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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 568 OF 24TH APRIL 85

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, DORN, UKDEL NATO, ROUTINE HELSINKI
EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, PEKING, TOKYO.

INFO SAVING OTHER E C POSTS

MY TELNO 565 (NOT TO TOKYO) : GORBACHEV'S SPEECH AT THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE PLENUM OF 23 APRIL: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUMMARY

1. A DISAPPOINTING SENSE OF DEJU VU. NO NEW PERSPECTIVES.
PRIORITY CONTINUES TO BE GIVEN TO CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN
THE COUNTRIES OF THE ''SOCIALIST'' BLOC. ON EAST/WEST
RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL A PERVASIVE SUSPICIAN OF US MOTIVES
AND INTENTIONS. THE AMERICANS ALSO INTENT ON ECONOMIC DOMINATION.

DETAIL

2. IN THE RELATIVELY LONG SECTION DEVOTED TO INTERNATIONAL
ISSUES, GORBACHEV OFFERS NO NEW INITIATIVES OR INSIGHTS DESPITE
THE EXPECTATIONS AROUSED BY ALIEV'S SPEECH AT THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY
(MY TELNO 554) THAT WE MIGHT GET SOME NEW SIGNALS FROM GORBACHEV.
THE IMPRESSION HE SEEKS TO CREATE IS ONE OF RESTRAINT AND
STATESMANSHIP. THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH GORBACHEV'S GENERAL THEME
OF GREATER ENDEAVOUR AND TIGHTER DISCIPLINE. THE RANGE IS ALMOST
ENTIRELY RESTRICTED TO COOPERATION WITH THE OTHER ''SOCIALIST''
COUNTRIES, SOVIET/US RELATIONS AND ARMS CONTROL.

3. OF WESTER EUROPE THERE IS LITTLE MENTION. THE MIDDLE EAST,
AFRICA, ASIA AND LATINAMERICA ARE BARELY TOUCHED ON EXCEPT FOR
GENERAL STATEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY AND CRITICISM OF THE US OVER
NICARAGUA. CHINA, AS IN GORBACHEV'S MARCH PLENUM SPEECH. IS
SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL MENTION, BUT WITHOUT NOTICEABLE
ENTHUSIASM.

4. THE SPEECH AS A WHOLE CONFIRMS MY VIEW THAT GORBACHEV'S
NUMBER ONE PRIORITY IS THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY. EMPHASIS
ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE ''SOCIALIST'' COUNTRIES OF EASTERN
EUROPE CAN BE SEEN IN TERMS OF SOVIET SECURITY BUT IS ALSO DESIGNED
TO ENSURE CLOSER CONTROL OF THEIR ECONOMIES PARTICULARLY THOSE
LIKE HUNGARY AND THE GDR FROM WHICH NECESSARY ADVANCE TECHNOLOGY
MAY BE AVAILABLE. VIRTUALLY THE ONLY MENTION OF WESTERN EUROPE
(AND JAPAN) IN HIS SPEECH IS IN THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC,
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CO-OPERATION WHERE HIS LANGUAGE
IS VERY POSITIVE. THERE IS HOWEVER NO EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF A LINK

OF A LINK BETWEEN AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND AGREEMENT OVER ARMS CONTROL AND THE DIVERSION OF RESOURCES TO INTERNAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE SPEECH SUGGESTS THAT ON EAST/WEST RELATIONS GORBACHEV BELIEVES, OR AT LEAST WISHES THE WORLD AND THE SOVIET PUBLIC TO BELIEVE, THAT TIME IS ON HIS SIDE.

5. I HAVE THE FOLLOWING SPECIFIC COMMENTS:

(I) GENERAL

THE SPEECH IS NOTABLY UNIDEOLOGICAL. SOME OBSERVERS HAD EXPECTED THAT AS, IN HIS LENIN ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, ALIEV HAD ESCHEWED DOCTRINAL ARGUMENT WE WOULD HAVE MORE OF AN EX-CATHEDRA STATEMENT BY GORBACHEV. BUT THIS IS NOT HIS STYLE. THE ONLY PASSAGE WHERE HE RESORTS TO IDEOLOGICAL ARGUMENT IS THAT WHERE HE STATES THAT AT PRESENT LEVELS OF NEAR-MILITARY PARITY WE SHOULD HAVE A RETURN TO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORIC DISPUTE BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALISM BY NON-MILITARY MEANS - A THEME WHICH HE HAS EMPHASISED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS.

(II) COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

GORBACHEV SPEAKS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS 'ORGANICALLY COMBINING' RATHER THAN JUST COOPERATING. HE APPEARS TO MEAN GREATER EMPHASIS MEASURES OF ECONOMIC INTERGRATION BUT THERE ARE ECHOES OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.

(III) SOVIET/UNITED STATES RELATIONS

THE FIRST SESSION OF THE GENEVA TALKS IS PORTRAYED AS HAVING SHOWN THAT THE AMERICANS HAD NO WISH TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS THEY REFUSED TO TALK ABOUT AGREEMENT ON SPACE WEAPONS. THIS WAS AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE SHULTZ/GROMYKO ACCORD. I SEE THIS AS THE STRONGEST STATEMENT YET ON GENEVA BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND THE CLOSEST THEY HAVE COME TO SUGGESTING THAT THE TALKS MAY FAIL. GORBACHEV'S CONCLUSION THAT HE DOES NOT WANT AN RECURRENCE OF THE 'SAD EXPERIENCES' OF THE PREVIOUS TALKS COULD BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ANXIOUS NOT TO PAINT ITSELF INTO A CORNER AGAIN BUT CAN BE INTERPRETED AS AN IMPLIED WARNING TO THE AMERICANS THAT THEY COULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR AN ENSUING BREAKDOWN. GORBACHEV ALSO ENLARGES ON THE THEME OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC DOMINATION, PARTICULARLY OF THE THIRD WORLD. BUT IN DOING SO /HE HA

HE HAS LITTLE TO OFFER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BY WAY OF AN ALTERNATIVE. THE LANGUAGE ON US MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS, ALTHOUGH PARALLELED IN THE SOVIET PRESS, IS HARsher THAN HE HAS USED IN PRIVATE.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

SUTHERLAND

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EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

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RESEARCH D

PLANNING STAFF

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WED

ACDD NEWS . D

FED

NED

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