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Prime Minister

CABINET OFFICE

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Phms

From the Secretary of the Cabinet: Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO

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Ref: A01277

30th January 1980

h.g.  
Phms 31/1  
*[Signature]*

I mentioned to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and you this morning a further message I have had from Dr. Brzezinski. I attach a copy herewith. As you know, these communications are very much confined to the White House to 10 Downing Street link and I should be grateful if you would not give it any circulation in the Foreign Office, though of course you will want to show it to the Secretary of State.

Brzezinski's letter confirms that he and Warren Christopher are visiting Pakistan and Saudi Arabia at the end of this week. When we discussed this earlier today, we thought that such a visit could only exacerbate Indian suspicions. We have to think whether we should suggest to Brzezinski that, in order to avoid that, he should include New Delhi in his itinerary. Even if we suggest it, he probably will not do so, partly because he will see no practical benefit and partly because Clark Clifford is the President's Special Representative for talks with the Indian Government. But we shall at least have warned. If we are going to do anything of this kind, we must do it very quickly: I could telephone Brzezinski, or send him an immediate response on the Telex link.

The second element in Brzezinski's letter is the proposal for a meeting of "appropriate representatives" on 11th February. Though the invitation is to me and other appropriate representatives, it appears that David Aaron is to host the meeting. That suggests that it will be appropriate for us to be represented by Robert Wade-Gery, perhaps accompanied by someone from the Assessments Staff.

I have no doubt that you will agree that we should concur in this proposal in principle. The question for immediate consideration is, I think, whether we should suggest to Brzezinski that he might come here on his way back from Pakistan to Washington, and whether we should offer to host a meeting here of the same 4 who met in Paris on 14th January. These two are separable: we <sup>could</sup> ~~can~~ invite Brzezinski to stop here on his way back for "bilaterals" even if we were not going to propose a multilateral meeting in that context; and then Wade-Gery could go across to Washington for the meeting envisaged by Brzezinski.

/Before

Sir Michael Palliser, GCMG

SECRET

Before I send any reply to Brzezinski, I think that it would be sensible to get in touch with Wahl and von Staden to find out how they are reacting, and perhaps to try out our ideas on them first. But before I get to that point, I should very much like to have your reactions and comments.

Perhaps we could discuss as soon as possible.

I am sending a copy of this letter and of Brzezinski's message to Michael Alexander.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

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FM THE WHITE HOUSE  
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JANUARY 29, 1980

TO: BOB ARMSTRONG  
CABINET OFFICE, LONDON

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR BOB,

IN THE SPIRIT OF CONTINUING CLOSE COOPERATION ON THE CRITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHWEST ASIA, I WANT TO CONFIRM TO YOU THAT I WILL BE TRAVELLING ALONG WITH WARREN CHRISTOPHER TO PAKISTAN AND SAUDI ARABIA AT THE END OF THIS WEEK. THE PURPOSE OF OUR VISIT WILL BE TO EXCHANGE ASSESSMENTS WITH BOTH GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE REGION FOLLOWING THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE AND TO TRY TO REACH A COMMON UNDERSTANDING WITH THEM ON HOW TO APPROACH THE IMPORTANT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ISSUES AT HAND. WE WILL ALSO BE HOLDING FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN ISLAMABAD ABOUT LEVELS OF ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS DETAILED TALKS WITH THE PAKISTANI MILITARY. IN PARTICULAR, WE INTEND TO EXPLORE FURTHER, WITH BOTH THE PAKISTANIS AND THE SAUDIS THE TYPES AND LEVELS OF SUPPORT FROM SOURCES IN THE REGION AND ELSEWHERE THAT THE PAKISTANIS URGENTLY NEED.

AFTER THESE DISCUSSIONS, I WILL ENSURE THAT THE RESULTS ARE REPORTED FULLY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT. THAT SHOULD PROVIDE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR DELIBERATIONS ON HOW BEST TO MANIFEST OUR SHARED DETERMINATION TO HELP PAKISTAN IN THE FACE OF THIS NEW THREAT.

I WOULD ALSO PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR DISCUSSIONS OF CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR THE ARABIAN PENINSULA BY INVITING YOU AND OTHER APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIVES TO COME TO WASHINGTON TO MEET ON FEBRUARY 11. FRANK CARLUCCI, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, WILL REPORT ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE AREA AND THE RESULTS OF MY TRIP WILL BE SHARED AS WELL. IN ADDITION, I HOPE THAT YOUR SIDE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE YOUR VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN THE PENINSULA AND IN YEMEN. DAVID AARON WILL HOST THE MEETING AND GO INTO THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF OUR PLANNING AS WELL AS SHARE OUR THOUGHTS ON FUTURE WORK AMONG US.

I HOPE THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU. IF NOT, WE WILL TRY TO ADJUST THE DATE AND, OF COURSE, WE ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO MEET IN EUROPE IF THAT IS MORE CONVENIENT. I AM SENDING THIS MESSAGE TO THE OTHER TWO OF OUR GROUP AND YOU MAY WISH TO BE IN TOUCH WITH THEM.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHETHER YOU CONCUR IN THIS PROPOSAL AND, IF SO, WHO WILL BE PARTICIPATING FROM YOUR SIDE.

WARM REGARDS.

/S/ ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

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30 JAN 1980

