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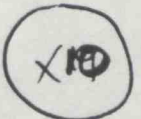
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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 674 OF 8TH MAY 85

INFO IMMEDIATE BONN, MODUK, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO,

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PRIORITY EAST EUROPEAN POSTS AND OTHER NATO POSTS, DUBLIN
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MY TELNO 673 (NOT TO ALL) WHICH RECORDS THE DAY'S EVENTS: THE
FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY: GORBACHEV'S SPEECH OF 8 MAY.

SUMMARY

1. IN HIS SPEECH AT THE CEREMONIAL MEETING IN THE KREMLIN GORBACHEV WAS GRUDGING IN HIS REFERENCE TO THE ALLIED CONTRIBUTION TO VICTORY AND HARSHLY CRITICAL IN HEAVILY IDEOLOGICAL TERMS ABOUT PAST AND CURRENT AMERICAN AND WESTERN POLICIES. A REFERENCE TO STALIN AS HEAD OF THE STATE DEFENCE COMMITTEE PRODUCED PROLONGED APPLAUSE.

DETAIL

ROLE OF THE WESTERN ALLIES

2. GORBACHEV EMPHASISED IN STANDARD TERMS THE PREDOMINANT ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE WAR, THE OUTCOME OF WHICH HAD BEEN DECIDED ON THE SOVIET GERMAN FRONT.
3. HE PAID TRIBUTE TO THE VALOUR OF THE ALLIED ARMIES OF THE US, BRITAIN AND FRANCE WHICH HE PUT AT THE HEAD OF A LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE WAR INCLUDING THE PARTISANS AND ARMED FORCES OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND CONCLUDING WITH GERMAN COMMUNISTS.
4. THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAD NOT FORGOTTEN AND WAS GRATEFUL FOR THE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THE ALLIES ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT AS GREAT AS THE WEST LIKED TO SAY. THE OPENING, ALTHOUGH BELATED, OF THE SECOND FRONT HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION.
5. REFERRING TO THE "GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFEAT OF MILITARIST JAPAN" BY THE SOVIET UNION, HE REFERRED TO COOPERATION WITH THE "GREAT CHINESE PEOPLE" AND MONGOLIAN TROOPS ETC. BUT SAID NOTHING ABOUT THE US OR BRITAIN.
6. THE MUNICH POLICY OF THE WESTERN POWERS HAD BROUGHT TERRIBLE

6. THE MUNICH POLICY OF THE WESTERN POWERS HAD BROUGHT TERRIBLE TRAGEDY TO EUROPE. IT WAS CRIMINAL TO REFUSE THE SOVIET UNION'S REPEATED CALLS TO FORM A UNITED FRONT. THE WESTERN LEADERS HAD BEEN BLINDED BY THEIR HATRED OF SOCIALISM.

7. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH FIRST SOUNDED THE ALARM ABOUT THE DANGERS OF FACISM. IT TOOK THE OCCUPATION OF MOST OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE FALL OF PARIS, THE BOMBING OF LONDON AND THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOUR TO PUT AN END TO ''CYNICAL CALCULATIONS'' AND ''GROUNDLESS HOPES''.

8. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION SHOWED THAT SOCIALLY OPPOSED STATES COULD POOL THEIR EFFORTS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY, FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS AND WORK EFFECTIVELY FOR THE SAKE OF A COMMON AIM.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

9. THE STATES OF THE GREAT SOCIALIST COMMUNITY POSSESSED PRICELESS EXPERIENCE AND A WELL-ADJUSTED MECHANISM FOR CONCERTING THEIR POLICIES. THEY WERE UNITED ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AND CONSISTENTLY UPHELD THE COURSE OF PEACE AND DISARMAMENT AND THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE.

10. FOLLOWING THE WAR THE SPHERE OF DOMINATION BY IMPERIALISM HAD MARKEDLY NARROWED AND THE ALIGNMENT OF FORCES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST WORLD HAD CHANGED. THE CLAIMS OF THE US RULING CLASS TO WORLD HEGEMONY HAD APPEARED TO BE PROMOTED BY THE FACT THAT IT WAS THE ONLY BIG COUNTRY TO HAVE ''ENRICHED ITSELF'' FABULOUSLY BY THE WAR.

11. ALREADY IN THE EARLY POST WAR YEARS IMPERIALIST REACTION HAD TRIED TO TAKE A KIND OF HISTORICAL REVENGE AND PUSH BACK THE POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES. THE US HAD USED ITS TEMPORARY MANIPULATING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS FOR MILITARY AND POLITICAL PRESSURES. THE COLD WAR WAS AN ATTEMPT BY BELLIGERENT CIRCLES IN THE WEST TO ''REPLAY'' THE RESULTS OF THE WORLD WAR AND DEPRIVE THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND WORLD PROGRESSIVE FORCES OF THE FRUITS OF VICTORY.

12. THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES WAS GROWING MORE BELLICOSE AND HAD BECOME A CONSTANT NEGATIVE FACTOR IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS. THE AGGRESSIVE AMBITIONS OF THE RULING ELITE OF THE US WERE REFLECTED IN ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE THE MILITARY STRATEGIC BALANCE TO STEP UP THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND MILITARISE SPACE. GORBACHEV REFERRED ALSO TO ''BARBAROUS DOCTRINES'' OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR

REFERRED ALSO TO "BARBAROUS DOCTRINES" OF THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TO "STATE TERRORISM" AGAINST NICARAGUA AND THE "UNDECLARED WAR" AGAINST AFGHANISTAN.

13. HE REFERRED TO THE INCREASED DANGERS OF "WEST GERMAN REVANCHISM" WHICH THE PRESENT UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP WAS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN REVIVING.

14. THE LEADERS OF THE SEVEN PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST STATES WHO MET RECENTLY IN BONN HAD RAISED A HAND EVEN AGAINST THE TERRITORIALLY POLITICAL REALITIES WHICH HAD RESULTED FROM THE DEFEAT OF HITLER GERMANY. "THERE WERE POLITICIANS THERE READY TO FORGET OR EVEN JUSTIFY THE SS MURDERS AND MOREOVER PAY HONOUR TO THEM WHICH IS AN INSULT TO THE VERY MEMORY OF MANKIND, OF THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE SHOT BURNED AND GASSED".

15. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT PERMIT THE MILITARY STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA, THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO TO BE DESTROYED BECAUSE IT HAD LEARNED ONCE AND FOR ALL THE LESSON TAUGHT BY THE PAST.

16. ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION REMAINED COMPLICATED AND EVEN DANGEROUS, THERE WERE REALISTIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR CURBING THE FORCES OF MILITARISM. THERE WAS A GROWING CONVICTION IN THE MINDS OF PEOPLE THAT A WORLD WITHOUT WARS AND WEAPONS WAS PRACTICABLY ATTAINABLE. THIS CONVICTION WAS SUPPORTED BY THE EXPERIENCE OF THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF PRACTICAL RESULTS IN COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES OF THE TWO SYSTEMS.

17. THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT WOULD KEEP GROWING, THUS MAKING ADVENTURIST ACTIONS BY THE FORCES OF AGGESSION MORE DIFFICULT.

18. THE COURSE OF EVENTS COULD BE CHANGED SHARPLY IF TANGIBLE SUCCESSES WERE ACHIEVED AT THE GENEVA TALKS. "SUCH IS OUR CONVICTION". THE EXPERIENCE OF THE 1970S HAD BEEN PRICELESS. GOOD FOUNDATIONS HAD THEN BEEN LAID FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE STATES OF THE TWO SYSTEMS ON SUCH SENSITIVE ISSUES AS SECURITY. BUT THE RESULTS COULD HAVE BEEN MORE CONSIDERABLE HAD THE WEST DISPLAYED A RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE TO THE SUCCESSES OF DETENTE.

19. THE SOVIET UNION FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT THE PROCESS OF DETENTE SHOULD BE REVIVED. THIS DID NOT MEAN JUST A RETURN TO WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE '70S BUT AN ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE SOMETHING GREATER. DETENTE WAS NOT THE FINAL AIM OF POLITICS BUT A TRANSITIONAL STAGE TO A RELIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL

TRANSITIONAL STAGE TO A RELIABLE AND COMPREHENSIVE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

20. GORBACHEV REFERRED TO THE ENORMOUS WORK DURING THE WAR BY THE PARTY, ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE DEFENCE COMMITTEE HEADED BY STALIN. EARLIER HE REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE ROLE OF MARSHAL ZHUKOV.

21. THE SOVIET ECONOMY HAD WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF WAR WITH HONOUR. THE SOCIALIST ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE HAD CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATED ITS ADVANTAGES. THE EFFICIENCY OF THE USSR'S WAR ECONOMY HAD BEEN ENSURED BY THE IMMUTABLE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE PLAN, DISCIPLINE, INITIATIVE, INVENTIVENESS, BOLD IDEAS AND SELFLESS LABOUR.

22. THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM WOULD EFFECTIVELY SERVE SOVIET SOCIETY IN NEW HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AS WELL. BUT IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE URGENT MEASURES WHICH WERE IN MANY WAYS NEW IN ORDER TO BRING SOCIALIST ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT INTO ACCORD WITH PRESENT DAY CONDITIONS AND LONG TERM NEEDS.

23. REFERRING TO THE STYLE OF WORK IN THE PARTY, GORBACHEV CALLED FOR FEWER WORDS AND PROMISES AND MORE DEEDS, A MORE RESPONSIBLE AND PRINCIPLED ATTITUDE, MORE CONCERN FOR PEOPLES' NEEDS AND PERSONAL MODESTY.

COMMENT

24. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH WAS WELL DELIVERED BUT THE CONTEXT BLEAK, SUGGESTING A DRAFT PREPARED BY THE ORTHODOX IDEOLOGUES OF THE PARTY APPARATUS TO WHICH HE HAD ADDED SOME PERSONAL TOUCHES, PARTICULARLY IN THE PASSAGES ON THE ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO HAD SEEN THE WAR AS CHILDREN AND ON THE CURRENT TASKS BEFORE THE SOVIET PARTY AND PEOPLE. THE CENTRAL THEME WAS THE WAR AS THE GREAT PATRIOTIC TEST WHICH HAD PROVED THE VALIDITY OF THE CHANGES IN SOVIET SOCIETY BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE REVOLUTION AND WHICH HAD RESULTED IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THE FORCES ASSOCIATED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HIS ACCOUNT OF THE WESTERN POWERS, PRIOR TO 1941 IS A GROSS DISTORTION OF THE HISTORICAL RECORD. THE PASSAGES ON THE ROLE OF THE WAR-TIME ALLIES WERE NOT ONLY GRUDGINLY BUT MORE CREDIT WAS GIVEN TO THE PARTISAN MOVEMENTS LINKED TO MOSCOW WHICH ARE TODAY REPRESENTED IN

PARTISAN MOVEMENTS LINKED TO MOSCOW WHICH ARE TODAY REPRESENTED IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT. THE VICTORY OF 1945 HAD BEEN PRIMARILY ACHIEVED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION, A VICTORY WHICH HAD LEFT CAPITALISM AND COLONIALISM WEAKENED AND THE UNITED STATES THE PRINCIPAL ANTAGONIST.

25. ALL THIS HAS BEEN SAID BEFORE BY THE PARTY HACK HISTORIANS. THAT GORBACHEV SHOULD REPEAT IT AT LENGTH IS FURTHER CONFIRMATION THAT HE IS NOT A MAN TO CHALLENGE THE ESTABLISHED DOGMA, NOR, DESPITE HIS REAFFIRMATION OF DETENTE, DISPOSED TO TEMPER THE ANTI WESTERN AND SPECIFICALLY ANTI-AMERICAN IMPLICATIONS IN THE INTEREST OF BETTER EAST/WEST RELATIONS.

FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING ADDRESSEES.

SUTHERLAND

BT

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
AND THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE SPACE AND AERONAUTICAL ADMINISTRATION
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION
AND THE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

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