



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

22 August 1980

*Press Office**For final para.**Dear Mike,**MD 27/8.*Emissary to Mrs Gandhi

I am writing to follow up the proposal, which the Prime Minister agreed, that Lord Greenhill should go to New Delhi for a meeting with Mrs Gandhi, as the special emissary of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister has agreed to see Lord Greenhill with Sir John Thomson, our High Commissioner in New Delhi, at 6.30 pm on 26 August to discuss the line to be taken with Mrs Gandhi. Sir John Thomson returns to Delhi on 27 August. The Prime Minister's letter to Mrs Gandhi has been delivered and we are seeking an early appointment for Lord Greenhill with her on 31 August or 1 September, the only early dates convenient to Lord Greenhill. Her response is awaited.

We see Lord Greenhill's mission as an opportunity to convince Mrs Gandhi of the Prime Minister's personal interest in India and of her concern to have a close and constructive relationship with the Indians.

I enclose a copy of the draft brief prepared for Lord Greenhill. It suggests that Lord Greenhill should tell Mrs Gandhi that the Prime Minister had asked him to make various points (paras 1-5 of brief), that he should give Mrs Gandhi a general outline of the Government's thinking on recent world developments (paras 6-17) and talk about Mrs Gandhi's concern about coverage of India in the British media (paras 18-22).

There are two particular proposals which will require the Prime Minister's specific agreement. Lord Carrington is recommending separately that the Prime Minister should agree to Mr St John Stevas' proposal that the Prime Minister should agree to be a joint patron of the Festival of India to be held in Britain in 1982. We think that it would be useful if Lord Greenhill could convey her agreement to take this on to Mrs Gandhi and if he could at the same time say that the Prime Minister would be pleased if Mrs Gandhi could agree to be a joint patron herself. The Prime Minister has also been giving consideration to a visit to India. It would be helpful if Lord Greenhill could tell Mrs Gandhi that the Prime Minister would like to visit India in 1981 if a suitable opportunity for this can be found. He could suggest that this could be looked

/at again

*You have agreed -
MAR*



at again after the Prince of Wales' visit and this would therefore not constitute any definite commitment to a visit.

We are not proposing any advance publicity for Lord Greenhill's visit. But we do not plan any secrecy. Lord Greenhill has many business interests in India and if his call on Mrs Gandhi comes to attention, we propose, subject to the Prime Minister's agreement, to confirm that he is in India for a business visit and that the Prime Minister had suggested that he should call on Mrs Gandhi.

yours ever

David Nield
(P Lever)

M A Pattison Esq
10 Downing Street

BRIEF FOR LORD GREENHILL'S CALL ON MRS GANDHI

POINTS TO MAKE

1. Prime Minister's personal interest in India. Convinced of importance of better understanding with India and of importance of modern India and its view of the world.

W 2. Prime Minister enjoyed meeting you in ~~Lusaka~~ *Harare* and Belgrade. Also appreciated account of your thinking conveyed by Mr Paul. Recognises importance of direct political contact to supplement diplomatic channels.

She wasn't there!!

A 3. Prime Minister asked me to say at outset how much she admires your fortitude in face of Sanjay's death. Severe blow both in personal and political terms, given Sanjay's dedication to the task of assisting in government and modernising India. She understood your letter to The Times of 30 July.

4. Prime Minister convinced of value of close relations between Britain and India. Two countries have many shared interests: both members of Commonwealth as well as many international bodies; there is immense scope for effective commercial cooperation from which both will benefit. At the same time each has opportunity to make mark in different areas - we in West, India in Asia and non-aligned movement. Regular exchanges of views can benefit both ourselves and others. Welcome more high level contacts in Delhi and London.

5. Prime Minister thought you might like to know of her own thinking about recent world developments. She has asked me to report to her personally anything you wish to convey on the international situation and on our bilateral relations.

World/

World Political Situation

6. The three problems of Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab-Israel dispute are profoundly worrying. All are linked to pressing international problem of East-West relations.

Arab-Israel Dispute

7. In medium and long term perhaps the greatest problem which confronts us. No doubt that Arab countries feel that West, and in particular United States works to double standards. They worry about Afghanistan and about hostages in Iran and are prepared to make fuss about these issues but feel that US and by implication the West are not prepared to use influence on Israel to make Israel withdraw from occupied Arab lands. There is a danger if this goes on that there will be tendency for Arab world to polarise. Such a polarisation would present very grave world crisis.

8. So Europe has decided there is something it should do. The Community which has been increasing scope and effectiveness of political cooperation has decided to play a more active role in search for Middle East settlement. Statement on conflict made by Nine in Venice on 13 June set out their view of principles which should form basis for negotiated settlement. No particular axe to grind on final shape of settlement but we have clear interest in helping to find solution which will bring peace and stability to area.

Iran

9. There is urgent need for solution to hostages issue. So long as they are held Western Europe is unable to play any useful role in assisting economic and political recovery in Iran. Present outlook very bleak with likelihood of growing instability and grave consequences not only for Iran but for Gulf/

Gulf and oil supplies from region as a whole. Risk must exist if great power involvement, either by the US in desperation, their patience exhausted, or the Soviet Union, in alarm at confusion over the border.

Afghanistan

10. Essence of Britain's policy has been that adversary relationship between East and West needed to be managed realistically. There have been substantial achievements in East/West relations in past decade. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a severe setback to world security and East/West relations. It confirmed that Soviet Union has an ambition to gain and consolidate influence in other countries, using military force if necessary. It underlined potential threat to independence of countries of many types in many areas. We believe that international community cannot acquiesce in aggression, however cloaked. It should do nothing which could make it easier for occupation to continue or harder for Afghan people to express their views on future form of government in their country. Soviet Union claims to see threat to their security through foreign military intervention. Any such intervention would be excluded by independent neutral status which we have suggested and which was the status chosen for herself by Afghanistan in the past. Next step will be UNGA where Afghanistan is on provisional agenda. Value your latest thinking on Afghanistan. Any evidence of Soviet flexibility?

East/West Relations

11. We believe that despite setback by invasion of Afghanistan serious discussion between East and West must go on. We will go ahead with CSCE review meeting in Madrid. We hope that discussion there will help Soviet Union to recognise need for negotiated/

negotiated settlement restoring Afghanistan to genuine independence.

12. Bound to have different perception of Soviet policies as seen from Europe and from Asia. Does India see prospect for resolution of present tensions? What of failure in the Soviet Union as the present leaders give way to new ones?

United States

13. Accept perceptions of US different also from Europe and from Asia. UK sees US as very close ally but also believes that UK can help as bridge of understanding in tackling current problems. Hence what we are doing over Middle East.

14. What effect will US Presidential election have on South Asia?

China

15. Welcome emergence from isolation and current pragmatic, outward-looking policies.

16. British aim to encourage Chinese through exchanges of views to maintain internationally responsible attitude. What progress has there been in dialogue between India and China?

North/South

17. Great mistake to talk of North versus South. All need each other. OPEC countries need industrialised West for their technology and goods; industrialised West needs developing countries with their markets and raw materials; developing countries need developed countries for expertise and/

and investment. UK attitude to Brandt Commission report misunderstood. We believe it poses problem well, and we go along with some of recommendations; but British view is that world economic system needs to be adapted and improved, not uprooted and replaced. We believe that present system offers opportunity to all those engaged in economic activity to contribute towards soundly based development. There is need for climate of confidence to allow expanded international trade, provide direct investment from developed countries, and international cooperation to help governments in difficulty. We recognise need for something to be done quickly and fact of world inter-dependence.

Bilateral Relations

18. Prime Minister knows you are concerned about portrayal of India in British media. She particularly asked me to raise this topic. Much regret that British papers and television sometimes produce programmes which are offensive to our friends, as they sometimes produce programmes which are offensive to HMG or our Royal Family. There is fund of sympathy for Indian views in Britain. We welcomed Malcolm MacDonald's letter to The Times on 13 August.

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19. A press free from interference is a part of the whole nature of social and political life in Britain. This means that decisions on what they publish are taken by the papers themselves. Even in the case of television, responsibility for vetting programmes rests not with the government but with the Governors of the BBC and the IBA, whose powers are restricted. Nevertheless if India has a complaint it will always be useful if this is taken up through the Indian High Commission in London with the paper or appropriate television authority concerned. We can advise.

20. Although the Government's ability to help in this area is/

is necessarily very circumscribed, we are sympathetic and recognise that wringing hands will not change anything. We believe that the press often miss much of the achievements of modern India and that India's achievements in industrial, agrarian and economic fields and in the area of research and development deserve to be more widely understood. We hope that the Prince of Wales's visit and the Festival of India will provide good opportunities to focus media attention on achievements. We have deliberately proposed that Prince Charles's visit should be concentrated on areas which will project an up-to-date image of India.

21. We hope too that a high level team of industrialists will be in India at about the same time as the Prince of Wales. Always easier to interest British press in economic, industrial and scientific fields if there is a British angle.

22. Does the Indian Government contemplate measures to strengthen their own information organisation in Britain e.g. through the work of Public Relations Adviser. The British Government would be pleased to discuss and help to develop any ideas which the Indian Government may have which will ensure that the British public is made aware of the full picture of policy and progress in India. We believe that there is still widespread interest in Britain in India, an awareness of India's size and world importance and of her cultural tradition. It should be possible to benefit from this.

Festival of India

23. The Prime Minister believes that the proposal for a festival in Britain in 1982 is a particularly useful idea.
Need/

Need to consider emphasis on Indian society and economy as well as culture.

24. It has been suggested that Mrs Thatcher should be a joint patron of the Festival and she would be very willing to do this (No 10 to confirm). It would give Mrs Thatcher great pleasure if you could agree to join her as joint patron. Perhaps there might be an opportunity for you to visit Britain in connection with the Festival?

Prime Minister's Visit

25. Mrs Thatcher would herself very much like to visit India in 1981 if a convenient time can be arranged. Perhaps this could be considered after the Prince of Wales's visit. (No 10 to confirm).