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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

28 April 1981

*Dear Michael,**Print. 28/4**Yes not*Indo/Pakistani Relations

The Prime Minister has requested advice (Riyadh telno 4 - copy enclosed) on how to convey to the President of Pakistan the outcome of her discussion with Mrs Gandhi about Indo/Pakistan relations.

Lord Carrington suggests that the Ambassador of Pakistan should be asked to call at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and should be given an oral account by Sir John Graham of what transpired on the lines set out in the last paragraph of this letter. The Ambassador has in fact already asked to call on Graham for a briefing.

We have considered alternative procedures. This was discussed on the aircraft with the Prime Minister and we confirm the recommendation that she should not send a further letter to President Zia. Mrs Thatcher's letter of 14 April did not promise a further communication on this subject (the question of a possible visit by the Prime Minister to Pakistan can be dealt with later). We believe that another letter could well stimulate a reply from Zia which might be more difficult to deal with. Moreover Mrs Gandhi did not ask the Prime Minister to convey a response to President Zia on her behalf so that anything in writing would have to be carefully worded.

We have also considered whether an occasion might arise in the near future for Lord Carrington to give the Pakistan Foreign Minister an account of the exchanges in Delhi. But the Pakistan Embassy told us that Mr Agha Shahi does not propose to return to Pakistan via London at the conclusion of his current visit to Washington. In the absence on leave of HM Ambassador, Islamabad, the Chargé d'Affaires might find it difficult to secure access at a sufficiently high level to deliver a message; but we would propose to send him an account of Sir John Graham's conversation with the Pakistan Ambassador and authorise him to speak similarly in case of need.

If the Prime Minister agrees, Sir John Graham would tell the Pakistan Ambassador that the Prime Minister passed to Mrs Gandhi the gist of President Zia's message, emphasising his affirmation of Pakistan's desire for friendship and rejection of an arms race with India. In discussion the Prime Minister had also stressed, as she also did in public, Pakistan's right to acquire weapons for self-defence and the

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problems which Pakistan faced with Soviet troops on her borders and some 2 million refugees. Mrs Gandhi had replied (but without asking the Prime Minister to convey her response) that it was hard to see how the supply of arms could help over Afghanistan and that this might make the Russians dig in their heels. Nevertheless, India wanted friendship with Pakistan which was a "necessity". India faced huge problems and could ill afford confrontation or an arms race. In asking the Pakistan Ambassador to convey this account to his Government, Sir John Graham would also refer him to the Prime Minister's letter of 14 April in which she stressed that the strongest possible understanding between Pakistan and India was in the interests of the region as a whole and stated that, as a country which is outside but deeply interested in the area, we would applaud any attempts by the Governments of Pakistan and India to promote such understanding.

Yours ever
Roderic Lyne

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

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FM RIYADH 191532Z APR 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 4 OF 19 APRIL

INFO PRIORITY ISLAMABAD NEW DELHI WASHINGTON BONN (FOR 3 OF 3).

FOLLOWING FROM GRAHAM, PRIME MINISTERS' PARTY.

INDO-PAKISTANI RELATIONS.

1. THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD LIKE THE DEPARTMENT TO CONSIDER HOW TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT ZIA THE UPSHOT OF HER DISCUSSION WITH MRS GANDHI ABOUT INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS. IF AGHA SHAHI WERE TO BE VISITING LONDON ON HIS WAY TO OR FROM WASHINGTON THAT WOULD PROVIDE AN OCCASION FOR AN ORAL BRIEFING. ALTERNATIVELY THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN ISLAMABAD COULD CONVEY AN ORAL ACCOUNT.
2. IN SPEAKING TO THE PAKISTANIS, WE COULD SAY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD GIVEN PRESIDENT ZIA'S MESSAGE TO MRS GANDHI, EMPHASISING HIS AFFIRMATION OF PAKISTAN'S GENUINE DESIRE FOR FRIENDSHIP AND REJECTION OF AN ARMS RACE WITH INDIA. IN DISCUSSION THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO STRESSED PAKISTANS' RIGHT TO ACQUIRE WEAPONS FOR SELF-DEFENCE AND THE PROBLEMS WHICH SHE FACED WITH SOVIET TROOPS ON HER BORDERS AND SOME 2 MILLION REFUGEES.
3. MRS GANDHI HAD REPLIED (BUT WITHOUT ASKING THE PRIME MINISTER TO CONVEY HER RESPONSE) THAT SUPPLY OF ARMS TO PAKISTAN WOULD NOT HELP OVER AFGHANISTAN BUT WOULD MAKE THE RUSSIANS DIG IN THEIR HEELS. NEVERTHELESS, INDIA WAS ANXIOUS FOR FRIENDSHIP WITH PAKISTAN, WHICH WAS A QUOTE NECESSITY UNQUOTE. INDIA FACED HUGE PROBLEMS AND COULD ILL AFFORD CONFRONTATION. THE INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS TO VISIT ISLAMABAD NEXT MONTH.

FCO PLEASE PASS ALL.

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PS/LPS

[PASSED AS REQUESTED]

PS/MR BLAKER
PS/PUS
SIR J. GRAHAM
MR DONALD

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28 APR 1981

MFJ

*Bahutan : Spt 79.
VK/Bahutan Relations*

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29 April 1981

Indo/Pakistani Relations

The Prime Minister has seen your letter to me of 28 April. She has approved the course of action outlined in it.

MODBA

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

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