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TO IMMEDIATE TOKYO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 8 OF 7 JANUARY

INFO MOSCOW, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK, ISLAMABAD, DELHI, BONN,
PARIS, ROME, OTTAWA, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, KABUL.

AFGHANISTAN.

1. THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON CORTAZZI TODAY TO SEEK OUR VIEWS ON THE FUTURE HANDLING OF ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE AFGHAN CRISIS.

2. AFTER BRIEFLY OUTLINING THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE LONDON MEETING OF SIX NATO COUNTRIES, CORTAZZI STRESSED OUR VIEW THAT THE WESTERN REACTION NEEDED TO BE SUSTAINED AND FIRM. THE SOVIETS MUST BE DETERRED FROM FURTHER SIMILAR ACTIONS. CORTAZZI SAID THAT WE ACCORDINGLY ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO A COORDINATED RESPONSE, AND EXPLAINED BRIEFLY CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THE NATO FORUM. HE SAID THAT AMONG MEASURES BEING CONSIDERED WERE:-

A) CANCELLATION OF VISITS AND EXCHANGES.

B) FOOD EXPORTS, EG BUTTER, IN LINE WITH THE AMERICAN DECISION TO REDUCE GRAIN EXPORTS.

C) TECHNOLOGY, WHICH MIGHT BE PURSUED IN THE COCOM FORUM.

D) CREDIT. SHOULD SPECIAL CREDIT AGREEMENTS BE MAINTAINED AND WHAT SHOULD TERMS OF FUTURE CREDIT FOR THE SOVIET UNION BE ?

ON THE QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES CORTAZZI SAID THAT THE BRITISH OLYMPIC COMMITTEE WAS AN INDEPENDENT BODY AND TO BE EFFECTIVE A BOYCOTT WOULD NEED TO BE SUPPORTED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES.

3. CORTAZZI SAID THAT ON AFGHANISTAN WE HAD DECIDED:-

A) TO WITHDRAW OUR AMBASSADOR AND TO REDUCE THE STAFF OF OUR EMBASSY.

B) TO CLOSE THE BRITISH COUNCIL AND CUT OFF ALL AID (ALTHOUGH AFGHAN STUDENTS IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO COMPLETE THEIR COURSES).

C) NOT TO HAVE POLITICAL CONTACTS WITH THE PRESENT REGIME. WE DID NOT WISH TO RECOGNISE WHAT WAS A PUPPET GOVERNMENT.

4. ON PAKISTAN CORTAZZI SAID THAT WE SUPPORTED DEBT RESCHEDULING. WE HAD DONE OUR PART BY APPLYING RETROSPECTIVE TERMS ADJUSTMENT TO PAKISTAN. WE WERE INVESTIGATING WHAT COULD BE DONE TO STEP UP AID AND WE WERE CONSIDERING ASSISTANCE TO AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN WAS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN AMERICAN ARMS AND EQUIPMENT. WE ALL NEEDED TO BE CONSCIOUS OF THE INDIAN ANGLE AND TO REASSURE THE INDIANS THAT SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN WAS NOT DIRECTED AT INDIA.

5. CORTAZZI SAID THAT WE HAD NOTED THE EFFECTIVE SPEECH OF THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR AT THE UNITED NATIONS. FOLLOWING THE LIKELY VETO ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION THERE WOULD NO DOUBT BE A CALL FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS WOULD REQUIRE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY ISLAMIC COUNTRIES.

6. CORTAZZI SAID THAT WE HOPED THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE A ROBUST LINE AND WORK IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD KEEP IN CLOSE CONTACT ABOUT MEASURES TO BRING HOME OUR MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET UNION. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE JAPANESE MIGHT WITHDRAW THEIR AMBASSADOR FROM KABUL AND TRUSTED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF THEIR RECOGNISING THE PRESENT AFGHAN REGIME. WE PRESUMED THAT THEY WOULD CUT OFF ALL AID TO AFGHANISTAN: (THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THEY WERE REVIEWING THEIR AID). WE HOPED THAT JAPAN WOULD BE AS HELPFUL AND GENEROUS TOWARDS PAKISTAN AS POSSIBLE. WE TRUSTED THAT THEY WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES TO ENSURE AN EFFECTIVE WORLD RESPONSE TO SOVIET AGGRESSION.

7. FUJIYAMA UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THESE SUGGESTIONS AND ASKED THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:-

- A) WERE WE RECALLING OUR AMBASSADOR FROM MOSCOW? CORTAZZI SAID THAT THIS WAS A MATTER ON WHICH WE WOULD WISH TO ACT TOGETHER WITH OUR PARTNERS.
- B) WOULD THE SOVIETS WITHDRAW SOON FROM AFGHANISTAN? CORTAZZI THOUGHT THIS MOST UNLIKELY. THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME DEPENDED ON SOVIET TROOPS FOR ITS EXISTENCE.

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- C) WOULD NOT MRS GANDHI IF SHE CAME TO POWER TAKE A PRO-SOVIET POSITION? CORTAZZI REPLIED THAT MRS GANDHI HAD TWICE CRITICISED THE SOVIET ACTION IN AFGHANISTAN. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD MAINTAIN A CLOSE DIALOGUE WITH THE INDIANS ABOUT THE AFGHAN SITUATION.
- D) SHOULD WE NOW CEASE TO WORRY ABOUT NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN? CORTAZZI REPLIED THAT THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES WERE STILL IMPORTANT BUT THEY HAD TO BE SEEN IN A GEO-POLITICAL CONTEXT. OUR MAIN AIM AT THE MOMENT SHOULD BE TO PERSUADE THE PAKISTANIS NOT TO EXPLODE A NUCLEAR DEVICE.
- E) WHAT WAS THE TIME FRAME FOR WESTERN DECISION-MAKING? CORTAZZI SAID THAT WE HOPED THAT DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE THIS WEEK. WE SHOULD HAVE TO MAKE A STATEMENT WHEN PARLIAMENT RESUMED NEXT WEEK ABOUT OUR REACTION TO RECENT EVENTS.
- F) WERE DISCUSSIONS TAKING PLACE IN THE EEC FORUM AS WELL AS IN NATO? CORTAZZI SAID THAT THE ASIA WORKING GROUP IN ROME LATER THIS WEEK WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER AFGHANISTAN AMONG OTHER TOPICS.

8. PLEASE SEEK AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE AT A HIGH LEVEL THE REQUESTS WHICH CORTAZZI MADE TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (PARAGAPH 6).

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