



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
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MO 6/13

24th September 1981

Dear Michael,

You wrote to me yesterday asking for advice on the brief on possible Tornado sales to Pakistan, which John Wilkinson MP forwarded to the Prime Minister. To judge from the typeface Mr Wilkinson is right in saying that it originated from PANAIA.

Our advice is that this is certainly not an issue which should be specifically raised. We are not aware of any Pakistani interest, nor is this surprising in view of the impending purchase of F16s through the US military aid package. PANAIA may talk of Tornado complementing the F16, but if Pakistan is in the market for further aircraft, additional purchases of F16 are much more likely, particularly in view of the considerable price difference. Given these remote prospects it would be unwise to jeopardise our efforts to keep alive Indian interest in Tornado and RB199, which is a difficult enough task given the sensibilities of our FRG partners, and would be more difficult if the Indians thought we were seeking to interest Pakistan as well. If the Pakistanis raise the question of Tornado the Prime Minister is advised to note their potential interest and to say that she will look into the matter.

Other briefing on defence sales for Pakistan has separately been submitted. I am copying this letter to Francis Richards.

Yours sincerely  
Nick Evans

(N H R EVANS)

M O'D B Alexander Esq

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1

Telephone: 01 939 7037



24 SEP 1961





10 DOWNING STREET

*From the Private Secretary*

23 September 1981

Further to our conversation a few moments ago, I enclose a brief on possible sales of Tornado to Pakistan which has been forwarded to the Prime Minister by John Wilkinson, M.P. According to Mr. Wilkinson the brief has been supplied by Panavia.

You said that you would let me have comments together with any other briefing on defence sales for Pakistan that you intend to submit, in good time tomorrow.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Francis Richards (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

**M. O'D. B. ALEXANDER**

N.H.R. Evans, Esq.,  
Ministry of Defence.

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JD

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

THIS IS IMPORTANT

J. G.  
22/9/1981

Private & Confidential

21st September, 1981

Tornado - Pakistan

Thank you very much for your letter of 18th September, together with its enclosure.

I am most grateful to you for having taken the trouble to write about this.

Thank you, too, for your good wishes for my forthcoming visit to Pakistan.

I look forward to seeing you in Blackpool.

John Wilkinson, Esq. M.P.  
House of Commons,  
Westminster, London SW1

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From John Wilgison M.P.

Rt. Hon. A. Butler, M.P.,  
Prime Minister,  
10 Downing Street,  
London S.W.1.

18<sup>th</sup> September, 1961

Dear Prime Minister,

In view of your forthcoming visit  
to Pakistan I thought you might welcome  
the enclosed brief from Panavia about the  
possibility of selling the Tornados aircraft to  
the Pakistan Air Force.

There have been indications that the  
Pakistan Air Force could be interested in the  
aeroplane, and in view of the political and strategic  
 ramifications the brief could be helpful if the subject  
is raised. I hope your Trip goes well. I'm so glad  
you're to visit a refugee camp on the frontier.

Yours ever  
John

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## TORNADO FOR PAKISTAN

The events in Afghanistan and Iran have focussed attention on the military preparedness of a number of countries in the Middle East, particularly Pakistan. The Pakistan Armed Forces urgently need re-equipping with new weaponry, particularly new aircraft. This was recognised by America and Saudi Arabia and they have offered Pakistan considerable aid. In the case of America this military aid amounts to 3 billion dollars; Saudi Arabia has offered 1.5 billion dollars. Pakistan has therefore been shopping for a number of items. In the case of the Air Force they have been looking at the F16. The aircraft has been evaluated by Pakistani pilots in the United States and they have given it a clean bill of health. Negotiations appear to have reached an advanced stage but they may have run into difficulties connected with President Zia's intention to extract as much as he can from the Americans in exchange, perhaps, for the establishment of American bases or facilities in the country. However, it is still likely that these negotiations will be brought to a successful conclusion before the end of the year. But as the Pakistanis are only looking for some 30 F16s it would appear that even if they make other arms purchases there will still be enough aid left over for the purchase of other aircraft.

There have been no official contacts with the Pakistan Government concerning a possible TORNADO sale. However, a number of reports indicate that the Air Force is interested in the aircraft and would like a formal briefing in the near future. This interest is by no means inconsistent with the negotiations connected with the F16 since TORNADO would complement the F16 due to its much higher capability.

The interest of the Pakistan Air Force however poses a number of delicate problems from the political point of view. British Aerospace, PANAIA's UK partner company, has long standing business interests in India and the Indian Air Force has also shown interest in the TORNADO. The main competitor here would be the French Dassault Mirage 2000. Whilst discussion on TORNADO with the Pakistan government may increase Indian interest in the aircraft there is obviously a danger that they could also damage British Aerospace's interests in India.

An attractive solution would be for the UK to continue to push TORNADO in India and for one of the other partner nations to follow up the Pakistan interest. However, despite the current German review of their export policy it is unlikely that they would be prepared to undertake any lead function in Pakistan, particularly in view of Pakistan's uneasy relations with India and the undoubted increase in capability that would result from the supply of the TORNADO. In addition the German aerospace industry also has established links with India and have provided India with technical assistance in the design of their own aircraft.

From the technical and operational point of view, TORNADO is well suited to Pakistan's national requirements. The other possible contenders in addition to the F16 would probably be the F18 and the Mirage 2000. In comparison with the other 3 aircraft TORNADO has overwhelming advantages for the Pakistan Air Force. For example, it is the only aircraft which has a two man crew, it has the highest payload, it has the best radius of action at low level, it has the best loiter time, it is the only aircraft with terrain following radar but more importantly it is the only aircraft capable of 24 hours a day, all-weather operation in the air to surface attack roles.

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TORNADO is currently highly competitive, in terms of price, its unit flyaway price in 1980 dollars is at present about \$14.5 Mio, 20% cheaper than the F18, about 10% more expensive than the Mirage 2000 and about 25% more expensive than the F16. With its greater capability than the F16 and Mirage 2000 it is highly cost effective.

From the industrial point of view a gentle encouragement of any interest shown by the Pakistan government would be, on balance desirable, but the political situation is undoubtedly of overriding importance.

POST  NEWSFEEDLER JAPAN

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