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FM MOSCOW 241600Z APR 85

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 568 OF 24TH APRIL 85

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, 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 SUSPICION 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 LATIN AMERICA 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.

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EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

LIMITED

SOVIET D

DEFENCE D

RESEARCH D

PLANNING STAFF

EED

NAD

WED

ACDD NEWS D

FED

NED

PUSD

ES

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/MR RIFKIND

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DEREK THOMAS

SIR W HARDING

MR FERGUSSON

MR GOODALL

MR JENKINS

MR WESTON

MR DAVID THOMAS

GR 800

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

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INFO ROUTINE EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, HELSINKI, TOKYO, PEKING. M

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM OF 23 APRIL

1. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF GORBACHEV'S ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN HIS SPEECH AS PUBLISHED ON 24 APRIL.

A) GENERAL SOVIET OUTLOOK

INVOKING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY GORBACHEV CONFIRMED SOVIET ADHERENCE TO A POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CORRECT, EQUITABLE AND CIVILISED INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROVIDED IMPERIALISM ABANDONED ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE MILITARILY THE HISTORICAL DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO SOCIAL SYSTEMS. PARITY BETWEEN NATO AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WAS IMPORTANT AND SHOULD BE MAINTAINED: IT CURBED NATO'S AGGRESSIVE APPETITE. THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES WOULD HAVE EVERYTHING NEEDED IN ORDER TO DEFEND THE HOMELAND AND ITS ALLIES FROM BEING CAUGHT UNAWARES.

B) US AIMS AT WORLD DOMINATION

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE TROUBLED AND DANGEROUS INTERNATIONAL SITUATION LAY WITH THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WAS SABOTAGING DISARMAMENT, ATTEMPTING TO SPREAD THE ARMS RACE TO SPACE, CREATING SEATS OF CONFLICT (CF NICARAGUA AND GRENADA). THE AMERICANS WERE ENGAGED IN ECONOMIC AGGRESSION, DISORGANISING AND UNDERMINING THE WORLD ECONOMY AND TRADE SYSTEM. THROUGH CONTROL OVER FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES IN THIRD COUNTRIES THE US WAS PRESSING THEM INTO THE SERVICE OF ITS MILITARY PROGRAMME. IT WAS NOT SURPRISING THAT INTEREST HAD BEEN AROUSED IN NEW MEASURES TO NORMALISE ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND TO ENSURE STATES' ECONOMIC SECURITY. /c.

C) CMEA AND THE WARSAW PACT

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THERE SHOULD BE CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN CMEA COUNTRIES IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND DEFENCE FIELDS. THEIR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS SHOULD BE "ORGANICALLY COMBINED", THE MARCH WARSAW PACT "SUMMIT" (IE THE MEETING IN MOSCOW FOLLOWING CHERNENKO'S FUNERAL) HAD UNANIMOUSLY AGREED THAT THE WARSAW PACT MUST CONTINUE SO LONG AS NATO EXISTED.

D) CHINA

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THE SOVIET UNION WOULD CONTINUE PERSISTENTLY AND WITH A SENSE OF PURPOSE TO STRENGTHEN MUTUAL TIES AND DEVELOP COOPERATION WITH OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

E) ASIA ,AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

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THE SOVIET UNION FAVOURED FURTHER EXPANSION OF COOPERATION WITH COUNTRIES FROM THESE REGIONS AND WOULD SUPPORT THEIR RIGHT TO SHAPE THEIR OWN FUTURE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

F) CSCE

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THE POLITBURO CONSIDERED THAT INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE PERIOD OF DETENTE INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT REMAINED SIGNIFICANT. THEY OFFERED AN EXAMPLE OF HOW INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COULD BE CONSTRUCTED ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, AND MUTUAL SECURITY. ON THE OCCASION OF THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CSCE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR SIGNATORY STATES TO MEET IN HELSINKI AGAIN TO RENEW THEIR WILL TO OVERCOME TENSION AND DEVELOP PEACEFUL COOPERATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

G) EAST WEST TRADE

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THE SOVIET UNION WANTED FRUITFUL COOPERATION IN THE ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL FIELDS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AND ON A BASIS OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND WAS READY TO EXPAND TRADE RELATIONS AND TO DEVELOP NEW FORMS OF ECONOMIC LINKS. FAVOURABLE OPPORTUNITIES EXISTED DESPITE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. THE SOVIET UNION STOOD FOR EXTENSIVE AND DIVERSIFIED MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION WITH EST EUROPEAN STATES, JAPAN AND OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

H) US/SOVIET RELATIONS

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THE SOVIET UNION WAS READY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THERE WAS NO FATAL INEVITABILITY OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. BUT BRIDGES OF COOPERATION HAD TO BE BUILT FROM BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER THE FIRST STAGE OF THE GENEVA TALKS SHOWED THAT WASHINGTON DID NOT SEEK AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION. BY REFUSING TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF PREVENTING THE ARMS RACE FROM SPREADING TO SPACE SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION AND REDUCTION, THE US WAS VIOLATING THE ACCORD REACHED IN JANUARY.

CERTAIN CIRCLES IN THE US STILL AIMED AT ATTAINING A DOMINANT MILITARY POSITION. SUCH AIMS WERE DOOMED. THE SOVIET UNION HOPED THAT THE US WOULD CHANGE THEIR POSITION AND THUS MAKE POSSIBLE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS. THE SOVIET SIDE WAS READY FOR THIS. GORBACHEV REHEARSED SOVIET PROPOSALS ON ARMS CONTROL. THE HASTE WITH WHICH THE US ADMINISTRATION HAD DISMISSED THEM WAS SURPRISING. IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE AN ARMS RACE AND DISARMAMENT TALKS. THOSE ENGAGED IN A POLITICAL GAME RATHER THAN SERIOUS POLITICS SHOULD TAKE NOTE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD NOT LIKE TO HAVE A RECURRENCE OF THE UNFORTUNATE EXPERIENCE OF THE PREVIOUS TALKS.

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SOVIET D

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