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TO IMMEDIATE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,

TELEGRAM NUMBER 004 OF 1 JANUARY 1980,

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, UKMIS NEW YORK,
PRIORITY OTTAWA, ROME, ROUTINE OTHER NATO POSTS, WARSAW, BUDAPEST,
PRAGUE, SOFIA, BUCHAREST, EAST BERLIN, DUBLIN, ISLAMABAD, KABUL,
DELHI, PEKING, CANBARRA, WELLINGTON, UKDEL VIENNA, AND SAVING
TO TOKYO, JAKARTA, SINGAPORE, MANILA, BANGKOK, KUALA LUMPUR.

MIPT: COUNCIL DISCUSSION: COMMENTS.

1. THE MEETING FOT OFF TO A WELL-INFORMED START WITH WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT, WHICH (ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SAY SO) WAS PRESUMABLY SIMILAR TO THE ONE HE MADE IN LONDON ON 31 DECEMBER. PAULS, IN A SOMBRE MOOD, EMPHISED THE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE SOVIET ACTION AND THIS LINE WAS REFLECTED BY ALL SUBSEQUENT SPEAKERS. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE RUSSIAN USE OF THEIR OWN TROOPS AGAINST A COUNTRY OUTSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC INTRODUCED AN ENTIRELY NEW FACTOR WHICH WE SHOULD NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR ASSESSMENT OF THEIR INTENTIONS AND THAT THEY COULD NOT GET AWAY WITH IT WITH IMPUNITY. DESPITE CHRISTOPHER'S OPENING REMARKS, NO-ONE DISPUTED THE TURKISH VIEW THAT AFGHANISTAN WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY LOST AND THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON PREVENTING ANY FURTHER ENCROACHMENTS. THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION OF THE ATTITUDES OF REGIONAL COUNTRIES AND OF SUSPENDING AID TO AFGHANISTAN, BUT THE MAIN EMPHASIS WAS ON SOVIET POLICY AND INTENTIONS WHICH WERE RECOGNISED AS BEING MATTERS OF DIRECT CONCERN TO THE ALLIANCE. THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE THE FORUM FOR CONSULTATION ON THESE MATTERS.

2. THE POINT MADE BY SEVERAL SPEAKERS THAT DETENTE WAS INDIVISIBLE AND THAT THE RUSSIANS SHOULD BE MADE TO REALISE THAT IT WAS NOT IRREVERSIBLE WAS GENERALLY ACCEPTED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE ALLIANCE WOULD NEED TO REVIEW ALL AREAS OF EAST-WEST CONTACT, INCLUDING NOT ONLY BILATERAL VISITS, CULTURAL EXCHANGES, CREDIT

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BUT EXTENDING ALSO TO THE FUTURE OF CSCE AND THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS. ON THIS LAST, PAULS' ANALOGY WITH THE 1936 BERLIN OLYMPICS WAS PARTICULARLY STRIKING. AS REGARDS ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS (MBFR, PREPARATIONS FOR SALT III), IT WAS RECOGNISED THAT NATO'S INTEREST LAY IN THEIR CONTINUATION BUT THAT WE SHOULD NEED TO REVIEW THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET ACTION FOR OUR TACTICS.

3. MR HURD'S SUGGESTION FOR TWO WORKING GROUPS (PARAGRAPH 3 OF YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 173) WAS WELL RECEIVED AND WAS SPECIFICALLY ENDORSED BY LUNS IN HIS SUMMING UP. GEORGE VEST TOLD ME PRIVATELY THAT THE AMERICANS WERE PARTICULARLY GLAD I HAD RAISED THIS. I PROPOSE TO DISCUSS WITH LUNS TOMORROW HOW THIS MIGHT BEST BE FOLLOWED UP. HE IS LIKELY TO SEE THEM AS EXPERT GROUPS TO BE SET UP BY AND REPORTING TO THE (PERHAPS REINFORCED) COUNCIL. IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW HOW FAR THE FRENCH WILL GO ALONG WITH THIS. THEY WERE PREDICTABLY THE ODD MAN OUT AT TODAY'S MEETING. BUT JESSEL DELIBERATELY SPOKE LAST, SO AS TO GIVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO OTHERS TO POINT OUT THE FALLACIES IN THE FRENCH POSITION (WHICH WERE EVIDENT FROM ALL THE PRECEEDING CONTRIBUTIONS). WHATEVER THEIR MOTIVES, THE FRENCH WOULD FIND IT HARD TO DISPUTE THE DIRECT RELEVENCE OF THE SOVIET ACTION TO NATO'S INTERESTS AND THUS THE CASE FOR CONTINUING CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION IN THE COUNCIL.

FCO PLSE PASS SAVING TO TOKYO, JAKARTA, SINGAPORE, MANILA, BANGKOK AND KUALA LUMPUR.

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