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FM PRESIDENT CARTER
TO PRIME MINISTER THATCHER
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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T198/80.

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SECRET VIA CABINET OFFICE CHANNELS DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS
WH07412

OCTOBER 7, 1980

DEAR MARGARET:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 3 REGARDING DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S TALKS WITH YOU AND ED MUSKIE'S DISCUSSIONS WITH HIS COUNTERPARTS IN THE QUAD IN NEW YORK PROVIDED A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. IT IS VITAL THAT WE MAINTAIN CLOSE AND FRANK COLLABORATION WITH REGARD BOTH TO OUR ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE, AND TO THE MEASURES WE MIGHT UNDERTAKE TO ACHIEVE OUR COMMON AIMS OF DETERRING SOVIET INTERVENTION AND SUPPORTING TRENDS TOWARD INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION IN POLAND.

WHILE THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE CRISIS IN POLAND HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY WEATHERED, THE CRISIS ITSELF IS OF COURSE BY NO MEANS OVER. AS FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER NOTED TO WARREN CHRISTOPHER WHEN HE WAS IN BOMBAY, THE COMING MONTHS WILL BE MARKED BY UNCERTAINTY AND INSTABILITY. THE SOVIETS UNDOUBTEDLY SEE THE TREND OF EVENTS AS A THREAT TO THE STRATEGIC POSITION WHICH THEY HAVE HELD IN EUROPE SINCE WORLD WAR II, AND THE SHARPER TONE OF THEIR RECENT COMMENTARY ON POLAND SUGGESTS THAT THEY ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED.

WE EACH KNOW THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO INTERVENE MILITARILY. HOWEVER, WE ALSO KNOW THAT THEY WOULD NOT HESITATE TO USE ANY MEASURES, INCLUDING ARMED FORCE, TO ENSURE THAT POLAND REMAINS WITHIN THEIR ORBIT. IN THIS REGARD, RECENT SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE THREE WESTERNMOST MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE USSR, AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HIGH-LEVEL COMMUNICATIONS ARE A MATTER OF CONCERN.

SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY HAVE DEEPER AND MORE LONG-LASTING EFFECTS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THAN DID THEIR INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THEREFORE, IN ORDER TO INCREASE DETERRENCE, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO BE SURE THAT MOSCOW FULLY UNDERSTANDS THAT SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION WOULD HAVE A PROFOUNDLY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON OUR COUNTRIES, AND WOULD BEGIN A NEW AND EVEN MORE DIFFICULT CHAPTER IN SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE WEST.

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I THEREFORE HOPE THAT YOU -- IN WHATEVER WAY AND WHENEVER YOU DEEM IT MOST APPROPRIATE AND EFFECTIVE -- CAN CONVEY TO THE SOVIET UNION YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THIS MATTER. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SOVIETS BE UNDER NO ILLUSION ABOUT WESTERN VIEWS AND THAT THEY UNDERSTAND CLEARLY FROM US THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS. WE HAVE MADE OUR OWN U.S. VIEWPOINT PLAIN TO THEM SOVIETS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, MOST RECENTLY DURING SECRETARY MUSKIE'S CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN ON OCTOBER 4.

I AM MAKING A SIMILAR SUGGESTION TO VALERIE HELMUT, AND I WILL APPRECIATE ANY FURTHER THOUGHTS YOU HAVE.

SINCERELY,
JIMMY CARTER

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
MARGARET THATCHER, P.M.
PRIME MINISTER
LONDON
W521
S7412

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