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MIPT: CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: GORBACHEV'S SPEECH:

FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY

1. A TOUGH, IDEOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE US (REMINISCENT OF HIS CONGRESS SPEECH). GORBACHEV REVEALED SOME DETAILS OF THE LATEST SOVIET PROPOSALS AT GENEVA. THESE INCLUDED EXTENSION OF ABM TREATY OBSERVANCE TO A MINIMUM OF 15 YEARS, LIMITING SDI TO LABORATORY RESEARCH, AND EQUAL LIMITS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE SYSTEMS (ICBMS, SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS BUT NOT SLCMS) SEPARATED FROM LRINF. EUROPEAN ZERO OPTION ON INF EXCLUDING BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS. REAFFIRMATION OF SOVIET DESIRE FOR A SUMMIT AND FOR DIALOGUE WITH WASHINGTON.

DETAIL

2. IN HIS OPENING PASSAGE GORBACHEV MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- I) "THE SITUATION REMAINS COMPLEX AND SO FAR THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR SPEAKING OF A RELAXATION OF TENSION".
- II) BRIEF REITERATION OF THE EARLIER MAIN SOVIET ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS.
- III) SERIES OF US "REJECTIONS" ON NUCLEAR TESTING, SALT, WEAPON-FREE SPACE AND "UNWILLINGNESS" TO CONDUCT HONEST NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AND VIENNA", AND DISREGARD FOR THE INTERESTS OF EUROPE AND OTHERS THROUGH THE FRUSTRATION OF AGREEMENTS AT BERNE.
- IV) US LEADERS' COUNTING ON "NAKED FORCE, THE NUCLEAR FIST, TERRORIST BANDITRY CLOSELY LINKED TO IDEOLOGICAL INTOLERANCE AND HATRED" EXPLICABLE ONLY THROUGH THEIR "ABSOLUTE NON-ACCEPTANCE OF CONTEMPORARY REALITIES".

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THEY CONTINUED TO ASSESS THE WORLD SITUATION IN TERMS OF 'STAR WARS', NUCLEAR WARHEADS, THE ARMS RACE AND MILITARISTIC BLACKMAIL'. THE TRUE THREAT TO US SECURITY CAME FROM THEIR OWN MILITARY-POLITICAL ELITE.

- V) REITERATION OF PEACEFUL OBJECTIVES SET OUT AT 27TH CONGRESS 'THE CHIEF AIM OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST BE THE FRUSTRATION OF THESE (US) DANGEROUS PLANS.....THE DESTINY OF PEACE MUST NOT BE PUT INTO THE HANDS OF IMPERIALISM, AND IMPERIALIST REACTION MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO IMPOSE ON MAN A DEEPENING OF MILITARY-POLITICAL CONFRONTATION'.

3. HAVING SET THE IDEOLOGICAL SCENE GORBACHEV WENT INTO DETAIL ON ARMS CONTROL AND US/SOVIET RELATIONS:

GENEVA TALKS

4. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE SITUATION AT GENEVA HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WITH SOVIET ALLIES. THE QUESTION NOW WAS WHETHER TO CONTINUE STANDING STILL IN GENEVA, AS FULLY SUITED THE US, OR FIND NEW APPROACHES TOWARDS NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. IN ITS SEARCH FOR THE LATTER THE SOVIET UNION HAD PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING 'INTERMEDIATE VARIANT':

A) 'AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON NON-WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ABMT FOR AT LEAST A PERIOD OF 15 YEARS AND WORK ON SDI IS LIMITED TO THE LEVEL OF LABORATORY RESEARCH, THAT IS, TO THE THRESHOLD WHICH THE US HAVE IN FACT ALREADY APPROACHED'.

B) 'STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS (ICBMS, SLBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS) ARE LIMITED BY EQUAL CEILINGS. (THE TASS SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH ON 16 JUNE, BUT NOT THE TEXT IN PRAVDA ON 17 JUNE, MENTIONED THE FIGURES OF 1600 LAUNCHERS AND 3000 WARHEADS FOR EACH SIDE. THE QUESTION OF MEDIUM-RANGE WEAPONS CAPABLE OF REACHING THE TERRITORY OF THE OTHER SIDE, INCLUDING LAND-BASED LRINF IS, IN THIS CASE, DECIDED SEPARATELY.' 'OF COURSE WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO AGREE DIRECTLY ON A RADICAL 50 PER CENT REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS CAPABLE OF REACHING EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY.'

5. GORBACHEV REPEATED THE PROPOSAL FOR A EUROPEAN ZERO OPTION ON INF, TO EXCLUDE BRITISH AND FRENCH SYSTEMS 'AT THE SAME QUANTITY AS NOW', AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT INCREASE THE NUMBER OF ITS ASIAN INF. THE SOVIET UNION HAD THUS TAKEN NEW STEPS TO FACILITATE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS AT GENEVA: 'IF THE US SIDE IGNORE THEM AGAIN THIS TIME IT WILL BE OBVIOUS THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS CONDUCTING AN UNWORTHY GAME IN WHAT IS A MOST SERIOUS MATTER ON WHICH THE FUTURE OF MANKIND DEPENDS'

US/SOVIET SUMMIT

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6. "WE ARE IN FAVOUR OF DIALOGUE WITH WASHINGTON. WE ARE NOT SLAMMING THE DOORS: A NEW MEETING WITH THE US PRESIDENT IS POSSIBLE. BUT CLEARLY AN ATMOSPHERE IS NECESSARY WHICH WOULD OPEN THE PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING REAL AGREEMENTS.....THIS POSITION MEETS WITH THE UNDERSTANDING OF OUR FRIENDS.....THE US ADMINISTRATION IS SABOTAGING THE DISARMAMENT TALKS AND HAS STATED ITS INTENTION NOT TO OBSERVE SALT II, SAYING THAT IT IS DEAD. THEY ARE UNDERTAKING ACTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH STILL FURTHER SHARPENS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. DOES WASHINGTON WANT A NEW MEETING OR IS TALK ABOUT IT ONLY AN ATTEMPT TO DECEIVE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION?"

BUDAPEST PCC MEETING

7. "SIGNIFICANTLY THE WEST HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO REJECT OUTRIGHT THE PROPOSAL FOR CONVENTIONAL REDUCTIONS". IN REVIEWING THE MEETING GORBACHEV LAID STRESS ON ITS "CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE, UNITY AND CREATIVE COOPERATION".

COMMENT

8. THERE WAS NO NEED FOR GORBACHEV TO REVEAL TO THE PLENUM THE LATEST SOVIET PROPOSALS AT GENEVA. BUT IF, AS APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE CASE HE THOUGHT IT POLITIC TO OUTLINE THEM TO THE WP ALLIES AT BUDAPEST, HE COULD HARDLY HAVE REMAINED MUTE BEFORE HIS OWN CENTRAL COMMITTEE. DESPITE THE BREACH OF GENEVA CONFIDENTIALITY. BUT THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESENTATION OF SOVIET PROPOSALS ON THIS OCCASION AND THAT, SAY, OF 15 JANUARY:

A) A FULL FIVE DAYS PASSED BETWEEN THE TABLING OF THE FINAL ELEMENT OF THE NEW PROPOSALS (AND ALMOST THREE WEEKS SINCE THE START OF THE TABLING PROCESS) AND PUBLIC DISCLOSURE.

B) ONLY THE SURFACE OF THE PROPOSALS HAS BEEN REVEALED.

C) SUFFICIENT DETAIL HAS BEEN WITHHELD TO PROTECT THE ACTUAL NEGOTIATORS FROM BECOMING HOOKED ON PUBLIC POSITIONS.

9. QUITE APART FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS THEMSELVES, THESE POINTS SUGGEST THAT ON THIS OCCASION PROPAGANDA MAY NOT BE GORBACHEV'S CHIEF MOTIVE.

10. THE FACT THAT GORBACHEV MADE NO MENTION OF THE 3 JUNE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE 29 MAY PROPOSAL, (A BAN ON ASATS AND ON OFFENSIVE USES OF DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS (WASHINGTON TELNO 1516, NOT TO ALL)), NOR ALL THE CONDITIONS AND DEFINITIONS REQUIRED FOR ~~THE~~ (WASHINGTON TELNO 1580) NOR OF POSSIBLE LABORATORY VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS, SHOWS THAT EVEN IF PROPAGANDA IS NOT HIS MAIN AIM, HE WANTS TO STRESS THE MOST ATTRACTIVE ELEMENTS AND AT THE SAME TIME MAKE IT HARD FOR

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THE U.S. TO ATTACK THE PROPOSALS WITHOUT THEMSELVES REVEALING THE HIDDEN ELEMENTS. BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT HAS NOT BEEN CONCEALED: SOVIET PREPAREDNESS TO ALLOW (NEXT WORD UNDERLINED) SPECIFICALLY SDI RESEARCH. THIS WAS ALREADY HINTED AT IMPLICITLY IN GORBACHEV'S TIMEINTERVIEW (THOUGH HE REFERRED ONLY TO ''FUNDAMENTAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH'') BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN EXPLICITLY AND OPENLY TABLED BEFORE. GORBACHEV AVOIDS ANY APPEARANCE OF SOFTNESS OR APPEASEMENT BY RESTATING HIS PREFERENCE FOR 50 PERCENT CUTS, WHICH, BY IMPLICATION, ARE STILL ONLY POSSIBLE GIVEN A TOTAL BAN ON SPACE STRIKE ARMS. THE SAME WISH NOT TO BE THOUGHT TO BE RUNNING AFTER THE US MAY WELL BE THE REASON FOR THE HARSH, EVEN CONFRONTATIONAL PASSAGE THAT PRECEDES THE MEAT ON ARMS CONTROL. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN IT AND THE MORE BALANCED TONE THAT FOLLOWS IS STRIKING AND THERE IS A SUGGESTION IN THE TEXT THAT GORBACHEV NEEDS TO JUSTIFY HIS DETERMINATION TO LOOK FOR A WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE BOTH AT GENEVA AND IN US/SOVIET RELATIONS. THIS IS DONE PARTLY BY REFERENCE TO THE ''UNDERSTANDING'' SHARED BY THE WP ALLIES (WHICH ADMITTEDLY IS UNLIKELY TO IMPRESS THE MORE CONSERVATIVE ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE) AND ALSO BY THE ARGUMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT LEAVE THE FIELD TO THE WEST'S MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND THE WRECKERS OF DETENTE. THE QUESTION REMAINS OF HOW FAR GORBACHEV CAN PURSUE THIS ARGUMENT AND A LONG SERIES OF REJECTED INITIATIVES9

11. HIS CONDITIONS FOR A SUMMIT SEEM IF ANYTHING LESS FIRM THAN THE LINE TAKEN AT THE 15 MAY MEETING WITH HAMMER AND GALE (MY TELNO 593 NOT TO ALL) BUT THE MENTION NOW OF THE NEED FOR AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO REACHING ''REAL AGREEMENTS'' (WHICH BY IMPLICATION COULD BE SIGNED) AS DISTINCT FROM A ''CONCRETE RESULT'' CARRIES A POSSIBLE HINT THAT GORBACHEV SEES THESE LATEST PROPOSALS AND HIS HANDLING OF THEM AS OFFERING A REAL CHANCE OF SOME BREAKTHROUGH THIS YEAR.

CARTLEDGE

EAST WEST & US/SOVIET RELATIONS

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