

SUBJECT

Afghanistan

Sent By

TELEPRINTER TO CHEEVERS

T 67/80

0 280005Z MAR 80
FM THE WHITE HOUSE
TO THE CABINET OFFICE
ZEM

S E C R E T VIA CABINET OF ICE CHANNELS WHR0377
PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER
THATCHER UPON OPENING OF BUSINESS:

MARCH 27, 1980

DEAR MADAME PRIME MINISTER:

IN ADDITION TO CONSIDERING WHAT NEXT STEPS WE SHOULD TAKE IN THE IRANIAN CRISIS, ABOUT WHICH I WROTE YOU EARLIER THIS WEEK, I HAVE BEEN REFLECTING ON HOW WE IN NATO MIGHT BEST ASSURE THAT THE ALLIANCE IS UNITED, STRONG AND CREDIBLE AS IT RESPONDS TO THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN AND TO MOSCOW'S GLOBAL CHALLENGE IN THE 1980s. I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS AND SEEK YOUR COUNSEL, AND THAT OF HELMUT SCHMIDT, BEFORE I CONTACT ANY OTHER ALLIED LEADERS.

AS YOU AND I HAVE AGREED FROM THE BEGINNING, THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN CONFRONTS THE WEST AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WITH A SERIOUS CHALLENGE. THAT IS WHY IT IS SO IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIED REACTION TO BE COHERENT, MEASURED AND CONCRETE. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN REACHING A POINT WHERE OUR REACTIONS ARE TANGIBLE AS WELL AS RHETORICAL, A GOOD DEAL REMAINS TO BE DONE BEFORE OUR COLLECTIVE RESPONSE IS COMPLETELY CLEAR AND WILL HAVE SUFFICIENT DETERRENT VALUE IN THE KREMLIN. AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO ALL OF US IF THE AFGHANISTAN CRISIS WERE TO BRING ABOUT DISSENTION IN THE WEST -- AMONG THE UNITED STATES AND OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. I AM DETERMINED TO DO ALL I CAN TO AVOID SUCH TRANSATLANTIC DISCORD.

I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR ADVICE ON THE IDEA OF HOLDING A NATO SUMMIT IN LATE MAY. WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO OFFER WASHINGTON AS A SITE IF EVERYONE AGREED. ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD MEET IN LATE JUNE EITHER IN BRUSSELS OR IN ITALY AT THE TIME OF THE VENICE SUMMIT. SUCH A MEETING, IF PROPERLY PREPARED, WOULD GIVE A VITAL AND TANGIBLE DEMONSTRATION OF WESTERN SOLIDARITY AND WILL TO RESIST SOVIET AGGRESSION IN THE AFTERMATH OF AFGHANISTAN. PROPER PREPARATION WOULD BE NECESSARY BECAUSE NATO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT GET TOGETHER IF TO DO SO WOULD ONLY REVEAL SERIOUS DIVISION AND WEAKNESS AMONG US. I WOULD CONSIDER IT BOTH REALISTIC AND CONVINCING IF ALLIED LEADERS COULD AGREE ON A PACKAGE OF MEASURES AT A NATO SUMMIT MEETING WHICH, AT A MINIMUM, WOULD:

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T67/80

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- U. -- CONDEMN THE SOVIET INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN=
- ② -- CALL FOR PROMPT AND TOTAL SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN=
- ③ -- INDICATE OUR SUPPORT FOR A TRULY NEUTRAL AND NONALIGNED AFGHANISTAN=
- ④ -- CONFIRM THAT THERE WILL BE NO BUSINESS AS USUAL WITH THE USSR UNTIL SOVIET TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM AFGHANISTAN AND THE SITUATION OF TOTAL REPRESSION THERE IS ENDED=
- ⑤ -- STRESS OUR INTENTION TO BOYCOTT THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS=
- ⑥ -- UNDERLINE OUR COMMITMENT TO RESTRICT THROUGH COCOM THE TRANSFER OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIET UNION=
- ⑦ -- EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC RESCUE EFFORT FOR TURKEY=
- ⑧ -- EXPRESS OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE THE BENEFITS OF DETENTE AND ARMS CONTROL UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS=
- ⑨ -- RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO MEET THE THREE PERCENT DEFENSE PLEDGE WE MADE AT THE 1978 SUMMIT=
- ⑩ -- ACCELERATE A SELECT NUMBER OF LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM MEASURES AND THE NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM=
- ⑪ -- AND FINALLY, THOUGH THIS MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE IN THE FORMAL COMMUNIQUE, FIND A WAY TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE IN THE WEST NOW REGARD THE PERSIAN GULF AS AN AREA THAT IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO OUR LONG-TERM VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS.

AGREEMENT IN SOME FORM ON ALL OF THE ABOVE SHOULD BE FEASIBLE AND WOULD MARK A NOTABLE DISPLAY OF ALLIANCE VIGOR AND SOLIDARITY.

OF COURSE, A NATO SUMMIT WOULD RAISE THAT NOW FAMILIAR PROBLEM OF THE LEVEL OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION, BUT WE HAVE GOTTEN AROUND THIS PROBLEM BEFORE. IF YOU AND HELMUT BELIEVE A NATO SUMMIT WOULD BE USEFUL, WE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS HOW BEST TO APPROACH VALERY. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE BEST IF HE COULD FIND A WAY FOR THE FRENCH TO PARTICIPATE.

I WOULD APPRECIATE ANY THOUGHTS YOU MIGHT HAVE ON THIS IDEA OF A NATO SUMMIT. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR EARLY REACTION BECAUSE TIMING WILL BE TIGHT FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AND FOR MAKING SCHEDULE ARRANGEMENTS.

SINCERELY,

END OF PAGE 02

JIMMY CARTER

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
MARGARET R. THATCHER, M.P.
PRIME MINISTER
LONDON
0785
02460