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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

SECRET VIA SRF CHANNELS MH70055 SECTION 01 OF 02

MOSCOW PLEASE DELIVER THIS MESSAGE TO AMBASSADOR TOON
IMMEDIATELY UPON OPENING OF BUSINESS.

DECEMBER 21, 1977

TO: AMBASSADOR TOON
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

PLEASE CONVEY THE FOLLOWING TO BREZHNEV PERSONALLY OR, FAILING
THAT, TO GROMYKO.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WITH THE APPROACHING HOLIDAYS, I WISH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF
OUR CORRESPONDENCE TO WISH YOU PERSONALLY, YOUR FAMILY, AND THE
SOVIET PEOPLE THE VERY BEST FOR THE COMING YEAR. LET US HOPE THAT
IT WILL BRING US ALL CLOSER TO THE GOAL THAT WE SHARE: A GENUINE
PEACE AND CLOSER FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES, AND ALL THE PEOPLES
OF THE WORLD.

I WAS ENCOURAGED BY YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 14, AND I AM HOPE-
FUL THAT BEFORE TOO LONG WE WILL BE REACHING AGREEMENT IN A NUMBER
OF AREAS OF IMPORTANCE TO OUR TWO COUNTRIES. OUR DELEGATIONS ARE
MAKING GOOD PROGRESS IN REGARDS TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS AND
THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN; I AM ALSO ENCOURAGED BY THE FACT THAT
WE HAVE OPENED NEW DISCUSSIONS REGARDING ARMS TRANSFERS, AND THAT
OUR DELEGATIONS ARE FRUITFULLY PURSUING RECIPROCAL ARMS RESTRAINT
IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. IN SPITE OF CONTINUING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
OUR TWO COUNTRIES, AND THESE DIFFERENCES ADMITTEDLY ARE DEEP-ROOTED
AND WILL TAKE TIME TO FADE, WE ARE MAKING STEADY PROGRESS IN
WIDENING THE SCOPE OF OUR COLLABORATION.

***** WHSR COMMENT *****

ZB, AARON, IND

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HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THE ULTIMATE JUDGMENT ON THEIR ACCEPTABILITY MUST BE MADE BY THOSE WHO WILL SIGN THE PEACE TREATIES. IT IS MY BELIEF, HOWEVER, THAT THEY IN NO WAY PRECLUDE MOVING NEGOTIATIONS AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO A BROADER FORUM OR DISCUSSING OTHER FRONTS.

I WOULD ALSO HOPE THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION COULD COLLABORATE IN MAKING CERTAIN THAT REGIONAL AFRICAN DISPUTES DO NOT ESCALATE INTO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS. THE FIGHTING THAT HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA IS A REGRETTABLE DEVELOPMENT, ONE WHICH SHOULD BE CONTAINED AND TERMINATED BEFORE IT SPREADS FURTHER. WE ARE ENCOURAGING THE PARTIES TO ACCEPT MEDIATION, WE ARE REFRAINING FROM THE EXPORT OF ARMS TO ANY OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THIS STRUGGLE, AND WE ARE URGING THE OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE EARLY RESOLUTION OF

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TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

SECRET VIA BRP CHANNELS WH70665 FINAL SECTION OF 02

THE CONFLICT. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT YOU WILL ADOPT A SIMILAR POSITION, AND WE WOULD BE GLAD TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU TO ATTAIN THESE GOALS.

I MENTION THESE CONCERNS BECAUSE I DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS POSSIBLE, TO AVOID BECOMING INVOLVED IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS EITHER AS DIRECT PROTAGONISTS OR THROUGH PROXIES. WE KNOW FROM RECENT HISTORY THAT SUCH INVOLVEMENT STIMULATES ADDITIONAL TENSIONS AND TENDS TO PARALYZE PROGRESS TOWARDS WIDER COOPERATION, WHICH WE BOTH DESIRE. I WRITE ABOUT THIS BECAUSE IT IS MY DETERMINATION TO DO MY UTMOST TO IMPROVE THE AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. PRECISELY BECAUSE WE LIVE IN A TURBULENT WORLD, IT IS ENCUMBENT UPON US TO REACH THE GREATEST DEGREE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING REGARDING REGIONAL DISPUTES AND TO EXERCISE THE GREATEST DEGREE OF SELF-RESTRAINT.

I VALUE OUR CORRESPONDENCE HIGHLY FOR IT GIVES US BOTH AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK FRANKLY ABOUT THE OBSTACLES WE ENCOUNTER ON THE ROAD TO THE OBJECTIVES OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP THAT WE BOTH SHARE.

WE STILL AWAIT YOUR VISIT WHEN IT IS CONVENIENT FOR YOU.

WITH BEST PERSONAL WISHES,

SINCERELY,

JIMMY CARTER

HIS EXCELLENCY
LEONID I. BREZHNEV
CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDIUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
MOSCOW

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