

Appendix I
[Brown Pavin paper]

Aspa 17/11

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Mr Broomfield

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FROM: Sir J Bullard

DATE: 5 September 1983

cc [REDACTED]

PRIME MINISTER'S STRATEGY MEETING: EAST/WEST RELATIONS

1. I have now read the papers written by the 8 academics and circulated by No 10. They seem to be mostly factual, with not much of an attempt to suggest to Western policy-makers what we ought to be doing. Dr Amann does pose the question whether increased Western pressure would compel the Soviet leadership to switch resources from military to civilian goals, or merely drive them towards neo-Stalinism - but he does not answer it. The general message seems to be that the Soviet leaders do indeed face problems in a number of areas, but not on such a scale as to compel them to change course drastically, still less change the system. This certainly accords with my own views.
2. I was particularly interested to find Mr Donnelly arguing that the enormous Soviet effort on defence is a dynamo rather than a millstone in the Soviet economy. Incidentally I do not share the implication at the start of his paper (page 44) that the only reason why the Soviet leaders wish to avoid war with the United States is that they know that this would bring about the collapse of the communist system. They care about their country no less than other leaders about theirs.
3. In a class by itself, it seems to me, is Michael Bourdeaux's paper, with its conclusion that we may one day see the collapse of the Soviet system from within, with religion playing a decisive role. I think he exaggerates the importance of the religious factor, but I am quite prepared to believe that we ourselves often underrate it.

Jb

J L Bullard