

*Afghanistan*  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

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CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 151100Z JUN 81

TO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 306 OF 15 JUNE

INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, THE HAGUE, (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADORS)

MIPT: AFGHANISTAN : PROPOSED VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF COMMUNICATION:

QUOTE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE GIVEN SERIOUS THOUGHT TO THE MEMORANDUM ON A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL AND BILATERAL QUESTIONS WHICH THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN LONDON CONVEYED TO THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY ON 23 APRIL. IN PARTICULAR, CAREFUL NOTE HAS BEEN TAKEN OF WHAT WAS SAID IN THE MESSAGE ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE NEED FOR A DIALOGUE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AGREE THAT IN A DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION REMAIN OPEN AND ACTIVE. LORD CARRINGTON WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO PROPOSE THAT HE SHOULD COME TO MOSCOW FOR A SHORT WORKING VISIT EARLY IN JULY TO HOLD POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS WHICH DEMAND ATTENTION AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. A PARTICULARLY URGENT QUESTION IS THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. THIS WAS MENTIONED IN THE RECENT EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT BREZHNEV, AND AGAIN IN THE SOVIET COMMUNICATION OF 23 APRIL. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE NOTED THE EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS ON THE SOVIET SIDE TO TAKE PART IN A SETTLEMENT OF THIS PRESSING PROBLEM.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN GIVING THOUGHT TO WAYS IN WHICH AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT, IF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT COULD BE FOUND BY WHICH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED COULD ABIDE, THIS WOULD DO MUCH TO IMPROVE THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE AND FACILITATE A RETURN TO MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS.

IT IS HOPED THAT BOTH THE BRITISH AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT THE AIM OF A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE AN AFGHANISTAN WHICH IS TRULY INDEPENDENT AND WHOSE INDEPENDENCE IS RESPECTED BY ALL

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COUNTRIES. ON THE BASIS OF THIS COMMON GROUND, THE FOLLOWING IDEAS ARE PUT FORWARD FOR CONSIDERATION.

THE UNITED KINGDOM CONSIDERS THAT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD ON AFGHANISTAN. THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD BE IN TWO STAGES. THE AIM OF THE FIRST STAGE WOULD BE TO PROPOSE INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS DESIGNED TO CREATE CONDITIONS IN WHICH AFGHANISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT CAN BE ASSURED, THROUGH THE CESSATION OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAFEGUARDS TO PREVENT SUCH INTERVENTION IN THE FUTURE.

STAGE ONE OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ATTENDED BY THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, PAKISTAN, IRAN, INDIA AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE. IT MAY BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE TO TAKE PART.

THE FIRST STAGE WOULD ONLY PROPOSE MEASURES. IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE THAT IT SHOULD DECIDE MATTERS RELATING TO AFGHANISTAN IN THE ABSENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.

THE SECOND STAGE WOULD THEREFORE INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. IT WOULD AIM TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE PROPOSALS WHICH EMERGED FROM STAGE ONE AND ON OTHER MATTERS DESIGNED TO ASSURE AFGHANISTAN'S FUTURE AS AN INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED STATE.

IN PUTTING FORWARD THESE IDEAS, THE UNITED KINGDOM IS LOOKING FOR A SOLUTION WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. AFGHANISTAN MUST BE ENABLED TO LIVE ON GOOD TERMS WITH ALL NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, AND SHOULD ALSO BE PROTECTED FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE FROM ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER.

LORD CARRINGTON LOOKS FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THESE IDEAS FURTHER DURING THE VISIT HE PROPOSES TO MAKE TO MOSCOW. THEY REPRESENT A CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO A RESOLUTION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. UNQUOTE.

CARRINGTON

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DEFENCE DEPT

NEWS DEPT

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR HURD

PS/PUS

SIR J GRAHAM

MR BULLARD

MR FERGUSSON

MR GILLMORE

MR GOODISON

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FM FCO 151030Z JUN 81

TO IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

TELEGRAM NUMBER 365 OF 15 JUNE

INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, THE HAGUE, (PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADORS)

AFGHANISTAN : PROPOSED VISIT TO MOSCOW

1. I SHOULD LIKE TO PAY A SHORT WORKING VISIT TO MOSCOW IN EARLY JULY TO HELP CARRY FORWARD OUR INITIATIVE ON AFGHANISTAN.
2. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK A CALL ON FRIDAY 19 JUNE ON GROMYKO OR A DEPUTY MINISTER TO HAND OVER THE TEXT IN MIFT. YOU SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, ASK FOR THE APPOINTMENT UNTIL RECEIPT OF CONFIRMATION BY TELEGRAM FROM THE HAGUE THAT THE TEN POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAVE AGREED ON 16 JUNE THAT OUR PROPOSALS CAN GO FORWARD FOR ENDORSEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTERS ON 22 JUNE. IT MAY ALSO BE NECESSARY TO AMEND THE LANGUAGE USED TO DESCRIBE OUR PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AFGHANISTAN IN THE LIGHT OF DISCUSSION BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS.
3. THE COMMUNICATION IN MIFT IS NOT A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO GROMYKO. YOU SHOULD, HOWEVER, MAKE IT CLEAR THAT YOU ARE DELIVERING IT ON INSTRUCTIONS. THE MESSAGE MAKES NO SPECIFIC PROPOSAL ON DATES. YOU SHOULD SUGGEST 3-4 JULY AS MY STRONG FIRST PREFERENCE AND SEEK TO AVOID SUGGESTING ALTERNATIVES. IF PRESSED, HOWEVER, YOU MAY MENTION 16-17 JULY BUT SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THIS IS VERY MUCH OUR SECOND BEST. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THAT I SEE ADVANTAGE IN A VISIT AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE IN JULY AND THAT IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO FIND ALTERNATIVE DATES LATER IN OUR PRESIDENCY.
4. IF THE RUSSIANS ASK ABOUT THE AGENDA, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT I WOULD WISH TO FOCUS ON AFGHANISTAN AND TO EXPLAIN THE THINKING BEHIND OUR PROPOSALS. OTHER SUBJECTS WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED INCLUDE THE MIDDLE EAST, CURRENT PROBLEMS IN EUROPE, ARMS CONTROL ISSUES INCLUDING TNF, AND CSCE, AS WELL AS BILATERAL RELATIONS. BUT I SEE NO NEED FOR A FORMAL AGENDA. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT I SEE THIS AS A WORKING VISIT WITH THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM OF PROTOCOL AND FORMALITY WHICH IS WHY THE PROPOSED VISIT WILL NOT

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BE FOLLOWING THE STRICT PROTOCOL SEQUENCE. MY OBJECTIVE, WHICH I HOPE GROMYKO WILL SHARE, IS TO HOLD WIDE-RANGING AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RECENT CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS.

5. IF THE RUSSIANS REQUEST ADVANCE INFORMATION ON TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS, SIZE OF PARTY ETC, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT WE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE AN EARLY INDICATION OF THESE ONCE WE HAVE THE SOVIET RESPONSE ON THE PROPOSAL ITSELF AND ON DATES. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, I SHOULD WISH TO ARRIVE IN MOSCOW ON THE EVENING OF THURSDAY 2 JULY AND DEPART ON THE MORNING OF SATURDAY 4 JULY.

5. FCO TELNO 789 TO WASHINGTON SETS OUT THE MAIN POINTS OF OUR PROPOSAL ON AFGHANISTAN, BUT THE COMMUNICATION IN MIFT CONTAINS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT LANGUAGE ON SOME ASPECTS WHICH WE SHALL BE PUTTING TO OUR EC COLLEAGUES ON 16 JUNE. IN PRESENTING THE PROPOSAL YOU SHOULD DRAW ON MIFT AND EXPLAIN THAT:

- A. THE PROPOSAL IS IN ACCORD WITH BREZHNEV'S STATEMENTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS READY TO HOLD SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF AFGHANISTAN. THE FIRST STAGE IS LIMITED TO PROPOSING INTERNATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. YOU SHOULD NEVERTHELESS MAKE CLEAR THAT THE SECOND STAGE IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE PROPOSAL AND THAT THE ULTIMATE PURPOSE IS A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT ENDORSED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF AFGHAN OPINION.
  - B. THE PROPOSAL IS A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO FIND A WAY TOWARDS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.
  - C. WHILE THE IDEAS OUTLINED IN THE PROPOSAL ARE OF BRITISH ORIGIN, THEY HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED WITH OUR EC PARTNERS AND THE TEN ARE LIKELY TO ANNOUNCE THE PROPOSAL ON 22 JUNE AS A PROPOSAL OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.
7. IF GROMYKO PROBES OUR IDEAS, YOU SHOULD IN GENERAL DECLINE TO BE DRAWN AND TAKE THE LINE THAT I SHOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS THEM IN GREATER DETAIL DURING MY VISIT. BUT YOU MAY SAY THAT:
- A. OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THIRD WORLD AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES IN RECENT MONTHS HAVE REVEALED A CONTINUING WIDESPREAD INTEREST

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- IN A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM.
- B. I AM PUTTING OUR IDEAS TO THE RUSSIANS WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE REST OF THE TEN IN ADVANCE OF THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT AS A CONTRIBUTION TO ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVES SET OUT IN THE EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BETWEEN PRESIDENT BREZHNEV AND THE PRIME MINISTER, AND IN THE SPIRIT OF THE REFERENCES IN THE POPOV MEMORANDUM TO THE NEED FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATION AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL BETWEEN US. IF YOU THINK IT APPROPRIATE, YOU COULD ALSO REFER TO THE SPECIFIC REMARKS ABOUT A BILATERAL DIALOGUE OVER AFGHANISTAN MADE BY SUSLOV IN LONDON IN LATE MAY.
8. BULLARD WILL INFORM THE AMERICAN, FRENCH AND GERMAN POLITICAL DIRECTORS ON 15 JUNE OF MY INTENTION TO VISIT MOSCOW, BUT WILL TELL OTHER POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE TEN ON 16 JUNE ONLY THAT WE SHALL BE BRIEFING THE RUSSIANS ON THE AFGHANISTAN INITIATIVE ON 19 JUNE. I SHALL TELL MY COLLEAGUES IN THE TEN ON 22 JUNE OF THE PROPOSED VISIT.

CARRINGTON

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