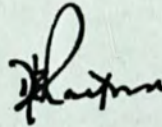


*Policy*

PS/Secretary of State

- //// 1. As requested by Mr Broomfield, I attach copies of:
- (i) the full text of Gorbachev's speech following his election as General Secretary:
  - (ii) Moscow telegram number 332 of 12 March summarising Mr Derek Thomas's discussions on 11 March with Vice-Minister Ryzhov:
  - (iii) a consolidated list of known heads of visiting delegations:
  - (iv) a first and incomplete account of Dumas's talks with Tikhonov and Gromyko on 11 March.



12 March 1985

D J E Ratford

cc: ✓ PS/Prime Minister  
N H R A Broomfield Esq

11/8 TASS U5-24

MIKHAIL GORBACHYOV'S SPEECH

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 1 (ONE) FIFTEEN TAKES

MOSCOW MARCH 11 TASS - FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE  
SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
MIKHAIL GORBACHYOV AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE:

DEAR COMRADES,

ALL OF US, ALL OUR PARTY AND COUNTRY ARE IN DEEP GRIEF.  
KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH CHERNENKO, A TRUE LENINIST, AN OUTSTANDING  
FIGURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIET  
STATE, OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, A PERSON WITH A  
RESPONSIVE HEART AND OF A BIG ORGANIZATIONAL TALENT, HAS PASSED  
AWAY.

KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH TRAVERSED A LONG AND GLORIOUS ROAD.  
EVERY POST, ASSIGNED TO HIM BY THE PARTY, EVER FULLER REVEALED  
HIS TALENT, ABILITY TO WORK WITH PEOPLE. AT THE POST OF THE  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET,  
KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH CHERNENKO DEVOTED ALL HIS EFFORTS AND  
KNOWLEDGE TO DEVELOPING THE ECONOMY OF THE COUNTRY, RAISING THE  
WELL-BEING AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE, ENSURING THE  
SECURITY OF MOTHERLAND, PRESERVING AND CONSOLIDATING PEACE ON  
EARTH.

KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH CHERNENKO GUARDED AS THE APPLE OF HIS  
EYE THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE COLLECTIVE CHARACTER  
OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND ITS POLITICAL  
BUREAU. HE ALWAYS SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE THAT THE PARTY ACT AT ALL  
LEVELS AS A CLOSE-KNIT, WELL-ADJUSTED AND SPIRITED ORGANISM. HE  
REGARDED THE UNITY OF IDEAS AND DEEDS OF THE COMMUNISTS AS AN  
EARNEST OF SUCCESSES, OF OVERCOMING SHORTCOMINGS, AS AN EARNEST  
OF STEADY ADVANCE.

THE STRATEGIC LINE, WORKED OUT AT THE 26TH CONGRESS, AT THE  
SUBSEQUENT PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH  
VIGOROUS PARTICIPATION OF YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV AND  
KONSTANTIN USTINOVICH CHERNENKO, HAS BEEN AND REMAINS UNCHANGED.  
THIS IS THE LINE TOWARDS SPEEDING UP THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL AND  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, TOWARDS PERFECTING ALL ASPECTS OF THE LIFE  
OF SOCIETY. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS RESTRUCTURING THE MATERIAL AND  
TECHNICAL BASE OF PRODUCTION.

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 3 (THREE)

THE POINT AT ISSUE IS THE PERFECTION OF THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL RELATIONS, ABOVE ALL ECONOMIC ONES. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS ALSO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL, QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF HIS LIFE AND WORK, OF HIS SPIRITUAL MAKEUP.

2

WE ARE TO ACHIEVE A DECISIVE TURN IN TRANSFERRING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY TO THE TRACKS OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT. WE SHOULD, WE ARE BOUND TO ATTAIN WITHIN THE BRIEFEST PERIOD THE MOST ADVANCED SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POSITIONS, THE HIGHEST WORLD LEVEL IN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF SOCIAL LABOUR.

IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE TASK WITH GREATER SUCCESS AND SPEED, IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE TO PERFECT PERSISTENTLY THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM AND THE ENTIRE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. BY TREADING THIS PATH, SELECTING OPTIMAL DECISIONS, IT IS IMPORTANT TO APPLY IN A CREATIVE WAY THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY. THIS MEANS INVARIABLY CARRYING OUT A PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY, STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP, EXPANDING THE RIGHTS, ENHANCING THE INDEPENDENCE OF ENTERPRISES, RAISING THEIR INTEREST IN THE END PRODUCT OF THEIR WORK. THIS MEANS

SUBORDINATING ULTIMATELY ALL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO THE INTERESTS OF SOVIET PEOPLE.

THE PARTY WILL INVARIABLY FOLLOW ITS SOCIAL POLICY. EVERYTHING IN THE NAME OF MAN, FOR THE BENEFIT OF MAN -- THE PROGRAMME PROVISION SHOULD BE FILLED WITH EVER DEEPER AND CONCRETE CONTENT. NATURALLY, THE IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS OF PEOPLE SHOULD BE BASED ON THEIR GROWING CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMON CAUSE. WHEREVER DEVIATIONS FROM THIS PRINCIPLE OCCUR, SOCIAL JUSTICE, WHICH IS A MAJOR FACTOR OF THE UNITY AND STABILITY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY, IS INVARIABLY - DISRUPTED.

THE PARTY REGARDS FURTHER PERFECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY, OF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE AS ONE OF THE VITAL TASKS OF DOMESTIC POLICY.

/MORE/

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 5 (FIVE)

3

TASKS HERE ARE MULTIFACETED. A GREAT DEAL IS BEING DONE IN THIS RESPECT. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS ENHANCING THE ROLE OF SOVIE ACTIVISATION OF TRADE UNIONS, KOMSOMOL, PEOPLE'S CONTROL, WORKERS' COLLECTIVES. LYING AHEAD IS PERSISTENT WORK ALONG THE OUTLINED, AND NEW DIRECTIONS.

DEEPENING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IS INSEPARABLY LINKED WITH ENHANCING SOCIAL AWARENESS. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATIONAL WORK IS MANIFESTED IN HOW WORKERS, COLLECTIVE FARMERS AND INTELLECTUALS PARTICIPATE IN THE SOLUTION OF BIG AND SMALL PROBLEMS, HOW THEY WORK, HOW THEY COMBAT SHORTCOMINGS. RAISING LABOUR AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF SOVIET PEOPLE, STRENGTHENING DISCIPLINE, INCULCATING PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM ARE BY WHAT THE RESULTS OF ALL OUR IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY ARE MEASURED.

/MORE/

112130 MAR 85

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11/3 TASS U-5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 6 (SIX)

IN DOING SO RESOLUTE MEASURES WILL BE CONTINUED FURTHER TO SET THINGS IN GOOD ORDER, TO REMOVE FROM OUR LIFE ALL ALIEN PHENOMENA, ALL ENCROACHMENTS ON THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY AND ITS CITIZENS, TO STRENGTHEN SOCIALIST LEGALITY.

WE MUST STILL FURTHER DEVELOP PUBLICITY IN THE WORK OF PARTY, STATE, GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. V.I. LENIN USED TO SAY THAT THE STATE IS STRONG BY THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES. OUR PRACTICE HAS FULLY CORROBORATED THAT CONCLUSION. THE BETTER INFORMED THE PEOPLE, THE MORE CONSCIOUSLY THEY ACT, THE MORE ACTIVELY THEY SUPPORT THE PARTY, ITS PLANS AND PROGRAMMATIC OBJECTIVES.

IN THE FOREIGN POLICY SPHERE OUR COURSE IS CLEAR AND CONSISTENT. THIS IS THE COURSE OF PEACE AND PROGRESS.

MORE

11/3 TASS U-5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 7 (SEVEN)

THE FIRST PRECEPT OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE IS TO PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN IN EVERY WAY THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP WITH OUR CLOSEST FRIENDS AND ALLIES -- THE COUNTRIES OF THE GREAT SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. WE WILL DO EVERYTHING THAT DEPENDS ON US TO EXPAND COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST STATES, TO ENHANCE THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF SOCIALISM IN WORLD AFFAIRS. WE WOULD LIKE A SERIOUS IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN RECIPROCITY, THIS IS QUITE POSSIBLE.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR LIBERATION FROM COLONIAL OPPRESSION. AND TODAY OUR SYMPATHIES GO OUT TO THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA WHICH ARE FOLLOWING THE ROAD OF CONSOLIDATING INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL RENOVATION. FOR US THEY ARE FRIENDS AND PARTNERS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A DURABLE PEACE, FOR BETTER AND JUST RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES.

MORE

112137 MAR 85

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ZCZC 008938

11/3 TASS U-5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 8 (EIGHT)

AS TO RELATIONS WITH CAPITALIST STATES, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THE FOLLOWING. WE WILL FIRMLY FOLLOW THE LENINIST COURSE OF PEACE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. TO GOODWILL THE SOVIET UNION WILL ALWAYS RESPOND WITH GOODWILL, AS IT WILL RESPOND WITH TRUST TO TRUST. BUT EVERYONE SHOULD KNOW THAT WE SHALL NEVER WAIVE THE INTERESTS OF OUR MOTHERLAND AND THOSE OF ITS ALLIES.

WE VALUE THE SUCCESSES OF THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS ACHIEVED IN THE 1970S AND ARE READY TO TAKE PART IN CARRYING ON WITH THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING PEACEFUL MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT AND NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. NEW STEPS ALONG THESE LINES COULD DULY MARK THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT VICTORY OVER HITLER FASCISM AND JAPANESE MILITARISM.

MORE

11/3 TASS U-5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 9 (NINE)

5

NEVER BEFORE HAS SO TERRIBLE A THREAT LOOKED SO LARGE AND DARK OVER MANKIND AS THESE DAYS. THE ONLY REASONABLE WAY OUT OF THE EXISTING SITUATION IS AGREEMENT OF THE CONFRONTING FORCES ON AN IMMEDIATE TERMINATION OF THE RACE IN ARMS, ABOVE ALL, NUCLEAR ARMS, ON EARTH AND ITS PREVENTION IN SPACE. AN AGREEMENT ON AN HONEST AND EQUITABLE BASIS WITHOUT ATTEMPTS AT +OUTPLAYING+ THE OTHER SIDE AND DICTATING TERMS TO IT. AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HELP ALL TO ADVANCE TOWARD THE CHERISHED GOAL -- THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION AND PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR GOOD, TOWARD THE COMPLETE REMOVAL OF THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR. THIS IS OUR FIRM CONVICTION.

MORE

112139 MAR 85

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ZCZC MOS940

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11/3 TASS U-5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 10 (TEN)

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL OPEN IN GENEVA TOMORROW. THE APPROACH OF THE U.S.S.R. TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS WELL KNOWN. I CAN ONLY REAFFIRM THAT: WE DO NOT STRIVE TO ACQUIRE UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES OVER THE UNITED STATES, OVER NATO COUNTRIES, FOR MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER THEM (SEMICOLON) WE WANT TERMINATION, AND NOT CONTINUATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND, THEREFORE, OFFER A FREEZE OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AN END TO FURTHER DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES (SEMICOLON) WE WANT A REAL AND MAJOR REDUCTION OF THE ARMS STOCKPILES, AND NOT THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVER NEW WEAPON SYSTEMS, BE IT IN SPACE OR ON EARTH.

WE WOULD LIKE OUR PARTNERS IN THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS TO UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION AND RESPOND IN KIND. THEN AGREEMENT WILL BE POSSIBLE. THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WOULD SIGH WITH RELIEF.

MORE

112140 MAR 85

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ZCZC #08941

11/3 TASS U5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 11 (ELEVEN)

THE CPSU IS AN INTERNATIONALIST PARTY IN ITS NATURE. PEOPLE ABROAD WHO HOLD THE SAME VIEWS AS WE MAY REST ASSURED: IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS THE PARTY OF LENIN WILL, AS ALWAYS, CLOSELY COOPERATE WITH FRATERNAL COMMUNIST, WORKERS' AND REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, AND WILL CHAMPION THE UNITY

AND ACTIVE COOPERATION OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.

COMRADES, THE SOLUTION OF THE COMPLEX TASKS WE ARE FACED WITH PRESUPPOSES A FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY AND A RISE IN ITS ORGANIZING AND GUIDING ROLE. THE CPSU HAS ALWAYS PROCEEDED AND PROCEEDS FROM LENIN'S IDEA THAT THE PRINCIPLED POLICY IS THE ONLY CORRECT ONE. SUCH A POLICY WHICH IS WORKED OUT COLLECTIVELY WILL BE IMPLEMENTED CONSISTENTLY AND UNDEVIATINGLY. THE PARTY IS PRECISELY THE FORCE WHICH WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE INTERESTS OF ALL CLASSES AND SOCIAL GROUPS, ALL NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES OF THE COUNTRY, RALLY THEM CLOSE TOGETHER AND MOBILISE THE PEOPLE'S ENERGIES FOR THE COMMON CAUSE OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION.

/MORE/

112144 MAR 85

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ZCZC #08942

11/3 TASS U5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 12 (TWELVE)

THE PARTY'S POLICY HAS BEEN AND WILL BE DIRECTED TOWARDS STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS, COLLECTIVE-FARM PEASANTRY AND INTELLIGENTSIA, AND TOWARDS STEADY STRENGTHENING OF FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF OUR GREAT MULTINATIONAL COUNTRY.

THE CPSU WILL IN EVERY WAY DEVELOP THE CREATIVE INITIATIVE OF THE YOUTH, SHOW CONCERN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN, AND FOR THE NEEDS AND REQUIREMENTS OF WAR VETERANS AND VETERAN WORKERS.

IN THE COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, IT IS OF IMPORTANCE AS NEVER BEFORE TO MAINTAIN THE DEFENSE CAPACITY OF OUR MOTHERLAND AT SUCH A LEVEL THAT POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS WOULD KNOW WELL: AN ENCROACHMENT UPON THE SECURITY OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS AND ITS ALLIES, UPON THE PEACEFUL LIFE OF SOVIET PEOPLE WILL MEET WITH A CRUSHING RETALIATORY STRIKE. OUR GLORIOUS ARMED FORCES WILL HAVE, IN FUTURE AS WELL, EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR THAT.

153 MAR 85

11/3 TASS U5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 13 (THIRTEEN)

PREPARATIONS FOR THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU HAVE NOW BEGUN ON A LARGE SCALE. A NEW EDITION OF THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME IS TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE CONGRESS. AND PROSPECTS FOR THE COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT FOR THE NEXT FIVE-YEAR-PLAN PERIOD AND FOR THE PERIOD ENDING IN THE YEAR 2000 ARE TO BE DETERMINED.

TIME CALLS FOR INTENSE, CREATIVE WORK OF ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM. IN ALL SECTORS EVERYWHERE THE COMMUNISTS SHOULD BE AN EXAMPLE OF THE DISCHARGE OF CIVIC DUTY, OF CONSCIENTIOUS WORK FOR THE GOOD OF SOCIETY, AND OF STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE LENINIST STYLE OF WORK. THIS APPLIES FIRST OF ALL TO THE PARTY CADRES, TO PARTY AND STATE LEADERS. THE CPSU WILL UNDEVIATINGLY PURSUE THE LINE TOWARDS INCREASING INSISTENCE ON HIGH STANDARDS, AND TOWARDS RAISING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ENTRUSTED WORK.

/MORE/

112153 MAR 85

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ZCZC MOS945

11/3 TASS U5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 14 (FOURTEEN)

AFTER THE END OF THE PLENARY MEETING, THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF REGIONAL COMMITTEES, AND ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE PLENARY MEETING WILL GO TO THEIR AREAS IN ORDER TO GET DOWN TO WORK WITH FRESH VIGOUR. A GOOD DEAL IS TO BE DONE. FIRST OF ALL, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETE WORK FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF THIS YEAR AND THEREBY TO ENSURE A CONFIDENT START OF THE NEXT FIVE-YEAR-PLAN PERIOD.

THE SEVERE WINTER HAS SOMEWHAT SLOWED DOWN THE ATTAINMENT OF PLANNED TARGETS IN A NUMBER OF SECTORS. IT MEANS THAT ONE SHOULD MUSTER ONE'S ENERGIES, TAP RESERVES AND MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO MAKE UP FOR WHAT HAS NOT YET BEEN DONE AND TO ATTAIN THE PLANNED TARGETS BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

COMRADES, THESE DAYS WE FEEL STILL MORE KEENLY HOW MIGHTY AND MONOLITHIC THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNISTS ARE AND HOW UNITED OUR SOVIET PEOPLE IS. AT THE RECENT ELECTIONS SOVIET PEOPLE AGAIN EXPRESSED UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR THE COURSE OF OUR PARTY AND THE STATE. THIS SUPPORT IS BOTH INSPIRING AND BINDING.

/MORE/



112156 MAR 85

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ZCZC MOS946

11/3 TASS U5-24

SPEECH--GORBACHYOV 15 (FIFTEEN)

TODAY THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLACED UPON ME THE COMPLEX AND BIG DUTIES OF GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. I AM WELL AWARE OF THE GREAT TRUST PUT IN ME AND OF THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY CONNECTED WITH THIS. IN THE FORTHCOMING WORK I COUNT ON THE SUPPORT AND ACTIVE ASSISTANCE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, ALTERNATE MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS A WHOLE. YOUR VERSATILE EXPERIENCE IS THE GIST OF THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF OUR PEOPLE. I PROMISE YOU, COMRADES, TO DO MY UTMOST TO FAITHFULLY SERVE OUR PARTY, OUR PEOPLE, AND THE GREAT LENINIST CAUSE.

ALLOW ME TO EXPRESS CONFIDENCE THAT, LOOKING AHEAD TO THE 27TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU, THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY, RALLIED ROUND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WILL DO EVERYTHING FOR OUR SOVIET MOTHERLAND TO BECOME STILL MORE RICH AND POWERFUL AND FOR THE CREATIVE FORCES OF SOCIALISM TO REVEAL THEMSELVES STILL MORE FULLY.

ITEM ENDS+++

112156 MAR 85

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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM MOSCOW 121025Z MARCH .  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 332 OF 12 MARCH  
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON  
INFO PRIORITY PARIS, BONN AND UKDEL NATO

POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS.  
FOLLOWING FROM DEREK THOMAS.

1. I SPENT SEVERAL HOURS YESTERDAY TALKING TO RYZHOV ( ONE OF THE DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTERS). UNFORTUNATELY, OTHER CALLS WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN MORE USEFUL EG ON KORNIENKO HAD TO BE CANCELLED.
2. AT LEAST HALF THE TIME WAS SPENT REPEATING ESTABLISHED POSITIONS ON BOTH SIDES, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE GENEVA TALKS. IN RESPONSE TO RYZHOV'S PREPARED STATEMENTS, I USED WHAT I HOPED WERE THOUGHT-PROVOKING ARGUMENTS. BUT THEY FAILED SIGNALLY TO PROVOKE MUCH THOUGHT BY RYZHOV.
3. IT EMERGED CLEARLY THAT THE OVERWHELMING CONCERN THAT THEY ARE STILL EMPHASISING IS SPACE. FOR THE MOMENT IT HAS ENTIRELY TAKEN OVER FROM OTHER CONCERNS, THOUGH MODERNISATION OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AND CONTINUED DEPLOYMENT OF INF WEAPONS GET A PERIODIC MENTION.
4. ON OUR OWN APPROACH ON SDI, THEY ARE TAKING THE VIEW ( AS REPORTED IN MOSCOW TELNO 319) THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS MOVED RIGHT AWAY FROM THE POSITION SHE EXPOUNDED TO GORBACHEV IN DECEMBER, AND HAS NOW GIVEN HER OUTRIGHT SUPPORT TO THE SDI PLAN. THEY RESOLUTELY IGNORE THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, SINCE THEY ASSUME THAT ONE WILL BE AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF THE OTHER. THEY ASSUME ALSO THAT THE REAL AMERICAN INTENTION IS TO DEPLOY IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE A SECURE FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY , AND THAT WE KNOW THIS.
5. IT FOLLOWS THAT AT PRESENT AND AT THIS LEVEL, THEY REJECT ABSOLUTELY ANY THOUGHT THAT, AS THE GENEVA TALKS PROCEED, THERE SHOULD BE DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS TO OVERALL DETERRENCE AS PART OF AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT. THE LOGIC OF THEIR POSITION IS THAT SUCH DISCUSSION WOULD SIMPLY BE PLAYING FOR TIME ON THE PART OF THE AMERICANS WHILE THEIR PLANS FOR DEVELOPING NEW OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS GO AHEAD, IN ORDER TO PUT THEM IN A POSITION OF ABSOLUTE SUPERIORITY. RYZHOV SAID IN TERMS THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY THE AMERICANS TO LEAVE SPACE ON ONE SIDE, OR TO ENGAGE IN "FRUITLESS DISCUSSION" ABOUT IT WOULD HAVE THE MOST NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE GENEVA TALKS. ( AT ANOTHER POINT IN THIS CONTEXT, HE USED THE SAME WORD IN RUSSIAN (VZRYV) AS WAS USED OF THE SOVIET WALK-OUT FROM THE INF NEGOTIATIONS).

6. IF RYZHOV'S APPROACH REFLECTS THE KIND OF LINE BEING TAKEN IN BRIEFING PAPERS FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, THE PRIME MINISTER'S TALKS WITH GORBACHEV TOMORROW WILL BE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO GET THROUGH TO HIM DIRECT, BOTH ON THE REALITIES OF THE STRATEGIC BATTLE GOING ON IN WASHINGTON, AND ON THE DANGERS FOR ALL OF US IF THE RUSSIANS PAINT THEMSELVES INTO A CORNER AGAIN BY TAKING AN OGER-SIMPLISTIC LINE ON WHAT THEY REFER TO AS THE "ORGANIC INTER-RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN THE THREE ELEMENTS.

RATFORD

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38/12

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ATTENDING PRESIDENT CHERNENKO'S FUNERAL

1. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND NATO COUNTRIES

BELGIUM: Foreign Minister Tindemans  
Chef de Cabinet Van Der Epst

CANADA: Prime Minister Mulroney

DENMARK: Prince Georg and Foreign Minister

FRANCE: President Mitterand and Foreign Minister Dumas

FRG: Prime Minister Kohl and Minister of Chancellery  
Shaudle

GREECE: Foreign Minister Haralambopoulos

ICELAND: HM Ambassador Moscow

IRELAND: President Hillery and Minister of Fisheries O'Toole

ITALY: President Pertini and Foreign Minister Andreotti

LUXEMBOURG: Minister of Health and Social Security

NETHERLANDS: Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Van Den Bor  
Den Bork

NORWAY: Crown Prince Harald and Prime Minister

PORTUGAL: Assembly President Amaral

SPAIN: Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez (and possibly Foreign  
Minister Moran)

TURKEY: Prime Minister Ozal and Foreign Minister

UNITED STATES: Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz

2. OTHERS

JAPAN: Prime Minister Nakasone and Foreign Minister Abe

INDIA: Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi

PAKISTAN: President Zia ul Haq and Foreign Minister Khan

JORDAN: Prime Minister Ahmed Obaidat and Foreign Minister  
Al Masri

CANADA: Prime Minister Mulroney

FINLAND: President Koivisto and Prime Minister Sorsa

SWEDEN: Prime Minister and Crown Prince Berthold

AUSTRALIA: Minister of Industry, Senator Button

NEW ZEALAND High Commissioner in London

AUSTRIA: President Kirschlager

CHINA: Vice Premier Li Peng and Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen

TANZANIA: Secretary General of Party, Rashed M Kawawa (provisional Head of Delegation)

NIGERIA: Minister of Defence, Major General D Y Bali

LEBANON: President Gemayel

EGYPT: Dr Sophi Abdel Hakim, Speaker of Consultative Council and Secretary General of ruling party

ALGERIA: Politburo member and leader of Central Committee Secretariat, Mohammed Cherif Messadia

YAR: Abdul Aziz, Prime Minister

LIBYA: Prime Minister

MOROCCO: Prime Minister Al Karim Lamrani

PDRY: President Ali Nasser Mohammed

TUNISIA: Representative of President Al-Munji Al-Kaal

SYRIA: Abdullah El-Ahmar, Assistant Secretary General of Ba'ath party. Farouk Shara, Minister of Foreign Affairs

IRAQ: Abdul Aziz Aldouri, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Council. Tariz Aziz, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

KUWAIT: Abdul Rachman Salem Al Atiqui, Adviser of the Amir

PLO: Yasser Arafat, Farouk Abdoumi, Mahmoud Abbas

SUDAN: Second Vice-President Joseph Lagu

ZIMBABWE: President Canaan Banana

BANGLADESH: Deputy Marshal Law Administrator Sultan Ahmed

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar

GR 69

# RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

FROM MOSCOW 121735Z MARCH  
TO PRIORITY FCO  
INFO TELEGRAM NUMBER 341 OF 12 MARCH  
PRIORITY PARIS, WASHINGTON, BONN AND UKDEL

Date of .....		
Received in registry		
NATO 12 MAR 1985		
Dist. Office		Priority
INDEX	PA	ACTION
	1	2
		NONE

MIPT : VISIT BY THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER.

1. DUMAS ARRIVED LATE ON 10 MARCH FOR WHAT WAS TO HAVE BEEN A TWO DAY PROGRAMME OF TALKS. DESPITE CHERNENKO'S DEATH, GROMYKO YESTERDAY GAVE HIM TWO SESSIONS TOTALLING SIX HOURS, PLUS LUNCH, AND HE HAD AN HOUR WITH TIKHONOV. NO COMMUNITY BRIEFING CAN BE ARRANGED UNTIL 15 MARCH BUT THE FRENCH EMBASSY GAVE US THE FOLLOWING BRIEF HIGHLIGHTS BY TELEPHONE.

2. THE MEETING WITH TIKHONOV WAS LARGELY DEVOTED TO BILATERAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND BROUGHT NOTHING OF NOTE

3. THE MAIN WEIGHT OF DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO WAS ON ARMS CONTROL AND EAST/WEST RELATIONS. DUMAS EVIDENTLY GAVE A NEW PUFF FOR THE FRENCH INITIATIVE OF JUNE 1984 ON SPACE (UKDIS GENEVA TELNO 72 OF 13 JUNE 1984). BUT THE FRENCH TELL US THAT IN SPEAKING IN SUPPORT OF THE GENEVA PROCESS HE ARGUED THAT SDI RESEARCH WOULD NOT (NOT) INEVITABLY LEAD TO DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT. GROMYKO FOLLOWED THE CURRENT STANDARD SOVIET LINE, QUESTIONING AMERICAN INTENTIONS AT GENEVA AND CRITICISING SDI. BUT ON INF HE MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR DETERRENTS AND IT WAS DUMAS WHO TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN SETTING OUT FRENCH ARGUMENTS WHY THEIR SYSTEMS SHOULD NOT BE COUNTED IN.

4. OTHER SUBJECTS TOUCHED ON WERE :

(I) THE CDE, WHERE THE FRENCH APPARENTLY SAID THAT NON-FIRST USE OF FORCE WAS NOT IMPOSSIBLE IN PRINCIPLE, BUT THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD FIRST CONSIDER THE SPECIFIC MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE WEST :

(II) THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE GROMYKO FISHED FOR FRENCH VIEWS ABOUT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE PLO, AND CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT A RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE PLO AND SYRIANS :

(III) GROMYKO WAS TOUGH ON THE AMERICANS OVER NICARAGUA. HIS ALLEGATIONS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS THERE GAVE DUMAS THE OPENING FOR RAISING KAMPUCHEA AND AFGHANISTAN :

(IV) HUMAN RIGHTS WERE DEALT WITH TETE-A-TETE.

5. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER ON 15 MARCH.

SUTHERLAND

70/12

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85

FROM UKDIS GENEVA 131125Z JUNE 1984  
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
 TELNO 72 OF 13 JUNE  
 INFO PRIORITY PARIS, MODUK (DS 17),  
 INFO ROUTINE UKDEL NATO, WASHINGTON, BONN, MOSCOW

Destroy after	
Register	2741 (19)
Received	14 JUN 1984 (21)
Desk	
PRIORITY	1 2 NONE

FROM GORDON

FRENCH STATEMENT TO THE CD ON ARMS CONTROL IN OUTER SPACE

1. AT FIRST PLENARY OF CD SUMMER SESSION ON 12 JUNE, LA GORCE (FRANCE) SPOKE ON ABM AND ASAT DEVELOPMENTS (TEXT BY FAX TO ACDD). MAIN POINTS AS FOLLOWS.
2. LA GORCE REVIEWED IN SOME DETAIL THE HISTORY OF ABM LIMITATIONS AND THE POTENTIALLY DESTABILISING EFFECTS OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND / OR DEPLOYMENT OF ABM'S AND PROPOSED THAT INTERESTED PARTIES AND IN PARTICULAR THE US AND USSR SHOULD BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO VERIFIABLE LIMITATION OF NEW ABM TECHNOLOGY. THE CD WAS UNIVERSALLY FELT TO BE THE APPROPRIATE MULTILATERAL FORUM, BUT HE ALSO RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF BILATERAL US/USSR DIALOGUE. GIVEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ABM AND ASAT SYSTEMS THESE TWO SHOULD BE CONSIDERED SIMULTANEOUSLY AND IN DEPTH. DEMILITARISATION OF SPACE WAS NO LONGER FEASIBLE NOR DESIRABLE BUT AGREEMENTS COMPRISING THE FOLLOWING THREE UNDERTAKINGS WERE POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE.
3. FIRST, THEY SHOULD PREVENT DESTABILISING MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS BUT NOT MILITARY ACTIVITY TENDING TO CONTRIBUTE TO STRATEGIC STABILITY AND VERIFICATION OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS.
4. SECOND, THEY SHOULD BE GRADUATED, AFFECTING FIRST DEVELOPMENTS TENDING TO HAVE AN IRREVERSIBLE EFFECT ON THE STRATEGIC BALANCE.
5. THIRDLY, THEY SHOULD BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE.
6. ACCORDINGLY LA GORCE CALLED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON FOUR POINTS:
  - (A) STRICT LIMITATION OF ASAT SYSTEMS, ESPECIALLY HIGH ALTITUDE SYSTEMS
  - (B) A BAN INITIALLY FOR FIVE YEARS, ON DEPLOYMENT OF DIRECTED ENERGY (I.E. PARTICLE OR LASER) ABM OR ASAT WEAPONS AND ON THEIR TESTING.
  - (C) STRENGTHENING OF THE 1975 CONVENTION ON DECLARATION AND DESCRIPTION OF SATELLITES WITH A VIEW TO ENHANCING VERIFICATION
  - (D) THE USA AND USSR TO EXTEND BILATERALLY AGREED ASSURANCES OF NON-INTERFERENCE WITH SATELLITES TO THOSE OF THIRD PARTIES.
7. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE FRENCH DELEGATION THAT THE TEXT OF LA GORCE'S SPEECH WAS RECEIVED AT VERY SHORT NOTICE FROM PARIS. IN THE ABSENCE OF WESTERN AMBASSADORS AT THE GERMAN CW WORKSHOP, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE REACTION SO FAR.

CROMARTIE

12/14

RESTRICTED

NNNN N

DWF F 21/12

LL0 822/12

ZZ FCO

GR 40

UNCLASSIFIED

FM MOSCOW 121230Z MAR 85

TO FLASH FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 335 OF 12TH MAR 85

MY TELNO 329 OF 12 MARCH: DEATH OF CHERNENKO: ATTENDANCE

1. DEPUTY MARSHAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR, MR SULTAN AHMAD (BANGLADESH) HAS ALSO MADE REQUEST FOR BILATERAL WITH PRIME MINISTER.

RATFORD

NNNN

1238/12

[H/Sou 3]

(H/Protocol)

170/542

W JENKINS

PS/210

FLASH

ADVANCE COPY  
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