



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

23 September 1981

*p/w my briefs*

*Hand*

*Dear Michael,*

Prime Minister's Visit to Pakistan

//  
In my letter of 18 September I undertook to let you have drafts for the two speeches which the Prime Minister is expected to make during her visit to Pakistan. These are enclosed.

In considering the drafts, there are a few points which you may wish to bear in mind:

- a) The procedure at the refugee camp (the Pakistani Government have not yet told us which of the camps they envisage the Prime Minister visiting) will probably follow what has become a standard pattern for distinguished visitors. A gathering of perhaps several hundred refugees will be assembled by their leaders, seated in the open air. The Prime Minister is likely to be seated on a dais together with some of her party, and a representative of the Pakistani Government who will organise and introduce the proceedings. One of the refugee leaders will make a shortish (5 - 10 minutes) speech which may be preceded by a prayer. The speech is likely to be in emotional terms and may well include a general appeal for the supply of advanced weapons to the Afghan resistance. The enclosed draft says nothing specifically on the latter point. The audience will probably not expect it. The Pakistani Government would not want a specific reference to this question in public, since it is one of considerable delicacy for them. The draft otherwise attempts to take into account the emotional, though in no way difficult, atmosphere which has surrounded similar visits to refugee camps in the past.

/b) The other

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- b) The other speech requires less comment, being a more standard event. It may be desirable to include in it a reference to the question of Pakistan's membership of the Commonwealth but that must depend on any discussion of that issue at Melbourne.

*Yours ever.*

*F N Richards.*

(F N Richards)  
Private Secretary

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## DRAFT SPEECH FOR REFUGEE CAMP

I listened to you with mounting feelings of sadness and anger.

Sadness because I meet you all here, in a refugee camp in Pakistan, instead of your own homes in Afghanistan.

Sadness because of what you have lost - your homes, your fields, your possessions, your way of life.

Anger because so many hundreds of thousands of innocent people - parents and children, old and young - are suffering. Not through any fault of your own but because a super-power has invaded your country, assaulted your independence and driven you from your homes with aircrafts and tanks.

But I listened too with admiration. You left your country because you refused to live under a godless communist system which is trying to destroy your religion and your independence. The hearts of the free world are with you - and with those of your countrymen who have stayed behind in Afghanistan.

The bravery and proud independence of the Afghan people are legendary. The British people know these qualities through their history. The Soviet Union has come to know them too in these last two years. Surely they now realise what we already knew. The Afghan people will never submit to foreign tyranny. They will fight to the end until the invader is expelled from Afghanistan.

We are doing our best, as are other friendly countries, to help the Pakistan Government to make life easier for you during this difficult period. Today I am making available another two million pounds of aid as a contribution to the refugee relief programme. We in Britain will continue to help you in every way we can.

/But

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But helping you live here is no substitute for <sup>Trying to</sup> helping you to return to your own homes to live in peace and freedom - in your own villages - among your own people. That we shall also <sup>Try to</sup> do. We shall continue, together with Pakistan, the Islamic Conference, the non-aligned movement, with the vast majority of the world's countries, to work for a solution to the problems brought about by the invasion of your country.

~~We shall not give up. We shall go on until the last Soviet soldier leaves your country, until you can return safely to your homes and until you are again free to choose your government and your way of life.~~

I hope that we shall not have to meet here again. I want the next time we meet to be in free and independent Afghanistan. I shall work, hope and pray for that day.

*Amir*

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## DRAFT SPEECH FOR PRESIDENT'S DINNER

Mr President

*The crowded and*  
 I thank you most warmly for your hospitality, ~~and for the~~  
~~excellent~~ <sup>fabulous</sup> programme which <sup>you</sup> was arranged <sup>for me was some compensation</sup> ~~for my regrettably too~~  
~~short~~ visit. *for my all too brief visit to your marvellous country.*

I wanted to <sup>revisit</sup> ~~visit~~ Pakistan, partly because you ~~so~~ kindly  
 invited me to do so, partly because I wished to return the  
 visit, <sup>itself</sup> ~~alas~~ too short, which you paid to London about a year  
 ago.

*Wanted to come*  
 But <sup>also</sup> ~~also~~ because Britain and Pakistan have important things  
 to do together. Trade, certainly. I hope it will expand  
 faster. Cultural ties are important too - there is so much  
 in our shared history which links us. But over and above  
 these we have a shared interest in the stability and  
 prosperity of this strategically crucial area. And a shared  
 interest in confronting the situation which has ~~been brought~~  
~~about by the invasion of one of your neighbours by a super-~~  
~~power.~~ *anxiety in Afghanistan.*

Mr President, this last point was, rightly, the central issue  
 in the very valuable talks which I have had with you today,  
 and the central focus of my programme. I have now seen for  
 myself the situation on your North-West frontier. I have  
 seen some of the two-and-a-half million refugees. And I <sup>have</sup> ~~am~~  
<sup>been</sup> moved

- by the sheer size of this humanitarian problem;
- by the suffering of the innocent people involved;
- by the efforts of your country and its helpers to care  
 for them,

As I told refugee leaders earlier today I am not only moved  
 but angry. They and their people <sup>me</sup> <sup>big</sup> suffer needlessly, through  
 the <sup>in their</sup> ~~action~~ of a <sup>neighbour pursuing</sup> ~~country~~ which <sup>presses</sup> ~~has pressed~~ its interests and  
 ambitions ruthlessly and careless of the consequences,  
 thereby ~~creating the greatest refugee problem in the world.~~

/This

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This situation can be changed. And it must be, in the interests of the Afghan people, of Pakistan, of this sub-continent and of the peoples of the world. For what has happened on your borders is not a local affair - it is a global event with global implications. East/West relations cannot be normalised, with all that would mean for the stability of Europe, Asia and beyond, without a settlement of the problem of Afghanistan.

Mr President, the government and people of Pakistan saw this from the beginning. You accepted that a historic responsibility had been thrust upon you, a responsibility to cope with and manage this situation not just in the interests of Pakistan, but in the interests of the international community. It is for that reason, among others, that Pakistan deserves the support of Britain and of all the nations of the world who are genuinely interested in bringing ~~the Russian invasion to an end.~~ <sup>about the withdrawal of their troops</sup>

On behalf of Britain, let me confirm to you - Pakistan has our support. As Prime Minister of the country which <sup>at present</sup> holds the Presidency of the European Community, I can say too that the ten member states of that Community support you. We admire deeply the courage and skill you have shown in handling the crisis. We admire and support the attachment you have steadfastly shown to the four principles laid down by the Islamic Conference:

- withdrawal of the Soviet troops;
- the restoration of Afghanistan's non-aligned status;
- the honourable return of the refugees to their country;
- the right of the Afghan people to choose their own form of government in peace.

If we all stand firm on these principles the day <sup>will</sup> ~~must~~ come when <sup>our</sup> ~~your~~ efforts ~~will~~ succeed. That will be an important day in world history.

/ Mr President

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Mr President, our relations are necessarily dominated by this problem at present. But the ties between Britain and Pakistan long pre-date the problem and will certainly survive it, probably stronger and richer because of it. We fully respect the non-aligned status of Pakistan and seek no ties which contradict that status. But it is the wish of both our countries, confirmed again in our talks today, that we should maintain a close and friendly relationship. The United Kingdom will therefore continue to be receptive to the wishes, the aspirations and problems of Pakistan. We shall continue to seek ways of giving Pakistan practical support in its present difficult circumstances. And we shall look forward to, and work for, the day when, released from the pressures of the present international situation, your country can concentrate fully on the task of promoting the ~~economic and social~~ progress of its people.

I thank you again for this full and memorable day and wish you, the government and people of Pakistan all success and prosperity for the future.

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