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cc Iran (Sit⁴)
Master Set

OPS

Subject Med on Afghanistan, Internal Sitn. Dec 79.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT
CARTER ON FRIDAY 28 DECEMBER 1979

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T180A/79T

Prime Minister: Hello, how are you?

President: Just fine. It's a great pleasure to talk to you.

Prime Minister: Well I know you have a very busy round of telephone calls and I think the right greeting is that I hope you have had a very happy christmas and a peaceful new year to us all.

President: Well you beat me to it, that was exactly what I was going to say to start with.

Prime Minister: And thank you for the marvellous visit that we had with you.

President: Let me tell you what I wanted to discuss with you. First of all we regard the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as an extremely grave development. I would say similar in scope and permanent impact of what they did in Czechoslovakia. They have in effect changed a proper nation into a puppet nation and I think it/will have profound strategic consequences on the stability of that entire region. Secondly I think that it is essential that we make this action as politically costly as possible to the Soviet Union. I don't think we can force them out but they have a very serious problem with the non-aligned movement in particular with the Moslem countries not only Pakistan and Iran, India and others of a similar nature in the region but also I think with the entire non-aligned movement and I intend to call on these countries, the Moslem countries and the non-aligned countries to speak out. The next thing is that . . . PM interrupts . . . with SALT independently of what happened in Afghanistan but we are not going to let our concern about SALT interfere with a strong move to condemn the Soviets about what they have done in Afghanistan. I don't think we can afford to let them get away with this, with impunity. But we are prepared to carry it all away to the United Nations in the next number of days but because of our own efforts in getting the Security Council to vote on Iran as regards to the hostages it is probably not advisable for us to take the initiative with the United Nations. There are others that can do this. You all or maybe China or some of the non-/aligned countries. And the last point I would like to

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make is I think we ought to dramatise our concern. We would like very much to have an automatic council meeting just on the Afghanistan question. And I would like to send a high level person to meet maybe even this weekend and preferably this weekend to decide how we as a body are going to address the issue.

Prime Minister: Yes well good. I shall be about and Peter Carrington will because it so happens that I am seeing him on Sunday.

President: That's good.

Prime Minister: So certainly one would be very welcome here. And it so happens that Peter and I will be meeting on Sunday.

President: OK. Do you agree that we ought to get the North Atlantic Council together.

Prime Minister: Oh I think so. I think so. I think when something like this occurs the important thing is to act right at the beginning.

President: Yes so do I. I think that the Soviets have gotten away with it already maybe for too many hours. We have been raising as you may have noticed our concern about the Soviet military movements now for two or three weeks.

Prime Minister: Yes. I know you notice that we. . . .

President: continuing . . at Secretary of State level but I am probably going to make my concern known to the American press personally this afternoon - I haven't yet decided about that - and we have all a real need I think to let the Soviets know how serious it is. We have got a message from the Germans and so I talked to Genscher this morning. They are extremely concerned about the future impact on countries like not only Pakistan but Romania, Yugoslavia, even the precedent that it establishes concerning the relationship with the Warsaw Pact countries towards our European allies. And so I think that we ought to weigh in very heavily.

Prime Minister:: Well certainly we'll welcome anyone you send over. Tomorrow or the next day or the day after that. Just whenever he comes.

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President: Well I'll probably send Warren Christopher. He's our top man second only to Cy.

Prime Minister: Yes

President: And I think that I'll suggest to Cy that he gives maybe Lord Carrington a call within the next few hours to discuss in some detail.

Prime Minister: Yes I will be calling Peter Carrington fairly quickly. He doesn't live very far away. We're both in the country and I'll call him. Warren Christopher will be coming and if Cy will call Peter then Peter and I can be in contact very quickly. I do think its important to act quickly.

President: Well so do I.

Prime Minister: What action we can take . . .

President: Cy will be delivering our Iran message to the United Nations Security Council personally and this will take his time tomorrow and the next day.

Prime Minister: Of course.

President: One of the things that has caused us some serious concern are the very extensive amendments that you all have requested on the Security Council Resolution and I would hope that you would not be so, excuse me using the word, adamant about these three items I think they are going to require a great deal of . .

Prime Minister: What I wanted to make clear is that they are technical amendments as far as we are concerned because of our own legislation. They are technical but I'll get our boys to get on to you . . .

President: . . legality question I don't believe we can solve it within the next couple of days .

Prime Minister: No.

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President: And we have expressed ourselves willing to make a change in the Resolution to permit the jointly owned Iranian flag ships to carry their oil but the other points that would be very difficult for us to resolve within the next day or two.

Prime Minister: Who in your office could my technical boys get on to about this?

President: I think that can be worked out with Cy and No. 10 or Lord Carrington better than between you and me - I don't know that much about this.

Prime Minister: I asked exactly before when I knew you were telephoning I asked exactly about the details of the technical amendments and I haven't got the full details but they said look they are not wrecking in any way they are merely necessary but they might have to be unnecessary in view of what you said. They are merely advisable for us because of our own legislation.

President: I understand that. But I think there is no way that you and I in the next couple of days even if we met personally could resolve the extritoriality question. This is something that has been kicking around among the legal people for a long time.

Prime Minister: And we can't do it because they have raised cases before the courts.

President: And we can't do it in the Security Council either. But there were three points and that was one and another one that I recall was that there are, I think, ten ships that are jointly owned between your companies and Iran and five of them fly British flags and the other five fly the Iranian flag. That wouldn't be any problem for us we could make a quick change in the language and could accommodate your need on that. And I don't even recall what the other one is.

Prime Minister: No well I don't offhand.

President: No well I'll tell Cy to try to work it out with Lord Carrington.

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Prime Minister:

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Prime Minister: I'll tell him too.

President: I'll be calling Helmut and Giscard d'Estaing and the Prime Minister of Italy as well after I've got to talk to you but I wanted to talk to you first.

Prime Minister: Well that's very kind of you. Well I'll get them onto that and if they can't be dealt with then that's that.

President: I understand. Well thank you very much. We'll stay in close touch with you.

Prime Minister: All right. And very best wishes. I just hope that you 've got the requisite number of votes. Have you? Lined up?

President: Margaret I think we will have the requisite number of votes if we give some time for the Secretary General to work something out pending the imposition of the sanctions.

Prime Minister: I see you're going in two stages to get the approval for sanctions but suspension of the operations so as to give . . .

President: . . maybe for five, six days time.

Prime Minister: Yes I've got it.

President: And we have just finished our National Security Council meeting and this is what I have decided and we wouldn't want to announce this but I think that would bring aboard more than enough votes.

Prime Minister: I think its advisable, because I think it gives them some incentive to release them.

President: Yes it does and it lets them save face if they want to save face.

Prime Minister: That's right.

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President: My judgement is that Khomeini doesn't want to do anything but his Proletarian and other members of the Revolutionary Council - that's how I guess but there is no way to tell what he has in his own mind.

Prime Minister: Yes.

President: Well good luck and thank you very much.

Prime Minister: Well thank you very much. And please don't hesitate to get someone to ring me if it helps and I'll be on straightaway to Peter. I will look forward to receiving someone over the weekend.

President: One thing that you might . . . I'm going to send a personal message to Brezhnev, worded very strongly expressing our deep concern about this development and if you would consider doing that it would help.

Prime Minister: Right I will get onto it immediately.

President: And just well I'm here if you need to call me.

Prime Minister: All right Jimmy. Thank you very much. Thank you for phoning and all best wishes. Thank you. Goodbye.

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