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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1091 OF 28 SEP

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON (FOR PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY)

IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK (FOR SSECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

IMMEDIATE UKDEL NATO

INFO PRIORITY ANKARA, ATHENS, BONN, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, LISBON,

LUXEMBOURG, MADRID, OSLO, OTTAWA, PARIS% REYKJAVIK, ROME,

THE HAGUE, UKDEL VIENNA, SOFIA, SBELGRADE, BUCHAREST,

BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN, WARSAW, PRAGUE,

INFO ROUTINE PEKING, TOKYO, HELSINKI

ANDROPOV ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

1. SOVIET TELEVISION AND RADIO HAVE TONIGHT, 28 SEPTEMBER, CARRIED A STATEMENT BY ANDROPOV ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT AS PUT OUT BY THE ENGLISH SERVICE OF TASS.

BEGINS. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP DEEMS IT NECESSARY TO MAKE KNOWN TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLES, AND ALL THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SHAPING THE POLICY OF STATES, ITS ASSESSMENT OF THE COURSE PURSUED IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BY THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION. TO SPEAK BRIEFLY, THIS IS A MILITARIST COURSE WHICH POSES A GRAVE THREAT TO PEACE. ITS ESSENCE IS TO TRY AND ASSURE FOR THE UNITED STATES DOMINEERING POSITIONS IN THE WORLD WITHOUT RECKONING WITH THE INTERESTS OF OTHER STATES AND PEOPLES. PRECISELY THESE AIMS ARE SERVED BY THE UNPRECEDENTED BUILDUP OF THE U.S. MILITARY POTENTIAL, LARGE-SCALE PROGRAMMES OF MANUFACTURING WEAPONS OF ALL TYPES -- NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND CONVENTIONAL. NOW IT PLANS TO SPREAD THE UNRESTRICTED ARMS RACE INTO OUTER SPACE TOO.

THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IS EXPANDED UNDER INVENTED PRETEXTS OF ALL SORTS, THOUSANDS OF KILOMETRES FROM U.S. TERRITORY. STRONGHOLDS ARE SET UP FOR DIRECT ARMED INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES, AND FOR THE USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS

AGAINST ANY COUNTRY WHICH REJECTS WASHINGTON'S DICTAT. AS A RESULT, TENSIONS HAVE GROWN WORLD-WIDE -- IN EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

OTHER NATO COUNTRIES ARE INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE DANGEROUS PLANS OF WASHINGTON. MOREOVER, EFFORTS ARE MADE TO REVIVE JAPANESE MILITARISM AND ATTACH IT TO THE BLOC'S MILITARY-POLITICAL MACHINE. WHEN DOING SO, ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO COMPEL PEOPLE TO FORGET THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

/ PEOPLES

PEOPLES JUDGE THE POLICY OF A GOVERNMENT FIRST OF ALL BY ITS ACTIONS. THAT IS WHY WHEN THE U.S. PRESIDENT IN HIS GRANDILOQUENT SPEECH FROM THE UNITED NATIONS ROSTRUM SPEAKS ABOUT COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE, SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOVEREIGNTY OF PEOPLES, THESE MERE DECLARATIONS CAN CONVINCE NO ONE.

EVEN IF SOMEONE HAD ANY ILLUSIONS AS TO THE POSSIBLE EVOLUTION FOR THE BETTER IN THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION, THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS HAVE FINALLY DISPELLED THEM. FOR THE SAKE OF ITS IMPERIAL AMBITIONS, IT GOES SO FAR THAT ONE BEGINS TO DOUBT WHETHER WASHINGTON HAS ANY BRAKES AT ALL PREVENTING IT FROM CROSSING THE MARK BEFORE WHICH ANY SOBER-MINDED PERSON MUST STOP.

THE SOPHISTICATED PROVOCATION, MASTERMINDED BY U.S. SPECIAL SERVICES WITH THE USE OF A SOUTH KOREAN PLANE, IS ALSO AN EXAMPLE OF EXTREME ADVENTURISM IN POLITICS. WE HAVE ELUCIDATED THE FACTUAL ASPECT OF THE ACTION IN A THOROUGH AND AUTHENTIC WAY. THE GUILT OF ITS ORGANISERS, NO MATTER HOW HARD THEY MIGHT DODGE AND WHAT FALSE VERSIONS THEY MIGHT PUT FORWARD, HAS BEEN PROVED.

THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED REGRET OVER THE LOSS OF HUMAN LIVES DUE TO THAT UNPRECEDENTED, CRIMINAL SUBVERSION. IT IS ON THE CONSCIENCE OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO ASSUME THE RIGHT NOT TO RECKON WITH THE SOVEREIGNTY OF STATES AND INVIOABILITY OF THEIR BORDERS, WHO MASTERMINDED AND CARRIED OUT THE PROVOCATION, WHO LITERALLY ON THE FOLLOWING DAY HASTILY PUSHED THROUGH CONGRESS COLOSSAL MILITARY SPENDING AND ARE NOW RUBBING THEIR HANDS WITH PLEASURE.

THUS, THE +HUMANISM+ OF STATESMEN WHO ARE SEEKING TO LAY THE BLAME FOR THE DEATH OF PEOPLE THAT WERE ABOARD THE PLANE ON OTHERS IS TURNING INTO NEW HEAPS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION -- FROM MX MISSILES TO NERVE GAS CONTAINERS.

IN THEIR STRIVING TO JUSTIFY IN SOME WAY THEIR DANGEROUS, INHUMAN POLICIES, THE SAME PEOPLE PILE HEAPS OF SLANDER ON THE SOVIET UNION, ON SOCIALISM AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM, WITH THE TONE BEING SET BY THE U.S. PRESIDENT HIMSELF. ONE MUST SAY BLUNTLY -- IT IS AN UNATTRACTIVE SIGHT WHEN, WITH A VIEW TO SMEARING THE SOVIET PEOPLE, LEADERS OF SUCH A COUNTRY AS THE UNITED STATES RESORT TO WHAT ALMOST AMOUNTS TO OBSCENITIES ALTERNATING WITH HYPOCRITICAL PREACHING ABOUT MORALS AND HUMANISM.

THE WORLD KNOWS WELL THE WORTH OF SUCH MORALIZING. IN VIETNAM, MORALITY, AS UNDERSTOOD BY LEADERS IN WASHINGTON, WAS BROUGHT HOME WITH NAPALM AND TOXIC AGENTS, IN LEBANON -- IT IS BEING HAMMERED IN BY SALVOES OF NAVAL GUNS, IN EL SALVADOR -- THIS MORALITY IS BEING IMPOSED BY GENOCIDE. AND THE LIST OF

CRIMES CAN BE CONTINUED. SO, WE DO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT THE MORAL ASPECT OF THE U.S. POLICY AS WELL: BOTH BY RECALLING HISTORY AND BY TALKING ABOUT THE PRESENT TIME.

NOW IN WASHINGTON, ALONG WITH MORALITY, THEY ALSO BREACH ELEMENTARY NORMS OF DECENCY, SHOWING DISREGARD NOT ONLY FOR STATESMEN AND STATES, BUT ALSO FOR THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION. A QUESTION ARISES: CAN THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION, CALLED UPON TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND SECURITY, REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY WHERE OUTRAGEOUS MILITARIST PSYCHOSIS IS IMPOSED AND THE GOOD NAME OF THE ORGANISATION IS INSULTED ?

UNDER THE COVER OF ANTI-COMMUNISM, CONTENDERS FOR THE ROLE OF RULERS OF THE DESTINIES OF THE WORLD ARE SEEKING TO IMPOSE THEIR ORDERS WHEREVER THEY DO NOT ENCOUNTER A REBUFF.

THE CONCEPTS THEMSELVES, USED TO JUSTIFY SUCH A MANNER OF ACTIONS, WOULD NOT ATTRACT ANY ATTENTION IF NOT FOR THE FACT THAT THEY ARE PREACHED BY LEADERS OF A MAJOR POWER, AND NOT MERELY PREACHED, BUT ARE PUT TO USE.

THE TRANSFERENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS TO THE SPHERE OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS HAS NEVER BENEFITED THE ONE WHO RESORTED TO IT IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS IS SIMPLY ABSURD AND INADMISSIBLE AT PRESENT, IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE BATTLE OF IDEAS INTO MILITARY CONFRONTATION WOULD BE TOO COSTLY FOR THE WHOLE OF MANKIND.

BUT THOSE WHO ARE BLINDED BY ANTI-COMMUNISM ARE NOT, PROBABLY, ABLE TO PONDER THAT. STARTING WITH THE SCARE OF THE +SOVIET MILITARY THREAT+, THEY HAVE NOW PROCLAIMED A +CRUSADE+ AGAINST SOCIALISM AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM. ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THAT THERE IS NO ROOM FOR SOCIALISM IN THE WORLD. BUT THEY DO NOT SPECIFY, THOUGH, THAT THEY MEAN THE WORLD ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON.

BUT WISHES AND POSSIBILITIES ARE FAR FROM BEING THE SAME THING. NO ONE WILL EVER BE ABLE TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF HISTORY. THE USSR AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WILL LIVE AND DEVELOP ACCORDING TO THEIR LAWS - LAWS OF THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL SYSTEM.

THE SOVIET STATE HAS SUCCESSFULLY OVERCOME MANY TRIALS, INCLUDING CRUCIAL ONES, DURING THE SIX AND A HALF DECADES OF ITS EXISTENCE. THOSE WHO ENCROACHED ON THE INTEGRITY OF OUR STATE, ITS INDEPENDENCE AND OUR SYSTEM FOUND THEMSELVES ON THE GARBAGE HEAP OF HISTORY. IT IS HIGH TIME THAT EVERYBODY TO WHOM THIS APPLIES UNDERSTOOD THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY, THE SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

SOVIET PEOPLE CAN REST ASSURED THAT OUR COUNTRY'S DEFENCE CAPABILITY IS MAINTAINED AT SUCH A LEVEL THAT IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR ANYONE TO STAGE A TRIAL OF STRENGTH.

ON OUR PART, WE DO NOT SEEK SUCH A TRIAL OF STRENGTH. THE VERY THOUGHT OF THIS IS ALIEN TO US. WE DO NOT SEPARATE, NOR, THE MORE SO, COUNTERPOSE THE WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLE, THE SECURITY OF THE SOVIET STATE TO THE WELL-BEING AND SECURITY OF OTHER PEOPLES, OTHER COUNTRIES. ONE SHOULD NOT LOOK AT THE WORLD IN THE NUCLEAR AGE THROUGH THE NARROW PRISM OF ONE'S SELFISH EGOISTIC INTERESTS. RESPONSIBLE STATESMEN HAVE ONLY ONE CHOICE -- TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PREVENT NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE. ANY OTHER POSITION IS SHORT-SIGHTED, THE MORE SO, IT IS SUICIDAL.

THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP DOES NOT HESITATE ABOUT WHAT LINE TO FOLLOW IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN THE PRESENT-DAY ACUTE SITUATION AS WELL. OUR COURSE REMAINS AIMED AT PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING PEACE, LESSENING TENSION, CURBING THE ARMS RACE AND EXPANDING AND DEEPENING COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES. THIS IS THE INVARIABLE WILL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, ALL SOVIET PEOPLE. THESE ARE, WE ARE CONVINCED, ALSO THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL PEOPLES.

OF COURSE, MALICIOUS ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET UNION PRODUCE HERE A NATURAL FEELING OF INDIGNATION, BUT OUR NERVES ARE STRONG, AND WE DO NOT BASE OUR POLICY ON EMOTIONS. IT RESTS ON COMMON SENSE, REALISM, PROFOUND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DESTINIES OF PEACE.

WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT MANKIND IS NOT DOOMED TO DESTRUCTION. THE ARMS RACEMCAN AND MUST BE TERMINATED. MANKIND DESERVES A BETTER FATE THAN LIVING IN A CONFLICT-TORN WORLD-SUFFOCATING UNDER THE BURDEN OF DEADLY WEAPONS.

BY ADVANCING FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS ON LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, BOTH STRATEGIC AND MEDIUM-RANGE IN EUROPE, WE SHOW OUR CONCERN NOT ONLY FOR THE SECURITY OF THE USSR, STATES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, BUT ALSO FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

AS TO THE U.S. POLICY, ITS GROWING MILITARISATION IS MANIFESTED AMONG OTHER THINGS IN THE UNWILLINGNESS TO CONDUCT SERIOUS TALKS OF ANY KIND, TO COME TO AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF CURBING THE ARMS RACE.

THE SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS ON THE BURNING PROBLEM -- REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS IN EUROPE -- HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR TWO YEARS NOW. THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET SIDE IS DIRECTED AT FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS ON A FAIR, JUST BASIS, SOLUTIONS WHICH DO NOT INFRINGE ANYONE'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THESE TWO YEARS MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR PARTNERS IN THE TALKS AT GENEVA ARE NOT AT ALL THERE TO REACH AN ACCORD. THEIR TASK IS DIFFERENT -- TO PLAY FOR TIME AND THEN START THE DEPLOYMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE OF BALLISTIC PERSHING 2 AND LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES. THEY DO NOT EVEN TRY TO CONCEAL THIS.

ALL THEY DO IS PRATTLE ABOUT SOME FLEXIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE GENEVA TALKS. ANOTHER PORTION OF SUCH +FLEXIBILITY+ HAS JUST MATERIALISED. AND THE DECEPTION CONTAINED IN IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THIS TIME AS WELL. TO LEAVE ASIDE DETAILS, THE ESSENCE OF THE SO-CALLED NEW MOVE IN THE U.S. POSITION, BILLED AS SUPERB, IS REDUCED TO THE PROPOSAL TO AGREE, AS BEFORE, ON HOW MANY SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES SHOULD BE REDUCED AND HOW MANY NEW AMERICAN MISSILES SHOULD BE DEPLOYED IN EUROPE IN ADDITION TO THE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL ALREADY POSSESSED BY NATO.

IN BRIEF, IT IS PROPOSED TO US TO TALK ON HOW TO HELP THE NATO BLOC UPSET TO ITS ADVANTAGE THE BALANCE OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS IN THE EUROPEAN ZONE. AND THIS MOVE IS PRESENTED BRAZENFACEDLY AS SOMETHING NEW.

THE OPERATION ON STATIONING THESE AMERICAN NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE IS SEEN FROM WASHINGTON'S CONTROL ROOM AS SIMPLE IN THE EXTREME AND MAXIMALLY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE UNITED STATES -- ADVANTAGEOUS AT THE EXPENCE OF EUROPE. THE U.S. EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE REGARDED AS HOSTAGES. THIS IS A FRANK, BUT CYNICAL POLICY. BUT HERE IS WHAT IS NOT REALLY CLEAR: DOES THIS THOUGHT OCCUR TO THOSE EUROPEAN POLITICAL FIGURES WHO, DISREGARDING THE INTERESTS OF THEIR PEOPLES, AND THE INTERESTS OF PEACE, HELP IMPLEMENT THE AMBITIOUS MILITARIST PLANS OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION ?

THERE SHOULD BE NO ROOM HERE FOR RETICENCE. IF, CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AMERICAN NUCLEAR MISSILES APPEAR ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, THIS WILL BE A STEP AGAINST PEACE OF A PRINCIPLED CHARACTER ON THE PART OF THE U.S. LEADERS AND LEADERS OF OTHER NATO COUNTRIES WHO ACT AS ONE WITH THEM.

WE DO NOT SEE EITHER THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE IS WILLING TO HANDLE IN EARNEST THE PROBLEM OF LIMITING AND REDUCING STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS. THEY IN THE AMERICAN CAPITAL ARE NOW BUSY LAUNCHING THE PRODUCTION OF EVER NEW SYSTEMS OF THESE ARMAMENTS AS WELL. THEY ARE TO BE FOLLOWED SHORTLY BY SUCH TYPES OF WEAPONS WHICH MAY RADICALLY ALTER THE NOTIONS OF STRATEGIC STABILITY AND THE VERY POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTIVE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

NO ONE SHOULD MISTAKE THE SOVIET UNION'S GOODWILL AND DESIRE TO COME TO AGREEMENT FOR A SIGN OF WEAKNESS. THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE A PROPER RESPONSE TO ANY ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE EXISTING MILITARY-STRATEGIC BALANCE, AND ITS WORDS AND DEEDS WILL NOT BE AT VARIANCE.

HOWEVER, WE ARE PRINCIPLED OPPONENTS OF THE COMPETITION IN THE PRODUCTION AND STOCKPILING OF WEAPONS OF MASS ANNIHILATION. THIS IS NOT OUR PATH. IT CANNOT LEAD TO A SOLUTION OF ANY

PROBLEM FACING MANKIND, I.E. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF STATES, CONSERVATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT, CREATION OF AT LEAST ELEMENTARY CONDITIONS FOR PEOPLE'S LIFE, THEIR DIET, HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

THE RELEASE OF MATERIAL RESOURCES, WRECKLESSLY WASTED ON THE ARMS RACE, AND THE UNFOLDING OF INEXHAUSTIBLE CREATIVE POTENTIALITIES OF MAN ARE THE THINGS THAT MAY UNITE PEOPLE, THIS IS WHAT SHOULD DETERMINE THE POLICY OF STATES ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES. TO IMPLEMENT ALL THAT, IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE FORCES OF MILITARISM BE CHECKED, AND THE WORLD THROUGH CONCERTED EFFORT BE KEPT FROM SLIDING INTO AN ABYSS.

ALL PEOPLES, EVERY INHABITANT OF OUR PLANET SHOULD REALISE THE IMMINENT DANGER -- TO REALISE IN ORDER TO POOL EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR OWN SURVIVAL.

MANKIND HAS NOT LOST, NOR CAN IT LOSE ITS REASON. THIS IS MANIFESTED WITH GREAT VIGOUR IN THE SCOPE OF THE ANTI-MISSILE, ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, HAVING MOUNTED IN THE EUROPEAN AND OTHER CONTINENTS, THE MOVEMENT WHICH DRAWS PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION.

ALL WHO RAISE TODAY THEIR VOICE AGAINST THE SENSELESS RACE OF ARMAMENTS AND IN DEFENCE OF PEACE CAN BE SURE THAT THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION, OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS DIRECTED AT ATTAINING PRECISELY THESE AIMS. THE USSR WISHES TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. IT DOES NOT NURTURE AGGRESSIVE PLANS, DOES NOT IMPOSE THE ARMS RACE ON ANYONE, DOES NOT IMPOSE ITS SOCIAL ORDERS ON ANYONE.

OUR ASPIRATIONS AND STRIVINGS ARE IMPLEMENTED IN CONCRETE PROPOSALS DIRECTED AT EFFECTING A DECISIVE TURN FOR THE BETTER IN THE WORLD SITUATION. THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO UPHOLD PEACE ON EARTH. ENDS.

2. FCO PLEASE ADVANCE DESKBY TO THE RESIDENT CLERK.

RATFORD

ADVANCED AS REQUESTED

FCO/WHITEHALL
EESD