIER SPEAKS OF SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING WITH MRS GANDHI

by Jack Ensoll, Chief Political Correspondent

New Delhi (LPS) Together with about 100 other world leaders, Princess Anne and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher attended the funeral today (3 November) of Mrs Indira Gandhi on the bank of the Yamuna River here. The Indian Prime Minister was cremated after a funeral procession through the historic streets of the Indian capital where she had lain in state since her assassination last Wednesday.

Among other British notables who attended the tense but extremely moving ceremony were the Leader of the British Parliamentary Opposition, Mr Neil Kinnock; the Leader of the Liberal Party, Mr David Steel; and the Head of the Social Democratic Party, Dr David Owen, as well as former British Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan.

Mrs Thatcher told a press conference this evening (3 November): "This is a journey I had hoped not to make but the moment I heard the terrible news of Mrs Gandhi's assassination there was no doubt about it. I had to come."

This, the Prime Minister said was because of her enormous respect for her work as ^{Mrs Gandhi's} ~~the~~ Indian leader, for the way in which she had dominated Indian politics over the years, for her influence in the Commonwealth and in the Non-Aligned Movement. Mrs Thatcher also felt that she had special understanding with Mrs Gandhi because both of them were family women. "We both understood that it was possible to be warm, human and loving and at the same time firm, determined and decisive. It is a paradox that we both understood. For instance we both ^{knew} ~~understood~~ loneliness but I thought that there was a special quality in our relationship when we met."

Mrs Thatcher went on to say that among the people that she represented in Britain were people who had been in the country for generations. They had been joined more recently by some Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus. All these British people had been deeply moved by what had happened to Mrs Gandhi and shared their sorrow at that "treacherous deed".

↓ (Note)

Speaking of today's events the British Prime Minister found it difficult to find words to describe how deeply impressive the funeral had been. It had been conducted with dignity and there had been a sense of togetherness which made her feel that she had been present with the family of India in mourning.

She went on: " I felt also the finality of it because it represented the closing chapter in the life of Mrs Gandhi but as one chapter closed and another one opened," said Mrs Thatcher, referring to a brief meeting that she had this morning with the new Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi's son, Rajiv. Of him she said that she respected him greatly, admired his quiet courage and his dignity. His great sorrow at the funeral today had been there for all to see. " I feel India and he are one together in their destiny over the next few years. In the task that lay ahead she pledged that he would have all the loyalty, support, ~~and~~ affection and respect that Britain could give him.

The British Prime Minister believed greatly in India and felt that it was an extremely important country in the world affairs. " I believe its people have a great future and having suffered this great sorrow they will make even more of the future that is yet to come."

Mrs Gandhi had always been strong on the unity of the Indian people and at the funeral today this could be felt and ^{people} ~~one~~ became conscious of a unity in which Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru had played a part. She believed that out of present trouble and tragedies could come strength and that unity would be preserved. India was a democracy and Mrs Thatcher believed that it would remain so and in a spirit of reconciliation would be an inspiration for the Third World.

The British Prime Minister was asked if during today's activities she had been reminded that only a few weeks ago she herself survived an assassination attempt when the IRA exploded a bomb during the Conservative Party Conference in Brighton. She replied that her thoughts today had been only of the ^{Mrs Gandhi} ~~Indian leader~~ who after the Brighton outrage had been one of the first to write a letter of sympathy to the British leader.

Asked if she had any message about the unity of religious sects in the United Kingdom, Mrs Thatcher said that the overwhelming majority of British Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims were mourning Mrs Gandhi's death. She added: "We saw a tiny irresponsible minority behaving outrageously after the assassination. As a result the people of Britain were angered, dismayed and disgusted." People abroad should not be misled by the actions of a tiny minority.

If independence movements infringed the law the normal processes

↓ More

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Office) and FCO News Dept

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For Butler from Ensell

CORRECTION : THATCHER AT FUNERAL

Please delete fourth paragraph from end beginning "if independence movements
infringed the law" and insert.:-

Asked about independence movements from overseas which based in London,
Mrs Thatcher said: "We cannot control them but if they infringe the law ~~in~~
~~respect of~~ the Police and the Director of Public Prosecutions I have not the
least shred of doubt would take them to court. So if they infringed the law
the normal processes of justice would take care of them."

Asked if that was good enough, the Prime Minister said that it was
a problem which worried the British Government a great deal. "It is a question
we are asked a great deal by many many heads of ~~state~~ government who come to
London and who say to me that there is a dissident movement in the capital which
is preaching hatred against the government of an overseas country. I say I am
sorry but I do not think there is anything I can do about it unless they
get involved in violence which, of course, is different. That of course would
be an offence but I do go on to say, ' You should hear what some of them say
about me but I cannot do anything about that either'."

(Then go on to pick up paragraph beginning: " One of the problems
of living in a free society etc....)

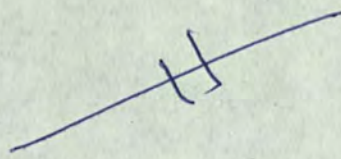
of the law could be invoked but evidence in such cases was often difficult to obtain and this worried the British authorities a great deal. Referring to a recent broadcast on British television in which a n immigrant speaker had apparently approved of the murder of Mrs Gandhi, the British Prime Minister said that she shared India's horror at what had been said. The police had apparently looked into the matter and had come to the ^{nc} conclusion that they were unable to prosecute.

One of the problems of living in a free society was that there were many more opportunities for doing wrong things that would not be available to people who lived in a tyranny. "We are well aware," she added, "of the advocates of violence and the difficulty of getting evidence to bring cases to court."

Towards the end of Mrs Thatcher's press conference, the British High Commissioner in New Delhi, Sir Robert Wade-Gery, said that there would be no question of the English cricket team, at present in India, playing while the country was in a state of mourning. He added that a number of matches had been arranged in Sri Lanka. In fact after meeting the press this evening Mrs Thatcher had talks with Mr J.R. Jayawardene, the President of Sri Lanka.

He was among a number of world leaders with whom Mrs Thatcher held discussions including Gen. M. Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan. She was also due to see President Samora Machel of Mozambique and possibly United States Secretary of State George Shultz. Before she starts her journey back to London tomorrow (4 November) Mrs Thatcher hopes to have a meeting ~~Prime~~ with Prime Minister Nakasone of Japan.

JE 3/11/84



Private Secretary

PM'S BILATERAL WITH MR SCHULTZ

The US Embassy say that the Secretary of State would like to be accompanied for his meeting with the Prime Minister by the following

Senator Baker

Senator Moynihan

Mr. Charlie Hill (Chief Exec
Asst. to S/S)

Mr. John Hughes (Dept of State
Press spokesman)

One or Two Note takers.

A total delegation of up to seven.

Please would you let me know if this is not acceptable, so that I can tell the US Embassy. The contact is Mr. Street, 600651 ext 469.

M.J. Williams

2 November 1984

PRIME MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE : SATURDAY 3 NOVEMBER

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, OBVIOUSLY THIS IS A JOURNEY I HAD HOPED NOT TO HAVE TO MAKE, BUT THE MOMENT I HEARD THE TERRIBLE NEWS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS. GANDHI THERE WAS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, I HAD TO COME. I HAD TO COME BECAUSE OF MY ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR HER WORK AS PRIME MINISTER AND THE WAY IN WHICH SHE HAS DOMINATED INDIAN POLITICS FOR SUCH A LONG TIME. BECAUSE OF MY ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR HER WORK FOR THE COMMONWEALTH AND HER WORK AS A WORLD STATESMAN BOTH IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, THE CANCUN CONVENTION, WHERE WE WERE BOTH PRESENT, AND IN SO MANY THINGS. ALSO BECAUSE I FELT THAT IN ONE WAY, A VERY SPECIAL WAY, SHE AND I HAD SOMETHING IN COMMON. WE WERE BOTH PRIME MINISTERS; WE WERE BOTH FORTUNATE IN HAVING A WONDERFUL FAMILY; AND I THINK PERHAPS WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD WHAT TO SOME PEOPLE IS A PARADOX - NAMELY THAT ONE CAN BE WARM, HUMAN, LOVING, KNOWING ALL OF THE LITTLE THINGS OF LIFE AND AT THE SAME TIME FIRM, DETERMINED AND DECISIVE. IT WAS A PARADOX WE BOTH UNDERSTOOD. WE UNDERSTOOD THE LONELINESS OF THE WORK AND THEREFORE WHENEVER I SPOKE WITH MRS. GANDHI THERE WAS A QUALITY THAT WAS NOT PRESENT WHEN I SPOKE WITH OTHER HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AND SO OF COURSE I HAD TO COME. WE ARRIVED, PRINCESS ANNE OF COURSE IS REPRESENTING HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, AND I CAME REPRESENTING THE GOVERNMENT AND I HOPE THAT WE BOTH REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WHO WHETHER THEY HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR GENERATIONS OR WHETHER THEY HAVE COME TO BRITAIN RECENTLY, SOME OF THE HINDUS, SIKHS, MUSLIMS, SO MANY DIFFERENT KINDS, I THINK I SPEAK FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WHEN I SAY THAT WE ALL DEEPLY MOURN THE LOSS OF MRS. GANDHI AND WE SHARE THE SORROW AND SHOCK IN INDIA AT THAT TREACHEROUS DEED. WHEN WE CAME THIS MORNING WE WENT TO THE LYING IN STATE. I WAS VERY GLAD TO GO BECAUSE IN A WAY ONE CAME A LITTLE BIT NEARER TO MRS. GANDHI AT THAT MOMENT. AND THEN WE WENT THIS AFTERNOON TO THE FUNERAL. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND WORDS TO DESCRIBE HOW DEEPLY IMPRESSIVE THAT OCCASION IS. IT IS IMPRESSIVE BECAUSE OF ITS DIGNITY, ITS TOGETHERNESS, AND THE FACT THAT ONE FEELS ONE IS PRESENT WITH THE FAMILY OF INDIA IN MOURNING A LOSS. I FELT TOO IN A WAY THE FINALITY OF IT AS A CLOSING CHAPTER OF THE LIFE OF MRS. GANDHI. THAT VOLUME HAS NOW BEEN CLOSED. BUT AS ONE VOLUME IS CLOSED, SO ANOTHER ONE BEGINS.

AND SO I SAW RAJIV GANDHI THIS MORNING. I HAVE KNOWN HIM FOR QUITE A LONG TIME. I LIKE HIM VERY MUCH INDEED. I RESPECT HIM GREATLY. I ADMIRE HIS QUIET COURAGE, HIS DIGNITY. HIS GREAT SORROW AT THE FUNERAL CEREMONY THIS AFTERNOON WERE THERE FOR ALL TO SEE AND I FELT THAT INDIA AND HE ARE ONE TOGETHER IN THEIR DESTINY FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS. WHEN I SAW HIM THIS MORNING WE SPOKE OF COURSE OF THE DEEP PERSONAL THINGS AND OF THE DEEP PERSONAL SORROW, BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT HE WILL HAVE ALL THE LOYALTY, SUPPORT, AFFECTION AND RESPECT THAT WE CAN GIVE HIM IN THE DAYS AND MONTHS AND YEARS THAT LIE AHEAD. I BELIEVE GREATLY IN INDIA. I LOVED IT THE DAY I FIRST VISITED IT AND I LOVE IT STILL. IT IS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT COUNTRY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. I BELIEVE THAT ITS PEOPLE HAVE A GREAT FUTURE AND I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL, HAVING SUFFERED THIS GREAT SORROW, MAKE EVEN MORE OF THE FUTURE THAT IS YET TO BE. THANK YOU.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Q. IT WAS DUE TO MRS. GANDHI'S SPECIAL QUALITIES THAT INDIA HAS HELD TOGETHER AS ONE NATION OVER THE PAST 16 OR 17 YEARS AND NOW THAT SHE HAS GONE, AND HOWEVER CAPABLE RAJIV GANDHI MAY BE, HE IS NOT AS EXPERIENCED A POLITICIAN IN A LONG, LONG WAY. ARE YOU WORRIED ABOUT WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN TO THE STABILITY OF INDIA AND ABOUT INDIA'S SPECIAL PLACE IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT?

PM. MRS. GANDHI WAS ALWAYS VERY STRONG ON THE UNITY OF INDIA. TODAY ONE FELT THE UNITY OF INDIA. I BELIEVE THAT WITH THE HISTORY OF PANDIT NEHRU, FIRST MAHATMA GANDHI, PANDIT NEHRU, MRS. GANDHI AND NOW RAJIV GANDHI, I FEEL THAT THERE WILL BE A PULLING TOGETHER, A RECONCILIATION TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF INDIA. OUT OF THESE TERRIBLE TRAGEDIES CAN COME STRENGTH AND A QUIET FEELING OF WHAT IS NEEDED FOR THE FUTURE. AND I BELIEVE THAT FEELING WILL BE THAT RECONCILIATION IS NEEDED AND THE UNITY OF INDIA WILL CONTINUE.

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT INDIA WILL RETAIN ITS NEUTRAL POSITION AS IT HAS DONE FOR SO LONG?

PM. I BELIEVE THAT INDIA WILL CONTINUE IN THIS VERY VERY IMPORTANT

POSITION THAT SHE HAS. NO COUNTRY CAN DENY ITS GEOGRAPHY EVER. BUT INDIA IS A DEMOCRACY. SHE REMAINS A DEMOCRACY, I BELIEVE SHE WILL REMAIN A DEMOCRACY. THEREIN LIES A HOPE AND INSPIRATION FOR THE THIRD WORLD AND A HOPE AND INSPIRATION FOR MANY OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO BE DEMOCRACIES BUT DO NOT YET HAVE THE CHANCE TO BE SO.

Q. MRS. THATCHER, A QUESTION OF A RATHER PERSONAL NATURE. A FEW WEEKS AGO YOU YOURSELF COULD HAVE BEEN THE VICTIM OF AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT. WERE YOU REMINDED OF THAT TODAY?

PM. IN A STRANGE WAY IT DIDN'T BECAUSE MY THOUGHTS WERE ALL UPON MRS. GANDHI, AND THE TERRIBLE LOSS TO INDIA. MY THOUGHTS WERE WITH THE FAMILY WHO WERE ALL THERE TAKING SUCH A CLOSE PART AND ALL TOGETHER IN THE FUNERAL CEREMONY. I DO RECALL THAT MRS. GANDHI WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO SEND ME A MESSAGE AND I DO RECALL THAT EARLY IN THE MORNING AT ABOUT HALF PAST SIX WHEN I SWITCHED ON TO HEAR THE NEWS OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION, AND WE DID NOT THEN KNOW THE RESULT, THAT I COULD NOT THEN BELIEVE IT. BUT SOMEHOW I MANAGED TO SEPARATE THE TWO THINGS IN MY MIND EXCEPT THAT I UNDERSTAND AGAIN PERHAPS IN HAVING THIS IN COMMON WITH HER, YES THERE ARE DANGERS BUT THE WORK MUST GO ON. WITH HER THE WORK DID GO ON. WITH ME THE WORK WILL GO ON.

Q. MR. GANDHI HAS ASKED FOR UNITY BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT SECTS ...

PM. LOOK, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE SIKHS, HINDUS AND THE MUSLIMS MOURN MRS. GANDHI'S DEATH. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY WILL ACT TOGETHER AS DIFFERENT RELIGIONS BUT IN ONE COUNTRY AND A COUNTRY HAS MANY, MANY DIFFERENT VARIETIES, MANY DIFFERENT RELIGIONS, MANY DIFFERENT HABITS, AND MANY DIFFERENT CUSTOMS. BUT IT HAS AN ESSENTIAL UNITY THAT HAPPENS WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM - IT HAPPENS WITH INDIA TOO. YES, WE SAW A TINY IRRESPONSIBLE MINORITY BEHAVING OUTRAGEOUSLY, AND THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN WERE ANGRY AND DISMAYED AND DISGUSTED. AND SO WERE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF SIKHS, MUSLIMS AND HINDUS, AND THEY SHOWED IT. AND THOSE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO REPRESENTED CONSTITUENCIES WHO HAVE MANY HINDUS AND MUSLIMS AND SIKHS WERE JUST AS SORROWFUL, JUST AS SINCERE AND DEEP IN THEIR ADMIRATION FOR MRS. GANDHI AND WHAT SHE HAD DONE

AS OTHERS WERE REPRESENTED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR MANY GENERATIONS. DO NEVER NEVER NEVER BE MISLED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN IN BRITAIN FOR MANY GENERATIONS. DO NEVER NEVER NEVER BE MISLED BY A TINY MINORITY. JUST LOOK AT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY THAT FEEL THE SAME WAY AS WE DO. AND WOULD USE THEIR STRENGTH TO GO FORWARD TO SECURE THE UNITY AND PROGRESS OF INDIA.

Q. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN DO TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE MINORITIES, THESE REVOLUNTIONARY INDEPENDENT MOVEMENTS IN BRITAIN?

PM. WE CANNOT CONTROL THEM. IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW THEN OF COURSE THE POLICE AND THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS WOULD, I HAVE NOT THE SLIGHTEST SHRED OF DOUBT, TAKE THEM TO COURT. SO THAT IF THEY INFRINGE THE LAW NORMAL PROCESSES OF THE LAW WOULD TAKE CARE OF THEM.

Q. BUT IS THAT GOOD ENOUGH?

PM. IT IS SOMETHING THAT WORRIES US A GREAT DEAL. IT IS A QUESTION WE ARE ASKED A GREAT DEAL BY MANY MANY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WHO COME TO LONDON AND THEN WHO TURN AND SAY TO ME THERE IS A DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN LONDON WHICH IS PREACHING HATRED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF AN OVERSEAS COUNTRY. I SAY WELL I'M SORRY THAT I DO NOT THINK THAT THERE IS ANYTHING THAT I CAN DO ABOUT THAT UNLESS THEY DO INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE, THAT OF COURSE IS DIFFERENT. THAT OF COURSE WOULD BE AN OFFENCE. BUT THEN I DO GO ON TO SAY YOU SHOULD HEAR WHAT SOME OF THEM SAY ABOUT ME. I CANNOT DO ANYTHING ABOUT THAT EITHER.

Q. (NAME) ACTUALLY CALLED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS. GANDHI ON BRITISH TELEVISION.

PM. LOOK, I SHARE YOUR SHOCK ABOUT THAT AND WAS PRETTY OUTSPOKEN ABOUT IT TOO. WHETHER OR NOT WHAT HE SAID ACTUALLY AMOUNTED TO A POSSIBLE CRIME WAS A MATTER FOR THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS AND THE POLICE, NOT FOR A POLITICIAN. BUT I BELIEVE THEY LOOKED AT IT, LOOKED VERY CAREFULLY AT WHAT WAS SAID, AND CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY COULD NOT IN FACT PROSECUTE. YOU KNOW THERE ARE SOMETIMES VERY DIFFICULT CASES. BUT WHETHER

THEY DECIDE TO PROSECUTE OR NOT IS A MATTER FOR THEM. BUT THEY DID NOT AND THAT MUST HAVE BEEN BECAUSE THERE WAS IN THEIR VIEW NOT A SUFFICIENT CASE TO PROSECUTE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, DO YOU NOT FEEL THAT THERE IS A CASE THEREFORE FOR TIGHTENING UP OR ALTERING THE LAW ... INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE?

PM. INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE - I THINK THE LAW IS FAIRLY CLEAR. SOMETIMES IT IS NOT EASY TO GET THE PRECISE EVIDENCE BUT WE WILL HAVE A LOOK AT IT IF NEED BE. VIOLENCE IS SOMETHING WHICH IS AFFLICTING MANY DEMOCRACIES AT PRESENT. AND AS YOU KNOW, I FIGHT IT ON ALL FRONTS WHEREVER AND WHENEVER IT APPEARS. IT IS THE NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY, AND I DO STAND VERY FIRMLY FOR DEMOCRACY. BUT WE MUST RECOGNISE AGAIN WHAT IS AN APPARENT PARADOX THAT IF YOU ARE A FREE COUNTRY THEN YOU ARE FREE TO SAY WHAT YOU THINK WITHIN THE LAW, BUT A FREE SOCIETY OFFERS MANY MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR DOING THE WRONG THING THAN OF COURSE A TYRANNY. BUT THEN OF COURSE WHO WOULD WISH TO LIVE UNDER TYRANNY. AND THERE ARE OCCASIONS WHEN YOU DO HAVE A DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ASK. DO YOU RESORT TO THE METHODS OF A TYRANNICAL SOCIETY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE FREEDOM? YOU CAN SEE THE PARADOX. NOW I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE GOT JUST ABOUT THE RIGHT ANSWER IN BRITAIN. BUT WE ARE VERY WELL AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF VIOLENCE AND OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING EVIDENCE SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE OUR POLICE AND THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR INDICTING THESE PEOPLE TO BRING CASES TO COURT.

Q. DURING YOUR MEETING WITH MR. GANDHI DID HE COMMENT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE SIKHS?

PM. LOOK, THE MEETING I HAD THIS MORNING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ENTIRELY PRIVATE. WE DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL. I HAD MADE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR AND REPEATED AGAIN THE SAME THING WHICH I HAVE SAID TO YOU IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS EVENING, BECAUSE I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WHATEVER THEIR BACKGROUND ARE ABSOLUTELY AT ONE WITH ALL OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS AND POLITICAL LEADERS WHO HAVE COME TO THE FUNERAL. WE GREATLY MOURN THE LOSS OF MRS. GANDHI

WE GREATLY ADMIRE HER AND MANY OF US HAD A VERY GREAT AFFECTION FOR HER AS WELL.

Q. DID YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI HELP BRITAIN TO WIN CONTRACTS IN THIS COUNTRY? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL HAVE EXACTLY THE SAME SORT OF RAPPORT WITH THE NEW PRIME MINISTER?

PM. WELL ONE CANNOT WIN CONTRACTS UNLESS ONES PEOPLE ARE EFFICIENT AND PUT IN VERY GOOD OFFERS AND VERY GOOD TENDERS FOR THE CONTRACTS. I OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT WILL CONTINUE. I THINK WE DO HAVE A SPECIAL FEEL FOR INDIA AND THAT ALWAYS HELPS. IN ADDITION TO THAT I THINK OUR COMPANIES ARE NOW VERY EFFICIENT AND THAT THEY WILL HAVE A VERY GOOD CHANCE OF GETTING FUTURE CONTRACTS IN INDIA BECAUSE OF THEIR EFFICIENCY. AND OF COURSE WE COME IN BEHIND THEM BECAUSE SOMETIMES IT IS A QUESTION OF ONE COMPANY IN ONE COUNTRY PLUS A GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY AGAINST ANOTHER COMPANY IN ANOTHER COUNTRY PLUS THE GOVERNMENT IN THAT COUNTRY. WE TRY TO SUPPORT OUR OWN COMPANIES JUST AS OTHER GOVERNMENTS SUPPORT THEIRS.

Q. YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MRS. GANDHI AT SOME POINT ...

PM. I THINK IT WAS A RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA, A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA. DOUBTLESS IT HELPED THAT I SAW MRS. GANDHI AND MADE A POINT OF SEEING HER QUITE FREQUENTLY AND IF EVER I CAME THROUGH INDIA OF COURSE I SAW MRS. GANDHI. BUT I THINK YOU HAVE TO MAKE CONTRACTS ON YOUR PERFORMANCE.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, CAN I ASK YOU HOW MANY PEOPLE YOU ARE SEEING TODAY, THIS EVENING?

PM. QUITE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE, INDEED IT GOES UP RATHER FAST. PRESIDENT ZIA, PRESIDENT JAYEWARDENE, PRESIDENT MACHEL, AND MR. SHULTZ, - THAT IS 4 THIS EVENING. I HAD JUST A BRIEF WORD WITH MR. GARRET FITZGERALD. OF COURSE I DO SEE HIM QUITE OFTEN. TOMORROW, WE LEAVE AS YOU KNOW AT 1030 BECAUSE I HAVE TO GET BACK FOR THE STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND I AM SEEING MR. NAKASONE EARLY TOMORROW MORNING BEFORE I LEAVE.

Q. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE ENGLAND CRICKET TEAM ARE CONSIDERING THE FUTURE, OR INDEED THE LAUNCHING OF

INDIA. HAS YOUR GOVERNMENT MADE ANY RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CRICKET AUTHORITIES?

PM. NOT AS FAR AS I AM AWARE. OBVIOUSLY IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN THE RIGHT TIME TO MAKE SUCH A REPRESENTATION. CRICKET MATTERS I AM SURE WILL BE DEALT WITH BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE MANAGING THE CRICKET TEAM AND THEIR INDIAN HOSTS. UNTIL TODAY WAS OVER I DOUBT VERY MUCH WHETHER THEY COULD HAVE CONSIDERED THE FUTURE OF THE TOUR OR WHAT TO DO IN THE INTERIM.

HIGH COMMISSIONER. COULD I SAY A WORD HERE? I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE BRITISH TEAM WHO ARE HERE AND THEY HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES AND THEY HAVE REACHED FULL AGREEMENT WITH THEM THAT OF COURSE THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THE BRITISH TEAM PLAYING CRICKET IN INDIA, PUBLICLY, OR INDEED PRIVATELY, IN THE PERIOD OF NATIONAL MOURNING - NOBODY WILL BE DOING SO. THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF WORKING OUT WHAT SOUND TO ME ARE GOING TO BE VERY SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESUMING THEIR INDIAN TOUR AS SOON AS THE PERIOD OF MOURNING IS OVER WITH THE MINIMUM ALTERATION TO IT. MEANWHILE, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT AND CONSENT OF THE INDIAN CRICKETING AUTHORITIES, THEY ARE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS TO SPEND A FEW DAYS NEXT WEEK OUT OF INDIA PLAYING CRICKET IN SRI LANKA. IT HAS BEEN SORTED OUT JUST IN THE LAST HALF HOUR.

Q. PRIME MINISTER, WHEN YOU SPOKE TO THE NEW PRIME MINISTER DID HE GIVE YOU THE IMPRESSION ... ASSASSINATION?

PM. LOOK, IT WAS BOTH A PRIVATE AND A COURTESY VISIT, AND OBVIOUSLY ON THE MORNING OF THE FUNERAL OF A DEARLY LOVED MOTHER AND PRIME MINISTER, IT WAS NOT THE OCCASION TO GET INTO GREAT DIFFICULTY, AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TACTLESS AND HEARTLESS AND THOUGHTLESS TO HAVE DONE SO.

Q. COULD YOU DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WILL BE TALKING ABOUT TO PRESIDENT ZIA?

PM. I DO NOT NORMALLY DESCRIBE WHAT I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT BEFORE I TALK ABOUT IT. I DO NOT THINK THERE WILL BE ANY SURPRIZES IN THE CONVERSATION THAT WE HAVE.

Q. AND THE SAME APPLIES TO EVERYONE ELSE I PRESUME?

PM. I THINK SO.

PRIME MINISTER

Press Conference and Media Issues

I have arranged for you to meet British press here at the Residence at 6.30 for about 30 minutes. The media have particularly requested to see you.

We have no idea how many journalists will turn up or be able to get here, but we shall record your remarks and play them back to any late enquirers. We shall permit radio and television to record the press conference. I will ask the journalists to concentrate on the funeral and Indian affairs and not on domestic (UK) issues.

I attach at Annex 1 a draft opening statement designed to set the scene and tone.

BBC, ITN and IRN would like short news interviews with you after the press conference but you have little time for them in view of your bilateral with President Zia at 7.30. You will in any case have had a very exhausting 24 hours and there is no advantage to you in giving interviews simply to please the British media, especially when your press conference is being filmed and recorded.

My advice would be to allow me to excuse you on the grounds of shortage of time.

If you do however decide to give radio and TV interviews I shall insist at the outset that each interviewer will allow me to stop him after 5 minutes. Otherwise I fear that crews available will take advantage of this opportunity to interview you.

You should be aware that some of the journalists covering the funeral are cricket correspondents. They have little knowledge of politics and the questions seem likely to concentrate on your memories of Mrs. Gandhi, your emotions on her assassination,

your impressions of the funeral and of course your attendance at a funeral only three weeks after the attempt on your life.

One final point before I rehearse the questions likely to arise: you have a vested interest in getting a few more words on record here in New Delhi condemning the gloating of a tiny minority of Sikhs in Britain. We would emphasise to the BBC the need to broadcast those comments.

(I have asked Jean Caines in London to impress on the BBC the need to keep repeating your words on leaving Heathrow. This is because I have learned from my host in the High Commission that the BBC World Service not merely broadcast Chauhan's inflammatory words on Wednesday, the day of the assassination, but again on Thursday.)

Questions likely to arise

- What you thought of Mrs. Gandhi; how you got on with her; your assessment of her as a stateswoman.
- Your emotions on learning of her death less than three weeks after the attempt on your life.
- Your impression of the funeral; your feelings during the ceremony.
- Your security fears and how security at the funeral was handled.
- Your impressions of Rajiv; your meeting with him today; how you think he will tackle his enormous task.
- The future of India and the Anglo-Indian relationship after Mrs. Gandhi; what do you have to say about Sikh extremists in Britain?
- The level of international representation at the funeral - good or bad; why did you come?

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- Why are you having so few bilaterals - why no meeting with the Russians, Chinese or countries you were to have visited on your Asian tour in September?
- What are your hopes for the England cricket tour; will you be seeing the cricketers?
- Logistics - when do you return (10 a.m. tomorrow); why the rush? - Queen's Speech Debate in which you speak on Tuesday.

Other Media

If we could organise it - and you were willing - you could usefully do two interviews tomorrow morning at, say, 8 a.m. for

BBC World Service
Indian TV or radio

Agree to give these interviews for up to, say, 15 minutes each? Content overall?

BERNARD INGHAM

3 November 1984

DRAFT SPEAKING NOTE : PRESS CONFERENCE

This is a journey I profoundly wish I had never had to make. I counted Indira Gandhi as a personal friend and I mourn her brutal, callous murder.

Princess Anne and I have of course represented the ^{Queen and the} British people and the Government of the United Kingdom at the ceremony today.

We paid our respects to Mrs. Gandhi lying in state this morning - our respects to a great stateswoman, a major world, Commonwealth, and non-aligned leader; the mother of her beloved India. And we have brought the condolences of our country to the Indian peoples.

I am sure I also speak for the overwhelming majority of Indians - Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Christian and others - living in Britain; how much they feel India's loss, how much they grieve with their fellow countrymen here in India.

The funeral ceremony was a moving experience for me, all the more so, as you can imagine, in view of the events in Brighton only three weeks ago.

But life must go on. India will go on and develop as a great democratic nation.

/ It was in

It was in that spirit that I saw Rajiv Gandhi this morning to bring him sympathy and, if possible, consolation but also encouragement, support, strength and loyalty in the huge task which confronts him. *I urged him to come to the United Kingdom as soon as he was able.*

My visit is very short but as you know there is the State Opening of Parliament on Tuesday after which I shall open the Debate on The Queen's Address. It is not therefore possible for me to have many bilaterals but I hope to see later this evening President Zia and George Shultz and tomorrow Prime Minister Nakasone of Japan before I leave for London at 10 a.m.

We shall return home still shocked and outraged by Mrs. Gandhi's murder but I am also sure with our ties of friendship with India reinforced.

Note of a meeting between the Prime Minister and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi
at 1 Akbar Marg.
at 10 a.m. on Saturday, 3 November, 1984.

Present:

Prime Minister

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi

Sir Robert Wade-Gery

Mr. G. Parthasarathy
(Acting Foreign Minister)

Mr. F.E.R. Butler

D. P.C. Alexander
(Principal Secretary to the Prime
Minister)

Mr. C.R. Garekhan
(Private Secretary to the Prime
Minister)

Mr. Sharada Prasad
(Press Secretary to the Prime
Minister)

The Prime Minister said that she wanted to express her deep sorrow at Mrs. Gandhi's death. She felt that she had lost a dear friend. Her discussions with Mrs. Gandhi had had a special quality.

The Prime Minister added that she deeply deplored the unseemly statements of some Sikhs in Britain following the assassination, and had made a statement condemning them. (Mr. Gandhi nodded his assent.) But these were an infinitesimally small minority, and a great majority of responsible leaders of the Sikh community in Britain had joined the rest of the British people in grief and sympathy with the people of India.

The Prime Minister continued that she was very glad that Mr. Gandhi had taken on the great responsibilities for the Government of India. She hoped to maintain a close relationship with him, and that he would pay an official visit to London as soon as he felt able to do so. He faced a difficult task that day, and there would be difficult problems in the coming weeks; but out of evil good could often come in unexpected ways. She was glad that he had around him some senior Ministers who had worked with his mother, and she gave him her best wishes and those of the British people.

Mr. Gandhi, in a short reply, said that the Indian people had great resilience, and had recovered from tragedies of this sort before. He hoped to be announcing the rest of his Cabinet appointments on the following day. He was very grateful for the Prime Minister's presence, and for what she had said to him.

F.E.R.B.

3 November, 1984.

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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 3258 OF 1 NOVEMBER

INFO PRIORITY NEW DELHI, MOSCOW, ISLAMABAD AND UKDEL NATO.

MY TELEGRAM NO 3247 (NOT TO ALL): FUNERAL OF MRS GANDHI.

1. SHULTZ'S DELEGATION INCLUDES SENATOR BAKER (RETIRING REPUBLICAN MAJORITY LEADER), SENATOR MOYNIHAN (DEMOCRAT, NEW YORK, AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE U N), CONGRESSMAN BROOMFIELD (RANKING REPUBLICAN ON HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE), AND CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ (DEMOCRAT CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE'S ASIAN SUB-COMMITTEE): AS WELL AS THREE FORMER AMBASSADORS TO INDIA (COOPER, GALBRAITH AND GOEHN): AND BURT AND HUGHES FROM STATE.

2. SHULTZ HOPES FOR BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, AND WITH THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET, CHINESE AND PAKISTANI DELEGATIONS. HE ALSO HOPES TO SEE RAJIV GANDHI, AND TO LEAVE DELHI ON THE EVENING OF 3 NOVEMBER.

3. STATE DEPARTMENT EXPECT SHULTZ TO TAKE UP WITH THE RUSSIANS INSINUATIONS IN TASS AND MOSCOW RADIO REPORTS THAT THE C I A WERE SOMEHOW MIXED UP IN MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION (MOSCOW TELEGRAM NO 1251), ABOUT WHICH THE STATE DEPARTMENT TWICE PROTESTED TO THE SOVIET EMBASSY ON 31 OCTOBER. GROMYKO'S RESPONSE TO HARTMAN'S APPROACH IN MOSCOW (MY TELEGRAM NO 3241) HAD BEEN SEEN AS FORTH-COMING, BUT BELIED BY THE SUBSEQUENT SOVIET REPORTING.

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 772 OF 2 NOVEMBER

YOUR TEL NO 867: UK SIKH REACTION TO MRS GANDHI'S MURDER

1. WE HAVE TELEGRAPHED TO YOU THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT EXPRESSING HER REPUGNANCE AT REACTIONS BY SIKH EXTREMISTS HERE. THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL REINFORCE THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN TALKING TO THE INDIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES LATER TODAY.
2. WE TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY YOUR INFORMATION ABOUT POSSIBLE RETALIATORY ACTION BY GOI AND ARE NOW CONSIDERING WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO FEND OFF OR LIMIT ANY DAMAGE TO OUR COMMERCIAL AND DEFENCE INTERESTS. THERE IS OBVIOUSLY A WIDE AREA OF VULNERABILITY, AND THE WESTLANDS HELICOPTER CONTRACT MIGHT, IN PARTICULAR, OFFER A HANDY ACHILLES HEEL IF THE INDIANS WERE SO MINDED. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEWS.
3. IN ADDITION TO THE NEED FOR STRINGENT SECURITY FOR PRINCESS ANNE AND THE PRIME MINISTER DURING THEIR STAY (YOUR TELNO 874) YOU WILL NO DOUBT ALSO BE ASSESSING THE RISK TO HIGH COMMISSION STAFF AND PREMISES IN DELHI AND THE OUTPOSTS IF WORST FEARS ABOUT A WAVE OF ANTI-BRITISH FEELING ARE REALISED. A FURTHER QUESTION ARISING IN THIS CONTEXT IS WHETHER THERE IS ANY LIKELIHOOD OF SIKH LOCALLY ENGAGED STAFF OR OTHERS ATTEMPTING TO SEEK REFUGE IN HIGH COMMISSION PREMISES. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THIS.

HOVE

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British Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting House, London W1A 1AA
from the Chairman, Stuart Young

cc HQ
FICO.
Press
Office

2nd November 1984

Dear Prime Minister,

May I reply immediately to your letter received this afternoon.

I wish to assure you that the BBC is fully aware of its responsibilities in the most difficult and delicate situation which exists in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. Both Governors and Management would feel the deepest concern if BBC broadcasts were in any way to have the serious effects mentioned in your letter. I have made extensive enquiries and can assure you that Mr. Chohan has only made one broadcast on BBC since the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. That was on our local radio station, BBC Radio London, very early on Wednesday morning. On the same day, our Assistant Director-General, responsible for the Corporation's journalism, gave strict instructions that Mr. Chohan should not be invited to broadcast on BBC without special clearance being obtained from him. Such clearance has not been given. Indeed, instructions were issued on Wednesday to all programmes that the wider consequences of any coverage of Indian opinion in this country should be in the forefront of editorial minds.

I would add that there has been no lack of coverage on BBC programmes reflecting the widespread revulsion at the violence of Mrs. Gandhi's death felt by the entire Nation.

I offer you this first response to the very serious matters raised in your letter. The Board and I will, of course, be making the fullest examination of all aspects of the Corporation's coverage, which I believe has demonstrated both sensitivity and judgement.

/continued



CP6

cc: Fco
Ho
B. Ingham

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 November 1984

Dear Mr. Young,

The Home Office has already had occasion to draw your attention to the Government's concern about the platform which the BBC has provided for a very small minority of Sikh extremists in this country. We now have specific advice from our High Commissioner that this is not only damaging our relations with India, but endangering the security of British citizens in India, and more specifically increasing the threat to Her Royal Highness The Princess Anne and others going to Delhi for Mrs. Gandhi's funeral.

I hope that you will give full weight to these factors. If by any chance you should put out further similar reports, I hope you will make it clear that they are totally unrepresentative and are outweighed by the condemnation of murder and violence by Government and people alike.

I do not question the BBC's editorial independence, but I would be failing in my duty if I did not remind you of the responsibility that goes with that independence.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

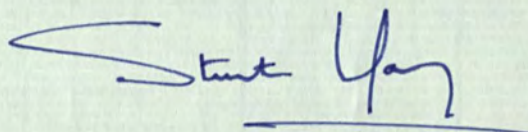
Stuart Young, Esq.

(BBC)

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I appreciate you do not question the BBC's editorial independence, and I can assure you we are aware of the responsibility that goes with that independence.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Stuart Gray". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial 'S'. A horizontal line is drawn underneath the signature.

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
10 Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

(BRIEFS W FOLDER)

COVERING CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

1 November 1984

CD 4A

Dear Charles,

Mrs Gandhi's Funeral

I enclose briefs for the Prime Minister's use during her visit to India. We have kept these short, but have included as annexes fuller briefs on Indian politics and external relations which were compiled for Princess Anne's current visit to India.

The brief on UK/India bilateral relations mentions a call on Mr Waddington on 31 October by a Mr Bedi of the Federation of Asian Leaders. The Home Office have asked that the fact of this call and Mr Bedi's identity be kept confidential.

I have written to you separately recommending that bilateral meetings should be arranged for the Prime Minister with the Soviet, Malaysian, American and Japanese representatives. Briefs for these four are included with this letter together with a brief in case the Prime Minister meets Herr Genscher. We can let you have additional briefs if necessary before you leave tomorrow.

You will have seen the JIC assessment issued on 31 October.

Yours ever,

Peter Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

*.k. Retained here.
Available if required.*

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PERSONALITY NOTES

A: INDIA

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Shri (Mr) Zail Singh | - President |
| Shri M Venkataraman | - Vice President |
| Shri Rajiv Gandhi | - Prime Minister |
| The late Shrimati (Mrs) Indira Gandhi | - former Prime Minister |
| Shri Pranab K Mukherjee | - Finance Minister |
| Shrimati Maneka Gandhi | - widow of Mrs Gandhi's younger son |
| Shri Narasimha Rao | - Home Minister |
| Shri G Parthasarathy | - de facto Minister for Foreign Affairs |
| Shri S B Chavan | - Defence Minister |
| Shri M H Ansari | - Chief of Protocol |
| Shri M Rasgotra | - Foreign Secretary (PUS equivalent) |
| Mr Swraj Paul | - Industrialist, close family friend of Mrs Gandhi |

B: HIGH COMMISSION STAFF

Sir Robert Wade-Gery KCMG KCVO
(and Lady Wade-Gery)

R C Samuel CMG CVO

M J Williams CVO OBE

ZAIL SINGH

President of India

Born 1916 in Faridkot district of Punjab into a family of the carpenter caste. Active in the independence movement during 1930s and 1940s and twice imprisoned. A Minister in the Patiala and East Punjab States Union Government until the union was merged with Punjab in 1956. President of the PEPSU State Congress Committee (PCC) 1955-56. Member of the Rajya Sabha 1956-62. President of Punjab PCC 1966-72. Chief Minister 1972-77. Faced an enquiry into alleged corruption in 1977-78. Elected to the Lok Sabha in January 1980. Appointed Home Minister in Mrs Gandhi's first list of appointments. Elected President in July 1982.

Zail Singh carries weight in Punjab politics where he appeals to both rural and urban Sikhs as well as hard-core Congress (I) supporters but spent much of his political career feuding with the erstwhile Punjab Chief Minister, Darbara Singh, who is of a different caste. He did not impress during his tenure as Home Minister, a key position he owed to his unquestioning loyalty to Mrs Gandhi (and earlier to Sanjay) rather than to ability. Since becoming President his ability to influence the Punjabi political scene appears to have declined. His support for Mrs Gandhi's handling of the Punjab armies, and the storming of the Golden Temple at Amritsar in June 1984 earned him a temporary excommunication by the Sikh High Priests. This was rescinded when the Indian army withdrew from the Temple in September 1984.

Married. One son, three daughters. Two of his daughters, though married, take turn in acting as his official hostess. Both are doctors, and highly articulate. His own command of English is poor.

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He is normally accorded the honorific title 'Giani' meaning scholar, in recognition of his command of Sikh scripture.

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VENKATARAMAN R

Vice President of India since August 1984

Born 1910. Educated as an advocate. He was imprisoned from 1942-44 for his part in the "Quit India Movement" and in 1945 he defended Indian National Army soldiers under trial for treason in Singapore. He became a Trade Union worker and was elected to the provisional parliament in 1950 and then to the Lok Sabha from 1952-57 and again since 1977. He was Minister for Industry and Labour in the Tamil Nadu Government from 1957-67 and a Member of the Planning Commission from 1967-71. He has been Managing Editor of the "Labour Law Journal" since 1971.

He was a Member of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly from 1953-61. He was appointed Minister of Finance in January 1980 and Minister of Defence in January 1982.

Venkataraman made his mark during his period as a Tamil Nadu Minister and gained much of the credit for the successful industrial development of the state in the 1960s. He split with Mrs Gandhi in 1969 but returned to her faction of the Congress in 1976. Venkataraman is a quiet spoken dignified man who commands wide respect. He was probably the only Union Cabinet Minister independent minded enough to make a mark of his own and while in the Ministry of Finance he wielded a major influence on economic policy. He successfully resisted

/Sanjay Gandhi's

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Sanjay Gandhi's encroachments during the early days of the present Government. His eyesight is not good and his transfer to Defence was possibly in deference to his health problems. He visited London in late 1983. Elected Vice President in August 1984.

Married with 3 daughters.

Strict vegetarian (no eggs).

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RAJIV GANDHI

Appointed Prime Minister of India on 31 October 1984.

Born 1944. Eldest son of Feroze and Mrs Indira Gandhi (qv). Educated at Doon School, a tutorial college in London and Trinity College Cambridge (1962-65) where he read Engineering although failed to get a Degree (his friends say this was lack of work rather than lack of ability but he is very sensitive about it). On return from India he took up flying and subsequently joined Indian Airlines as a commercial pilot. In May 1981 he resigned from Indian Airlines to fight the Lok Sabha by-election for Amethi, Uttar Pradesh, the seat held by his younger brother Sanjay until his death in June 1980.

Rajiv was elected on 14 June 1981 by an overwhelming majority of over 80% of the votes polled. Appointed General Secretary of Congress (I) (one of five) in February 1983.

Rajiv Gandhi was drawn into the political vacuum created by the death of his brother Sanjay, his mother's only trusted confidant, in June 1980. Once decided upon, his entry into politics was carefully managed and scrupulously above board. During his first year or so as an active MP he hardly spoke in Parliament but was reportedly active behind the scenes in state politics, travelling widely around India and campaigning hard, though apparently without great fire on the platform, at by-elections and State Assembly elections. As he was closely associated with the Congress (I) electoral campaigns in Andhra and Karnataka, his reputation took a knock when Congress (I) was badly defeated in the Assembly Elections in those two States in January 1983.

/Nevertheless

Nevertheless, despite criticism of Rajiv's role, Mrs Gandhi appointed him as Party General-Secretary in February 1983 thus legitimising his leading role within the Congress (I) party. He has since been given much of the credit for efforts to improve the Party's tarnished image. Although Mrs Gandhi always denied that she was grooming him for succession few others had any doubts on this score. As Mrs Gandhi's closest confidant he enjoyed a uniquely influential position up to her death.

He was sworn in as Prime Minister on the day of Mrs Gandhi's assassination, 31 October 1984. His appointment reflected Mrs Gandhi's own position of complete dominance in the Congress (I) party. He was the obvious person around whom the party could rally in its hour of crisis.

Rajiv is quietly spoken, courteous and diffident. He is not an intellectual, nor impulsive. He is a good listener and seems sincerely concerned to get to grips with some of India's big national problems. Although withdrawn in some ways, he is mentally tough and shows signs of an independent mind. He is thus in many ways like his mother was before she became Prime Minister. He will, of course, be influenced by some close advisers, but not unduly so and none of his present group has significantly more experience than he has. His great advantages are that he is his grandfather's grandson, his mother's son, that he is decent and an Indian aristocrat, and that he is on the way to acquiring an All-Indian, not a sectional, image.

Rajiv married Sonia, an Italian girl (who took Indian citizenship only in 1983), he met at Cambridge, in 1968. She is good-looking, quiet, and while not interested in politics, clearly gives him a feeling of security at home. She got on well with Mrs Gandhi. They have a son and a daughter.

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MRS INDIRA GANDHI

Prime Minister

Born Allahabad 1917, daughter of Jawaharlal Nahru. Educated in India, Switzerland and, briefly, at Somerville College, Oxford.

- 1942 Married Feroze Gandhi (subsequently an MP), no relation of Mahatma Gandhi.
- 1942-43 Imprisoned.
- 1959-60 President of Congress Party.
- 1964-66 Minister of Information and Broadcasting.
- 1966-77 Prime Minister, during which time she held at various times the Ministries of Planning, Atomic Energy, Home and Finance.
- 1977 Defeated in General Election and lost her own seat.
- 1978 Established Congress (I) Party. Re-elected to Parliament in a by-election but expelled and briefly imprisoned in December for a breach of Parliamentary privilege (committed in 1975).
- 1980 Prime Minister after January election victory.

Her childhood was generally unhappy and lonely. Her father was in jail for much of the time and her mother was ill. She showed

/little

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little propensity for formal education and did not enjoy her time at Somerville. Her marriage was unhappy and she grew closer to her father, acting as his confidante and taking part in party affairs. On his death, most of his former colleagues turned against her or disregarded her. When she became Prime Minister it was because the Congress establishment thought she would be a malleable figurehead. But she was not and she split the party.

A judgement against her in a petition challenging her election led her to declare a state of internal emergency on 25 June 1975. Congress was decisively defeated at the March 1977 election except in the South. During her period out of office she had to struggle to maintain what remained of her power and influence in the face of official enquiries into her alleged misdeeds during the Emergency and of prosecution in the Courts.

Following the disintegration of the Janata Government, her party was returned with a big majority in January 1980 on the slogan 'Strong and Stable Government'. A large majority and her dominance over her party gave her a free hand, but the first months of 1980 were devoted to consolidating her political position and policy decisions emerged only slowly, if at all. Mrs Gandhi seemed more than ever concerned to exclude men of talent and ability from her circle of closest advisers lest they might threaten her position. Her dependence on her younger son Sanjay, by then himself an MP, grew and it became increasingly clear that Mrs Gandhi

/intended

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intended him to succeed her. His sudden death in a light plane crash on 23 June 1980 was therefore more than a personal blow to his mother. While Mrs Gandhi bore this loss with remarkable personal fortitude, both the party and the government continued to drift for much of the rest of that year.

During 1981 and 1982 Mrs Gandhi recovered her verve and reasserted her authority. She re-shuffled first her bureaucrats and then her Cabinet. She demonstrated her continuing popularity in June 1981 with a series of by-election victories, including that of her eldest son, Rajiv (q.v.). In a number of State Assembly elections Congress (I) governments managed to retain power, often apparently due almost entirely to Mrs Gandhi's indefatigable campaigning. Mrs Gandhi also demonstrated her new-found sense of authority on the world stage making a number of trips abroad.

In January 1983 however she suffered a major political defeat when her Congress (I) governments were soundly beaten in the South Indian States of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, both regarded as Congress (I) bastions. These defeats seemed to many to be a clear sign that Mrs Gandhi's style of running her party and her state governments, apparently valuing loyalty above efficiency and uncorruptability, was now an electoral handicap. Despite calls for an immediate purging of her party she took no precipitate action though in the months that followed she has unobtrusively and piecemeal replaced a number of her more ineffective lieutenants and has brought back a number of talented Congress exiles into her /party.

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erty. During 1984 she has faced a major crisis in Punjab. Her decision to authorise the storming of the Golden Temple in June was widely approved outside the Sikh community as a regrettable necessity. But her dismissal of opposition controlled State Governments in Sikkim and Kashmir, and her unsuccessful attempt to do the same in Andhra Pradesh have damaged her image, reviving opposition fear about her commitment to democracy.

Mrs Gandhi has also maintained her international role; most recently during the Non-Aligned Summit meeting which took place in New Delhi in March 1983 under Mrs Gandhi's chairmanship.

Mrs Gandhi is a tough political manipulator with 14 years of experience as Prime Minister behind her. She travels constantly, works tirelessly and sleeps little. She is a lonely person with few close friends and those she has date mostly from before her rise to power. Her main recreation is with her family, particularly with her grandchildren Priyanka and Rahul (daughter and son of Rajiv (qv) and Sonia) and Varun, born 1980, son of Sanjay and Maneka, although her opportunities to see as much as she would like of Varun have been limited since March 1982 as a result of the feud between her and Maneka. She has a considerable knowledge both of Indian and of European culture and a special fondness for France.

She is very sensitive to criticism and unforgiving towards those who she thinks have let her down or have slighted her personally. She can be uncommunicative and uses silence as a weapon but when she chooses she can be charming, modest, a good hostess and an amusing raconteur.

Her husband died in 1960. Rajiv is her only surviving child.

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GANDHI, MRS MANEKA

President, Rastriya Sanjay Manch - Widow of Sanjay Gandhi

Born 26 August 1956, daughter of Colonel and Mrs Amteshwar Anand. Her father Colonel Anand died in the seventies. Her mother, an ambitious lady who has in the past been the subject of much scandalous gossip, was thought to have been influential in encouraging her to oppose Mrs Gandhi after Sanjay's death (see below). Educated at Lawrence School, Sanawar, obtained senior Cambridge certificate 1972. Whilst studying at Lady Shri Ram College, Delhi (a college associated to Delhi University) she began to model clothes, and was noticed by Sanjay Gandhi. They married in September 1974. After her marriage she studied German for three years at Jawaharlal Nehru University. In 1975 she became editor of Surya magazine published by her mother, a staunchly pro-Congress (I) paper which was eventually sold to some BJP supporters in 1982.

When Sanjay Gandhi died in an air crash in June 1980, there was much speculation as to whether his brother Rajiv or his widow Maneka would inherit his "mantle" by standing for Sanjay's parliamentary seat in Amethi, Uttar Pradesh. Mrs Gandhi chose Rajiv. Relations between Maneka and Mrs Gandhi, reportedly never particularly good, deteriorated through 1981 and 1982. In March 1982 against the wishes of her mother-in-law Maneka addressed a meeting of Sanjay supporters in Lucknow. The next day she was asked to leave Mrs Gandhi's house where she ^{had} lived since Sanjay's death. She subsequently became much more anti-Congress (I) in her political utterances, and founded a "political front" which won five seats at the Andhra State Assembly elections in January 1983. She has subsequently formed her own party, the Rastriya Sanjay Manch (RSM) in March 1983.

/Maneka

Maneka Gandhi is more of a personal embarrassment to Mrs Gandhi, and more particularly to Rajiv, than a political force. Her party has so far failed to attract more than the odd disillusioned Congress (I) MP despite rumours that there are Sanjay men who are at odds with the new party regime under Rajiv. Nevertheless she is politically astute and ambitious, a very effective speaker in public, is well-known and can afford to play her politics long.

Maneka Gandhi has one son, Varun.

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MUKHERJEE, PRANAB KUMAR

Minister of Finance, Leader of the House in the Rajya Sabha since 1982.

Born West Bengal 1935. Educated Calcutta: MA History, Political Science, LLB.

Formerly College lecturer and editor of two Bengali magazines. Elected to Rajya Sabha 1967 and subsequently re-elected in 1969, 1975 and 1981 (representing Gujarat). Deputy Minister for Industrial Development 1975. Deputy Minister of Transport and Shipping 1974. Minister of State for Finance 1974. Minister for Revenue and Banking 1975-77. Defeated in Lok Sabha elections in both 1977 and 1980. Became Minister of Commerce in Mrs Gandhi's first round of appointments in January 1980, although his name was a last-minute addition. Also Treasurer of the Congress (I). Shifted to the Finance Ministry in January 1982.

Widely travelled. Led Indian IPU delegation in Paris 1971, Indian delegation to 24th Colombo Plan Conference in Singapore 1974 and to 25th meeting in Colombo 1975. Led two delegations to South East Asia and Hong Kong in 1976. Led a number of Indian delegations abroad as Minister of Commerce, but not to UK.

A diminutive, serious, hardworking man

Has a friendly, easy manner and goes down well in the business world. Nobody has any illusions, however, about his independence of spirit; he is very much Mrs Gandhi's man. As senior Cabinet Minister he would become Acting Prime Minister should anything untoward happen to Mrs Gandhi. Married, one son, one daughter.

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P V NARASIMHA RAO

Home Minister

Born Andhra Pradesh (then Hyderabad State) 1921. Educated Nagpur, BSc LLB. Vice President Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee in 1956. Member of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from 1957-77. State Minister of Law and Information 1962-64, Law and Endowments 1964-67, Health and Medicine 1967-68, Education 1968-71. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh 1974-77. Member of the Lok Sabha 1977. Appointed Minister of External Affairs in January 1980. Transferred to the Home Ministry in July 1984, to handle the aftermath of the Punjab crisis.

An experienced, well-respected politician. He depends for his political weight entirely on Mrs Gandhi. Although he is very typical of loyal, reliable and pliable Ministers she likes to have around her, he is well thought of by his officials. One of the more impressive members of the present Cabinet, he has been an unofficial troubleshooter for Mrs Gandhi on a number of domestic political issues. Now gaining increasing experience in international affairs he has a pleasant and informal manner, a good capacity to listen and a quiet, unshowy self-confidence.

A poet and something of a philosopher. Speaks Telegu, Marathi and Urdu as well as Hindi and English. Has published translations of Telegu and Marathi literature.

A widower.

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PARTHASARATHY G

Cabinet Minister (with de facto control of Foreign Ministry)

Born 1912. Educated Madras, Wadham College Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. Assistant Editor "The Hindu", 1936-49. Chief Representative of Press Trust of India (PTI) in London 1949-52. Chief Editor PTI 1952-53. Chairman, International Control Commission for Cambodia, 1954-55. Chairman, International Control Commission for Vietnam, 1955-56. Ambassador to Indonesia January 1957-June 1958. Ambassador to China, 1958-1961. Again Chairman of Vietnam ICC November 1961 - June 1962. High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1962-65. Indian Representative at the United Nations 1965-69. Vice-Chancellor of the Nehru University 1969-74. Chairman, Policy Planning Committee, Ministry of External Affairs 1975-77.

GP (as he is usually known) has spent recent years in a number of jobs which have allowed him to act as Mrs Gandhi's personal emissary both on internal matters (e.g. negotiations with Sheikh Abdullah over Kashmir in 1973-75 and with Laldenga after Mizorm in 1980) and on external affairs. For instance he acted as Mrs Gandhi's representative during the crisis in Sri Lanka in 1983. The fact that he is a Tamil made him particularly appropriate for this job in Indian eyes. He is probably the current most influential of Mrs Gandhi's advisers on foreign policy. One reason for this is that he has "seen it all" and is content with what he has : he has no particular axe to grind.

A man of high intellectual ability and great experience of international affairs and Indian bureaucracy, he is generally cynical and pessimistic. He has a good sense of humour, but generally takes a pessimistic view of world events. He sets his sights on "damage limitation " rather than solution.

A widower. Formerly a notable cricketer, he still retains a keen interest in the game. His son Ashok studied science at Cambridge and is a rising star of the Indian bureaucracy. His speciality is electronics.

Mrs Gandhi took over as Foreign Minister in August 1984. GP is de facto Foreign Minister, holding Cabinet rank.

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CHAVAN, S. B.

Minister of Defence since August 1984

Born 1920 at Paithan near Aurangabad (Maharashtra). Educated at Madras University (BA) and Osmania University, Hyderabad (LLB). Elected (Congress Party) to Bombay Legislative Council in 1956, and entered the Legislative Assembly in 1957. Was a Minister in the Bombay (subsequently Maharashtra) Government continually from 1956 until 1975 when he became Chief Minister, a post he kept until the newly-elected Janata Government imposed Presidents rule in Maharashtra in 1977. His earlier portfolios included Irrigation, Power, Urban Development, Building, Communications, Legislative Affairs and Transport. Remained loyal to Mrs Gandhi during Janata rule and the split in the Congress Party and entered the Lok Sabha from Nanded (Maharashtra) for the first time in January 1980. He was rewarded with Ministerial office in October 1980, when he became Minister for Education and Social Welfare. He was appointed Minister of Planning in 1981 and took over as Defence Minister this August.

He has been very much a non-event as a Minister. In the period as Chief Minister in Maharashtra he was thought to be fairly competent but no comparison with those of his much more able predecessors. He has some following amongst the Marathas, the indigenous population of rural Maharashtra but much less than either Y B Chavan or Sharad Pawar.

Married with one son and five daughters.

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MOHAMMAD HAMID ANSARI

Chief of Protocol since 1980

Born in Calcutta in 1937. Indian Foreign Service 1961, served in Baghdad, Rabat and Jedda 1962-69; MEA 1969-72; Indian Mission to the European Economic Community 1972-73; then Chargé d'Affaires, Jedda 1973-76; Ambassador to UAE 1976-80.

Ansari's present position represents an unusual break in a career overwhelmingly concerned with the Arab world. Played a major role in organising the visit of the Prince of Wales (1980), the Prime Minister (1981) and the Queen (1983). Has generally been helpful to the High Commission.

A courteous and friendly man, Ansari is married with one son and one daughter.

HARAJA KRISHNA RASGOTRA

Foreign Secretary (ie Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Ministry)

Born Shakargarh (Pakistan) 1924. Indian Foreign Service 1949; served in Washington, Kathmandu, MEA and New York until 1967; Ambassador to Morocco (concurrently Tunisia) 1967-69; Minister Washington 1969-72; Joint Secretary MEA 1972; Acting High Commissioner London 1972-73; Ambassador to Nepal 1974-76 and to Netherlands 1976-78. Ambassador to France and Permanent Delegate to UNESCO 1978-82.

Rasgotra has a reputation as a hard liner, but his manner is friendly and helpful. He is close to the Nehru family, and like them very conscious of his origins as an aristocratic Kashmiri Brahmin. He was Ambassador in Paris at a time of considerable expansion in Indo/French relations and succeeded Ram Sathe as Foreign Secretary in May 1982.

He is a sophisticated and civilised man, who dresses elegantly, enjoys good food and wine (though he fasts one day a week) and has published a book of poems. A fluent talker on almost any subject and highly articulate on professional topics. Married with one son (another son killed in an accident). His elegant and Francophile wife has the pale complexion of a Kashmiri but comes in fact from a family of Madrasi Brahmins.

PAUL, SWRAJ

Industrialist.

Aged 52. He is a member of the wealthy and prominent Pagehal family of Indian industrialists. Educated in India and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA. Went to Britain in 1966 to obtain treatment for his daughter who was suffering from leukemia and stayed on after her death. From initial investment in Natural Gas Tubes of Huntingdon, he established a modern steel pipe mill in Tredegar, South Wales. He now controls a wide variety of UK interests from engineering and ship management to property, through a private holding company called CAPARO. He is now a British citizen.

Paul has become an influential figure in Indo-British relations. He was a Trustee of the Festival of India and sponsored the closing concert at the London Coliseum in November 1982. He has close connections with a number of British politicians including Mr Michael Foot in whose constituency his Tredegar factory is situated.

Mr Paul has major interests and powerful contacts in India. He enjoys excellent access to Mrs Gandhi and her son Rajiv, to the point where he has been dubbed at times as an "alternative Indian High Commissioner in London". He was awarded the distinguished honour of the Padma Bhushan in 1983. He is a generally reliable source of information on thinking in Delhi.

Mr Paul's current boardroom battles in India, where he is attempting to make major investments in two large local companies, may have caused some embarrassment to the Indian Government but should not have affected his standing with Mrs Gandhi, who has been alleged to have blessed or even encouraged this venture, although the reasons are not at all clear.

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NEW DELHI

Sir Robert Wade-Gery KCMG, KCVO High Commissioner since 31 July
1982. Born 22 April 1929.
Married (Sally). One daughter
aged 19 and one son aged 17.

Sir Robert joined the Foreign Office in 1951. During his career
Sir Robert has served in Bonn, Tel Aviv, Saigon, Madrid and
Moscow (as Minister). Prior to his New Delhi appointment, he served
for two years in the Cabinet Office as a Deputy Secretary.

Sir Robert is expected to remain in New Delhi until the second half
of 1985. He was awarded a KCMG in Her Majesty's New Year Honours
List in 1983. On the occasion of The Queen's visit to India in November
1983, Sir Robert was awarded a KCVO.

Married in 1962, Lady Wade-Gery has a daughter, born in 1965 and a
son born in 1967.

An acknowledged expert and lecturer on architecture. Also interested
in zoology, walking. An expert dog breeder.

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R C Samuel CMG, CVO
(Richard)

Deputy High Commissioner and
Minister since February 1982.
Born 8 August 1933. Single.

Mr Samuel transferred to the Foreign Office in 1963. He has served in Warsaw, Rome, Hong Kong, Singapore, Peking, Washington and prior to his posting to New Delhi was in Moscow as Commercial Counsellor. Mr Samuel is a considerable linguist with at least five languages including Russian, Italian, French, Polish and Chinese to his credit.

M J Williams CVO, OBE
(Martin)

Counsellor and Head of Chancery
since 16 October 1982. Born 3 November
1941. Married (Sue). Two sons aged
17 and 16.

Mr Williams joined the Diplomatic Service in 1963. He has served in Manila, Milan and Tehran.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

INDIA: EXTERNAL

Essential Facts

1. India's foreign policy is determined by her interests as the regionally predominant power and by aspirations to influence within the Non-Aligned Movement. From the UK's point of view, it is generally tiresome; for example, India avoids direct criticism of the Soviet Union whenever possible (eg over Afghanistan) but feels free to criticise the West. This is unlikely to change to any significant extent following Mrs Gandhi's assassination. There is a strong thread of continuity.

2. India's principal concerns are:

- (a) to preserve her position as the dominant power in the region: Hence, her concern about Pakistan's acquisition of arms and nuclear intentions, and her aggressive attitude towards her other neighbours.
- (b) the Non-Aligned Movement: India's efforts as Chairman of the NAM have been directed towards sustaining the flow of western concessionary development finance.
- (c) her attitude towards the USSR and the USA: The Russians have consistently supported India in her disputes with her neighbours, and as the obvious counter-weight to China. The USA by contrast

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has tended to favour Pakistan and has not concealed her irritation with India's third world rhetoric.

3. To balance ties with Soviet Union, Mrs Gandhi emphasised India's links with the UK and France. India needs Western technology and has purchased Western arms to avoid total dependence on the Soviet Union. These policies are unlikely to change in the immediate future, even if the complexion of the Indian Government alters.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

4. Relations at very low ebb. This chiefly consequence of Indian electoral rhetoric, in particular Mrs Gandhi's emphasis on threat of war. Although assassination raises possibility of regional destabilisation and backlash against Pakistan, Zia will do utmost to prevent escalation in tension. Immediate Indian pre-occupations likely to be internal. But uncertainty following Mrs Gandhi's death increases risk of border clashes.

5. Causes of deterioration include Indian accusations of Pakistan involvement in Sikh crisis in Punjab and Sikh hijackings; Pakistan's nuclear programme and plans to acquire more US military equipment (to meet bombing attacks from Afghanistan); and firing incidents in Kashmir. Zia has responded calmly to Indian allegations and understood Mrs Gandhi's electoral pre-occupations and difficulty of improving relations until after Indian elections. But made clear Pakistan would not back down if her interests vitally concerned.

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Pakistan Nuclear

6. Recent press reports of possible Indian strike against Pakistan nuclear facilities caused Zia to state such action would mean war. [NOT FOR USE: India probably assumes Pakistan has developed a weapons capability so Indian strike against Pakistan nuclear facilities at some point cannot be completely ruled out.]

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

INDIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Points to Make

1. Heartfelt support of the British Government for all those who will guide India through these difficult days.
2. Your constitutional machinery has moved swiftly to ensure the continuity of lawful Government. Violence must never be allowed to upset the rule of the law.

Punjab

3. I have followed the situation in Punjab very closely throughout. I strongly support the search for durable solutions to the problems of the State.
4. Mrs Gandhi had called for a ''healing touch'' in Punjab. The fact that the army was able to withdraw from the Golden Temple at Amritsar was an encouraging sign in this direction.
5. Hope that healing process in Punjab will continue despite Mrs Gandhi's tragic death.

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MRS GANDHI'S CREMATION: THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA
INDIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Essential Facts

1. Mrs Gandhi's son, Rajiv, has now been sworn in as Prime Minister and has begun to form his Cabinet. He was previously Secretary-General of the Congress (I) Party but had no ministerial experience and he has only been politically active for the last four years. He is the only figure with the necessary public standing around whom the majority of the Party can rally but he is not universally liked in the Party and in the longer term he may have trouble in imposing his authority.
2. The Indian Government machine is robust by third-world standards. The Government will be quite capable of dealing with the immediate problems created by the assassination and of ensuring that day-to-day administration continues. The public mood in India will have been profoundly affected by Mrs Gandhi's death and 12 days' mourning has been announced. The armed forces provide a firm guarantee against large-scale civil disorder; it would be contrary to their tradition and experience for them to seek some independent political role for themselves.
3. Mrs Gandhi had not yet announced a date for the General Elections. They are due by January 1985 but the new Government might in the circumstances decide to postpone them. This is constitutionally feasible. The procedure would probably be to convene parliament in order to extend certain legislation, for example, emergency measures in the Punjab, for a further six months.

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4. Mrs Gandhi was returned to power with a large majority in 1980. Before her death it was generally predicted that her Congress (I) Party would do less well in the forthcoming elections. Morale in the Party is low. Whatever Mrs Gandhi's own qualities, her Party is widely seen as self-serving and largely staffed with place men. However, it has an unrivalled power base in almost every part of the country. The opposition by contrast is highly fragmented. It has shown little sign of presenting an effective unified challenge to Mrs Gandhi at the elections. It is too early to say what effect Mrs Gandhi's death might have on the election result. She was Congress (I)'s major asset. Her loss will greatly weaken the Party but there may be an important "sympathy vote" for it.

Punjab

5. Initial agency reports from Delhi suggest that Sikh extremists infiltrated into Mrs Gandhi's bodyguard are likely to be responsible for the assassination. This is still unconfirmed. The assassination has heightened tension in Punjab and there have been widespread inter-communal clashes, looting, and arson elsewhere. But the security forces should be capable of preventing a generalised break-down of law and order.

6. Sikh extremists in the UK have already described Mrs Gandhi's death as an act of revenge by Sikhs. We have no indications as yet that Sikhs in the UK have been connected in any way with the

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assassination. Responsible Sikh leaders have condemned it and appealed for calm. (See UK-India Relations brief).

7. Following the storming of the Golden Temple on 6 June there was little progress towards a political settlement of the problems in Punjab for several months, despite Mrs Gandhi's call for a "healing touch". But following the successful repair of the damage to the Golden Temple, the Indian army was able to withdraw from the Temple on 26 September. This was an important step forward. The Sikh high priests have since clearly disassociated themselves from the more extreme Sikh elements. Ironically, Mrs Gandhi's death seems certain to put back the search for political solutions to the Punjab crisis.

/ 8. A background brief on Indian political and domestic affairs, recently prepared for Princess Anne, is attached as a source of background material.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

INDIA: EXTERNAL

Points to Make

1. Aware of tension in the region: Mrs Gandhi's leadership will be sorely missed. Calm statemanship need of the hour. Support efforts to reduce regional differences.
2. Mrs Gandhi a world leader. But important that the voice of India should continue to be heard in international affairs, particularly in exercising its moderating influence within the Non-Aligned Movement.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

3. Difficult period. But sure that India's neighbours sympathise as deeply as we do: Zia's message and declaration of mourning statesmanlike. In no one's interests for tension to be allowed to escalate.

Allegations of Pakistan assistance for Sikh terrorists

4. Understand Pakistan has denied they have provided arms or other assistance to Sikhs or helped hijackers.

Pakistan nuclear (if raised)

5. President Zia has told me that Pakistan's nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes. He can be in no doubt about our concern that this should be the case.

US/Pakistan (If raised)

6. Have seen reports that Pakistan is seeking additional military

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/equipment



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equipment from US including early warning capacity. Context seems to be continuing aggression from Afghanistan.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL
UK-INDIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS

Points to Make

1. Mrs Gandhi was held in great esteem in the UK. She did much to promote friendship and co-operation between the UK and India. This work must go on.

2. More important than ever that we should consult closely on bilateral and international issues. Our two countries have much to offer each other in many fields.

Sikhs in UK (defensive)

3. Understand your concern about the views of Sikhs in this country. Have seen numerous appeals for calm from leaders of the Sikh community. Home Office Ministers have also appealed for calm and urged Sikh leaders not to do or say anything which might cause distress to others, or encourage disorderly behaviour.

4. Have seen reports that one or two Sikh extremists have welcomed the assassination. Sure all reasonable people will deplore these, as we do. Disgraceful and irresponsible statements are not necessarily illegal. But those who break the law will be dealt with.

Trade

5. Commercial relations in excellent shape. Know that you have been concerned about trade imbalance: encouraging that Indian

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/exports



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exports to UK rose sharply in first half of 1984. Hope that trade flows will continue to grow in both directions.

Defence Sales

6. Welcome recent growth in defence sales, and support close links between our armed forces, eg for training.

Aid

7. Our aid to India is by far the largest bilateral programme we have. About a quarter of our total bilateral aid. A sign of our strong support for your economic development effort.

8. Since I met Mrs Gandhi in 1982, we have sought to maintain our aid at £110m a year. (If pressed on future level of aid) We shall be discussing this at the next regular session of aid talks in February 1985. I cannot make any projections at this stage about future years, but we will endeavour to maintain support at current levels.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

UK-INDIA BILATERAL RELATIONS

Essential Facts

1. Mrs Gandhi paid a highly successful visit to the UK in March 1982 for the opening of the Festival of India. She took a close personal interest in UK-India relations.

2. Our relations with India are in generally good shape, especially our commercial relations. But exchanges with the Indian Government have been dominated in recent months by the problem of Sikh extremists in this country. The Secretary of State met the de facto Indian Foreign Minister, Mr G Parthasarathy, in New York in September. When he saw Lady Young in London on his way back from New York he said that there were no bilateral problems other than the Sikh issue. Lady Young said that we hoped the Sikh issue would not overshadow the relationship as a whole.

Sikhs in UK

3. The Sikh community in the UK is some 350,000 strong. The great majority of Sikhs are moderate and law-abiding people. Their representative called on Mr Waddington at the Home Office on 8 August to assure him that there would be no trouble in this country arising from the troubles in Punjab. However, there is a small minority of extremists including those who support the call for a separate Sikh State (Khalistan). Inflammatory remarks by Dr Chauhan, the self-proclaimed President of Khalistan, (in particular a broadcast on the BBC World at One on 12 June) caused



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an outcry in India. Ministers publicly deplored Chauhan's remarks (he said that many Sikhs would feel it a duty to take revenge on Mrs Gandhi and her son Rajiv). The police investigated Chauhan's remarks and consulted the DPP but eventually decided that there were no grounds on which to bring a prosecution. Following Mrs Gandhi's assassination a number of Sikh leaders have issued appeals for calm. Mr Bedi, leader of the Federation of Asian leaders in Britain, called on Mr Waddington on 31 October at his own request. Mr Waddington told Mr Bedi that remarks by certain Sikhs earlier that day welcoming Mrs Gandhi's assassination had been extremely unhelpful. These remarks, and "celebrations" in Southall, have received publicity in India and there have been some signs of anti-British hostility among the Delhi crowds.

Trade/Defence Sales

4. UK exports to India: £805m. Indian exports to UK £376m. India is UK's seventeenth largest export market. Largest developing country market if Saudi Arabia is excluded. Indians have been concerned at the size of the imbalance in our favour but in the first half of 1984 their exports rose very significantly. If this trend continues the imbalance could be largely cancelled out.

5. Major recent contracts: captive power plant for the BALCO Aluminium Smelter at Korba in Madhya Pradesh. A £168m contract with an aid and ATP element of approximately 80%. Westlands are

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in the final stages of negotiating a contract for the sale of W30 helicopters (contract value £65m 100% aid financed). Defence sales: total sales since 1975 £1.28bn. India is one of the best potential sales markets. A decision on a contract for a major new artillery piece is near. The British FH70 is a strong contender. Total contract value £800m. Although FH70 has all the qualities required by the Indian Army the competition is strong and political intervention may be required in support of it. The Indians are interested in a follow-on purchase of 11 Sea Harriers (contract value £200m approx). We have no competition here.

Aid

6. At the most recent session on Aid talks the Indians pressed for a major increase in the level of our aid. They remain aggrieved at the substantial reduction in our aid from £140m in 1980/81 to current levels of £110m pa, and point out that this figure includes some £39m a year of repayment by India of past aid loans which we have agreed to recycle through the aid programme. We have made no specific promise to the Indians about future aid levels, other than the Prime Minister's 1982 undertaking to endeavour to maintain the level of £110m.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S
FUNERAL: STEERING BRIEF

1. Mrs Gandhi's funeral (a cremation with Hindu rites) will take place in New Delhi on Saturday 3 November. The Prime Minister will represent the Government. Princess Anne will represent the Queen.

2. The Prime Minister's presence will underline both her own long-standing relationship with Mrs Gandhi and the closeness of Indo-British relations. It will give the lie to those in India who allege British sympathy for Sikh extremism. With the attendance of other Western leaders, it will act as a counter-weight to the expected heavy attendance by Soviet and Eastern European representatives.

Meetings with Indian Dignitaries

D ... 3. Personalities notes are attached. The Prime Minister will wish to speak, if possible, to the Indian President, Mr Zail Singh; to Mrs Gandhi's one surviving son, Rajiv, (who has been sworn in as Prime Minister); and to the three most senior Indian ministers: Mr Pranab Mukherjee (Acting Prime Minister and Finance), Mr Narashimha Rao (Home, who, as Foreign Minister, visited the UK in November 1983), and Mr S B Chavan (Defence). The Prime Minister might also speak to the Vice-President, Mr Venkataraman (who, as Defence Minister, visited the UK in November 1983).

4. The Indians will have resented the reactions of some Sikhs. The Prime Minister will wish to emphasise that we have urged moderation on the Sikh community; that, if the very small minority of Sikh extremists in the UK break /the



the law, action will be taken against them; but that they cannot be prevented from expressing their political views within the law. She might add that the vast majority of the Asian community in Britain are fundamentally law-abiding.

5. There will probably be little opportunity to discuss bilateral matters. However, if it were appropriate the Prime Minister might say that we are pleased by the recent growth in Indo-British trade, and glad to be able to contribute to India's development through our aid programme (£110m. in 1984/85: the level for future years has still to be decided).

The Indian Internal Scene

6. The Indian Government machine and the bureaucratic framework of India are robust by third world standards. The Government are quite capable of dealing with the immediate problems created by the assassination and ensuring that day-to-day administration continues. The public mood in India will have been profoundly affected by Mrs Gandhi's death and there may be a state of mourning lasting several days. It seems unlikely that the opposition parties will be able effectively to exploit the situation for their own ends. Tension in the Punjab will undoubtedly be heightened and we can expect the security forces to tighten their hold on the state. The armed forces provide a firm guarantee against large-scale civil disorder; it would be contrary to their tradition and experience to seek some independent political role for themselves.

7. The immediate role of the Congress (Indira) Party Government will be to demonstrate cohesion and control. Although Mrs Gandhi's son Rajiv is being drafted in as her successor, he does not command universal support and there

/will



will be some in the party unwilling to accept him as leader because of his lack of political and government experience.

8. Mrs Gandhi had not announced a date for the elections. They are due by January next year but the Government may, in the circumstances, decide to postpone them. This is constitutionally feasible. The procedure would probably be to convene Parliament in order to extend certain legislation, for example in the Punjab and other states, for a further six months. It is hard to predict what kind of government might emerge when elections are eventually held. The Congress (I) will undoubtedly seek to capitalise on the "sympathy vote" which may result from Mrs Gandhi's assassination. There must be doubt whether Congress (I) will emerge with a clear majority from the elections. The possibility of some form of coalition cannot be ruled out.

The International Dimension

9. The Pakistan Government has reacted swiftly to condemn Mrs Gandhi's murderer. However, there may be allegations in India that the Pakistani Government had provided support for the assassins. This may further increase tension between the two countries, but we judge that the Indian Government will wish to avoid any direct conflict with Pakistan at this stage.

10. The Soviet Government will probably move swiftly to attempt to establish close ties with the successor regime as it emerges. Whatever the complexion of the latter, there is unlikely to be any fundamental change in India's external policies.



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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL,
POSSIBLE BILATERAL MEETING WITH LEADER OF SOVIET DELEGATION
EAST/WEST RELATIONS

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Welcome increased contacts between UK and Soviet Union over past year.
2. Glad that Mr Gorbachev able to head Parliamentary Delegation to London in December. Look forward to my discussion with him.
3. Also look forward to visit of Mr Gromyko next year.
4. Hope the trend is set for more frequent and varied contacts at many levels between our two countries.
5. Dialogue right way to achieve better mutual understanding and greater trust. Is means to an end. Need to work for real and lasting improvement in East/West relations and for progress in vital field of arms control. Our policy shared by our Allies.
6. Frankly concerned about Soviet attitude to super-power relations this year. Gromyko's talks in Washington useful. Know President Reagan well. Completely sincere in wish for improvement in East/West relations and progress in arms control.

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7. Noted Chernenko 17 October interview with Washington Post: "No sound alternative to the constructive development of Soviet/US relations". No gap between this and US view.

ESSENTIAL FACTS

8. We do not yet know who will lead the Soviet delegation. Given importance which Soviet Union attach to relations with India, they will almost certainly send Chernenko if he is well enough. Otherwise Prime Minister Tikhonov will probably lead, accompanied by Gromyko and possibly Ustinov (given major Soviet interest in arms sales to India). Personality notes on Chernenko, Tikhonov, Gromyko and Gorbachev (in light of his forthcoming visit to the UK) are attached.

9. Since Gromyko's meeting with President Reagan the Russians have adopted a less aggressive stance on the possible direction of super-power relations while continuing to insist that US must make first move. Authoritative Politburo statement on 4 October left open possibility of better relations and progress on arms control. Gromyko's UNGA speech (which was hardline) and subsequent more moderate tone of interview by Chernenko with Washington Post on 17 October (text attached) both indicate continuing concern with arms control, and especially about outer space.

Soviet Department
FCO

31 October 1984
S35AAJ

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TIKHONOV, Nikolai Aleksandrovich

Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR 1980; Member of Politburo CC CPSU 1979; Member, CC CPSU 1966.

Born 1905, Kharkov, Ukrainian.

- 1924 graduated from Dnepropetrovsk Railway Technical School.
- 1924-1930 worked as an assistant to an engine driver and as a factory technician.
- 1930 graduated from Kharkov Metallurgical Institute.
- 1930-1940 engineer, section head, chief engineer at metallurgical plant in Dnepropetrovsk.
- 1940 joined the Party.
- 1940-1947 involved in evacuation of the plant in Dnepropetrovsk to Pervouralsk in Sverdlovsk oblast; continued to work in the plant as chief engineer, then deputy director.
- 1947-1950 Director, Southern Pipe Plant in Nikopol.
- 1950-1955 Head, Chief Administration for Pipe-rolling and Casting, Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy USSR.
- 1955-1957 Deputy Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy USSR.
- 1957-1960 Chairman of Dnepropetrovsk CNE.
- 1958- Deputy to Supreme Soviet USSR.
- 1960-1963 Deputy Chairman, State Scientific-Economic Council of USSR Council of Ministers – rank of USSR Minister.
- 1961 Dr Technical Sciences.
- 1961-1966 Candidate Member, CC CPSU.
- 1963-1965 Deputy Chairman of Gosplan – USSR Minister.
- 1965-1976 Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.
- 1966- Member, CC CPSU.
- 1976-1980 First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.
- Nov 1978-
Nov 1979 Candidate Member of Politburo.

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July 1979- Member of Politburo.
Oct 1980- Chairman, Council of Ministers USSR.

Tikhonov was awarded State Prizes in 1943 and 1951, on the latter occasion for developing production of large-diameter seamless pipes. He holds the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, 7 Orders of Lenin, 2 Orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of the October Revolution, and the Red Star. He has travelled relatively widely, and accompanied Khrushchev to the USA in 1959 and Podgorny to Iran in 1970; he has also visited Austria (most recently in April 1981), Canada, Japan, and Finland. Before assuming his present post he travelled frequently to Berlin and Bonn as head of the Soviet sides of the Soviet-GDR and Soviet-FRG intergovernmental commissions for economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Speaks some German and some English. He was Chairman of the Soviet Commission for the International Year of the Child in 1979.

Tikhonov has a reputation as a dry and colourless technocrat. His association with Brezhnev dates back at least to the 1930s when both were working in Dnepropetrovsk. Tikhonov became Chairman of the Council of Ministers on Kosygin's retirement on health grounds. He had been under-studying Kosygin since 1976, and his promotion to full Politburo member in 1979 made him the obvious successor.

Tikhonov is said to have chaired the session of the Council of Ministers that authorised the decision to deprive Academician Sakharov of his titles and exile him to Gorky.

His wife died in October 1980.

July 1981

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A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

Chernenko Replies to 'Washington Post' on Soviet-US Relations

Tass in Russian for abroad 0930 (and in English 0715) gmt 17 Oct 84

Text of report:

The head of the 'Washington Post' Moscow office, Dushko Doder, has asked Konstantin U. Chernenko to answer some questions dealing with Soviet-US relations, a subject which the request describes as being of concern not only to 'Washington Post' readers but to millions of people throughout the world.

Given below are the answers by Konstantin U. Chernenko.

[Q] President Reagan has said that the USA is prepared to resume a dialogue with the Soviet Union on a broad range of matters, including arms control. What is the attitude of the Soviet Union towards President Reagan's expression of readiness for talks?

[A] We have heard before words about the US administration's readiness for talks, but they have never been supported by real deeds which would attest to a genuine desire to reach agreement on a just and mutually acceptable basis on ~~one of~~ ^{even} one of the essential matters of our relations, particularly in the field of arms limitation and a reduction of the danger of war.

Every time we put forward specific proposals, they came up against a brick wall. Let me give some examples.

have This was the case last March, when we identified a whole set of issues. Reaching agreement on them - or at least on some of them - would mean a real shift both in Soviet-US relations and in the international situation as a whole. But what they did was simply avoid responding to our proposals.

This was the case in June, when we proposed reaching agreement on preventing the militarisation of outer space. This time we received a reply, but what kind? An attempt was made to substitute the very subject of negotiations, it was proposed to discuss issues related to nuclear weapons, that is, issues which had previously been discussed at the talks in Geneva which were wrecked by the USA itself. At the same time, the USA has not only refused to remove the obstacles created by the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe but is going ahead with their deployment.

And what about outer space? Instead of preventing an arms race in space, we were invited to proceed to formulating some rules for such a race and in fact to legalise it. Obviously, we cannot agree to that. Our objective is genuinely peaceful outer space, and we shall persistently strive for this objective.

These are the facts.

Turning now to President Reagan's statement which you have referred to: If what the President has said about readiness to negotiate is not merely a tactical move, I wish to state that the Soviet Union will not be found wanting. We have always been prepared for serious and business-like negotiations, and have repeatedly said so.

We are ready to proceed to negotiations with a view to formulating and concluding an agreement to prevent the militarisation of outer space, including complete

renunciation of anti-satellite systems, with a mutual moratorium - to be established from the date the talks start - on testing and deployment of space weapons. This is precisely how we formulated our proposal from the outset. Now it is up to Washington to respond.

The Soviet proposal that the nuclear powers freeze quantitatively and qualitatively all nuclear weapons at their disposal also remains in force. Agreement on that would mean mutual cessation of the build-up of all components of existing nuclear arsenals, including delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads. The nuclear arms race would thus be stopped. This would radically facilitate further agreements on reducing and eventually completely eliminating such weapons. The White House still has before it our official proposal that the Soviet Union and the USA initially agree to freeze their nuclear weapons, thus setting an example to other nuclear powers.

There is a real opportunity to finalise the agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. Without such tests these weapons would not be improved, which would put the brakes on the nuclear arms race. Here, too, the USA could prove in deeds the sincerity of its declarations in favour of nuclear arms limitation. The USA can also prove it by ratifying the Soviet-American treaties on underground nuclear explosions. These treaties were signed as far back as 1974 and 1976. Prove it precisely by ratifying them and not by inviting observers, as suggested by the American side, who would merely dispassionately ascertain the fact of an explosion.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly called on Washington to follow our example in undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Every time the answer was "No". Imagine the reverse situation: the USA undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and calls on us to reciprocate, while we say "No", this does not suit us and we reserve the right to a nuclear first strike. What would people in the USA think of our intentions in that case? There can be no two views on that score.

I have mentioned several most pressing issues related to ending the arms race and strengthening security. There are other important matters which, I believe, the President is well aware of. All of them call for solutions and concrete efforts. Unsupported by practical deeds, words about readiness to negotiate remain mere words.

I believe this answers your question.

[Q] There is a widespread view that there has recently become discernible a shift which could lead to better Soviet-US relations. What do you think about this, and what is your view of the prospects for these relations in the coming period?

[A] Indeed, sentiments in favour of a shift for the better in Soviet-US relations are widespread in the world. This, in our view, reflects a growing understanding of the importance of these relations, particularly in the current international situation.

Unfortunately, so far there have been no grounds to speak of such a shift in Soviet-US relations as being a fact. Is it possible? I shall give an unequivocal answer to this question: Yes, it is possible. Resolution of the issues to which I referred earlier would help to bring it about.

I am convinced that there is no sound alternative at all to a constructive development of Soviet-US relations. At the same time we do not overlook the fact that we have different social systems and world outlooks. But if the responsibility resting with our two countries is constantly borne in mind, if policy is oriented towards peace and not war, then these differences not only do not exclude a search for mutual understanding but call for it.

I have said before and should like to stress once again: We are for good relations with the USA, and experience shows that they can be such. This requires a mutual desire to build relations as equals, to our mutual benefit and for the good of the cause of peace.



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL
POSSIBLE BILATERAL MEETING WITH HERR GENSCHER

Points to Make

1. Regret cancellation of Anglo-German Summit.
2. We need to build on the extensive common ground between Britain and Germany to strengthen the European Community in all its aspects. The UK's ideas are far reaching, rooted in the Treaty of Rome and amount to much more than a free trade area.
3. Strengthening the European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance is of fundamental importance. Cooperation in security and defence between Britain and Germany, bilaterally, in NATO and the WEU has a particularly valuable contribution to make. As we noted in our joint declaration after our summit at Chequers on 2 May, 67,000 British soldiers and airmen in Germany are a great asset in the relationship. They are evidence of our joint determination to defend freedom. Nowhere is this clearer than in Berlin.
4. The UK is already Germany's most important partner in equipment procurement as Germany is ours. But we need to identify further projects on which we can work together and reduce duplication of effort.
5. We face a challenging period ahead. We shall continue to support your efforts, in public as necessary, to rebut Soviet allegations that the Federal Republic is an aggressive revanchist power.
6. The period ahead also offers opportunities. We look forward to the Bonn Economic Summit. This will be a valuable opportunity for the leading industrialised nations to keep the recovery on course. On the political side it will be an admirable opportunity to counter Soviet anti-German propaganda (which is likely to reach its height on the 40th anniversary of VE Day on 8-9 September).

/Background



BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR GEORGE SHULTZ,
US SECRETARY OF STATE IN NEW DELHI AT MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL:
3 NOVEMBER 1984

Points to make

1. All signs point to Republican election victory. Assume you are equally confident. Trust it will be business as usual after 6 November.
2. Grateful for message of sympathy and offers of help after Brighton bomb.
3. Glad to see progress at last being made in the long-running Laker dispute. But chances of achieving mutually satisfactory overall settlement bound to be jeopardised if US Department of Justice (DOJ) indicts British airlines and former BA employees. Very much hope that US will take full account of this.
4. In short-term we draw some encouragement from developments in US economy. Easing of interest rates benefits other countries as well as US. But still concerned that trade and budget deficits unsustainable and risk destabilising world economy. Hope FY 1986 budget proposals will include further action to reduce deficit.
5. Cyprus I recently asked the Turkish Government to use their influence on Denktash to move forward the current talks. A message from President Reagan before the next round on 26 November could tip the balance.
6. Search for a real and lasting improvement in relations with Soviet Union firmly on record as West's aim, but will be a long haul. Read and agreed with your Los Angeles speech. Excellent basis on which to go into 1985. Western policy must remain firmness, plus willingness to talk and readiness to respond if the Russians move.



- 2 -

7. Expect Middle East will also be a top priority. Note President Reagan's reaffirmation of commitment to 1982 plan for Arab/Israel at 1984 UNGA. Will US mediate between parties to secure Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon?



BACKGROUND

POSSIBLE VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES

8. Nothing has been said to the Americans on this point. The Prime Minister will wish to decide whether to mention the possibility to Mr Shultz.

US/UK EXCHANGES ON THE SUBCONTINENT

9. The Americans are concerned about stability on the subcontinent. When Ambassador Murphy (Assistant Secretary, State Department) called on Sir W Harding on 19 October he lamented the US failure to establish a better working relationship with Mrs Gandhi. He noted that the theme of the external threat to India had featured prominently in the Indian election campaign. He expressed concern about possible collusion between the Soviet Union and India to exert psychological pressure on Pakistan. There was some discussion of India's military intentions. A further exchange at senior official level is planned for 4 December in Washington.

LAKER

10. Sir O Wright has reported that those in the Administration who maintain that our political and legal arguments would justify the exercise of the Justice Department's discretion not to proceed would be much reinforced if the Prime Minister does raise the issue and that failure to raise the issue could undermine them.

11. It now looks as if progress is at last being made in our long-running dispute with the Americans over the legal and political problems following the 1982 collapse of Laker Airways. But our sustained political pressure (and the recent DTp decision not to approve cheap winter Trans-Atlantic fares on the grounds that they might lead to new anti-trust litigation by Virgin Atlantic) have helped focus attention on the trouble caused by the intrusion of US domestic anti-trust law into the aviation relationship.



12. At last week's bilateral official consultations in Washington an outline settlement began to emerge. In return for a more liberal fares regime and new arrangements to control inter-airline discussions, the Americans appear prepared to place before Congress a Bill to relieve airlines of civil anti-trust liability. In parallel talks - the US deny the possibility of linkage affecting their duty to enforce their law - the US Department of Justice also undertook to consider seriously our arguments that it should use its discretion and not indict British airlines for alleged past breaches of anti-trust law. More rounds of consultations are scheduled during the next few weeks to try to reach an acceptable overall package. The DoJ are expected to take a final decision on the indictments before the Grand Jury is dissolved on 7 December.

CYPRUS

13. The Prime Minister, after a request by the UN Secretary General, sent a message on 10 October to the Turkish Government urging them to pressure Denktash to be flexible in the talks currently being held under the auspices of the UN Secretary General in New York. The Americans are now considering a possible message from President Reagan but despite promptings by the Secretary General, have been reluctant to intervene at this level up to now. Nevertheless it is the Americans who have the greatest influence over the Turks: a message at this critical time, before the final round of proximity talks on 26 November, might tip the balance.

EAST/WEST RELATIONS

14. Shultz speech of 18 October in Los Angeles emphasised need for consistency and flexibility in dealing with Soviet Union. Theme now "realism, strength and negotiation". Foreign Secretary has sent message congratulating Shultz (copy attached).



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MIDDLE EAST

15. During his visit to Lebanon and Israel (28-30 October) Sir Geoffrey Howe was impressed by the desire of both governments for an early withdrawal from Lebanon. It is encouraging that talks between Israeli and Lebanese military representatives are to begin on 5 November at UNIFIL HQ in Lebanon. The Syrian position remains crucial: the Israelis hope that Mr Richard Murphy (US Assistant Secretary of State) who is currently in the area, will help to obtain Syrian undertakings not to occupy areas in Lebanon vacated by Israel and to prevent terrorist infiltration. Sir Geoffrey Howe's talks with Israeli leaders on Arab/Israel revealed no surprises; Shamir rehearsed his insistence on Camp David; Peres was less rigid but his hands are clearly tied.

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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1863 OF 31 OCTOBER

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EAST/WEST RELATIONS: MIPT

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF MY MESSAGE TO SHULTZ
BEGINS

OLIVER WRIGHT HAS SENT ME A COPY OF THE SPEECH YOU MADE IN
LOS ANGELES ON 18 OCTOBER ON MANAGING THE US/SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.
I HAVE UST HAD A CHANCE TO READ IT CAREFULLY ON A FLIGHT BACK
FROM ISRAEL AND LEBANON AND THOUGHT IT WAS MASTERLY. YOU SUCCEEDED
IN SETTING OUT EXACTLY HOW I THINK WE ALL SEE THE PROBLEM NOW.
THAT WE SHOULD SEE THINGS IN SO MUCH THE SAME WAY IS GOOD
EVIDENCE OF THE VALUE OF THE MANY DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HAD ON THIS
QUESTION OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS.

NOW, AS YOU SAY, OUR CAPACITY FOR PATIENCE AND CONSISTENCY IS
GOING TO BE FULLY STRETCHED IF WE ARE TO MAKE PROGRESS WHERE WE
NEED TO DO SO. THE RESPONSE OF THE RUSSIANS WILL NO DOUBT BE
SLOW AND CAUTIOUS, ESPECIALLY ON ARMS CONTROL.
WE WILL BE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN, INCLUDING DURING GORBACHEV'S
(AS YET UNANNOUNCED) VISIT TO LONDON IN DECEMBER, TO MAKE THE
RUSSIANS UNDERSTAND THAT WHAT IS ON OFFER IS A SINCERE
WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE. I THINK IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT, BOTH
FOR THE RUSSIANS AND FOR YOUR ALLIES, TO SEE THAT AT A TIME WHEN
THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS EXERTING PRESSURES OF ALL KINDS, IT WAS
POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO MAKE A CAREFULLY REASONED AND BALANCED
STATEMENT OF THIS KIND. IT SOUNDED UST THE RIGHT NOTE ON WHICH
TO BEGIN 1985.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

UNITED STATES: POSSIBLE BILATERAL WITH MR SHULTZ

SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFING: INDIA INTERNAL AND INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

POINTS TO MAKE

India Internal

1. Indian Government machine and bureaucratic framework robust by third world standards. Government have been slow to respond to initial Hindu-Sikh rioting, but would expect them to grip situation in next few days. No indication that assassination was part of wider attempt to overthrow Government. Armed forces provide firm guarantee against large-scale civil disorder; but contrary to their tradition and experience to seek some independent political role for themselves.

2. In longer terms, likely Sikh dissidence will continue in Punjab. Sikh alienation should not present lasting problem elsewhere in India, though Government may face pressure to reduce Sikh prominence in armed forces.

3. Must be some doubt about Rajiv Gandhi's ability to hold Congress (I) Government together. Elections due by January next year. Government may decide to capitalise on "sympathy vote" by calling elections in December, but cannot be excluded, they will seek to postpone them for six months or so. This constitutionally feasible.

Indo-Pakistan Relations

4. Pakistan Government have reacted swiftly to condemn Mrs Gandhi's

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/murder



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murder, and appear to be making every effort to avoid giving India any cause for complaint. However, relations between the two have been very tense. Indian Government and press have previously accused Pakistan of supporting Sikh extremists. There may be allegations of Pakistani involvement in the assassination, though the Indian Government have not levelled this charge yet. However, Indian Government is likely to be pre-occupied with internal concerns and may therefore wish to avoid any direct conflict with Pakistan. In longer term, underlying differences will remain: Pakistan's nuclear programme, the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan's acquisition of arms from you.

ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. These are to be found in the briefs on India Internal Affairs and India External Affairs.

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PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

PAKISTAN: POSSIBLE BILATERAL WITH PRESIDENT ZIA

POINTS TO MAKE

Relations with India

1. Hope your statesmanlike response to Mrs Gandhi's death will contribute to improvement of relations with India. Have been concerned at tension between you recently.

Afghanistan

2. We shall continue to condemn attacks on Pakistan from within Afghanistan. Admire your firm stand in UN-sponsored negotiations. We will continue to work with you in pressing for Soviet withdrawal. Resistance activity continues to be very effective.

Internal

3. Your plans for elections?



ESSENTIAL FACTS

Indo-Pakistan

1. Relations at very low ebb for past few months. But Zia has responded calmly to Indian accusations of Pakistani war-mongering and assistance to Sikh extremists. Zia swift to condemn Mrs Gandhi's murder and to offer co-operation to Rajiv Gandhi in improving relations.

Afghanistan

2. Considerable recent increase in Soviet diplomatic and military pressure on Pakistan. But Pakistan robust at UN-sponsored talks, Geneva, August. UNGA will debate Afghanistan 13-15 November. We will assist Pakistani lobbying in favour of strong vote. No indication of Soviet willingness to consider withdrawal of troops.

Pakistan Internal

3. Zia has declared intention to hold elections by March 1985, but date not announced.

Nuclear

4. Pakistan continues with programme to acquire nuclear explosives capability, though insisting publicly and privately that programme peaceful. Pakistan recently concerned about press speculation concerning possible pre-emptive Indian strike against their nuclear facilities. We judge this unlikely.



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

JAPAN: POSSIBLE BILATERAL WITH MR NAKASONE

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Personally delighted to hear of your re-election for further two years. Know Geoffrey Howe and Nigel Lawson will also be pleased at Mr Abe and Mr Takeshita staying on in their posts. Look forward to meeting your team again in Bonn.
2. Japan as major economic power in Asia has clear interest in stability and democracy in India. Your visit here in May must have confirmed this. Hope that this interest will take form of increased trade between two countries and also increased grant aid from Japan to India. India Britain's largest aid recipient. At present, all the more important to show India who her true friends are.



ESSENTIAL FACTS

1. On 31 October Mr Nakasone was returned as President of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and thus Prime Minister by a vote of the LDP Dietmen. In the event he was unopposed (his rivals having agreed not formally to stand). The Prime Minister sent a message of congratulations. In the ensuing Cabinet reshuffle, Mr Nakasone moved two-thirds of his Cabinet but kept Mr Abe as Foreign Minister and Mr Takeshita as Finance Minister. This stability was prompted by the necessity to keep these two major rivals in the Cabinet without demoting them, but the Nakasone/Abe/Takeshita team is a strong one and its continuance in office will be good for Japan and her stature internationally.

Japan and India

2. Mr Abe visited India and Pakistan in early May 1984, the first Japanese Prime Minister to do so since 1961. Trade between the sub-continent and Japan has traditionally been low, as has mutual interest. A greater Japanese commitment to India would be of benefit to the West and be in line with Japan's declared intention to increase her ODA. Japanese aid to India in 1983 amounted to \$130m of which \$13m was grant aid. By contrast, British aid amounted to \$176m, all of which was grant aid.

Bilateral Issues

3. Mr Nakasone could conceivably raise (though the Prime Minister need not):

- a) Prince Hiro: eldest son of Crown Prince, studying at Oxford.
- b) Duke of Edinburgh: saw Mr Nakasone during visit to Japan on World Wildlife Fund business in late October.



- c) 2000 Group: plans moving ahead for preparatory conference in Japan in February 1985 which will consider how to take forward the idea of regular exchanges of views between influential people in both countries.
- d) Financial talks: Mr Littler of the Treasury met his Japanese counterpart (Vice-Minister, Ministry of Finance) in Tokyo in late October and agreed various steps towards liberalisation of treatment of British financial institutions operating in Tokyo.

Far Eastern Department, FCO

1 November 1984



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL
MEETING WITH MR RAJIV GANDHI

POINTS TO MAKE

General Relationship

1. Mrs Gandhi will be remembered with respect and affection in the UK. She did much to promote relations between our two countries.
2. India and the UK have much to offer each other. We have a fund of mutual goodwill to build on. I attach great importance to our relations with India.
3. Know you face a difficult period. Confident that India's machinery of Government, under your leadership, will cope with immediate problems.
4. Want you to know that Britain will stand by India. The unity and prosperity of your country are vital to the well-being of the whole region.

Sikh community in UK (if raised)

5. Fully understand your concern. Deplore disgraceful scenes by Sikh extremists in UK.
6. Majority of Sikhs in UK are sensible people. Many moderate Sikh leaders have appealed for calm. Senior police officers have been in touch with Sikh community leaders to stress the need to stay within the law.
7. We cannot control the media but have urged them to exercise care. They have been made aware of the danger that irresponsible coverage could inflame feelings among the Asian community.

/8.



8. No foreign extremists, including Sikhs, will be allowed to break the law.

Commercial Relations - Defence Sales

9. Encouraged by strong recent growth of trade in both directions. Important to sustain this.

10. Co-operation in defence equipment field has been particularly fruitful. Co-operation between our armed forces over training and equipment is in interest of both countries. Hope it will continue and expand.

Aid

11. Our aid is running at some £110 million a year. By far our largest aid commitment to any country. About one-quarter of our total bilateral aid. (If raised): Future level of our aid will be discussed at regular aid talks next February. Can assure you of our continued support for your economic development efforts.



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL
MEETING WITH MR RAJIV GANDHI

ESSENTIAL FACTS

Assassination and Change of Government

1. Mrs Gandhi's assassins have been identified as Sikh members of her bodyguard. According to press reports she had insisted on having them back into her entourage as a sign that she felt no hostility towards Sikhs. It is not yet clear whether they were working on their own or as part of a wider conspiracy. One is reported to have been killed on the spot. At least one was captured unharmed.
- ... 2. Mr Rajiv Gandhi (His curriculum vitae is attached) was sworn in as Prime Minister on 31 October. His Cabinet held its first meeting the same day. Its composition has still not been made clear, but for the moment all of Mrs Gandhi's Ministers appear to be carrying on in their old jobs. Rajiv Gandhi was the General-Secretary of the Congress (I) party, but he has no ministerial experience and his active involvement in politics goes back only four years. He was being groomed as Mrs Gandhi's successor. But he must be uncomfortably aware that his moment has come too soon.

Security

3. The Government's first concern will be to bring the law and order situation under control. There have been reports of widespread rioting in Delhi and other cities. Sikh shops have been looted and burnt and Sikh temples attacked. According
- /to



to press reports there were only 10 casualties in Delhi over 31 October/1 November. By Indian standards, and in the circumstances, this is low. It suggests that the security forces are firmly in control. 4,000 troops have been drafted into Delhi, with orders to shoot troublemakers on sight. There have been reports of violence in Calcutta, Benares and other major northern Indian cities. In some areas a curfew has been imposed. There is a real danger of widespread violence between Sikhs and Hindus, but the security forces should be able to prevent a generalised breakdown of law and order. By third world standards the Indian Government machinery is robust. The armed forces are disciplined and traditionally have not sought an independent political role. The system should be able to carry on even when there is dislocation at the Cabinet level.

4. British travellers have been advised to postpone their departure for India for the time being, unless they have urgent reasons for going there. Tour operators have been informed.

Internal Political Scene

5. Mrs Gandhi had been Prime Minister ever since 1966, with a short break from March 1977 to January 1980. There was no political figure in India of comparable national standing. She dominated Indian politics and her death may prove to be a watershed in the affairs of the country.

6. Mrs Gandhi won a convincing majority at the January 1980 elections. Fresh elections are due by the end of January 1985, although it would be possible, under the Constitution, to put

/them



them back by a maximum of six months. No date for the elections had been declared at the time of Mrs Gandhi's death. It was generally forecast that she would form the next Government, but that her Congress (I) party would have a much smaller majority, and might be forced into a coalition with one or more minor parties. Apart from the law and order situation the immediate problem for Rajiv Gandhi will be to consolidate his hold on his party and decide how to handle the elections. Given the threat to his own life from Sikh extremists his movements during the election campaign will be hampered.

7. Mrs Gandhi was by far the greatest electoral asset Congress (I) possessed. Her death is a major loss, but it will create, at least in the short term, a wave of sympathy for her party. This might argue for pressing ahead with an early election.

Whatever Mrs Gandhi's own qualities, her party is widely discredited with the voters. It had become very much her personal vehicle, in which loyalty was rewarded much more than competence and integrity. As the shock of Mrs Gandhi's death wears off disillusionment with Congress (I) is likely to resurface. A further problem is that Rajiv Gandhi's efforts to improve the party's public image and deal with corrupt members have made him enemies inside Congress (I). A successful snap election would enable him to consolidate his hold on the party before his opponents can muster their strength.

8. However, weakness within Congress (I) is more than balanced by the divisions amongst the opposition parties. None has the same nationwide standing as Congress (I). Their attempts to

/organise



organise a common electoral effort against Congress (I) have so far foundered on personality clashes between their leaders. It is unlikely that the opposition will be able to exploit Mrs Gandhi's death for their own electoral purposes. Mr Gandhi may calculate, in view of the opposition's weakness, that he can afford to take a reasonably relaxed view of his electoral prospects, at least to the extent of putting the polling date back a few months. Indian elections are rough affairs at the best of times. An election campaign held within two months of Mrs Gandhi's death would carry a grave risk of a breakdown in law and order, with worrying implications for the institutional framework of democracy in India.

Regional Problems in India

9. We have no reports of the situation in Punjab following Mrs Gandhi's death. As news of Hindu reprisals against Sikhs elsewhere in India reaches the State, a backlash from Sikhs against the Hindu minority seems likely. The slow process of normalisation in the State is likely to receive a serious setback. Ironically there had recently been some signs of progress towards Mrs Gandhi's promised "healing touch". On 26 September the Indian Army was able to withdraw from the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The Sikh high priests had managed to distance themselves from the more hot-headed elements. There had also been behind the scenes discussions between the Government and moderate Sikh leaders, whose influence had collapsed in the immediate aftermath of the temple storming on 6 June.

/10.



10. The situation in Andhra Pradesh has calmed down considerably since the abortive attempt to dismiss the Chief Minister in August. Mrs Gandhi had been able to mend her fences to some extent with the restored Chief Minister Mr Rama Rao. However, Congress (I) is likely to lose most of its 38 Lok Sabha seats from Andhra Pradesh at the General Elections.

11. The situation in Tamil Nadu, the southern state immediately adjacent to Sri Lanka, is worrying. The Chief Minister there (another ex-film star known as MGR - Mr M G Ramachandran) is critically ill. He had a political arrangement with Mrs Gandhi which had the effect of more or less neutralising pressure from Tamil opinion for a more active Indian policy over Sri Lanka. If MGR were to die at this stage it would create a further highly unwelcome source of difficulty for the Indian Government. Kashmir is also passing through a difficult period. The state Government there was toppled by Mrs Gandhi in July. The new Government is unpopular. Kashmir is a strategically important state, still subject to conflicting border claims with Pakistan.

Relations with Pakistan

12. The Pakistani Government has declared three days of mourning for Mrs Gandhi. President Zia will attend the funeral. Immediately after the shooting President Zia made a statement concluding "The Government and people of Pakistan and I myself join the Government and people of India in prayers for her recovery from the injuries". There have been allegations of Pakistani involvement in the killing, although not so far from the Indian Government. The Pakistani authorities appear

/privately



privately relaxed about the possibility of escalating trouble with India as a result of Mrs Gandhi's death (although this must be a very preliminary assessment on their part). They will be doing everything to avoid giving India any cause for complaint.

Indo-Soviet Relations

13. The Defence Minister Mr S B Chavan was in Moscow at the time of the assassination. He has apparently now returned to Delhi. A Soviet spokesman has sought to imply that the CIA was in some way involved in the killing of Mrs Gandhi. According to Indian press reports the Soviet Union will be represented at the funeral by Prime Minister Tikhonov. It is unlikely that Rajiv Gandhi's approach to the Soviet Union will differ materially from that of Mrs Gandhi. The safest prediction is that both the Indian and Soviet Governments will be anxious to maintain their good relations.



PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO INDIA TO ATTEND
MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

POSSIBLE BILATERALS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF
INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE

General Points to make (if opportunity arises)

1. Attach particular importance to our relations with ASEAN. Deeply regretted having to postpone my visit to Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore in September.
2. Hope to put proposals to you before long for its re-instatement.

Visit to China? (Defensive)

3. I have taken no decision on this. If I were to visit Peking it would be solely to sign the joint declaration on Hong Kong which both China and we have agreed must be signed before the end of the year.

POINTS TO MAKE WITH DR MAHATHIR

Joint British/Malaysian Society Meeting

4. Significant step forward for UK/Malaysia relations. Know that your presence at meeting created most favourable impact on British contingent.

EC/ASEAN

5. UK will play full part in EC/ASEAN meeting in Dublin. Sir Geoffrey Howe looks forward to meeting ASEAN Foreign Ministers in London before the Dublin meeting.

Students

6. We particularly welcome students from Malaysia. Visit of your Minister of Education last month provided good opportunity to discuss Malaysia's future requirements.



7. Know Malaysia has special case. Shall continue to make scholarships and awards available beyond current schemes.

Air Services (Defensive)

8. This is a problem for our aeronautical authorities to deal with on its merits. On present passenger figures, understand there is no justification for a fifth weekly flight. But aeronautical authorities ready to look at any new evidence and understand BA and MAS have had recent route talks. Hope these exchanges will continue.

9. Cannot accept that this technical issue be linked in any way with other business contracts.

Malaysia's Invisibles Deficit (Defensive)

10. We will support efforts of our financial and commercial institutions to increase cooperation on services front with their Malaysian counterparts.

11. Not true that BA is outearning MAS. The reverse is the case.

DATUK SERI DR MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMED, SSDK SSAP SPMJ DP
SPDK SPCK SPNS DUPN SSMT DUMN

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence since July 1981. President of the National Front.
MP (UMNO).

Born 1925 in Alor Star. Educated University of Malaya (medicine). Medical Officer, Malayan Medical Service. Formerly a GP. Entered Kedah State Assembly 1959. Federal Parliament 1964-70, and since 1974. Attended CPA Conference in London 1961. Chairman, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, Malaysia. Member of Malaysian Delegation to Twentieth Session of UN 1965. Chairman, Higher Education Council 1968. Defeated in 1969 elections but returned unopposed in 1974. Minister of Education 1974. MP for Kembang Pasu (Kedah) which he held against a strong challenge from PAS in 1978. Became DPM in 1976 and Minister of Trade and Industry in December 1977. Became Prime Minister on Tun Hussein's resignation.

Early reputation as an extremist Malay (although himself half-Pakistani) who played an important part in the attacks on Lee Kuan Yew in the months leading up to the separation of Singapore. Expelled from UMNO in 1969 for leading an attack on the Tunku. He advocated more government direction of the economy and less freedom for foreign and local capitalists. Author of the influential book "The Malay Dilemma", published in 1970 and banned in Malaysia until 1981 which, in sometimes unkind terms, analysed the reasons for the backwardness of the Malay community. Reinstated as a member of the UMNO 1972. Topped the polls in the June 1972 elections for the UMNO Supreme Council. In August 1972 he became a member of Higher Education Advisory Council. In November 1972 he was appointed Chairman of FIMA and in December 1972 a Senator. His appointment to the Education portfolio was regarded by non-Malays as provocative and disturbing and he made his mark with a number of statements on the importance of Bahasa Malaysia. His handling of the student riots of December 1974 was regarded as clumsy and arrogant but he gradually became one of the "inner Cabinet", becoming Deputy Prime Minister on the death of Tun Razak.

Time has not mellowed Dr Mahathir's reputation for "shooting from the hip" and indeed he seems positively proud of his blunt outspoken approach, believing that this is the only way to stir Malaysians (especially Malays) into action. He is determined that the policy of fostering Malay interests - principally through the NEP - should continue. Despite this, his popularity has, if anything, increased since his appointment as Prime Minister. He has successfully convinced other social groups, especially the Chinese, that their only chance of influencing national affairs is to work from inside the Government. The National Front's increased majority at the 1982 elections may be seen as evidence of this. Despite his uncompromising exterior, he has shown himself to be an energetic and pragmatic leader. But his sharp tongue and his tendency to push the Malay and party establishment too far, too fast, are danger points. There have been signs recently (constitutional amendments issue in particular) that he is losing his touch, and his relationship with the Rulers, never good, has deteriorated markedly.

As regards foreign policy, he has signalled that Malaysia should turn away from its former dependence on the West; the "Look East" policy being the outward manifestation of this attempt to strike a balance, whereby Malaysia will take the best from both directions. He has redefined Malaysia's foreign policy priorities as being ASEAN the Islamic World, the NAM and finally the Commonwealth (although he unexpectedly attended the CHOGRM in Fiji in October 1982).

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This inevitably means that relations with Malaysia's largest Western partners – especially Britain – have tended to suffer. Even before his appointment as Prime Minister his hostile attitude towards Britain was well known. His Directive (in operation from October 1981-April 1983) specified that public departments would 'buy British' only in the last resort. But the £5m student fee support package for Malaysia and a successful meeting with Mrs Thatcher in late March 1983 encouraged him to lift this policy. UK/Malaysia relations are, as a consequence, much improved but Britain is still "on trial" as far as Mahathir is concerned.

An excellent public speaker and despite his aggressive public persona, an affable and intelligent conversationalist.

His attractive and intelligent wife, Datin Sri Dr Hasmah, is a former GP (they met whilst studying medicine together in Singapore). They have three sons (two educated in UK) and two daughters (one, Marina, worked as a journalist in the UK but is now with the New Straits Times).

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108 WIRAHADIKUSUMAH, MAJOR-GENERAL UMAR

Vice President since March 1983.

Born Sumedang, West Java, 1924. A student at Pajaran University, Bandung. Worked on a rubber plantation for sometime before joining Peta, the Japanese trained but Indonesian officered military organisation in 1944. Commander of the First Brigade of the Siliwangi Division at Cirebon, 1947. Commander of a 'battalion' in Solo 1948-49. On the general staff of the Siliwangi Division 1951. Commander of the Jakarta Garrison at the time of the attempted coup and the first senior officer to take effective action against the rebels. He was then promoted to take command of the Army Strategic Reserve, 1965-67, Vice Chief of Staff of the Army, 1967-69. Chief of Staff 1969-73. Promoted Chairman of the National Audit Board, 1973-83. To his surprise he was nominated by President Soeharto to become Vice President in 1983.

A modest, soft-spoken Muslim, fond of golf and tennis. Having been in a backwater for the past ten years his knowledge both of Indonesian and international problems is limited. His wife Karlina is active in various social and charitable causes. She has been Chairman of the Association of Wives of Resigned Army Officers for 17 years, and is active on the Indonesian Cancer and Heart Foundations. Two daughters, one married to a postgraduate studying in West Germany, and the other still at high school.

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 780 OF 2 NOVEMBER

YOUR TELNO 893: CHAUHAN EXTRADITION

1. THE INDIANS FORMALLY REQUESTED THE DEPORTATION OF CHAUHAN ON 4 MARCH 1976 ON THE GROUNDS OF ANTI-INDIAN ACTIVITIES, SUBVERSIVE IN NATURE AND INTENDED TO THREATEN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF INDIA THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SIKH STATE. THE NOTE QUOTED CHAUHAN AS SAYING THAT ARMS WERE BEING COLLECTED TO FIGHT FOR A SIKH HOMELAND AND TO FORM A KHALISTAN LIBERATION ARMY THROUGH THE COLLECTION OF MONEY AND THE ORGANISATION OF SUPPORT.

2. THE NOTE, WHICH ALSO NOTIFIED THE WITHDRAWAL OF CHAUHAN'S INDIAN PASSPORT FACILITIES, WENT ON TO REFER TO THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UK AND THE DUTY OF STATES NOT TO PERMIT, TOLERATE OR ACQUIESCE IN ACTS ON ITS SOIL WHICH MIGHT INCITE, INSTIGATE OR OTHERWISE PROMOTE CIVIL CIVIL STRIFE OR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN ANOTHER COUNTRY. IT ALSO REFERRED TO THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG STATES UNDER THE UN CHARTER.

3. THE INDIANS REQUEST WAS CONSIDERED BY HOME OFFICE AS WELL AS FCO LEGAL ADVISERS. THE INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION WAS SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED ON 7 JULY 1976 THAT WE COULD NOT COMPLY WITH THE REQUEST (A) BECAUSE IT RAN COUNTER TO BRITISH LAW AND POLICIES TOWARDS COMMONWEALTH CITIZENS IN THIS COUNTRY AND (B) BECAUSE THE IMMIGRATION ACT 1971 WAS NOT DESIGNED TO MEET REQUESTS OF THIS NATURE AND WAS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT 1967 WHICH GIVES EFFECT TO EXTRADITION ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES. (IT WAS APPARENTLY LEFT OPEN TO THE INDIANS TO PURSUE EXTRADITION UNDER THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT IF THEY SO WISHED, BUT THEY DID NOT DO SO NO DOUBT BECAUSE THEY LACKED EVIDENCE). THE INDIANS WERE ALSO TOLD THAT WE COULD NOT WITHDRAW CHAUHAN'S BRITISH TRAVEL DOCUMENT OR IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.

4. OUR RESPONSE TO ANY REQUEST FOR CHAUHAN'S EXTRADITION WHICH THE INDIANS MIGHT NOW MAKE, WOULD, OF COURSE, DEPEND ON THE GROUNDS THEY PUT FORWARD. IT REMAINS OPEN TO THEM TO SEEK EXTRADITION UNDER THE FUGITIVE OFFENDERS ACT 1967 BUT THEY WOULD NEED TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE AND, AS CHAUHAN WOULD RESIST ANY EXTRADITION APPLICATION, THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE TO FIGHT THE CASE THROUGH THE ENGLISH COURTS.

IMMEDIATE

5. IN THEORY, CHAUHAN COULD ALSO BE EXCLUDED OR DEPORTED AT THE DISCRETION OF THE HOME SECRETARY ON THE GROUNDS THAT HIS PRESENCE IN THE UK WAS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD. BUT THIS ACTION COULD ONLY BE TAKEN IF, AMONGST OTHER FACTORS, THERE WAS CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT HE HAD ENGAGED IN VERY SERIOUS CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES OR THAT HE HAD PLOTTED THE OVERTHROW BY VIOLENT MEANS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. ACTION COULD ALSO BE TAKEN ON THE GROUNDS OF PERSONAL HISTORY, CHARACTER AND CONDUCT.

6. THE HOME OFFICE SAY THAT THE LENGTH OF TIME CHAUHAN HAS BEEN IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MAKE AN EXCLUSION ORDER. IF THERE WAS AN EXCLUSION ORDER CHAUHAN WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT OF APPEAL TO THREE NOMINATED ASSESSORS AND COULD, OF COURSE, APPLY FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM. IN PRACTICAL TERMS AN EXCLUSION ORDER MIGHT BE UNENFORCABLE AS CHAUHAN COULD NOT BE SENT BACK TO INDIA AGAINST HIS WISHES AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANY OTHER STATE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT HIM. (THIS OCCURRED IN THE CASE OF THE PAKISTANI AIRLINE HIACKER BUTT WHO WAS THE SUBJECT OF AN EXCLUSION ORDER BUT WHO EVENTUALLY HAD TO BE GIVEN ASYLUM IN THIS COUNTRY).

7. THERE REMAINS ONE FURTHER OPTION UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTED PERSONS ACT 1978. IF THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT HE HAD ACTIVELY CONSPIRED OR INSTIGATED MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION HE COULD BE EXTRADITED OR, HAVE HIS CASE SUBMITTED TO THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES IN THE UK FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROSECUTION.

8. THE ABOVE IS PRIMARILY FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION. YOU SHOULD EXERCISE CAUTION IN DRAWING ON IT IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

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PS RENTON
PS/MZ
PS/FUS

MR H VARNNEY CAP 3
MR E STRONG SP 2
MR J F LANGLEY IA2C

DEPT OF TRANSPORT

MR O'NEILL
MR GOODALL
S.A.W. HARDING
MR BOND
MR WESTON
MR DEERSON

NO. 10 DOWNING STREET
ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE
D I O CABINET OFFICE
SIR R ARMSTRONG } CABINET OFFICE
SIR A DUZZ }
MR D COLVIN }
MR N BRIND }
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MR R BARRINGTON } HOME OFFICE
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DEFENCE OFFICE

PS MR. RAISON
PS LADY YOUNG

Sir P Moore Buckingham Palace



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TO FLASH FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 867 OF 2 NOVEMBER

UK SIKH REACTION TO MRS GANDHI'S MURDER

1. I HAVE LEARNT ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT FEELING IN VERY SENIOR INDIAN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES (INCLUDING THE NEW PRIME MINISTER) IS RUNNING VERY HIGH AGAINST BRITAIN IN THE LIGHT OF REPORTS OF CHAUHAN'S APPEARANCES ON THE BBC AND OF SIKH REJOICINGS IN LONDON. THERE IS EVEN TALK OF A TRADE BOYCOTT, INCLUDING THE CANCELLATION OF EXISTING DEFENCE CONTRACTS.

2. IF WE ARE TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS, AND ALSO MINIMISE THE SECURITY RISK TO PRINCESS ANNE AND MRS THATCHER DURING THEIR TIME HERE, WE NEED TO MOVE VERY FAST WITH A PUBLIC STATEMENT AT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVEL. THIS SHOULD EXPRESS THE GOVERNMENT'S REGRET AT CHAUHAN'S APPEARANCE AND STATEMENT ON TELEVISION AND THEIR ABHORRENCE AT ANY SECTION OF THE BRITISH POPULATION REJOICING AT AN ACT OF TERRORISM AND MURDER.

3. PLEASE PASS COPY TO SIR P MOORE AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

WADE-GERY

ADVANCE COPY
FLASH
Prime Minister
We are working on a statement which could either be made by you at the airport, or issued in written form.
CDD

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI
TELEGRAM NUMBER 778 OF 2 NOVEMBER

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YOUR TELNO 867: UK SIKH REACTION TO MRS GANDHI'S MURDER

1. HIPT: FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF REMARKS MADE BY CHAUHAN, BROADCAST ON VARIOUS TV NEWS PROGRAMME ON 31 OCTOBER.

2. BBC TV NEWS AT 1800:

QUOTE 'IT WAS HER (MRS GANDHI'S) DUE, SHE DESERVED IT, AND I SAID IT ON 13TH JUNE IN THIS ROOM TO THE WHOLE PRESS, THAT ANYBODY WHO HAS INVADED THE SACRED PLACE OF THE SIKHS, HAS NEVER BEEN ALLOWED TO LIVE A LIFE. I DON'T THINK ANY SIKH WAS JUST ... GOING TO GIVE ... UST LYING DOWN. I MEAN, SOMETHING HAD TO HAPPEN, BUT I AM SURPRISED IT HAPPENED AFTER FIVE MONTHS.' UNQUOTE.

3. BBC TV NEWS AT 2100: (REBROADCAST OF CHAUHAN'S STATEMENT IN JUNE)

QUOTE 'LET ANYBODY WHO HAS DONE ANY SACRILEGE TO THE HOLY PLACE OF THE SIKHS, HE MUST NEVER ALLOW TO LIVE. AND I AM AFRAID VERY SOON YOU WILL SEE THAT SOMEBODY SOMEWHERE, WILL KILL MRS GANDHI, HER WHOLE FAMILY.' UNQUOTE.

4. CHANNEL 4 TV NEWS AT 1900. FOLLOWING IS BRIEF INTERVIEW WITH CHAUHAN:

CHAUHAN: SIKHS WILL NEVER FORGET IT, WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO THEM AND IT IS STILL NOT OVER, IT IS ONLY THE BEGINNING...

INTERVIEWER: SO WHO ELSE IS A TARGET? IS MRS GANDHI'S SON A TARGET FOR EXAMPLE?

CHAUHAN: ... I WANT TO SPECIFICALLY SAY THAT HE'S DEFINITELY A TARGET AND HE SHOULD BE CAREFUL, I TELL YOU.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT ABOUT THE PRESIDENT WHO IS HIMSELF A SIKH?

CHAUHAN: I THINK THE PRESIDENT MAY NOT BE THE IMMEDIATE AIM BUT IF HE APOLOGISES, IF HE SATISFIES THE SIKHS THAT HE WAS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ORDERING THIS ATTACK, GOES TO ? CALCUTTA (? INDISTINCT) AND APOLOGISES FROM THE WHOLE NATION, PERHAPS HE MAY BE EXCUSED.

INTERVIEWER: WHAT WILL IT ACTUALLY TAKE TO END THE VIOLENCE?

CHAUHAN: CREATION OF KHALISTAN BY VERY PEACEFUL MEANS AND GIVING SIKHS THEIR DUE. THAT IS THE ONLY SOLUTION, THERE IS NOTHING LESS THAN THAT WHICH THE SIKHS WILL ACCEPT.

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TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 785 OF 2 NOVEMBER

MY TWO IPTS: UK SIKH REACTION TO MRS GANDHI'S DEATH: INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION

1. CONTRARY TO THE IMPRESSION CONVEYED BY JOHARI AT HIS MEETING WITH ME THE INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION'S NOTE GOES OVER OLD GROUND AND THE BRITISH PRESS REPORTS ATTACHED TO IT CONTAIN NOTHING NEW. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN THAT THE STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO CHAUHAN IN THE NOTE DOES NOT REFLECT PRECISELY THE TERMS OF THE GUARDIAN REPORT AND WE DOUBT VERY MUCH WHETHER CHAUHAN HAS IN FACT LAID HIMSELF OPEN TO CHARGES OF COMPLICITY IN THE ASSASSINATION.

2. NONETHELESS, AND AS I TOLD JOHARI, WE SHALL EXAMINE CHAUHAN'S REPORTED STATEMENT CAREFULLY. IF, AS IS LIKELY, YOU ARE APPROACHED BY THE MEA ON THIS YOU SHOULD SAY THAT WE HAVE RECEIVED THE NOTE AND ARE GIVING IT OUR URGENT CONSIDERATION. YOU MIGHT ADD (AS THE PUS TOLD RASOGTRA DURING THEIR RECENT TALK IN LONDON) THAT IF THE INDIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE HARD EVIDENCE OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY BY SIKH EXTREMISTS IN THE UK WE SHOULD, OF COURSE, BE VERY PLEASED TO KNOW OF IT.

HOWE

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LUK 383/2

OO NEW DELHI

GRS 315

SECRET

FM FCO 022036Z NOV

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 786 OF 2 NOVEMBER

FOLLOWING FOR THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BBC'S REPLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

BEGINS: MAY I REPLY IMMEDIATELY TO YOUR LETTER RECEIVED THIS AFTERNOON.

I WISH TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE BBC IS FULLY AWARE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE MOST DIFFICULT AND DELICATE SITUATION WHICH EXISTS IN THE WAKE OF MRS GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION. BOTH GOVERNORS AND MANAGEMENT WOULD FEEL THE DEEPEST CONCERN IF BBC BROADCASTS WERE IN ANY WAY TO HAVE THE SERIOUS EFFECTS MENTIONED IN YOUR LETTER. I HAVE MADE EXTENSIVE ENQUIRIES AND CAN ASSURE YOU THAT MR CHOHAN HAS ONLY MADE ONE BROADCAST ON BBC SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF MRS GANDHI. THAT WAS ON OUR LOCAL RADIO STATION, BBC RADIO LONDON, VERY EARLY ON WEDNESDAY MORNING. ON THE SAME DAY, OUR ASSISTANT DIRECTOR-GENERAL, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CORPORATION'S JOURNALISM, GAVE STRICT INSTRUCTIONS THAT MR CHOHAN SHOULD NOT BE INVITED TO BROADCAST ON BBC WITHOUT SPECIAL CLEARANCE BEING OBTAINED FROM HIM. SUCH CLEARANCE HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN. INDEED, INSTRUCTIONS WERE ISSUED ON WEDNESDAY TO ALL PROGRAMMES THAT THE WIDER CONSEQUENCES OF ANY COVERAGE OF INDIAN OPINION IN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF EDITORIAL MINDS.

I WOULD ADD THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO LACK OF COVERAGE ON BBC PROGRAMMES REFLECTING THE WIDESPREAD REVULSION AT THE VIOLENCE OF MRS GANDHI'S DEATH FELT BY THE ENTIRE NATION.

I OFFER YOU THIS FIRST RESPONSE TO THE VERY SERIOUS MATTERS RAISED IN YOUR LETTER. THE BOARD AND I WILL, OF COURSE, BE MAKING THE FULLEST EXAMINATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE CORPORATION'S COVERAGE, WHICH I BELIEVE HAS DEMONSTRATED BOTH SENSITIVITY AND JUDGEMENT.

I APPRECIATE YOU DO NOT QUESTION THE BBC'S EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE, AND I CAN ASSURE YOU WE ARE AWARE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT GOES WITH THAT INDEPENDENCE. ENDS.

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FLASH

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
 FM F C O 021712Z NOV 84
 TO FLASH NEW DELHI
 TELEGRAM NUMBER 773 OF 2 NOVEMBER
 FOLLOWING FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER FROM PRIVATE
 SECRETARY

INDIA: BILATERAL AID PROGRAMME
 1. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY HAS SEEN THE BRIEF PREPARED FOR THE
 PRIME MINISTER'S BILATERAL MEETING WITH MR RAJIV GANDHI.
 2. HE HAS COMMENTED ON THE PROPOSED POINT TO MAKE ON OUR
 BILATERAL AID TO INDIA (PARAGRAPH 11). HE REALISES THE DELICACY
 OF THE SUBJECT, BUT IS VERY CONCERNED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER
 SHOULD SAY NOTHING WHICH COULD BE TAKEN AS A COMMITMENT TO
 RENEW OR EXPAND OUR EXISTING AID PROGRAMME. THE PRIME MINISTER
 WILL RECALL THAT AT THE MEETING IN NO 10 ON WEDNESDAY, THE
 FOREIGN SECRETARY MADE THE POINT EXPLICITLY THAT THE OUTCOME OF
 THE PRESENT PESC EXERCISE WOULD MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT INDEED
 TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT LEVEL OF OUR AID PROGRAMME TO INDIA,
 EVEN IN CASH TERMS. HE APPRECIATES THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MAY
 WELL NOT (NOT) WANT TO MAKE THAT POINT TO RAIV GANDHI ON THIS
 OCCASION, BUT HE CSIDERS THAT IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE
 INDIANS SHOULD NOT GAIN THE CONTRARY IMPRESSION.

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DD NEW DELHI 030200Z

CONFIDENTIAL

OO KUALA LUMPUR

GRS 229

CONFIDENTIAL

FM F C O 021925Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 774 OF 2 NOVEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE KUALA LUMPUR

FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY
POSSIBLE BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER AND MALAYSIAN
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

1. YOU MAY HAVE SEEN KUALA LUMPUR TELNO 300 BEFORE YOU SET OUT
(NOW REPEATED TO NEW DELHI), REPORTING WHAT SEEMS TO BE A
RECRUDESCENCE OF THE 'BUY BRITISH LAST' CAMPAIGN. IN THE LIGHT
OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, OFFICIALS FROM DTI, DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
AND FCO MET THIS AFTERNOON, AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE PRIME
MINISTER SHOULD RAISE THE MATTER BRIEFLY IF SHE SEES MUSA HITAM
(DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA). THE BRIEF YOU HAVE COULD
BE AMENDED AS FOLLOWS: PARA 8 - DELETE (DEFENSIVE). PARA 9 -
DELETE WHOLE PARAGRAPH AND SUBSTITUTE QUOTE I HAVE BEEN VERY
DISAPPOINTED TO HEAR REPORTS THAT AN IMPORTANT BRITISH CONTRACT
HAS BEEN LOST AS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE AIR SERVICES PROBLEM.
I TRUST THAT THIS IS NOT TRUE, AND I MUST TELL YOU THAT PRESSURE
OF THIS KIND WOULD BE UNHELPFUL TO YOUR CASE OVER THE AIR
SERVICES AGREEMENT. UNQUOTE. BACKGROUND BRIEF SHOULD ALSO BE
UPDATED IN LIGHT OF TUR.

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GRS 774
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FM FCO 021940Z NOV 84
TO FLASH DELHI

09

TELEGRAM NUMBER 782 OF 2 NOVEMBER

YOUR TEL NO 867: UK SIKH REACTION TO MRS GANDHI'S MURDER

1. I ASKED THE INDIAN ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER, JOHARI, TO CALL ON ME AT 1530 HOURS TODAY IN ORDER TO TELL HIM OF THE VARIOUS STEPS WE ARE TAKING TO DISCOURAGE INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS BY SIKH EXTREMISTS AND TO ENSURE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ASIAN COMMUNITY AND THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES.

2. I FIRST HANDED HIM A COPY OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT MADE ON HER DEPARTURE FOR DELHI (TEXT ALREADY TELEGRAPHED TO YOU). JOHARI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND SAID THAT HE WAS SURE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT WOULD PROVE HELPFUL. HE ADDED THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WERE VERY CONCERNED AT THE BIZARRE AND TASTELESS BEHAVIOUR OF THE SIKH EXTREMISTS AND AT THE WAY IN WHICH THE BRITISH MEDIA HAD PLAYED UP THEIR INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS. THE MEDIA HAD MADE IT THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO COPE WITH AN EXTREMELY DELICATE SITUATION.

3. I STRESSED THAT WE WERE VERY ALERT TO THE NEED TO DO EVERYTHING WE COULD TO KEEP THE SITUATION CALM. I REFERRED TO THE ACTION TAKEN BY THE BRITISH POLICE IN THEIR LIAISON WORK WITH THE ASIAN COMMUNITY AND SAID I WAS GLAD TO SEE THAT MODERATE SIKH LEADERS HAD ALSO CALLED FOR RESTRAINT.

4. JOHARI SAID IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WAS A SMALL NUMBER OF EXTREMISTS WHO WERE INTERESTED IN KEEPING THE POT ON THE BOIL. FOR ITS PART, THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WERE DOING ALL THEY COULD TO RESTORE CALM. BUT THE MEDIA EXPOSURE GIVEN TO CHAUHAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES HAD CREATED A PROBLEM. THE HIGH COMMISSION WERE SENDING THE FCO A CATALOGUE OF STATEMENTS MADE BY CHAUHAN IN THE HOPE THAT HMG WOULD AGREE THAT THERE WERE GROUNDS FOR PROSECUTION. IF ACTION COULD BE TAKEN AGAINST CHAUHAN THIS WOULD HAVE A VERY SALUTARY EFFECT.

5. I REMINDED JOHARI THAT WE HAD LOOKED VERY CAREFULLY AT CHAUHAN'S EARLIER STATEMENTS BUT HAD BEEN ADVISED THAT THERE WERE NO GROUNDS FOR PROSECUTION. JOHARI SAID THAT CHAUHAN HAD NOW ADMITTED THAT HE HAD HAD CONTACT WITH A SECRET ORGANISATION CHARGED WITH THE TASK OF ASSASSINATING MRS GANDHI: SURELY THIS WAS SUFFICIENT REASON TO CHARGE HIM WITH COMPLICITY IN THE MURDER? I TOLD JOHARI THAT I WAS NOT AWARE OF THIS STATEMENT BUT THAT WE WOULD OF COURSE EXAMINE IT CAREFULLY. WE HAVE NOW RECEIVED THE INDIAN NOTE (REPORTED SEPARATELY), AND ARE CONSIDERING THIS URGENTLY WITH THE LAW OFFICERS.

6. JOHARI RAISED THE SIKH DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE HIGH COMMISSION ON 31 OCTOBER AND THE SLOWNESS OF THE POLICE IN DISPERSING IT. I EXPLAINED THAT THE POLICE WERE NOT EMPOWERED TO STOP DEMONSTRATIONS. HOW THEY COPE WITH THEM WAS ESSENTIALLY FOR DECISION BY THE MEN ON THE SPOT. I ADDED THAT ON THE BASIS OF THE REPORTS I HAD RECEIVED, THE POLICE MIGHT HAVE BEEN RATHER SLOW IN MOVING THE DEMONSTRATORS ON. ON THE QUESTION OF TREATMENT OF SIKH EXTREMISTS BY THE MEDIA, I POINTED OUT THAT HMG DID NOT CONTROL THE PRESS AND BROADCASTING AUTHORITIES. WE HAD, HOWEVER, GIVEN THE BROADCASTING AUTHORITIES THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE ADVICE ABOUT THE PRESENTATION OF STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS BY SIKH EXTREMISTS.

7. JOHARI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION. HE SUGGESTED IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL IF THE POLICE COULD KEEP ABEAST OF STATEMENTS BY CHAUHAN AND OTHERS IN THE LOCAL VERNACULAR PRESS. I AGREED AND UNDERTOOK TO DRAW THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLICE AUTHORITIES. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE HIGH COMMISSION HAD THIS MORNING BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A BOMTHREAT. JOHARI CONFIRMED THIS. THE POLICE HAD TAKEN PROMPT ACTION TO CLEAR THE BUILDING AND SEARCH FOR ANY EXPLOSIVES. NOTHING HAD BEEN FOUND.

8. FINALLY, I TOLD JOHARI OF THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE HOME SECRETARY TODAY, IN RESPONSE TO AN APPLICATION FROM THE POLICE, TO BAN ALL MARCHES IN THE BOROUGH OF EALING (WHICH INCLUDES SOUTHALL) FROM 1800 HOURS TODAY UNTIL 12 NOVEMBER. THIS WOULD PREVENT ANY SIKH CELEBRATIONS IN THE AREA

BUT WOULD ALSO, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, PREVENT A HINDU PROCESSION OF REMEMBRANCE FOR MRS GANDHI. THE POLICE WOULD BE WILLING TO HAVE THAT PROCESSION TAKE PLACE ELSEWHERE IN LONDON. JOHARI SAID HE WAS VERY PLEASED TO HEAR OF THE HOME SECRETARY'S DECISION.

9. IN CONCLUSION, I ASSURED JOHARI THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO ALL WE COULD TO ENSURE PEACE AND CALM. JOHARI'S MANNER THROUGHOUT OUR DISCUSSION WAS RESTRAINED AND COURTEOUS. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY PLEASED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT AND BY THE HOME SECRETARY'S BAN ON MARCHES. OUR MEETING SEEMED TO HAVE THE EFFECT OF REASSURING HIM THAT WE HAVE THE INDIANS' CONCERNS VERY MUCH AT HEART. BUT THE HIGH COMMISSION WILL CLEARLY CONTINUE TO PRESS US TO FIND A WAY OF TAKING ACTION AGAINST CHAUHAN, BUT AT FIRST SIGHT THEY HAVE STILL NOT (NOT) GIVEN US ENOUGH TO GO ON.

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LDQ 986/02

ZZ BAHRAIN

GRS 115

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 021752Z NOV 84

TO FLASH BAHRAIN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 158 OF 2 NOVEMBER

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF DEPT WAS RECEIVED FROM PARIS TELEGRAM NUMBER 1233 OF 2 NOVEMBER.

PURPORTED IRA THREAT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. ONE OF OUR TELEPHONE OPERATORS HAS JUST RECEIVED A CALL FROM A MAN WHO SAID "THIS IS THE IRA. TELL YOU SECURITY THAT WE ARE SENDING A GUNMAN TO NEW DELHI AND HE WILL BE A THREAT TO MARGARET THATCHER". WHEN THE OPERATOR TRIED TO PASS HIM ON TO SOMEONE ELSE, HE RANG OFF.
2. THE OPERATOR, WHO IS FRENCH, THOUGHT THAT THE CALLER WAS A NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKER. HE SPOKE CLEARLY AND QUIETLY IN A CALM VOICE. HE SOUNDED LIKE A YOUNG MAN.

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OO NEW DELHI

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CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 021650Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

TELEGRAM NUMBER 770 OF 2 NOVEMBER

AND TO FLASH BAHRAIN

VISIT BY PRIME MINISTER FOR MRS GANDHI'S FUNERAL

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TO SUPT PARKER, SENIOR PROTECTION OFFICER.

TELEPHONE CALL TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY HELSINKI ON 2 NOV BY A MAN SPEAKING ENGLISH WITH A MIDDLE EASTERN OR ASIAN ACCENT WHO SAID QUOTE I HAVE A FEELING THERE IS GOING TO BE AN ATTACK ON MRS THATCHER. I HAVE NEVER BEEN WRONG BEFORE. PLEASE DO NOT TRY TO TRACE ME UNQUOTE.

2. PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT HERE IS THAT THERE IS NO COLATERAL TO SUGGEST THIS IS OTHER THAN A HOAX CALL BUT ACCOMPANYING DETECTIVES SHOULD BE AWARE.

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FM WASHINGTON 011800Z NOV 84
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 3247 OF 1 NOVEMBER

INFO PRIORITY NEW DELHI

MY TELNO 3245, AND NEW DELHI TEL NO 853: MEETING WITH SHULTZ.

1. IT HAS NOW BEEN CONFIRMED THAT BUSH WILL NOT HEAD THE U.S. DELEGATION FOR NEW DELHI, WHICH LEAVES FROM NEW YORK AT 1700Z TODAY.

2. STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT THAT, FOR A POSSIBLE MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, SHULTZ IS BRIEFED ON:

- (A) THE SUB-CONTINENT:
- (B) EAST/WEST RELATIONS:
- (C) LAKER:
- (D) THE MIDDLE EAST: AND
- (E) CENTRAL AMERICA.

3. ON (A), HIS BRIEF SUGGESTS THAT HE SEEK A UK ASSESSMENT OF THE RISK OF SERIOUS COMMUNAL TROUBLE WITHIN INDIA, AND OF HEIGHTENED INDO-PAKISTANI TENSION.

4. ON (B), HE IS ADVISED TO FOLLOW UP HIS AND THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL MESSAGES (AFTER THE GROMYKO VISIT) BY TELLING THE PRIME MINISTER HOW HE SEES THE US/SOVIET RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPING. HE WILL DESCRIBE HIS MEETING WITH DOBRYNIN ON 26 OCTOBER (MY TELNO 3241), AND ANY CONTACT WHICH HE OR BURT MAY HAVE HAD WITH THE RUSSIANS IN NEW DELHI. HE WILL HAVE SEEN (AND HIS OFFICE BELIEVE WILL BE PLEASED BY) YOUR MESSAGE (FCO TEL NO 1863) ABOUT HIS LOS ANGELES SPEECH ON 18 OCTOBER ON US/SOVIET RELATIONS.

5. HIS BRIEF ON LAKER IS DEFENSIVE: HIS OFFICIALS HAVE ADVISED HIM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT WELL RAISE THE SUBJECT, BUT THAT GIVEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HE CAN DO NO MORE THAN UNDERTAKE TO PASS ON HER VIEWS. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE FOR HIM TO BE UP-DATED ON THE OFFICIAL-LEVEL TALKS NOW TAKING PLACE IN LONDON, AND HE HAS SEEN AN ACCOUNT OF MY TALK WITH DAM ON 430 OCTOBER (MY TELNO 3221). I HOPE THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WILL RAISE THE SUBJECT: IF SHE DOES NOT, NOR WILL SHULTZ.

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6. ON (D), HE HAS SUB-BRIEFS ON LEBANON, IRAN/IRAQ, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ARAB/ISRAEL RELATIONS. THE SECOND DOES NOT, REPEAT NOT, CONTAIN ANY MATERIAL ON UK ARMS SALES. THE THIRD SUGGESTS, INTER ALIA, THAT HE SEEK AN ACCOUNT OF YOUR IMPRESSIONS, FOLLOWING YOUR VISIT, OF CURRENT ISRAELI ATTITUDES.

7. WE ARE TOLD THAT THE BRIEF ON (E) IS SHORT, AND SIMPLY EQUIPS HIM FOR A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR CONTADORA, AND FOR GREATER STABILITY IN EL SALVADOR.

8. STATE CONFIRM THAT SHULTZ IS NOT REPEAT NOT BRIEFED ON IRELAND.

9. ALTHOUGH CARRYING NO SPECIFIC BRIEF ON TERRORISM, IT SEEMS CERTAIN THAT SHULTZ WILL REFER TO BRIGHTON, AND TO SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGES OF MESSAGES (EG ON EXPERTS), OF ALL OF WHICH HE IS AWARE.

10. ADVANCE COPIES TO POWELL(NO 10), PRIVATE SECRETARY, PS/PUS AND MARSHALL (NAD)

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PS/PUS
SIR W HARDING
MR DC THOMAS

COPIES TO
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DESKBY 010800Z

FM NEW DELHI 010550Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY FCO

TELNO 849 OF 01 NOVEMBER 1984

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, DHAKA, COLOMBO,
KATHMANDU, ISLAMABAD.

INFO SAVING BOMBAY (ACTIONED), CALCUTTA (ACTIONED) AND MADRAS
(ACTIONED)

MY TELNO 845 : AFTERMATH OF MRS GANDHI'S DEATH

RAJIV GANDHI'S CABINET HELD ITS FIRST MEETING YESTERDAY EVENING.
ITS COMPOSITION HAS STILL NOT BEEN MADE CLEAR, BUT THE ASSUMPTION
IS THAT FOR THE MOMENT AT LEAST ALL MRS GANDHI'S MINISTERS
ARE CARRYING ON IN THEIR OLD JOBS. AS WELL AS FIXING THE FUNERAL
FOR 1630 ON 3 NOVEMBER (MY TELNO 845.), THE CABINET DECLARED 12
DAYS OF NATIONAL MOURNING UP TO AND INCLUDING 12 NOV. IN DELHI
IT ALSO BANNED FOR THREE DAYS ALL PROCESSIONS AND MEETINGS AND
THE CARRYING OF LETHAL WEAPONS. DESPITE THIS, LAST NIGHT'S
ANTI-SIKH RIOTS IN DELHI AND ELSEWHERE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN FAIRLY
SEVERE. THE ARMY HAD TO BE CALLED IN TO HELP THE POLICE IN CALCUTTA
AND AGARTALA, AND CURFEWS WERE DECLARED IN SEVERAL NORTH INDIAN
TOWNS. A NUMBER OF CASUALTIES HAVE BEEN REPORTED. POLICE FIRING
HAS OCCURED AS FAR SOUTH AS MADRAS.

2. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER THE ASSASSINS WERE WORKING ON
THEIR OWN OR AS PART OF A WIDER CONSPIRACY. THE GOVERNMENT HAVE
ANNOUNCED THAT ONE WAS A SUB-INSPECTOR WHO HAD WORKED FOR MRS
GANDHI FOR SEVERAL YEARS AND THE OTHER A CONSTABLE ONLY RECENTLY
APPOINTED TO GUARD HER. ONE IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN KILLED ON
THE SPOT, AND THE OTHER INJURED. PAKISTANI INVOLVEMENT IS
INEVITABLY BEING ALLEGED, THOUGH NOT SO FAR BY THE GOVERNMENT.
IT IS BEING RECALLED THAT THE PUNJAB POLICE CLAIMED LAST WEEK
TO HAVE ARRESTED MEMBERS OF AN ASSASSINATION SQUAD ON THEIR WAY
FROM LAHORE TO DELHI, WHO WERE SAID TO HAVE ADMITTED BEING TRAINED
IN PAKISTAN. THE BORDER IS APPARENTLY CLOSED. WHAT SOUNDS
LIKE AN EXEMPLARY STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT ZIA, AND HIS DECLARATION
OF NATIONAL MOURNING, HAVE BEEN MENTIONED IN THE PRESS THOUGH
NOT PROMINENTLY. WILD RUMOURS ABOUND: EG THAT PAKISTAN HAS
RECOGNISED A SIKH SEPARATIST GOVERNMENT IN EXILE.

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CONFIDENTIAL

3. OFFICIAL GOI SOURCES ARE QUOTED BY THE PRESS AS NOT RULING OUT A LINK BETWEEN THE ASSASSINATION AND PRO-KHALISTAN ELEMENTS ABROAD, AND AS RECALLING CHAUHAN'S PREDICTION ON THE BBC IN JUNE. NEITHER HIS LATEST PRONOUNCEMENTS NOR OTHER SIKH REJOICINGS IN THE UK (YOUR TELNO 747) HAVE YET BEEN PICKED UP HERE. BUT WE SHALL BE IN FOR A BUMPY RIDE WHEN THEY ARE.

4. RAJIV'S TELEVISION BROADCAST TO THE NATION IN BOTH HINDI AND ENGLISH LAST NIGHT WAS A BRIEF AND DIGNIFIED APPEAL FOR RESTRAINT AND SUPPORT. IT WAS MARRIED BY BEING PUT OUT MORE THAN AN HOUR LATER THAN ANNOUNCED, AND BY HIS HURRIED AND NERVOUS DELIVERY. THE PRESIDENT ALSO BROADCAST.

5. ONE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S EARLIEST PRIORITIES MUST BE TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE GENERAL ELECTION, WHICH IS (ON MOST BUT NOT ALL CALCULATIONS) DUE TO BE HELD BY MID JANUARY. THE ASSASSINATION AND CONSEQUENT TRANSITION OFFERS WHAT WOULD BE WIDELY SEEN AS A CONVINCING EXCUSE FOR POSTPONING THE ELECTION IF THAT IS WHAT RAJIV AND HIS ADVISERS WANT. PARLIAMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE RECALLED FOR THE PURPOSE: IT WENT INTO RECESS AT THE END OF AUGUST AND MRS GANDHI WAS SAID TO HAVE DECIDED NOT TO HAVE ANOTHER SESSION BEFORE GOING TO THE POLLS. BUT THE ASSASSINATION WILL ALSO HAVE GENERATED A LARGE POTENTIAL SYMPATHY VOTE FOR RAJIV AND THE CONGRESS (I) PARTY, WHICH HE WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY WISH TO CASH IN ON BEFORE IT DISSIPATES. AN EARLY ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECEMBER ELECTIONS IS THEREFORE THE LIKELIEST PROSPECT.

6. THERE MUST OF COURSE BE A REAL DANGER THAT RAJIV TOO WILL BE ASSASSINATED. THE SIKH EXTREMISTS HAVE FOR MONTHS MADE CLEAR THAT HE IS NO.2 ON THEIR HIT LIST: AND HE CANNOT CAMPAIGN IN THE DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT OF AN INDIAN ELECTION WITHOUT CONSTANTLY EXPOSING HIMSELF.

WADE-GERY

FCO/WH PALACE

SAD

ADULTS ONLY
CONTAINS POLITICAL

CONFIDENTIAL

GR 250

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RESTRICTED

FM NEW DELHI 011011Z NOV 84

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 854 OF 01 NOVEMBER

AND TO ROUTINE BOMBAY (ACTIONED)

AND TO SAVING CALCUTTA, MADRAS (BOTH ACTIONED)

INFO ROUTINE KATHMANDU, DHAKA, ISLAMABAD

MY TELNO 849: LAW AND ORDER SITUATION

SUMMARY

1. VIOLENCE IN VARIOUS TOWNS IN NORTHERN INDIA. THE AUTHORITIES ARE TAKING STRICT MEASURES TO TRY TO MAINTAIN CONTROL.

DETAIL

2. ACCORDING TO BOTH THE PRESS AND ORAL REPORTS, LAST NIGHT SAW FAIRLY WIDESPREAD RIOTING AND ARSON IN NORTH AND SOUTH DELHI. IN THE OLD CITY IT IS REPORTED THAT THE SHI GANJ GURDWARA, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT SIKH TEMPLES IN DELHI, HAS BEEN BURNT AND THE MAIN SIKH MARKET LOOTED. OTHER GURDWARAS HAVE ALSO BEEN ATTACKED. IN SOME OF THE SUBURBS IT IS REPORTED THAT LARGE CROWDS ARE GATHERING AND IN SOME CASES CONTINUING VIOLENCE AND ARSON. MORE THAN A DOZEN LARGE COLUMNS OF SMOKE ARE VISIBLE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE CITY. THERE ARE LARGE AND NOISY BUT GENERALLY PEACEFUL CROWDS GOING TO TEEN MURTI HOUSE WHERE MRS GANDHI IS LYING IN STATE. BUT THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS THAT SOME OF THE CROWDS HAVE HEARD OF CHAUHAN'S STATEMENT AND ARE BECOMING HOSTILE TO BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION VEHICLES.

3. IN ALL THE MAJOR URBAN CENTRES IN NORTHERN INDIA SPONTANEOUS OR ORGANISED BANDHS (SHUTDOWNS) ARE TAKING PLACE. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE IMPOSED CURFEWS IN SEVERAL PLACES INCLUDING KANPUR, PATNA, GWALIOR AND JAMMU. IN THOSE PLACES WHERE THE CURFEW IS NOT IN FORCE SECURITY PRESENCE HAS BEEN STEPPED UP. PROHIBITORY ORDERS BANNING DEMONSTRATIONS AND GATHERINGS OF MORE THAN FIVE PEOPLE ARE IN FORCE IN DELHI AND OTHER TROUBLESPOTS. THERE HAVE BEEN FURTHER REPORTS OF DEATHS.

4. IN PUNJAB AND HARYANA, WHERE THERE APPEARED TO BE THE GREATEST POSSIBILITY OF SIKH/HINDU TROUBLE, THE SITUATION IS DESCRIBED BY THE PRESS AS "WELL UNDER CONTROL". HERE TOO

RESTRICTED

/PROHIBITORY

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PROHIBITORY ORDERS ARE IN FORCE AND ARMY AND PARAMILITARY FORCES ARE REPORTED TO BE CARRYING OUT INTENSIVE PATROLLING TO MAINTAIN THE PREVAILING QUIET.

5. WE SUGGEST THAT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES INTENDING VISITORS SHOULD BE ADVISED NOT TO TRAVEL TO INDIA IF THEY HAVE NO URGENT REASON FOR DOING SO.

WADE-GERY

FCO/WHITEHALL (PALACE)

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

SAD

SUB CONTINENT POLITICAL

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RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

MRS. GANDHI'S FUNERAL: BILATERAL MEETINGS

You need to consider whether to seek bilateral meetings while in Delhi.

We have already sought an appointment with Rajiv Gandhi.

Others from the long list attached who merit consideration for meetings are:

- NAKASONE *up to him*
- ✓ MAHATHIR
- ✗ ZIA
- ✓ SHULTZ (he has asked)
- ✗ TIKHONOV
- ✓ MITTERRAND

Time will be limited. You don't really need another meeting with Mitterrand. I am not sure it is wise to meet Zia in India. There is nothing pressing to be discussed with Nakasone.

There seems to me a strong case for a meeting with Mahathir, to compensate his disappointment at your postponed visit (now ~~taken~~ to be postponed even longer).

No Tikhonov is a border line case. There is much to be said for taking any opportunity to meet Soviet leaders though I believe he is pretty dour and ancient. But it would be a good signal.

I imagine you will want to agree to see Shultz. ✓

/You might

You might try to devote particular attention at the funeral to Jayewardene and Umar (Indonesia) because of the postponed visit, to Genscher (because we need him on Own Resources) and Nakasone (because he is a Good Thing).

Agree?

C.D.P.

1 November 1984



(o) <u>Sri Lanka</u>	President Jayewardene)	
(p) <u>United Nations</u>	Secretary-General)	All according
(q) <u>Yugoslavia</u>	President Djuranovic)	to Indian
(r) <u>Greece</u>	Prime Minister Papandreou))	press
(s) <u>Poland</u>	Prime Minister Jablonski)	
(t) <u>Commonwealth</u>	Secretary-General)	

The only bids we have received so far for bilaterals are from Dr Mahatir and Mr Shultz. We suggest that, time permitting, the Prime Minister might have meetings with those two, and Mr Tikhonov and Mr Nakasone (who was re-elected on 31 October). We also suggest that the Prime Minister should make a point of speaking during her time in New Delhi to Herr Genscher, in view of the postponement of the Anglo-German Summit, and President Jayewardene and Vice-President Umar, in view of the postponement of the Prime Minister's visits to their countries.

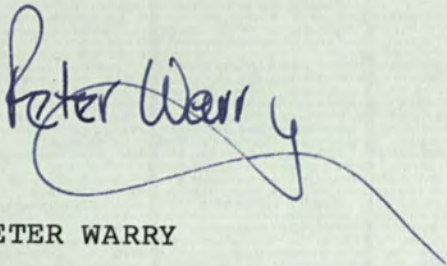
Yer ever,
P F Ricketts

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
 10 Downing Street

MR TURNBULL1 November 1984HELICOPTERS FOR INDIA

The Prime Minister may wish to be aware that Westlands had negotiated an order for 27 Westland "30" helicopters for use in oil rig support with one of the Indian Government agencies. The order, which is backed by ODA finance, was due to be signed this month with delivery taking place over the next 12 months. The helicopters are already part built. The order had Mrs Gandhi's backing and unless this backing continues at a high level it is possible that the French will intervene and the order be lost.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Peter Warry". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

PETER WARRY

MRS. GANDHI'S DEATH: REACTION OF UK SIKHS

In the House of Commons on 31 October I expressed my own, and the Government's dismay and deep sorrow at the tragic death of Mrs. Gandhi. I know that this feeling is shared very widely in Britain - by the vast majority of the Asian community - and in all parts of the community. Mrs. Gandhi's assassination was a savage and treacherous crime.

[I was appalled]

[It is a source of deep regret] to hear that a tiny minority of irresponsible people in this country have nonetheless regarded Mrs. Gandhi's murder as a cause for celebration.

[I find that utterly repugnant.]

I know that I speak for all the communities in this country in repudiating such [despicable] behaviour. The overwhelming majority of people in Britain were outraged and deeply grieved by Mrs. Gandhi's murder and join me in mourning the passing of a great leader.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER OF
INDIA.

I was appalled to hear early this morning of the murderous attack on Mrs Gandhi and grieved by the subsequent news of her death. India has been robbed of a leader of incomparable courage, vision and humanity. And the Commonwealth has lost one of its most formidable and vital personalities.

For my part, I shall feel greatly the loss of a wise colleague and a personal friend. I always looked forward to our talks together. They had some special quality and understanding.

The British Government and people utterly condemn this barbaric and treacherous deed. It is a tragedy for India , for the Commonwealth and for the wider world.

We share your deep **sorrow**.

GRS 250

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 845 OF 31 OCTOBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, DHAKA, COLOMBO,
KATHMANDU, ISLAMABAD

INFO SAVING: CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, MADRAS (ALL ACTIONED)

MY TELNO 843: DEATH OF MRS GANDHI

IT HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED ON GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED TV THAT MRS GANDHI IS DEAD AND THAT HER SON RAJIV GANDHI HAS BEEN SWORN IN AS PRIME MINISTER (NOT 'ACTING PRIME MINISTER') OF INDIA. THERE IS STILL NO FIRM NEWS OF THE DATE OF THE FUNERAL: BUT PTI REPORTS THAT IT WILL NOT BE BEFORE 2 NOVEMBER, AND ANOTHER LOCAL AGENCY (UNI) SAYS THAT IT WILL BE ON 2 NOVEMBER. THE MEA HAVE NO INFORMATION YET BUT EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO ISSUE GUIDANCE TOMORROW.

2. THE PRESIDENT RETURNED FROM NORTH YEMEN THIS AFTERNOON, HAVING CUT SHORT HIS STATE VISIT. THE CABINET WERE EARLIER REPORTED TO BE IN EMERGENCY SESSION THIS AFTERNOON, PRESUMABLY UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF FINANCE MINISTER MUKHERJEE WHO HAS PRESIDED DURING MRS GANDHI'S ABSENCES IN THE PAST. IT WAS PROBABLY THIS MEETING WHICH TOOK THE DECISION TO SWEAR IN RAJIV STRAIGHTAWAY, WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE RULING PARLIAMENTARY PARTY TO MEET AND CHOOSE A NEW LEADER, AS WAS DONE WHEN BOTH NEHRU AND SHASTRI DIED SUDDENLY IN OFFICE.

3. THE TV ANNOUNCEMENT SPECIFIED THAT HER ASSAILANTS WERE MEMBERS OF HER SECURITY GUARD. IT GAVE THEIR NAMES, WHICH SUGGEST BUT DO NOT PROVE THAT THEY WERE SIKHS. THERE IS NO OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION THAT THEY WERE. BUT THIS IS WIDELY BELIEVED, AND THERE ARE ALREADY REPORTS OF RIOTING AND ATTACKS ON SIKHS IN DELHI AND OTHER CITIES.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT IN THIS CONTEXT THAT ACCORDING TO TV BUTA SINGH, THE ONLY SIKH IN MRS GANDHI'S CABINET, IS ONE OF THE FOUR CABINET MINISTERS SO FAR SWORN IN AS MEMBERS OF RAJIV'S GOVERNMENT. THE OTHER THREE ARE PRANAB MUKHERJEE, NARASIMHA RAO AND SHIV SHANKAR. PORTFOLIOS ARE NOT SO FAR SPECIFIED.

4. WE ARE ADVISING STAFF AND TRAVELLERS TO AVOID THE OLD CITY OF DELHI AND CROWDS ELSEWHERE.

WADE-GARY

FCO/WHITENHALL (PALACE)
SAD

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
SUB-CONTINENT POLITICAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Mrs. Indira Gandhi

3.30 pm

The Prime Minister (Mrs. Margaret Thatcher): As the House will be aware, Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in Delhi today. I am sure that right hon. and hon. Members in all parts of the House will be equally appalled at that tragic news. I am sure, too, that the whole House will wish to join in expressing to Mrs. Gandhi's family, and to the Government and people of India, our profound grief and sympathy.

This despicable act has robbed India of a great and courageous leader. Daughter of Pandit Nehru, one of the pioneers of India's independence, she led her country for a total of 16 years as Prime Minister, a period which saw India's emergence as an industrial power as well as a major influence in world affairs. Her death has also robbed the Commonwealth of a statesman of outstanding stature and experience.

Mrs. Gandhi chaired the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, in November last year, with dignity, authority and charm. We shall all feel the loss of her wise counsel and her deep humanity, the more so because we knew her not only as a statesman but as a friend of this country.

I understand, although it is not yet confirmed officially, that Mrs. Gandhi's son, Rajiv Gandhi, whom we know well and for whom we have both affection and respect, has been sworn in as the new Indian Prime Minister. We wish him well at this difficult hour in his country's history.

Only a few days ago, Mrs. Gandhi sent me a message in which she said:

"All terrorism and violence are condemnable and contemptible".

The murder of a democratic leader is an attack on democracy itself. We utterly condemn this savage and treacherous crime. Let there be no doubt that acts of terrorism will only strengthen the resolve of free peoples that those who resort to violence shall not prevail.

Mr. Neil Kinnock (Islwyn): May I first associate all of us on this side of the House with the expressions of sympathy offered by the Prime Minister to the family of Mrs. Gandhi, and offer good wishes to the new Prime Minister of India.

We mourn with the people of India the tragic and violent death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She was a woman of immense stature whose life was full of turmoil, challenge and great achievement. From the age of 12, when she joined the non-co-operation movement, her whole life was given to securing the emancipation of her country, first in the struggle for independence and then in the even more monumental task of economic and political development.

Mrs. Gandhi knew, in the words of her friend, Aneurin Bevan, that political liberty is the by-product of economic sufficiency. In that knowledge she fought a lifelong contest against poverty and against war, the bringer of poverty.

For nearly 20 years, for half the life of independent India, Indira Gandhi was the most important figure in that country. Throughout that time the principles that guided her were devotion to the maintenance of parliamentary democracy and determination to produce tolerance and common purpose out of the diversity and distinctiveness of the peoples of India.

India and Britain are linked by centuries of history, by family, by community and by the ties of the Commonwealth, in which Indira Gandhi was an inspiring leader. We cherish all those relationships, and because of that we grieve today for the death of a fellow democrat, and we grieve for the death of a friend.

Mrs. Gandhi was a woman of greatness and vitality. Her attention to the dominant issues of our time went far beyond the boundaries of her beloved India. She was a co-founder of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and a wise and courageous advocate of political dialogue between North and South, East and West. She played a vital role in resisting the proliferation of nuclear weapon states. She was tireless in her argument for reform of the world's financial and trading systems. She was a fierce opponent of racism and sectarianism of every sort and a resilient promoter of racial harmony in every country, including our own.

In all nations and in every age, there is a chasm between the ideals of peace and harmony and the fulfilment of those ideals. Indira Gandhi spent her years trying to bridge that chasm with a determination that was at times almost superhuman. She brought intellect and imagination to bear on every task, and in defeat or victory, failure or triumph, she had a compelling dignity that must be a model for all who would seek to lead.

There will be many tributes to Indira Gandhi in great Parliaments like this and in other places throughout the world wherever freedom from want and freedom from oppression are valued. But we can best mark her memory by seeing that in our time her campaigns to achieve those objectives of freedom are fulfilled.

Today, another democrat was brutally murdered. That shall not wound democracy. Its strength overwhelms violence; its appeal ignores boundaries on maps or in the minds of people around the world. With Mahatma Gandhi we say:

"I do not want to shut my home to be walled in on all sides, nor my windows to be shut. I want the culture of all lands to blow about my house as freely as possible, but I refuse to be blown off my feet by any of them."

Nothing shall blow democracy off its feet.

Mr. David Steel (Tweeddale, Etrick and Lauderdale): My hon. Friends and I wish to be associated with the expressions of sympathy to Mrs. Gandhi's family, the Government and people of India. Does the Prime Minister agree that the terrible murder of Mrs. Gandhi illustrates again how violence breeds violence and that the greatest challenge facing leaders in our democratic societies is how to encourage their peoples to reconcile conflicts within those countries by peaceful means? Does the right hon. Lady recognise that we wish to pay tribute to Mrs. Gandhi's remarkable leadership, inside and outside the Commonwealth, of the developing countries in their efforts to secure a more just share of world resources, which was appreciated round the world?

Mr. Mark Carlisle (Warrington, South): As treasurer of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the chairman of which is Dr. Jakhur, Speaker of the Lok Sabha of India, and on behalf of Members of Parliament of all creeds, races and political parties throughout the Commonwealth, I should like to express what I believe would be their feelings of shock and horror at this outrage, their distress at the enormous loss that it has meant to the Commonwealth as a whole, and their sympathy to the members of Mrs. Gandhi's family.

	Numbers
S.3, Bail etc. (Scotland) Act 1980	37
S.1, Prevention of Crime Act 1953	10
S.24(1), Roads (Scotland) Act 1970	11
S.7, Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875	110

* This figure is less than the total provided by chief constables for the number of persons arrested during the present dispute. Not all of those arrested will have been reported to procurators fiscal. In addition, a person arrested by the police on more than one occasion will appear more than once in the chief constable's total.

† Including both solemn and summary proceedings. In a number of other cases (109) a decision has still to be taken on whether proceedings should be instituted.

‡ This figure encompasses cases where the accused was acquitted after trial and those cases where the prosecution accepted a plea of not guilty after proceedings had been commenced or deserted the proceedings.

|| Including outstanding trial diets and those cases where the accused has still to appear in court to answer a citation.

¶ This figure is incomplete as figures were not available for all districts.

Travelling People

Mr. Henderson asked the Solicitor-General for Scotland if prosecution practice in relation to travelling people is the same as for any other citizens, where there have been breaches of criminal law, local byelaws or planning matters.

The Solicitor-General for Scotland: The toleration policy relates only to unauthorised encampments as such. It does not relate to other breaches of the law. Where there are such complaints these will be dealt with by the police and procurators fiscal in the normal way.

Mr. Henderson: Is my hon. and learned Friend aware that some people in my constituency will find that answer difficult to believe because they perceive that travelling people are allowed, apparently, to do things which no other people would be allowed to do, sometimes on encampments and sometimes not. Will my hon. and learned Friend agree to discuss with his right hon. Friend what action would be appropriate between the Crown Office and the Scottish Office to resolve some of the difficulties with which we are faced in north-east Fife, particularly Cupar?

The Solicitor-General for Scotland: If I may disabuse my hon. Friend's constituents of their misapprehension, no toleration policy extends to the travelling people other

than in relation to unauthorised encampments. I have to say to his constituents and the travelling people that if they think that they would enjoy greater leeway in the commission of offences unrelated to encampments they should carefully consider the position, otherwise they will find themselves prosecuted in court.

25. **Mr. McKelvey** asked the Solicitor-General for Scotland if he will make a further statement on the policy of non-harassment of travelling people.

The Solicitor-General for Scotland: The Scottish Home and Health Department will shortly be circulating revised guidelines to local authorities following the policy initiative announced by my hon. Friend the Minister with responsibility for home affairs and the environment at the Scottish Office. Under the revised policy, non-harassment will be directly linked to progress in the provision of pitches for travelling people with targets fixed at district levels. In future where these are met, my noble and learned Friend the Lord Advocate agrees that the policy of toleration should no longer apply. I should also make it clear that the policy of non-harassment does not apply to larger random encampments such as those experienced at Kilmarnock and elsewhere this summer. Encampments of large groups of caravans moving outwith established travellers' patterns will not be tolerated, whether or not pitch targets have been met.

Mr. McKelvey: What a splendid answer. I wonder whether the hon. and learned Gentleman would consider and perhaps clarify matters. If, for instance, Kilmarnock and Loudoun district identify a proper site which exceeds the criteria laid down by the Scottish Office and apply for a grant, at the moment of application will it be free from the obligation to operate a policy of non-harassment?

The Solicitor-General for Scotland: I am grateful but surprised by the hon. Gentleman's approval of the answer that I gave. I believe that the steps that my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland is taking will be warmly welcomed by district authorities throughout Scotland. I confirm that once the pitch targets have been announced and are known, and once those targets have been met in districts and areas, the toleration policy in relation to unlawful encampment will no longer continue. I believe, and I think that the hon. Gentleman will agree, that that will go a long way to alleviate local anxiety about this difficult and on-going standing problem.

Dr. David Owen (Plymouth, Devonport): We, like all others, grieve for India and for the family of Indira Gandhi. We should remember that she probably lost her life in defending the unity of her country, that most precious asset, with its democracy. We should also remember that perhaps her greatest legacy is that she hands to her son a united and democratic country. A country that was able to sustain within months of independence the tragic loss of Mahatma Gandhi is strong enough to sustain even this loss.

Mr. James Molyneux (Lagan Valley): I wish to associate with what has been said the people of Northern Ireland, who themselves have experienced terrorism, as indeed has the Prime Minister. We share the Prime Minister's determination that violence must never be permitted to attain its objectives.

Sir Dudley Smith (Warwick and Leamington): As Member of Parliament for a constituency with one of the largest Sikh populations in the country, although many of them disagree with some of the policies of the Indian Government, I am sure that they condemn what has happened today. Does my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister agree that violence of this kind must always be rejected wherever it occurs, whether in New Delhi or in Brighton, because in the end, whatever our colour, it diminishes us all?

Mr. Laurie Pavitt (Brent, South): As a former secretary and president of the Indo-British Group, you, Mr. Speaker, will be aware of the deep concern and continuous interest and affection in which Back Benchers of both Houses of Parliament hold the great continent of India.

I thank the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary for their speedy visit to India House this morning. I know that the high commissioner greatly appreciated it.

As the House is to be prorogued today, Back Benchers will have little time to sign the book that is now open. With permission, therefore, the letter being sent by the officers of the Indo-British Group is available in both Whips' Offices for signature by Members of all parties so that the prorogation difficulty can be overcome.

Those of us who had the privilege of meeting and listening to the late Indira Gandhi were well aware that so often the great people of India, despite their great responsibilities, have an inner calm and peace. It is thus excessively sad that such a person should be mown down in violence.

Several Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I am sure that the whole House, including many hon. Members—I am one—who have sizeable Asian communities in their constituencies, wish to echo the tributes, but because it would be difficult to call all those wishing to speak I think that we should now move on.

Secretary of State for Energy

3.42 pm

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Have you had any indication from the Secretary of State for Energy regarding last night's important announcement that a hit list is available? You will have heard several Ministers, including the Prime Minister, telling the House that no such list exists. We now know that it does, I therefore ask whether, even at this late stage, you feel it necessary to call on the Ministers responsible to explain why throughout the entire miners' dispute they have insisted that there is no such list when at the time of the ACAS talks we know that such a list exists for the north-east of England and for Scotland. I believe that it is incumbent upon you to see that one of those Ministers comes to the Dispatch Box to explain why they have been telling untruths to the nation.

Mr. Speaker: I have had no such request, and I am not responsible for statements that may be made.

Students' Charter

3.43 pm

Mrs. Edwina Currie (Derbyshire, South): I beg to move,

That leave be given to bring in a Bill to make membership of and subscription to the National Union of Students voluntary for all students in places of further and higher education; and for connected purposes.

First, I should explain the relationship between student unions in this country and the National Union of Students. In the United Kingdom today there are 44 universities, 31 polytechnics and 576 colleges of further education. In each university and polytechnic and in most colleges of further education there is a students' union of which membership is compulsory for any student intended to study at that institution. That is laid down by law in the statutes or Orders in Council establishing those institutions. Student union membership is thus a closed shop, outdated and iniquitous. Students who do not wish to join their union or the National Union of Students and who do not wish to pay the union fee can be expelled from their college and their course terminated.

Until 1980, student unions were financed by students paying approximately £40 a year to the student union from their grants. As membership was compulsory, a Department of Education and Science circular instructed local authorities to pay the fee directly to the institution, which would then pass the money to the student union. Therefore, the money never touched the students' bank accounts, and this is one reason why the system has endured for so long. The amount of money that is involved is substantial. Student unions receive well over £20 million of public money over the year.

A change in the system was introduced by my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Warrington, South (Mr. Carlisle). In February 1980, it was announced that the money for the student unions was to come out of the institution's recurring funds. In other words, the money now comes from the University Grants Committee and not from the local authorities. This means that student unions have to negotiate their money directly from the university or college authorities, in competition with academic departments, libraries, swimming pools and the like. At least now the university authorities have a direct interest in the amount of money that the union claims, and it is said that sometimes they hang on to it instead of handing it over.

For the individual student, all this makes no difference, as he still has no say in whether he joins the student union or not, and he has no control over the money being spent on his behalf by the UGC. Many student unions do an excellent job, and much of the work of the NUS is commendable.

Students should join their union and take part in its activities. If the moderates do not like the leadership or the policies of their union, they have only themselves to blame. If they fail to take part, they cannot expect to like the results. However, they cannot vote with their feet.

The NUS has two groups of membership. There is individual membership, or the much more common block membership of all the members of an individual student union to the NUS. Therefore, if the student union decides to affiliate with the NUS, all members of the student union become members of the NUS. That is how the NUS achieves its claim of representing 1.2 million students.

Some 40 universities and 31 polytechnics and a large number of colleges have unions that belong to the NUS, but the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Heriot-Watt and Dundee, and King's college, London, and Imperial college, London, have all, at one time or another, decided to disaffiliate from the NUS, as a protest at what they regarded as its extreme nature. However, one of the major factors causing disaffiliation from the NUS is the cost of membership, which comes out of the public purse to a total of over £1 million a year. Thus, not only are students compulsory members of their university or college student union but, by virtue of the fact that most unions belong to the NUS, they are also compulsory members of the NUS.

I make no comment about what the NUS and some of the student unions get up to. They have been challenged in the courts and by my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney-General in his capacity as overseer of charitable trusts, and that is the way that some of the more dubious activities of these organisations can be tackled. My concern is to end the closed shop and thus to re-establish the principle that a student may join a union if he wishes to but if he does not choose to he does not have to.

There has been much discussion about the method by which voluntary membership can be achieved. In Australia, major legislation was passed in 1978 and 1981, but it is all too easy to create complex legislation and then to find, as the Australians did, that one does not achieve one's objective. The most simple way, and the purpose of the Bill, would be to require the students' written consent for money paid over on his behalf by a college or university to a student union and thence to the NUS. That consent should be administered by the college or university; it must be renewed every year, and thus the student union membership and membership of the NUS would become voluntary.

This system could apply to all students, including those not on a grant, to full-time, part-time and sandwich course students and could be extended to all payments to a student union for whatever purpose. If the student did not wish to belong to the student union, he would not have to, and if he did not want to belong to the NUS, even if his student union wished to, he would not have to belong. I commend this system to the House as simple, workable and equitable.

We are talking about both principle and practice. In principle, it is wrong that anyone should be made to join a students' union or the NUS. In a free society, that should be a matter of choice. In practice, unions which do not have a closed shop enforceable by law will have to go out and recruit members. They will have to persuade people to join. Such unions are much more likely to be responsive to what the students want, and accountability to those students will become a reality. If the students want politics, so be it. I think that they are more likely to want a service for the students, leaving politics to individual choice and action. Anyone who wishes to maintain the present system needs to prove why it is both necessary and desirable for the iniquitous practice of public funds financing compulsory membership of the NUS to continue. I commend the Bill to the House.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mrs. Edwina Currie, Mr. Michael Knowles, Mr. Peter Bruinvels, Mr. Martin

AS THE HOUSE WILL BE AWARE, MRS. GANDHI WAS ASSASSINATED
IN DELHI TODAY.

I AM SURE THAT HON. MEMBERS ON ALL SIDES OF THE HOUSE
WILL BE EQUALLY APPALLED AT THIS TRAGIC NEWS.

I AM SURE TOO THAT THE WHOLE HOUSE WILL WISH TO JOIN IN
EXPRESSING TO MRS. GANDHI'S FAMILY, AND TO THE
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDIA OUR GRIEF AND OUR
SYMPATHY.

THIS DESPICABLE ACT HAS ROBBED INDIA OF A GREAT AND
COURAGEOUS LEADER.

DAUGHTER OF ONE OF THE ARCHITECTS OF INDIA'S
INDEPENDENCE, SHE LED HER COUNTRY FOR A TOTAL OF
SIXTEEN YEARS AS PRIME MINISTER, A PERIOD WHICH
SAW INDIA'S EMERGENCE AS AN INDUSTRIAL POWER AS
WELL AS A MAJOR INFLUENCE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

/HER DEATH

HER DEATH HAS ALSO ROBBED THE COMMONWEALTH OF A STATESMAN OF
OUTSTANDING STATURE AND EXPERIENCE.

SHE CHAIRED THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT
MEETING IN NOVEMBER LAST YEAR WITH DIGNITY,
AUTHORITY AND CHARM.

WE SHALL ALL FEEL THE LOSS OF HER WISE COUNSEL AND HER DEEP
HUMANITY - THE MORE SO BECAUSE WE KNEW HER NOT
ONLY AS A STATESMAN BUT AS A FRIEND OF THIS
COUNTRY.

I UNDERSTAND ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT YET CONFIRMED
OFFICIALLY THAT MRS. GANDHI'S SON RAJIV GANDHI,
WHOM WE KNOW WELL AND FOR WHOM WE HAVE BOTH
AFFECTION AND RESPECT, HAS BEEN SWORN IN AS THE NEW
INDIAN PRIME MINISTER.

WE WISH HIM WELL AT THIS DIFFICULT HOUR IN HIS
COUNTRY'S HISTORY.

/ONLY A

ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO, MRS. GANDHI SENT ME A MESSAGE IN WHICH SHE SAID "ALL TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE ARE CONDEMNABLE AND CONTEMPTIBLE".

THE MURDER OF A DEMOCRATIC LEADER IS AN ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

WE UTTERLY CONDEMN THIS SAVAGE AND TREACHEROUS CRIME.

LET THERE BE NO DOUBT THAT ACTS OF TERRORISM WILL ONLY STRENGTHEN THE RESOLVE OF FREE PEOPLES THAT THOSE WHO RESORT TO VIOLENCE SHALL NEVER SUCCEED.



10 DOWNING STREET

1. The Chief Whip asks whether you will wish to make a statement. We are looking at precedents. But it would be an important gesture & mark of respect.

2. We are looking into an amendment to the Queen's speech.

3. We are in touch with the Indian High Commission about the Book - probably later this morning. 31.10.84 CDD



file 811
CC PRESS

10 DOWNING STREET

31 October 1984

From the Private Secretary

I enclose a copy of a message from the Prime Minister to (presumably) the acting Prime Minister of India.

I should be grateful if it could be despatched as soon as appropriate.

C D Powell

Len Appleyard Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE ACTING PRIME MINISTER OF
INDIA.

I was appalled to hear early this morning of the murderous attack on Mrs Gandhi and grieved by the subsequent news of her death. India has been robbed of a leader of incomparable courage, vision and humanity. And the Commonwealth has lost one of its most formidable and vital personalities.

For my part, I shall feel greatly the loss of a wise colleague and a personal friend. I always looked forward to our talks together. They had some special quality and understanding.

The British Government and people utterly condemn this barbaric and treacherous deed. It is a tragedy for India , for the Commonwealth and for the wider world.

We share your deep **sorrow**.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO SHRI RAJIV GANDHI

Prime Minister

C.D.P.

Approved

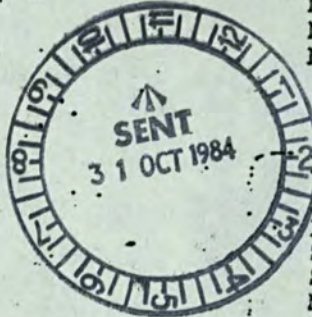
I cannot describe to you my feelings at the news of the loss of your mother, except to say that it was like losing a member of my own family. Our many talks together had a closeness and a mutual understanding which will always remain with me. She was not just a great Statesman but a warm and caring person.

I want you and Sonia to know how deeply Denis and I feel for you both, for your whole family and for your country.

PS RENTON
PS/MR
PS/FUS

MR R VARNEY CAP 3 }
MR E STRONG SP 2 } DEPT OF
MR J F LANGLEY IA2C } TRANSPORT

MR O'NEILL
MR GOODALL
Sir L. Harding
-MR Boyd
-MR Wilson
MR DEBTON



NO. 10 DOWNING STREET
ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE
D I O CABINET OFFICE
SIR R ARMSTRONG }
SIR A DUFF } CABINET OFFICE
MR D COLVIN }
MR N BRIND }

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HQ SECURITY COORDINATION UNIT
ED/FUSD
DEF ED/FUSD

MR D HILARY }
MR R HARRINGTON } PM HOME OFFICE

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FM NEW DELHI 311010Z OCT 84
TO FLASH FCO
TELNO 843 OF 31 OCTOBER 1984
AND TO IMMEDIATE MODUK, ISLAMABAD, DHAKA, COLOMBO, BOMBAY (ACTIONED),
CALCUTTA (ACTIONED) AND MADRAS (ACTIONED).

NY TELNO 841: MRS GANDHI

1. THE PRESS TRUST OF INDIA HAVE NOW CONFIRMED THAT MRS GANDHI DIED AS A RESULT OF THE INJURIES RECEIVED IN THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT THIS MORNING. THIS IS CONFIRMED BY A MEMBER OF MY STAFF WHO CALLED AT THE HOSPITAL. NO FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT HAS YET BEEN MADE BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.
2. THE CABINET ARE REPORTED TO BE MEETING INFORMALLY AT THE HOSPITAL, AND TO BE PLANNING AN EMERGENCY SESSION LATER THIS AFTERNOON.
3. THERE HAS BEEN NO ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT APPOINTMENT OF AN ACTING PRIME MINISTER. THE SENIOR GOVERNMENT MINISTER IS PRANAB MUKHERJEE, MINISTER OF FINANCE.
4. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE FUNERAL WILL BE HELD TOMORROW. DETAILS ARE LIKELY TO BE ANNOUNCED FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF THE CABINET.

WADE-GERY
BT

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM/JACKING

ADVANCE COPIES

38

IMMEDIATE

PS RENTON
PS/ME
PS/FUS

MR R VARNEY CAP 3
MR E STRONG SP 2
MR J F LANGLEY IA2C

DEPT OF TRANSPORT

MR O'NEILL
MR GOODALL

SIR W HARRISON
MR WILKINSON
MR DEEPTON

ED/MSD
HS/SECURITY COORDINATION UNIT
ED/FUSD
DEF ED/FUSD
HO

ED/CONSULAR DEPT
HS/DEFENCE
CONSULS EMERGENCY UNIT

ED/SECURITY DEPT
ED/POD
ED/COD
ED/NEWS DEPT

NO. 10 DOWNING STREET
ASSESSMENTS STAFF CABINET OFFICE
D I O CABINET OFFICE
SIR R ARMSTRONG
SIR A DUFF
MR D COLVIN
MR N BRIND

CABINET OFFICE

MR D HILARY
MR R HARRINGTON

PM HOME OFFICE

DS5
DS6
DSC

MOD

SECURITY SERVICES (2 copies via FUSD R 2203)

UNCLASSIFIED
FM ISLAMABAD 310815Z OCT 84
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELEGRAM NUMBER 676 OF 31 OCTOBER 1984
INFO IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI

ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON MRS GANDHI

1. PRESIDENT ZIA ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT THIS MORNING:

QUOTE

I HAVE HEARD WITH DEEP SHOCK AND HORROR THE NEWS THAT HER EXCELLENCY MRS INDIRA GANDHI PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA HAS SUSTAINED SERIOUS WOUNDS IN AN ATTEMPT ON HER LIFE THIS MORNING. THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN AND I MYSELF JOIN THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDIA IN PRAYERS FOR HER RECOVERY FROM THE INJURIES.

UNQUOTE

FORSTER

NNNNV

