

GRS 1030

CONFIDENTIAL

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FM FCO 031900Z JAN 80

TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM 2 OF 1 JANUARY 1980

AFGHANISTAN

1. WHILE WORLD INDIGNATION OVER THE SOVIET UNION'S RUTHLESS MILITARY INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN REMAINS HIGH, THE SOVIET UNION HAS RESORTED TO A VARIETY OF SPECIOUS ARGUMENTS IN AN ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY ITS ACTIONS.
2. YOU SHOULD TAKE ALL STEPS POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN AND ENCOURAGE THE MOMENTUM OF OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC CONDEMNATION OF THE SOVIET AGGRESSION, AND TO EXPOSE THE MENDACITY OF THE SOVIET CASE DRAWING ON PARAS 3-11 BELOW AND ON MR HURD'S INTERVIEW ON BBC RADIO ON 1 JANUARY (RETRACTS 16301/17802).

PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

3. THE TEXT OF MRS THATCHER'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT BREZHNEV HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN RELEASED BUT YOU MAY QUOTE THE PM'S PRESS OFFICE AS SAYING:

BEGINS MRS THATCHER SAID THAT SHE WAS PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT SHE WAS FRANKLY PUZZLED BY THE ASSERTION THAT RECENT SOVIET ACTION WAS AT THE INVITATION OF THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE SOVIET CHARGES OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN: THE ONLY COUNTRY WHICH HAD INVOLVED ITSELF IN RECENT YEARS IN AFGHAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WAS THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD MR BREZHNEV THAT SHE BELIEVED THAT THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN HAD THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE ENDS

4. THE PRIME MINISTER MET THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO THE UK, MR LUNKOV, TODAY AT HIS REQUEST TO RECEIVE A REPLY FROM MR BREZHNEV TO HER LETTER.

YOU MAY SAY UNATTRIBUTABLY THAT THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD LUNKOV THAT SHE KNEW OF NO EVIDENCE OF ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST AFGHANISTAN OR OF ANYTHING THAT WOULD HAVE JUSTIFIED THE SOVIET UNION'S OWN ARMED INTERVENTION. SHE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WITH THE SOVIET ASSERTION THAT IT HAD DONE NOTHING TO OVERTHROW THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN. SHE REAFFIRMED HER VERY SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET ACTION AND RE-ITERATED THE POINTS SHE HAD MADE IN HER LETTER. THE PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDED BY STRESSING ONCE AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF EARLY SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN.

ADDITIONAL POINTS

5. THE RUSSIANS ARE RESORTING TO 'THE BIG LIE' BY SAYING THAT THEY INTERVENED AT THE INVITATION OF THE AFGHAN AUTHORITIES AS ALLEGEDLY PROVIDED FOR IN THE SOVIET/AFGHANISTAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY OF 1978. IT IS NOT CREDIBLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT AMIN, WHICH WAS IN POWER WHEN THE RUSSIANS LAUNCHED THEIR INVASION, INVITED THE SOVIET ACTION WHICH DEPOSED IT AND LED TO OWN MURDER. BY ALL ACCOUNTS THE NEW PRESIDENT, BABRAK KARMAL, WAS STILL IN THE SOVIET UNION WHEN THE COUP TOOK PLACE ON 27 DECEMBER. ACCORDING TO IZVESTIA OF 1 JANUARY THE INVITATION TO INTERVENE CAME ON 28 DECEMBER BUT THE SOVIET BUILD UP HAD COMMENCED WELL BEFORE THIS.

6. THERE ARE RELIABLE INDICATIONS THAT INITIAL RADIO REPORTS OF THE COUP WERE PRE-RECORDED TAPE RECORDINGS BROADCAST FROM TRANSMITTERS LOCATED INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN FROM RADIO KABUL AS CLAIMED. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT WHEN NEWS OF THE COUP WAS FIRST BROADCAST, RADIO KABUL WAS TRANSMITTING ITS NORMAL PROGRAMMES.

7. THE ASSERTION IN IZVESTIA OF 1 JANUARY THAT THE UK HAD INSTIGATED PAKISTAN'S OPPOSITION TO THE AFGHAN 'REVOLUTION' IS A TRANSPARENT FALSEHOOD. IT IS ABSURD TO SUGGEST THAT THE TROUBLES IN AFGHANISTAN HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY ANY GOVERNMENTS

OTHER THAN THE PREVIOUS AFGHAN REGIME AND THE SOVIET UNION THEMSELVES WITH THEIR POLICY OF IMPOSING A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION FROM ABOVE.

8. THE SOVIET UNION PROVIDED MILITARY ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT WHICH THEY HAVE NOW OVERTHROWN WHICH BABRAK, THE MAN THEY THEMSELVES PLACED IN OFFICE DESCRIBES AS A MERCILESS TYRANNICAL DICTATORSHIP AND AGAINST WHICH THERE WAS A WIDESPREAD REBELLION.

9. BY ITS ACTION, THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT IT IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER THE INTERESTS OF PEOPLE IN AN INDEPENDENT STATE. IT IS EVIDENT THAT IT WAS NOT SATISFIED IN HAVING AFGHANISTAN AS AN ALLY BUT WANTED FULL CONTROL OVER THE REGIME AND ITS POLICIES. IN SO DOING THEY ARE PREPARED TO TOTALLY DISCOUNT THE WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY IN THE FURTHERANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S OWN INTERESTS.

10. THIS IS THE FIRST OCCASION SINCE WORLD WAR II THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS USED ARMED FORCE OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF THE WARSAW PACT, THOUGH IT CONTINUES THE TREND ESTABLISHED BY SOVIET PROXIES IN ANGOLA AND ELSEWHERE. THE IMPLICATIONS ARE FAR REACHING. IF THE WORLD DOES NOT MAKE IT CLEAR BY ITS ACTIONS THAT THE SOVIET BEHAVIOUR IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE THE SOVIET UNION MAY BE LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD IS APATHETIC ABOUT SUCH ACTION. IT IS IMPORTANT TO DRIVE HOME TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH ACTION ARE DAMAGING TO SOVIET INTERESTS. HENCE THE IMPORTANCE OF ACTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

11. SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY THE AGGRESSION ON THE BASIS OF THE UN CHARTER ARE A TRAVESTY OF UN PRINCIPLES. THEIR ACTION IN INVADING AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY WITHOUT ANY MANDATE FROM ITS PEOPLE IS HOWEVER IN CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER.

FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION

12. BRITISH OFFICIALS WARNED THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN LONDON ABOUT THE MILITARY BUILD UP IN AFGHANISTAN AS EARLY AS 20 DECEMBER, I.E. WELL BEFORE THE ALLEGED AFGHAN INVITATION TO INTERVENE. THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE HOPE OF PERSUADING THE RUSSIANS TO REVERSE THEIR COURSE BUT WE SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO

MAKE THEM UNCOMFORTABLE AND BRING HOME TO THEM THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS. THEY SHOULD BE MADE TO REALISE THAT THEY HAVE MISCALCULATED. THIS CAN BEST BE DONE IN THE UN WHERE THERE ARE THREE POSSIBILITIES: THE UNGA, OR THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDER CHAPTER VI OR VII. URGENT CONSULTATIONS ARE TAKING PLACE AIMED AT AGREEING A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH WE HOPE WILL BE SIGNED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF ISLAMIC AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES.

13. ALL POSTS, BUT PARTICULARLY THOSE IN ISLAMIC AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, ARE ASKED TO REPORT BY TELEGRAM ANY SIGNIFICANT OFFICIAL STATEMENTS, BROADCASTS OR ARTICLES IN THE MEDIA CONDEMNING THE SOVIET INTERVENTION. OI D WILL SHORTLY ISSUE A FULLER BACKGROUND BRIEF.

CARRINGTON

BY TELEGRAPH TO:

LAGOS	PORT OF SPAIN	
NAIROBI	GEORGETOWN	[ALL IMMEDIATE]
LUSAKA	BRIDGETOWN	
KINGSTON	SALISBURY	

ACCRA	LILONGWE	MBABANE	SUVA	HONG KONG
BANJUL	GABORONE	VALLETTA	PORT MORESBY	
FREETOWN	MASERU	NICOSIA	VICTORIA	
DAR ES SALAAM	PORT LOUIS	NASSAU	HONIARA	

[ALL PRIORITY]

AND SAVING TO CERTAIN OTHER POSTS

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ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION
GUIDANCE