

(BRIEFS W FOLDER)

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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

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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



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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.



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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 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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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.

North America Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
1 November 1984

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FM FCO 311830Z OCT 84

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1863 OF 31 OCTOBER

29 1/11

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, 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.