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OUR TELNOS 1700-1702: VISIT OF ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER

SUMMARY

1. DE MITA VISITED THE SOVIET UNION ON 13-16 OCTOBER AND WAS GIVEN A BUSY PROGRAMME. A FULL DAY OF TALKS, A DAY OF TRADE AND CULTURE EVENTS AND A VISIT TO LENINGRAD. THE RUSSIANS LAY ON THE CHARM.

DETAIL

2. CHIRIACO DE MITA, THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER, VISITED THE SOVIET UNION ON 13-16 OCTOBER. ON 14 OCTOBER HE HAD TWO HOURS OF TALKS WITH GORBACHEV, JOINED LATTERLY BY ANDREOTTI AND SHEVARDNADZE. A PLENARY SESSION FOLLOWED, INVOLVING THE NUMEROUS MINISTERIAL TEAM, WHICH CONCENTRATED ON TRADE, ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. DOCUMENTS WERE SIGNED ON SPACE RESEARCH, A LINE OF CREDIT AND A JOINT VENTURE. THERE FOLLOWED A KREMLIN BANQUET TO WHICH SOME OF THE 2,000 BUSINESSMEN TRAVELLING WITH DE MITA WERE INVITED.

3. ON 15 OCTOBER, DE MITA AND GORBACHEV JOINTLY OPENED THE EXHIBITION 'ITALY - 2000', THE ORIGINAL REASON FOR HIS VISIT. THE TWO LEADERS THEN TOURED THE ARENA STOPPING AT THE STANDS OF MAIN GROUP, (A JV PARTICIPANT) AND FIAT, WHERE THEY MET G ABNELLI. AFTER A NIGHT OF ITALIAN CULTURE AT THE BOLSHOI, THE GORBACHEVS GAVE A SUPPER AT THEIR DACHA. ON SUNDAY 16 OCTOBER THE ITALIANS WERE GIVEN A SHORT TOUR OF THE KREMLIN BEFORE THE FAREWELL CEREMONY. THEY LEFT FOR HOME AFTER A DAY'S SIGHT-SEEING IN LENINGRAD.

THE TALKS

4. OUR TURS CONTAIN THE BRIEFING GIVEN TO THE TWELVE BY BOTTAI. DE MITA TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE HAD FOUND GORBACHEV 'EVEN MORE IMPRESSIVE' THAN EXPECTED. ACCORDING TO TASS THE DISCUSSION RANGED WIDELY OVER INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND WAS MARKED BY FRANKNESS AND A DESIRE TO GET TO THE HEART OF THE ISSUES GORBACHEV SAID THAT PERESTROIKA AND NEW THINKING HAD CHANGED THE PURPOSE OF FOREIGN POLICY, INSTEAD OF THE AVOIDANCE OF WAR (WHICH LED TO MILITARY CONFRONTATION) IT WAS NOW THE BUILDING OF PEACE. COMPETITION BETWEEN STATES MEANT COMPARISONS IN THE COURSE OF WHICH EACH SIDE COULD LEARN AND BENEFIT. IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE RAPID GROWTH ALONE: IN PARTNERSHIP IT WAS EASIER TO OVERCOME OBSTACLES.

5. IN A STRANGE COMMENT ON PERESTROIKA, GORBACHEV SAID "IT IS OF COURSE A SUBJECTIVE JUDGEMENT, BUT THE QUESTION OF WHO LEADS THE COUNTRY HAS SOME IMPORTANCE." BUT THE CRUCIAL FACT WAS THAT THE POLICY HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY THE PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD SHOULD ADJUST THEIR POLICIES ACCORDINGLY.

6. IN THE PLENARY SESSION, MOST ATTENTION WAS DEVOTED TO THE STATE OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. ITALY IS THE SOVIET UNION'S THIRD LARGEST WESTERN PARTNER, AND HAS BEEN AN EARLY PARTICIPANT IN JOINT VENTURES. THE RUSSIANS MADE A VEILED COMPLAINT ABOUT COCOM. IN DISCUSSING SPACE RESEARCH, THE RUSSIANS SUGGESTED THE ITALIANS PARTICIPATE IN A MANNED FLIGHT. THOUGH THERE WAS TALK OF STRENGTHENING CULTURAL LINKS, IMPROVING LANGUAGE TEACHING ETC, THIS WAS PLACED IN A LONG-TERM CONTEXT.

7. GORBACHEV APPARENTLY TALKED ABOUT THE SOVIET-ITALIAN COOPERATION IN THIRD COUNTRIES. ANDREOTTI HAD EARLIER SUGGESTED THAT A PAN-EUROPEAN DIMENSION MIGHT BE ADDED TO THE NORTH-SOUTH PROCESS. THIS PROVOKED A REJOINDER FROM GORBACHEV THAT DIALOGUE HAD TO BE GENUINE. IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE SUMMIT SEVEN TO TAKE DECISIONS ON EG THIRD WORLD DEBT AND THEN EXPECT THE SOVIET UNION TO FALL INTO LINE.

8. THE TASS ACCOUNT ALSO HAS GORBACHEV SAYING IT WAS TIME TO THINK ABOUT DEVELOPING CONTACTS 'ON THE MILITARY LINE', WHICH COULD BE BENEFICIAL IN TERMS OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BUILDING. BOTTAI'S BRIEFING SUGGESTED THIS WAS NOT RAISED IN TERMS.

ITALY 2000

9. AFTER OPENING THE EXHIBITION, DE MITA MADE A SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT 'LOOKED WITH INTEREST AND GOODWILL ON THE SOVIET UNION'S ATTEMPT TO ACCEDE TO THE GATT, AND ITS DESIRE FOR BROADER INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION'. HE ALSO CALLED FOR GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, IN A BRIEF REPLY, RYZHKOV PRAISED EXISTING ITALIAN-SOVIET COOPERATION.

COMMENT

10. DE MITA ORIGINALLY INTENDED A VISIT SIMPLY TO OPEN ITALY 2000. THE RUSSIANS SUGGESTED THAT IT BE RAISED FIRST TO A WORKING VISIT AND THEN TO AN OFFICIAL ONE. THEY PUSHED THE BOAT OUT FOR DE MITA. GORBACHEV GAVE HIM A GOOD DEAL OF TIME, INCLUDING THEIR JOINT TOUR OF ITALY-2000. PRESS COMMENTATORS HAVE PUT THIS IN THE CONTEXT OF THICKENING TIES WITH THE WESTERN WING OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE. THE CHARM OFFENSIVE IS WELL UNDER WAY.

MARSHALL

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SPEECH BY PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL DE MITA TO THE
SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

MOSCOW, 15 OCTOBER 1988

EAST-WEST RELATIONS: EVOLUTION AND PROSPECTS

Academicians, dignitaries, ladies and gentlemen

I am particularly pleased, in this prestigious seat of world culture, to be able to describe the point of view on a number of major international problems of a Western people and government who are your friends in this period of great expectation and transformation animating your country.

We live in a period of profound change. In less than 50 years the world has become enriched with independent and sovereign states. But global interdependence has also been accentuated.

We have opened the way for the conquest of space and begun the nuclear era. But great problems have also arisen with regard to the earth, the environment and to ecological balances.

The wealth and well-being of a growing part of humanity have significantly increased. But the anguish of under-development and poverty has become more acute.

A dense network of communications has extended throughout the world and never before have we known so much so quickly. But ideological and religious intolerance have assumed new and disturbing aggressive forms.

/Human

Human longevity has made a great leap forward, thanks to medical progress. But new illnesses are spreading throughout the world, and the criminal traffic in drugs poses new threats to the health of peoples. Continual advances in technology and a new industrial and cultural revolution knock on our doors. But we know that the change also creates new problems and new suffering.

And we cannot forget that this era of ours, rich in changes and promises, has seen since the end of the second World War, the persistence of wars. Hundreds of wars and insurgencies of different types have caused millions of deaths, let alone destruction, suffering, the flight of refugees, the violation of basic human and civil rights. In the same period, between East and West, an armed and threatening equilibrium has seen alternating periods of cold war and of uneasy detente. The necessity and hope of the future is progressively to put an end to wars. For this, it will be necessary to go beyond the detente so far tried between East and West and to organise a new policy of common responsibility in the face of the great global problems of development and security.

To go from confrontation (whether or not cold) to joint responsibility is difficult and delicate. We know all the pre-conditions: a growing trust in each other and a growing cooperation towards common and clearly identified objectives. In this picture, the most delicate area, which I intend to discuss here with you, is that of Europe.

What is Europe? Numerous definitions have been attempted. From those merely geographical to those based on culture, religion, language and politics. Nobody in fact seems to have succeeded in covering all the aspects of this issue.

I believe that Europe should not so much be defined geographically as politically and strategically, as a point of reference in the international order. A Europe therefore - without frontiers: in which the great cultural traditions of each nation are harmonised - and certainly those of Italy and Russia represent two rich and irreplaceable elements.

Recently, your President and Secretary-General, Mikhail Gorbachev, picking up a definition linked to the Russian cultural tradition, has expressed the concept of Europe as a "Common House". I understand clearly and appreciate the positive and conciliatory sense in this of mutual understanding and collaboration. But in reality our "Common House" cannot be limited to the Europe of geography but must be extended to the two great states across the Atlantic, and in prospect to the whole world.

It is, I believe, in this global picture that our policies and objectives lie, and the most efficient means for reaching them. The problem arises here of knowing which choices to take in Western Europe and how they will be able to influence the final result, and be assisted or obstructed by the choices of other protagonists.

In Western Europe we put in motion many years ago a great process of integration aimed at overcoming the ancient and terrible divisions of the past, without loosening our bonds with the United States and at the same time with the firm intention of strengthening our relations with the USSR.

This process is moving forward, and rapidly in the economic field. We have taken the decision to achieve, before 1992, a true internal market without barriers between all the states of the European Community: we are now putting into effect those

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decisions already taken and discovering the necessity to go beyond, in the spirit of the Single European Act, thinking also of a European currency and a European central bank. Whatever possible compromises and delays there might be, we all envisage a decisive leap forward in the economic integration of the European Community.

New wealth is being created. According to a recent European Community study, the mere unification of the internal market should, after five or six years, bring about an increase of almost 5% in the gross internal product and a reduction of 6% in prices, besides creating around two million new jobs. This is an important new feat.

It is not yet clear if we will have at the same time a political Europe.

Yet this second objective is absolutely necessary. I will try to show two reasons for this:

- it is necessary to avoid economic integration becoming transformed into pure and simple protectionism; on the contrary, the European Community should play a decisive role in energising international development;
- it is necessary that the great economic power of the Community does not stand on the legs of a political dwarf.

Political Europe, the development of a European political entity on the basis of the European Community and of the other existing Western European institutions, is our necessary representative instrument: that which legitimises and justifies the great contribution which we are called to make for peace and development.

From another angle, such a political entity is also necessary to allow a better development, more balanced and richer, of East-West relations.

These relations are destined to be intensified. And they are already growing in the fields of individual contacts, culture, trade, and economic cooperation. They are also undergoing an important acceleration in the political and security fields. In this regard, I want to underline the importance of the link at last established between the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). In particular, we believe that the beginning of direct relations between the European Community and the Soviet Union is an important new development, having been in preparation since 1975 when Aldo Moro signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference both in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of Italy and as incumbent President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. Since then, the Western European states have in fact believed that the European Community could and should play a major role in the development of East-West relations.

The important and inspired intuition of that time was to understand that three parallel and linked sectors existed (the three baskets of Helsinki). We must today continue to make progress concertedly in these three fields (security, economics, culture and human rights) even after the Vienna Conference has ended.

All this is positive. But we should not ignore also the uncertainties which could stop the process or even reverse its forward momentum.

We are perfectly conscious for example of the great force of attraction which the European Community exerts, particularly from the economic point of view, on other European countries. The pressure is growing for further enlargement of the Community. Growing likewise are relations between the Community and states with different economic systems.

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The progressive economic inter-penetration of Eastern and Western Europe is an irreversible trend. Interdependency is rapidly replacing the old barriers of self sufficiency. The ever more integrated world of communications and information is bringing together perceptions and aspirations, particularly of the young. Old frontiers which seemed to be of iron are revealed as cardboard.

A process of economic integration and reinforcement in Europe, if deprived of a political design, could create centrifugal tendencies. With the risk of large and unexpected imbalances, such as could violently reverse the process. We could find ourselves in the vicious circle which in the past triggered off the alternation between phases of detente and conflict.

From the point of view of Western Europe, a political "head" is also necessary for further progress on the road of reciprocal security and disarmament.

It is a question of going beyond the problem of reducing tanks or divisions of infantry. In fact, we are all today engaged in the grand task of re-thinking European security according to new formulae, which should be more defensive than offensive, less threatening than those of the present, more stable and verifiable.

This is the objective of the negotiations which must begin after the definition at Vienna of the mandate on conventional arms. The presence of such armed strength standing between East and West imposes on us the responsibility of taking far-sighted initiatives.

Our objective is to cultivate mutual trust. Only in this way can we also succeed in reducing our armaments. Reductions based on suspicion or fear can be easily by-passed, and moreover can only create a more dangerous and unstable situation, as with the

/mistrust

mistrust born from the lack of reduction in nuclear strategic arms which has accelerated research into new defensive systems.

The continuing oscillations between aspirations of disarmament which ignore or under-value the importance of maintaining defensive equilibrium, and the re-arming impulse that exaggerates the need to re-inforce one's own security unilaterally generate objective concerns for the future of detente and of East-West cooperation.

We must consider armaments also in their fundamental political context. Arms do not only have a military value. They are also an integral part of foreign policy and of the political balance. Disarmament therefore cannot be based only on the elimination or reduction of some categories of arms. It must offer us all a true alternative for security, better than the existing situation. It is therefore a question of defining a security policy which avoids unexpected oscillation between periods of disarmament and re-armament.

For this reason, Italy has always refuted the accusations of bellicosity and re-armament which met both the decision taken in 1979 to deploy Euro missiles and that taken by my government to accept the request from NATO to accommodate in Italy the logistic base of the F-16s which have to leave Spain.

Such choices have followed the clear logic of the maintenance of strategic balance and of NATO's defensive capability, and are aimed at avoiding situations in which unexpected deficiencies or strategic weaknesses might put a stop to the process of relaxation and arms control, initiating a new spiral of instability and re-armament. The agreement, concluded in Washington to eliminate Euro missiles in the East and the West, and the understandings which hopefully we will all reach together

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on conventional disarmament in Europe, confirm us in the correctness of this approach.

Disarmament therefore can only arise from stability, from security, from balance of forces. These are the necessary conditions for that political trust and that cooperation which alone can guarantee effective results over a long period.

There are many reasons to support a greater political cooperation between the Western European countries which are also members of NATO. It seems to us, for example, that such a road could lead more rapidly and effectively than others to the creation of that "political head" of Europe which Italy believes necessary.

From this point of view a greater integration within Western Europe is also useful in the context of better East-West relations, in passing from a period of still reversible relaxation to one of effective joint responsibility and security cooperation.

The development of a more integrated Western Europe is the best way to defeat those nationalistic tendencies which in the East as in the West could reflect fears of change in order to disturb the stability of the European political balance.

The objective must be to make Western Europe participate fully in the construction of the new system for the government of economic problems and of global security which is made necessary by the growth of interdependence. The world needs the wealth, technology, culture, ideas, and people of Western Europe at least as much as Europe needs the rest of the world. But such a contribution can be assured only if it is organised around a political system based on a common impulse, and therefore also integrated in some way.

Western Europe is not and cannot be a land to be conquered - nor is it a launching ground for new imperialistic ventures. It is however one of the places with a high concentration of political and economic power. We believe that this power must be administered and governed.

On these terms, it will be possible to think about more ambitious plans and more global objectives. Western Europe's important deadlines are, today, the economic unity which will register an unreversible step forward by 1992, and those of a growing political integration, which is one of the ambitions of the majority of European countries and which already today is evident through the many bilateral and multilateral ways.

In order to reach such objectives, there must be a context in the East West relationship which will facilitate the finding of a real military equilibrium with the elimination of the present lack of balance and which will therefore make possible a balanced, agreed and controlled reduction of the armed forces without denting the credibility of each countrys' defence strategies.

On this basis it will be possible to draw up what I have defined as the 'politics of coresponsibility' between East and West.

Academics, Authorities, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is now necessary to go even beyond the present recovery of economic relations. The Conference for Security and cooperation in Europe has laid down the general criteria, the political picture, that can and must make the growth of interdependence possible. A West European interlocutor, well integrated politically speaking and able to gather greater resources and effective working instruments, can supply the necessary substance for this process. But this also needs a big contribution from the Eastern area.

The example of the Marshall Plan is evocative as an international economic collaboration precedent. But one cannot mechanically reproduce an instrument or solution that has been used for other times and other situations.

If at all, it can be used as an indication of a more general character. During the years after the war those European countries that had accepted the Marshall Plan were able to develop a more open and less sovereign economy than in the previous years, and the process of integration commenced. So such economic aid resulted in an exponential in respect of their consistence: they were the seed from which grew the enormous economic recovery in the fifties and sixties.

An economic cooperation plan between East and West today could refer to that method: not the external imposing of lines of behaviour, decisions and development guides, but the maturity and the free

decision by the countries concerned. East European countries, the Soviet Union, must therefore propose a coherent and credible economic plan for bigger future cooperation between East and West.

Subjects like the convertability of currency, the free circulation of people, things and capital, civil rights, the reliability of law, obviously are a necessary part of the picture. Immediately after this the development of trans national economic projects becomes a necessity, projects that take full advantage of the existing synergy in the socialist community and would make possible a real cooperation between this community and the European Community and the unified internal market which we shall have after 1992.

They are deadline dates near one to the other but not impossibly so. They can be rightly aided by the West. But this aid can only be useful if it is inserted in the context of a clear, long term plan of action.

Promises evoked by such a vast collaboration are certainly not to be neglected in any sector.

On the basis of this it will be possible to work together in an attempt to end, limit or at least bring towards a solution world crisis. The re-launching of the United Nations, during the last year has indicated to us the road we must follow and reminds all of us the role played by this great institution.

But even the United Nations are destined to feel the influence of the course of East-West relations: getting stronger and acting more efficiently when such a relationship is positive, getting weaker and falling into a kind of lethargy when the relationship is negative.

To move from a state of détente to that of a growing and total co-responsibility means putting an end to these uncertainties, and giving the United Nations the continuity and the approval that are necessary.

Academics, authorietis Ladies and Gentlemen

We are living in a very particular moment, a moment of great renovation in every field. The technological culture of our times makes us press for a further effort so that the use of research is not bent towards violent ends but directed towards peaceful aims and constructive cohabitation.

I believe that a great change is possible as long as an effort is put into its' organisation.

I think that the moment has come for all that intelligence that has been put into the elaboration of war techniques and repressive institutions should now be applied to works of peace. Centuries of

history are to be pondered on in order to change the course in a way as to lead us towards a different civilisation system.

Today technology can give us a new world.

But it must be wanted and to obtain this world it must be programmed.

It is not a case of repeating a Renaissance for the élite, but of offering a new type of widespread humanism where everyone is consciously becoming masters of their own future, creators of a more healthy world which is centred on man as having inalienable rights

It is for us to be those governors, wise and responsible, with the final scope of opening the road to this new era.