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 TELNO 216
 OF 081634Z FEBRUARY 90
 INFO PRIORITY PARIS, WASHINGTON, BONN, UKDEL NATO
 INFO ROUTINE EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS

OUT TELNO 201: CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: FOREIGN POLICY
 1. TUR REPORTED LIGACHEV'S RAISING OF THE GERMAN BOGEY.
 SHEVARDNADZE'S SPEECH, REPORTED IN THE SUMMARY THEN, IS NOW
 AVAILABLE. HE DEFENDED SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AGAINST OTHER ATTACKS.

DETAIL

2. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY WAS ATTACKED EARLY ON 5 FEBRUARY BY BROVIKOV, THE AMBASSADOR TO POLAND, WHO IN THE COURSE OF A WIDE RANGING ATTACK ON GORBACHEV PUT IN SEVERAL DIGS. HE SAID THAT IN RECENT TIMES THE RUSSIANS HAD PAID MORE ATTENTION WHEN EVALUATING THEIR OWN WORK TO HOW IT WAS RECEIVED BY THE "GOOD PEOPLE" OF THE WEST. HE SAID THAT THE WESTERN LEADERS WHO PRAISED THE SOVIET UNION, ACTED FIRMLY AND DECISIVELY WHENEVER THERE WAS THE SLIGHTEST THREAT TO THEIR NATION OR THEIR CLASS INTEREST. "NEITHER BUSH NOR THATCHER PAYS ANY ATTENTION TO WHAT PEOPLE THINK OF THEM. IF YOU WANT EXAMPLES LOOK AT PANAMA OR THE CRUSHING OF THE STRIKING (SIC) MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN. WHY IS THE PARTY BEING GOVERNED IN SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES BY THE IDEA THAT 'WE CANNOT RETURN TO STALINIST METHODS?'" BROVIKOV ALSO SNEERED THAT THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP FOUND IT MORE AND MORE PLEASANT TO MEET SMILING CROWDS ON WESTERN STREETS.

3. ON 7 FEBRUARY ANUFRIEV, THE SECOND SECRETARY FROM KAZAKHSTAN, COMPLAINED ABOUT THE AFFECTS OF THE CURRENT POLICY IN EUROPE. "SOMEBODY OUGHT TO ANSWER FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITY OF THE PARTY... SOMEBODY ALSO OUGHT TO ANSWER TOO FOR THE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, ABOUT WHICH NO ONE HERE WANTS TO SPEAK. THEY HAVE DESTROYED OUR BUFFER ZONE, WELL GOOD RIDDANCE, LET THEM LIVE HOW THEY WANT. BUT TODAY THEY ARE ALREADY MAKING TERRITORIAL AND MATERIAL CLAIMS ON US. THEY ARE SMASHING OUR CONSULATES, PAINTING SLOGANS ON THE GRAVES OF OUR SOLDIERS AND OUR SAINTS, THEY ARE HUMILIATING A GREAT COUNTRY. AND ONCE AGAIN WE ARE POURING HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS INTO THEIR COUNTRIES WHICH WE HAVE STOLEN FROM OUR OWN PEOPLE. WE ARE PLAYING HOSTS TO THE MAZOWIECKIS AND OTHER "SWEDES." WE NEED TO STOP FEEDING FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO THEIR BENEFIT. WE SHOULD DO WHAT IS NECESSARY SO THAT IT IS BETTER HERE THAN THERE. THEN THEY WILL COME TO US OFFERING FRIENDSHIP. WHO IS ABLE TO SAY WHAT WE GET FROM

ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA, NICARAGUA, VIETNAM AND CUBA? ANUTRIEV WENT ON TO ASK ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE DEBT OWED BY THIRD COUNTRIES TO THE SOVIET UNION. HE HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE FIGURE WAS A STATE SECRET, ALTHOUGH WESTERN ASSESSMENTS SAID IT WAS MUCH GREATER THAN THE SOVIET UNION'S OWN EXTERNAL DEBTS. HE CALLED ON YUAKOVLEV "THE GREAT MUTE" TO EXPLAIN ALL THESE PROCESSES.

4. LIGACHEV AND ANUFRIEV PROVOKED SHEVARDNADZE TO ANSWER WITH AN IMPASSIONED DEFENCE OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. HE SAID HE KNEW THAT FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR PERESTROIKA IRRITATED SOME PEOPLE IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT WAS TIME TO REBUT ALL THE DEMANDS TO SCALE DOWN FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITIES. IT WOULDN'T WORK. ADOPTING A POLICY OF ISOLATION, THE RUSSIANS COULD NOT ISOLATE THEMSELVES FROM THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR OR ECOLOGICAL CATASTROPHE, FROM DEMOGRAPHICAL EXPLOSIONS AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT WENT WITH THEM. THEY WOULD SIMPLY DEPRIVE THEMSELVES OF THE BENEFIT OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES AND LIMIT THEIR OPPORTUNITIES TO MODERNISE THE ECONOMY.

5. SHEVARDNADZE ANGRILY DENIED THE LEADERSHIP HAD MADE ANY UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS, OTHER THAN TO COMMON SENSE. IF THE SOVIET UNION HAD GIVEN GROUND, THEN THAT HAD HAPPENED MANY YEARS AGO, AND IT WAS NOW RECOVERING IT.

6. HE SAID THAT NOBODY SHOULD ACCUSE PERESTROIKA OF DESTROYING THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF EUROPE. THAT HAD BEEN DESTROYED BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE WHO HAD NOT WISHED TO PUT UP WITH COERCION ANY LONGER. THE COERCION ALTHOUGH MANY LIKED TO FORGET ABOUT IT, WAS APPLIED AT THE END OF THE 1940S, WHEN THE STRUCTURE OF POPULAR-DEMOCRATIC REGIMES, WHICH HAD BEEN SET UP AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAD BEEN BROKEN. THAT WAS WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES WHICH HAD COOPERATED WITH COMMUNISTS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE VICTORY OVER FASCISM, AS WELL AS TO GAIN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WERE FORCED OUT AND REGIMES OF PERSONAL POWER SET UP. HE ASKED WHETHER THE SYSTEM HAD THROWN UP THE DICTATORS OR THE DICTATORS HAD CREATED THE SYSTEM OR A BIT OF BOTH? FAITH IN A SOCIALISM BASED ON REPRESSION AND COERCION HAD BEEN UNDERMINED AT THAT TIME, NOT IN 1985.

7. SHEVARDNADZE CONTINUE THAT PEOPLE ASKED WHY NOBODY HAD FORESEEN THE RECENT EVENTS IN THESE COUNTRIES. HIS REPLY WAS "WE DID FORESEE THEM, AND PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON WE RESTRUCTURED THE CHARACTER OF OUR INTER-STATE RELATIONS AFTER APRIL 1985: WE REFUSED TO INTERFERE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND STOPPED IMPOSING OUR DECISIONS ON THEM.

BUT AS OUR OWN EXPERIENCE HAS SHOW, IT IS EASIER TO CHANGE POLICY THAN PEOPLE. MANY LEADERS OF THESE COUNTRIES WERE OF THE SAME CLOTH AND IT IS WELL KNOWN WHO PROTECTED THEM. SOME OF THEM CAME TO POWER NOT WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FORMER SOVIET LEADERSHIP, BUT AFTER APRIL 1985 THEY COULD NOT BE REMOVED FROM POWER BY THE PRESENT

SOVIET LEADERSHIP FOR WE, I REPEAT, HAD DECIDED NOT TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THAT WAS THE ONLY RIGHT DECISION. HOW MANY TIMES HAD THE IMAGE OF OUR COUNTRY, WHICH MANKIND HOLDS BEING DESTROYED BY SUCH INTERFERENCE? REMEMBER THE PRAGUE SPRING. WAS THE PRAGUE SPRING REALLY THE CASE OF IMPERIALIST PLOTTING?' IN THE NEW CONDITIONS EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WERE MAINTAINING NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TO HIS REMARKS ABOUT THE SPECTRE OF REVANCHISM, SHEVARDNADZE SAID THAT THE CALLS TO REVIEW BORDERS IN EUROPE AFFECTED NOT JUST THE WESTERN BORDERS OF THE SOVIET UNION'S NEIGHBOURS, BUT EVEN THOSE OF THE UKRAINE, BELORUSSIA AND LITHUANIA.

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ADDITIONAL 11

SOVIET INTERNAL/SOVIET ECONOMY

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