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**Collection:** Matlock, Jack F.: Files  
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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** MATLOCK, JACK: FILES

**Withdrawer**

JET 5/17/2005

**File Folder** USSR: PARTY CONGRESS 26TH, 27TH 2/4 [26TH ONLY]

**FOIA**

F06-114/9

**Box Number** 30

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3003

| ID    | Doc Type | Document Description                                                                 | No of Pages | Doc Date  | Restrictions |
|-------|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 10529 | CABLE    | 231749Z FEB 81<br><b>R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9</b>                                     | 11          | 2/23/1981 | B1           |
| 10530 | CABLE    | 231542Z FEB 81<br><b>R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9</b>                                     | 5           | 2/23/1981 | B1           |
| 10531 | CABLE    | 231350Z FEB 81<br><b>R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9</b>                                     | 14          | 2/23/1981 | B1           |
| 10528 | MEMO     | FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS<br><b>R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9</b> | 1           | 2/28/1981 | B1           |
| 10532 | CABLE    | 232030Z FEB 81<br><b>R 3/24/2011 F2006-114/9</b>                                     | 5           | 2/23/1981 | B1           |
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B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0264

INFO USDOC WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2566  
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AMEMBASSY ROME 4891  
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3257  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4238  
USMISSION USNATO 9227  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 MOSCOW 02624

USDOC FOR BEWT  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JR. JACK F.) OR-M  
TAGS: ECON, EAGR, TNGD, UR  
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S 26TH CONGRESS SPEECH:  
ECONOMIC TOPICS

\* \* \* \* \* W H S R C O M M E N T \* \* \* \* \*

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1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE ECONOMIC SECTION OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH WAS A REPLAY OF OLD THEMES RATHER THAN THE ARTICULATION OF MAJOR NEW DEPARTURES. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR IMPROVED PERFORMANCES IN VARIOUS LAGGING SECTIONS OF HEAVY INDUSTRY (METALLURGY, CONSTRUCTION), AND GAVE TOP PRIORITY TO DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN NATURAL GAS FIELDS. THE SPEECH CONTAINED LITTLE NEW IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE. THE KEY ELEMENT OF THE "SPECIAL FOOD PROGRAM" WILL BE INCREASED MEAT PRODUCTION; PRIVATE AGRICULTURAL PLOTS ARE PROMISED ADDITIONAL GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO HELP ACHIEVE THIS PRODUCTION. IN DISCUSSING THE NEED FOR INCREASED PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS, BREZHNEV OMITTED SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO A POTENTIAL ROLE FOR DEFENSE INDUSTRIES. HE CRITICIZED THE PRACTICE OF DOWNWARD "CORRECTIONS" OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, CALLING FOR GREATER "PLAN DISCIPLINE" AND PARTY INVOLVEMENT IN MANAGEMENT DISCIPLINE. IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN TRADE, BREZHNEV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, WHILE WARNING THAT THE POLICIES OF INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST STATES WOULD BE "TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT" IN DETERMINING SOVIET TRADE POLICY. END SUMMARY.

3. HEAVY INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY: HEAVY INDUSTRY RECEIVED PRIDE OF PLACE IN THE ECONOMIC PORTION OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH. HE STRESSED PROBLEMS IN THE METALLURGICAL, TRANSPORT, ENERGY AND MACHINE BUILDING SECTORS AND NOTED THAT EVER MORE EXPENSIVE RESOURCES WOULD HAVE TO BE USED MORE EFFICIENTLY. TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT IS TO BE APPROACHED FROM A "COMPREHENSIVE" VIEWPOINT MEANING THAT NO SINGLE MODE SUCH AS RAILROADS IS TO BE STRESSED EXCLUSIVELY. WITH RESPECT TO ENERGY, BREZHNEV MADE THE STANDARD CALL FOR REDUCING THE USE OF OIL THROUGH GREATER RELIANCE ON NATURAL GAS, COAL, AND NUCLEAR POWER (INCLUDING BREEDER REACTORS). HE ALSO CALLED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SYNTHETIC FUEL INDUSTRY BASED ON KANSK-ACHINSK COAL. WHILE BREZHNEV DID NOT ANNOUNCE ANY DECISION TO CONSTRUCT THE NORTHERN GAS PIPELINE, HE DID SAY THAT THE URENGOY GAS FIELD "CONTAINS SUCH GIGANTIC RESOURCES THAT IT CAN FOR MANY YEARS MEET THE COUNTRY'S DOMESTIC AND EXPORT NEEDS, INCLUDING EXPORTS TO CAPITALIST COUNTRIES."

4. CONSUMER WELFARE:



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S IN OCTOBER 1980, BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED  
CONSUMER WELFARE WITHOUT SUPPLY-SIDE SPECIFICS. HE  
REPEATED THE STATEMENT IN THE "BASIC GUIDELINES"  
THAT "THE MAIN TASK OF THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN  
CONSISTS OF THE GUARANTEEING OF THE FURTHEST GROWTH  
ET

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0265

INFO USDOC WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2567  
USINT HAVANA 0599  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 24 4  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1948  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2558  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0857  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5300  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1871  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 9494  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6513  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4892  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5881  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3258  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4239  
USMISSION USNATO 9228  
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USDOC FOR BEWT  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
OF THE WELFARE OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE..." BREZHNEV  
OUTLINED HOW SOVIET AGGREGATE DEMAND IS TO RISE  
DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS: "THE SHARE OF THE  
CONSUMPTION FUND IN THE NATIONAL INCOME IS TO BE

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INCREASED IN 1985 TO 77.3 PERCENT" FROM 75.3 PERCENT IN 198 . "UPWARDS OF SIXTEEN BILLION RUBLES ARE TO BE SET ASIDE IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR CENTRALIZED MEASURES TO INCREASE WAGES AND SALARIES, AND OTHER PAYMENTS AND BONUSES TO THE POPULATION. THERE ARE TO BE INCREASES IN THE MINIMUM OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSIONS OF INDUSTRIAL AND OFFICE WORKERS, PROFESSIONALS AND COLLECTIVE FARMERS, AND OTHER MEASURES TO BRING ABOUT A FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOCIAL SERVICES, STATE ASSISTANCE TO FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN IS TO BE EXTENDED." THE MINIMUM MONTHLY PAY WILL BE RAISED TO EIGHTY RUBLES PER MONTH, AND THE MONTHLY AVERAGE WAGE IS TO INCREASE IN 1981-1985 BY 13-16 PERCENT TO 19 -195 RUBLES. THE INCOMES OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS FROM THEIR JOINT HOLDINGS ARE TO RISE BY 20-22 PERCENT, AND "IT IS PROPOSED TO EXTEND SEVERAL WAGE BENEFITS-- LENGTH OF SERVICE INCREMENTS IN SOME EASTERN AREAS AND REGIONAL PREMIUM RATES." BREZHNEV NOTED SHORTAGES OF MANY CONSUMER GOODS, "ESPECIALLY IN TEXTILES, KNITWEAR, LEATHER FOOTWEAR, FURNITURE, AND TELEVISION SETS. "PROPER IMPROVEMENTS IN QUALITY, FINISH OR VARIETY" REMAIN NEEDED. BREZHNEV ALSO OBSERVED THAT "THE PROGRAM FOR EXPANDING CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION AND SERVICES...ASSIGNS A BIG ROLE TO HEAVY INDUSTRIES" WHICH PRODUCE "MORE THAN HALF OF THE CONSUMER GOODS OTHER THAN FOOD." HE TERMED THE HIGHER RATE OF GROWTH OF GROUP "B" PRODUCTION OVER GROUP "A" A "GOOD THING".

5. FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN TRADE, INTRA-CEMA ECONOMIC COOPERATION REMAINS THE CORNERSTONE OF SOVIET TRADE POLICY. BREZHNEV STRESSED THE NEED FOR "INTENSIVE COOPERATION" BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND SAID THAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS "INCONCEIVABLE" WITHOUT COOPERATION BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. DESPITE THIS EMPHASIS ON THE ECONOMIC SUCCESSES OF THE SOCIALIST STATES, BREZHNEV ADMITTED THAT "THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE NOT BEEN AMONG THE MOST FAVORABLE FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMIES OF SOME SOCIALIST STATES", ALLUDING TO POLAND AND PERHAPS CUBA, VIETNAM AND OTHER LAGGING SOCIALIST ECONOMIES AS WELL. ALTHOUGH MOSCOW IS IN FAVOR OF "EXPANDED" ECONOMIC CONTACTS WITH THE WEST, BREZHNEV WARNED THAT IT MUST "TAKE INTO ACCOUNT" THE POLICIES OF THE CAPITALIST STATES THAT USE "ECONOMIC TIES" AS A MEANS OF POLITICAL PRESSURE. THE REDUCTION OF TRADE WITH THE U.S. WAS



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ATTRIBUTED TO THE POLICIES OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.  
FRANCE AND THE FRG, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE SINGLED  
OUT FOR THEIR COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE IN THE ECONOMIC  
SPHERE.

6. AGRICULTURE:

- AGRICULTURAL POLICY DID NOT ENJOY THE EMPHASIS  
ACCORDED IT IN BREZHNEV'S LAST MAJOR SPEECH IN  
OCTOBER 1980. THERE WERE FEW NEW DEPARTURES. A  
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INFO USDOC WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7717  
AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2921  
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 5899  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2568  
USINT HAVANA 6 0  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 2405  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1949  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS 9495  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6514  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4893  
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USDOC FOR BEWT  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
"SPECIAL FOOD PROGRAM" LINKING AGRICULTURAL AND  
INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES WAS HERALDED AS THE "RADICAL  
SOLUTION" TO EXISTING AGRICULTURAL WOES, BUT THIS  
PROGRAM WAS DESCRIBED AS CURRENTLY AT AN "EARLY



STAGE". A KEY GOAL OF THE SPECIAL FOOD PROGRAM WILL BE INCREASED MEAT PRODUCTION. DESCRIBING PRIVATE AGRICULTURAL PLOTS AS A PRIME SOURCE OF ADDITIONAL MEAT SUPPLIES, THE SPEECH PROMISED PRIVATE PLOT HOLDERS ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE (E.G., FORAGE AND EQUIPMENT). THE SPEECH ALSO PROMISED TO DEVOTE "HUGE" FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES TO AGRICULTURE DURING THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN. BREZHNEV CALLED FOR A NATION-WIDE EFFORT TO SPEED DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUSSIAN NON-BLACK EARTH REGION; THIS PROGRAM WAS SAID TO DESERVE THE SAME PRIORITY AS THAT ONCE GIVEN TO DEVELOPMENT OF VIRGIN LANDS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF TASHKENT. ALTHOUGH THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION OF THE SPEECH CONTAINED AN APPROVING REFERENCE TO THE "HUNGARIAN AGRICULTURAL MODEL", THE AGRICULTURE SECTION DID NOT FOLLOW UP ON THIS.

.

7. MANAGEMENT AND INVESTMENT: BREZHNEV NOTED TWO CHANGES IN MINISTRY ORGANIZATION--THE CREATION OF A FRUIT AND VEGETABLE MINISTRY AND A SEPARATE MINISTRY OF FERTILIZER PRODUCTION; BOTH INTENDED TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT. GENERAL DEFECTS IN MANAGEMENT WERE ATTRIBUTED TO "HABITS WHICH AROSE" DURING THE PERIOD WHEN QUANTITY, NOT QUALITY, WAS THE MAJOR PROBLEM. GREATER "PLAN DISCIPLINE" IS (AGAIN) NOTED AS A REMEDY FOR UNBALANCED SUPPLY AND DEMAND, AND IT MUST BE "UNQUESTIONABLY FULFILLED". A TOTAL INVESTMENT TARGET IS LISTED AS 711-730 BILLION RUBLES, REPRESENTING A GROWTH OF 14 PERCENT - 63 BILLION OVER THE PREVIOUS FYP (COMMENT: AN INCREASE OF LESS THAN 3 PERCENT ANNUALLY. END COMMENT). RETURN ON INVESTMENT, PARTICULARLY IN AGRICULTURE, MUST BE INCREASED. RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE IS CITED AS ESSENTIAL, WITHOUT (YET) SPECIFYING THE SIZE OF INCREASED ALLOTMENTS. UNSPECIFIED INCREASES ARE ALSO NOTED FOR FOOD PROCESSING. IN THE CONCLUSION OF THE ECONOMIC PORTION OF THE SPEECH BREZHNEV STATED THAT THE TENDENCY IN HIS VIEW IS TOWARD GREATER INDEPENDENCE FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL MANAGERS, BUT FOLLOWS IMMEDIATELY WITH THE INJUNCTION THAT "PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT ARE NOT JUST ECONOMIC, BUT POLITICAL, PARTY PROBLEMS".

8. SCIENCE: IN A SECTION DEVOTED TO SCIENCE, BREZHNEV COVERED STANDARD THEMES SUCH AS THE NEED TO APPLY SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES TO PRODUCTION AND



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TO ENSURE THAT SOVIET PRODUCTION MEETS THE  
HIGHEST WORLD STANDARDS. BREZHNEV ALSO SUGGESTED  
THAT AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RESEARCH OR DESIGNING  
FACILITIES OF LIGHT INDUSTRIES (LIGHT, FOOD AND  
MEDICAL MINISTRIES ARE MENTIONED BY NAME) BE  
CARRIED OUT WITH THE HELP OF THE MINISTRIES WITH  
MORE POWERFUL RESEARCH FACILITIES, "INCLUDING  
THE DEFENSE INDUSTRIES." WE ALSO NOTE THAT  
BREZHNEV CALLED FOR THE EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF  
NUCLEAR POWER FACILITIES BASED ON THE FUSION

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0267

INFO USDOC WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2569  
USINT HAVANA 0601  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 2406  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1950  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 256  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0859  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 53 2  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1873  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6515  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4894  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5883  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3260  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4241  
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USDOC FOR BEWT  
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MADRID FOR CSCE  
METHOD.

9. COMMENT. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH ANNOUNCED NO STRIKING

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NEW DEPARTURES AND, AS HE HIMSELF POINTED OUT, WAS  
CONSISTENT WITH PARTY POLICY OVER RECENT YEARS.  
PRODUCTIVITY INCREASES AND MORE EFFICIENT USE OF  
RESOURCES ARE TO BE THE SOLUTIONS TO SOVIET  
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE LAGGING GROWTH RATES OF  
THE LAST TWO YEARS OF THE TENTH FIVE YEAR PLANS  
WENT UNMENTIONED WITH MOST OF THE COMPARATIVE  
STATISTICS STRESSING THE RESULTS OF THE DECADE OF  
THE SEVENTIES, THUS PERMITTING THE HIGHER GROWTH  
YEARS OF THE NINTH FIVE YEAR PLAN TO SOFTEN THE  
IMPRESSION OF A SLOWING SOVIET ECONOMY. THE  
BREZHNEV SPEECH WAS EXPECTEDLY SHORT OF SPECIFICS,  
FACTS AND FIGURES AWAITING PRIME MINISTER TIKHONOV'S  
SPEECH (SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY). END COMMENT.  
MATLOCK  
BT

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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 6299  
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CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE  
E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK F., JR.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINT, UR  
SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: NEW PARTY PROGRAM,  
NATIONALITY QUESTIONS, DEMOGRAPHIC ISSUES  
REFS: (A) 80 MOSCOW 813712, (B) 80 MOSCOW 15253

\*\*\*\*\*WHRS COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

NAN COL VP MR  
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PAGE 01

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1. (~~C~~ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT INDICATED THAT A REVISED PARTY PROGRAM WILL BE DRAFTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT VARIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES OVER THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. IT ACKNOWLEDGED CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN NATIONALITY RELATIONS, CALLING FOR GREATER ATTENTION TO MINORITY SENSITIVITIES WHILE CONDEMNING MANIFESTATIONS OF NATIONALISM SUCH AS ANTI-SEMITISM AND ZIONISM. THE REPORT ALSO ADVOCATED IMPROVED SOCIAL PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS THE LABOR SHORTAGE IN SIBERIA. END SUMMARY.

PARTY AFFAIRS.

3. THE REPORT ASKED THE DELEGATES TO APPROVE A REVISION OF THE 1961 PARTY PROGRAM BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HE LISTED A NUMBER OF FACTORS IN THE LAST 20 YEARS THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT INCLUDING:

- . - CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY;
- . - THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF FRATERNAL COUNTRIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION;
- . - LESSONS DRAWN FROM THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968 AND POLAND THAT HAVE REFERENCE FOR THE USSR);
- . - THE GROWING ROLE OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD.

4. AS WE EARLIER REPORTED (REFS), EMBASSY WAS TOLD MONTHS AGO THAT THE ISSUE OF DRAFTING A NEW PARTY PROGRAM WAS UNDER DISCUSSION IN HIGH PARTY CIRCLES. THE DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH A NEW PARTY PROGRAM REFLECTS THE REGIME'S DESIRE TO REPLACE THE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC KHRUSHCHEV PROGRAM WITH ONE THAT MORE REALISTICALLY AND CONCRETELY ADDRESSES THE ECONOMIC AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS FACING THE REGIME. A NEW PARTY PROGRAM COULD ALSO CONSTITUTE BREZHNEV'S LAST "TESTAMENT" TO THE PARTY APPARATUS, MUCH AS THE NEW 1977 CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN HERALDED AS BREZHNEV'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE STRUCTURE.

5. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT NOTED THAT THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT HAD MET 237 AND 250 TIMES RESPECTIVELY. THIS REPRESENTS AN INCREASE IN

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ACTIVITY FOR BOTH BODIES OVER THE 1971-1976 PERIOD  
BUT INDICATES THAT THE SECRETARIAT HAS BEEN MORE  
ACTIVE, WHICH WAS NOT THE CASE BETWEEN THE XXIV  
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0260

INFO DIA WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USICA WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2918  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 6300  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 2374  
AMEMBASSY BONN 0197  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6716  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2565  
USINT HAVANA 0597  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1945  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2556  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 854  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5298  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1869  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 9491  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6511  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4889  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5879  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3255  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4237  
USMISSION USNATO 9226  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9215  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7714

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CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR USDEL CSCE  
AND XXV CONGRESSES. THE REPORT ALSO STRONGLY  
ENDORSED THE PARTY'S EFFORT TO IMPROVE WORK WITH  
LETTERS (PERHAPS A BOOST TO CHERNENKO) AND TOLD THE  
DELEGATES THAT THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL  
WORK MUST BE RESTRUCTURED.

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NATIONALITY QUESTION

6. IN CONTRAST TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT IN 1976, THE REPORT TO THE XXVI PARTY CONGRESS ACKNOWLEDGES CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN NATIONALITY RELATIONS. WHILE IT DOES NOT DEPART FROM THE STANDARD FORMULATIONS ON NATIONALITY RELATIONS, THE REPORT PUTS EMPHASIS ON BALANCE BETWEEN THE "FLOURISHING" OF NATIONAL CULTURES AND THE "DRAWING TOGETHER" OF DIFFERENT PEOPLES. IT CITES, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEED TO PAY GREATER ATTENTION AT THE REPUBLICAN LEVEL TO MINORITY SENSITIVITIES, BUT STRONGLY REJECTS ANY CONCESSIONS TO CHAUVINISM AND NATIONALISM, CITING BOTH ANTI-SEMITISM AND ZIONISM AS EXAMPLES OF NATIONALISTIC "ABERRATION". IN AN APPARENT BOW TO RUSSIAN NATIONAL FEELINGS, THE REPORT LAUDS THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE "RUSSIAN PEOPLE" IN FOSTERING THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF NON-RUSSIAN AREAS, AND STATES THAT THERE ARE NO LONGER ANY "BACKWARD ETHNIC OUTLYING REGIONS" IN THE USSR. THE SPEECH GOES ON TO CALL FOR AN ALL-UNION EFFORT TO SOLVE THE PRESSING PROBLEMS OF THE NON-BLACK EARTH REGION OF THE RSFSR, WHICH IS SAID TO FIND ITSELF IN "MORE DIFFICULT CONDITIONS THAN SOME" OTHER REGIONS.

DEMOGRAPHY AND THE FAMILY.

7. BREZHNEV CONTRASTED LABOR SHORTAGES IN SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST WITH THE LABOR SURPLUS IN THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT MONEY ALONE WAS NOT PREVENTING OUTMIGRATION FROM SIBERIA, HE CALLED FOR INCREASED HOUSING CONSTRUCTION AND IMPROVED SUPPLIES OF CONSUMER GOODS. IN CENTRAL ASIA, HE CALLED FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES WHICH WOULD ATTRACT PEOPLE FROM RURAL AREAS TO THE CITIES. IN DEFINING THE PARTY'S "EFFECTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY" BREZHNEV INDICATED THAT MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED FOR PAID MATERNITY LEAVE AND IMPROVED WORK CONDITIONS FOR MOTHERS, BUT WAS VAGUE AS TO SPECIFICS. HIS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT CHILD ALLOWANCES WOULD BE INCREASING BEGINNING WITH THE SECOND CHILD REPRESENTS A VICTORY FOR DEMOGRAPHERS WHO HAVE URGED SUCH ALLOWANCES AS A MEANS TO INCREASE THE BIRTHRATE IN THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC.  
MATLOCK  
BT



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26th Congress -  
Analysis of Brezhnev's  
Speech .

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0242

INFO DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2559  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1675  
USINT HAVANA 0590  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1937  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2549  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH 5292  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4231  
USMISSION USNATO 9220  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9209  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
USNMR SHAPE BE

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BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

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C O R R E C T E D COPY-INFO ADDEE ADDED  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK) OR-M  
TAGS:PEPR,PARM,CSCE,UR,US,AF,CH,JA,IN,IR,IZ,XF,ZP,XT,XM

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SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY HIGHLIGHTS OF BREZHNEV'S  
REPORT TO THE XXVI PARTY CONGRESS

REF: MOSCOW 2575

1. (~~ENTIRE~~ TEXT)

2. THERE FOLLOWS OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF THOSE PORTIONS OF BREZHNEV'S REPORT TO THE XXVI CPSU CONGRESS ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE SIGNIFICANT. HIS STATEMENTS ON POLAND HAVE BEEN REPORTED REETEL.

3. - U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS: BREZHNEV VIRTUALLY PROPOSED A SUMMIT CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN. HE DEPLORED THE ACTIONS OF THE FORMER ADMINISTRATION WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "DESTROYING THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS" IN OUR RELATIONSHIP AND THE "BELLICOSE CALLS AND STATEMENTS" FROM THE PRESENT U.S. LEADERSHIP. HE, TYPICALLY, URGED A "REALISTIC" APPROACH BY THE ADMINISTRATION. HE NOTED THE THREAT OF AN ARMS RACE AND LABELED ANY ATTEMPT BY ONE SIDE TO OUTSTRIP THE OTHER AS "DANGEROUS MADNESS." BREZHNEV THEN REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLICY OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. IN THE WORLD, CALLED FOR AN "ACTIVE DIALOGUE AT ALL LEVELS," AFFIRMED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE, AND ADDED THAT "THE CRUCIAL LINK IS MEETINGS AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL." HE UNDERLINED THE TOPICALITY OF THIS POSITION BY SAYING THAT THIS WAS TRUE YESTERDAY AND "IS STILL TRUE TODAY." IT IS CLEAR FROM THE CONTEXT THAT BREZHNEV'S CALL FOR SUMMITRY WITHIN THE U.S.-SOVIET CONTEXT IS SEPARATE FROM HIS PROPOSAL (SEE BELOW) FOR A MEETING OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. HE CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS BY NOTING THE "USSR WANTS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.A."

4. SALT: BREZHNEV ATTEMPTED TO CONVEY A FORTH-COMING STANCE ON THE RENEGOTIATION OF SALT II, STATING THAT THE USSR IS READY TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS "WITHOUT DELAY," AND THAT MOSCOW CONSIDERS "REDUCTION" AND NOT JUST "LIMITATION" OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS AS A "PARAMOUNT PROBLEM." HE LAID DOWN THE PRECONDITION THAT THE "POSITIVE

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ELEMENTS" OF THE SALT II TREATY MUST BE PRESERVED,  
A REFORMULATION OF THE MARKER LAID DOWN BY GROMYKO  
IN HIS "KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE (MOSCOW 837)  
THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT ENGAGE IN TALKS  
WHOSE AIM IS TO "RENDER NULL AND VOID" THE SALT  
II TREATY. HE ALSO MADE THE OBLIGATORY REFERENCE  
TO "EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY." ANTICIPATING  
FUTURE U.S. PROPOSALS AIMED AT RESTRICTING THE  
COUNTERFORCE CAPABILITIES OF SOVIET LAND-BASED  
ICBMS, BREZHNEV PRESENTED ONE OF THE QUID PRO  
QUOS LIKELY TO BE RAISED BY THE SOVIET SIDE:  
QUALITATIVE CONSTRAINTS ON SLBMS; HE EVEN MADE  
AN UNUSUAL PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THE NAME OF A  
SOVIET STRATEGIC SYSTEM (ALBEIT IN TERMS OF ITS  
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AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2913  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 6295  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 2369  
USMISSION USBERLIN 5149  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6711  
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1676  
USINT HAVANA 0591  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1938  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2550  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0849  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5293  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1864  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 9485  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6506  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4384  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5874  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3250  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4232  
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CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
(NATO CODE-NAME) IN PROPOSING LIMITS ON THE DEPLOYMENT  
OF THE U.S. TRIDENT AND SOVIET TYPHOON SSBNS.

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FINALLY, HE MADE A PASSING REFERENCE TO THE NEED IN THE LONG RUN TO BROADEN THE SALT TALKS TO INCLUDE "ALL OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS," AN OBLIQUE REMINDER OF THE POSITION THAT MOSCOW CANNOT AGREE TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN ITS STRATEGIC FORCES UNLESS EUROPEAN AND CHINESE NUCLEAR FORCES ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

5. TNF: BREZHNEV REFERRED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN PUBLIC TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A AREEZE ON "MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR-MISSILE WEAPONS OF THE NATO COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION," TABLED AT THE END OF THE FIRST ROUND OF THE TNN PRELIMINARY EXCHANGES IN NOVEMBER. ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL IS PATENTLY ONE-SIDED, GOING PUBLIC MAKES THE SOVIETS LOOK FORTHCOMING FOR THE WEST EUROPEAN AUDIENCE AT A TIME WHEN MOSCOW IS ATTEMPTING TO EXPLOIT U.S.-EUROPEAN DIFFERENCES ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, IN PURSUIT OF ITS LONG-STANDING OBJECTIVE OF OVERTURNING NATO'S TNF DEPLOYMENT DECISION.

6. OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES: WITHOUT PRESENTING ANY NEW INITIATIVES, BREZHNEV, IN A CURSORY MANNER, REAFFIRMED MOSCOW'S SUPPORT FOR A VARIETY OF OTHER NEGOTIATIONS AND OUTSTANDING SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS: MBFR, CTB, RW, CW, LIMITING THE MANUFACTURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BANNING THE "NEUTRON BOMB." HE ALSO MADE PASSING REFERENCE TO THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER TALKS, CITING THEM AS ONE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS UNILATERALLY SUSPENDED BY THE U.S.

7. EXPANSION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES: IN AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO TURN THE TABLES ON THE FRENCH CDE PROPOSAL, BREZHNEV STATED THAT MOSCOW IS PREPARED TO APPLY CBM'S TO THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR, PROVIDED THAT WESTERN STATES EXPAND THE CONFIDENCE A ZONE ACCORDINGLY. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO HOLD CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL INTERESTED COUNTRIES ON EXTENSION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES TO THE FAR EAST, WHERE "THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND JAPAN BORDER ON EACH OTHER." AS THE SPEECH CHARACTERIZES THESE AS "FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS," WE ASSUME THEY ARE TWO SEPARATE INITIATIVES, AND THAT THE IMPLIED SOVIET PRICE FOR EXTENSION OF CBM'S TO THE URALS IS ACCEPTANCE OF CBM APPLICABILITY TO THE

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NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT, WITH THE FAR EAST INITIATIVE  
BEING A SEPARATE NEGOTIATION.

8. - AFGHANISTAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF: IN  
ANOTHER NEW DEPARTURE, BREZHNEV STATED THAT  
MOSCOW DOES NOT OBJECT TO THE "QUESTIONS CONNECTED  
WITH AFGHANISTAN" BEING DISCUSSED TOGETHER WITH  
QUESTIONS OF PERSIAN GULF SECURITY, ALTHOUGH HE  
SAID THE SOVIET UNION ALSO STANDS READY TO DISCUSS  
EACH PROBLEM SEPARATELY. HE ADDED THE STANDARD  
SOVIET POSITION THAT THE SOVIETS' WOULD ONLY  
DISCUSS THE "INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE AFGHAN  
PROBLEM" AND NOT INTERNAL AFGHAN AFFAIRS.  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7710  
AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2914  
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USINT HAVANA 0592  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1939  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2551  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH 5294  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6507  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4885  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5875  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3251  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4233  
USMISSION USNATO 9222  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9211  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
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C O R R E C T E D COPY-INFO ADDEE ADDED  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
AFGHANISTAN'S SOVEREIGNTY, LIKE ITS NON-ALIGNED  
STATUS, MUST BE "FULLY PROTECTED," HE SAID.

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THE PLOY OF LINKING AFGHANISTAN TO THE SOVIET PERSIAN GULF SECURITY PROPOSAL CLEARLY IS DESIGNED TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON AFGHANISTAN, TO INCREASE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE PERSIAN GULF INITIATIVE AND TO TRY TO WEAKEN WESTERN ARGUMENTS THAT SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN ARE THE CHIEF SECURITY PROBLEM IN THE REGION. BREZHNEV AGAIN CLAIMED THAT SOVIET TROOPS WERE SENT INTO AFGHANISTAN IN RESPONSE TO THE DIRECT THREAT ON ITS SOUTHERN BORDER, AND REPEATED THE FORMULA THAT THEY WILL BE WITHDRAWN ONLY WHEN OUTSIDE INFILTRATION IS COMPLETELY STOOPE, AGREEMENTS ARE SIGNED WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS, AND GUARANTEES AGAINST NEW INTERVENTION ARE IN PLACE.

9. CHINA: BREZHNEV TOOK A FAIRLY UPBEAT APPROACH TO CHINA, SHORTER THAN GROMYKO'S RECENT ARTICLE IN KOMMUNIST. HE NOTED THE INTERNAL CHANGES IN CHINA ("TIME WILL ONLY SHOW WHAT THEY MEAN"), ADDING, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE NO "CHANGES FOR THE BETTER" IN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. HE ACCUSED THE US, JAPAN, AND SOME NATT COUNTRIES OF WANTING TO EXXAND TIES WITH CHINA TO USE ITS HOSTTLITY TOOARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND CALLED THIS A "HAZARDOUS GAME." HE ADVOCATED IMPROVED TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ON A "GOOD-NEIGHBOR" BASIS.

10. MIDDLE EAST: BREZHNEV ADVOCATED A "SPECIALLY CONVENED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE" ON AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AND RENEWED HIS CALL FOR "COLLECTIVE EFFORTS," BUT PHRASING IT THIS TIME IN TERMS OF A "COLLECTIVE SEARCH OF AN ALL-EMBRACING JUST AND REALISTIC SETTLEMENT." HE SPECIFICALLY INCLUDED AS "INTERESTED PARTIES" IN THIS EFFORT, THE ARABS, THE PLO, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. HE ALLUDED TO THE OCTOBER 1977 JOINT U.S.-USSR COMMUNIQUE BY STATING, "WE ARE PREPARED FOR SUCH A SEARCH JOINTLY WITH THE UNITED STATES - AND I MAY REMIND YOU THAT WE HAVE HAD SOME EXPERIENCE IN THIS REGARD SOME YEARS AGO." IN A SECONDARY MANNER, HE GAVE A NOD TO THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND SAID THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH THEM. THE UN IS ALSO SINGLED OUT TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE. CONCERNING THE SUBSTANCE OF A SETTLEMENT, HE REPEATED THE WELL-KNOWN SOVIET POSITION WITH SPECIFIC REFER-

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ENCE TO THE "INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE...NOT SHORT OF ESTABLISHING THEIR OWN STATE" AND ENSURING "THE SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL THE STATES OF THE REGION, INCLUDING THOSE OF ISRAEL." THE DETAILS OF A SETTLEMENT, HE CONCLUDED, COULD BE TAKEN UP AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

11. - WESTERN EUROPE: BREZHNEV INDICATED CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENTIATION IN RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, WITH FRANCE AT THE TOP OF THE LIST, THE UK AT THE BOTTOM, AND FRG SOMEWHERE BETWEEN. HE STRESSED THE PRACTICALLY "UNINTERRUPTED"  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6713  
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USINT HAVANA 0593  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1940  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2552  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0851  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5295  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1866  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 9487  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6508  
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5876  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4234  
USMISSION USNATO 9223  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9212  
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C O R R E C T E D COPY-INFO ADDEE ADDED  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH FRANCE AS A "MAJOR FACTOR"  
IN DETENTE. IT IS SIGNIFICANT IN TERMS OF SOVIET

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ATTITUDE TOWARD BERLIN THAT, WHILE PRAISING FRG-SOVIET RELATIONS AND INCREASED TRADE, HE ALSO RAPPED BONN ON THE KNUCKLES FOR "OCCASIONAL" ATTEMPTS TO CIRCUMVENT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND DISREGARD THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GDR. AFTER SPECIFIC POSITIVE MENTION OF ITALY, FINLAND, AND TURKEY, BREZHNEV REGRETTED THAT SOVIET - UK RELATIONS WERE STAGNATING CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

12. RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES: BREZHNEV TOOK A MIDDLE COURSE HERE BY STRESSING THAT, ALTHOUGH DIFFERENCES OF VIEWPOINTS AMONG PARTIES ARE NATURAL AND FULLY IN ACCORD WITH LENINISM, CRITICISM OF MOSCOW WHICH DISTORTS "SOCIALIST REALITY" AND PLAYS INTO THE HANDS OF IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA IS UNACCEPTABLE. HE ADMITTED CRITICISM BY OTHER CP'S OF CERTAIN "CONCRETE ASPECTS" OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE USSR AND RESPONDED THAT MOSCOW DOES NOT CLAIM ALL IN ITS POSSESSION TO BE IDEAL. PUTTING THE BURDEN OF DEFENSE ON THE EUROCOMMUNISTS, HOWEVER, BREZHNEV WARNED AGAINST FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES AND REFORMISTS OR BETWEEN CREATIVE MARXISM AND DOGMATIC SECTARIANISM OR ULTRA-LEFT ADVENTURISM. THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH PARTIES WERE CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM THE LISTING OF PARTIES WITH WHICH THE CPSU HAS GOOD, FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

13. IRAN-IRAQ: BREZHNEV USED STANDARD LANGUAGE ON THE IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT, CHARACTERIZING IT AS A "SENSELESS WAR" BEING TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY IMPERIALISM AND CALLING FOR AN EARLY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. HIS CLAIM THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS TRYING TO FACILITATE AN END TO THE WAR "IN PRACTICE," MIGHT IMPLY SOME BEHIND-THE-SCENE MEDIATION OR, MORE LIKELY, CONTINUING RESTRAINT IN ARMS SALES TO THE BELLIGERENTS. IN A SEPARATE PASSAGE, BREZHNEV PRAISED THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AS A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EVENT, CALLING IT ESSENTIALLY ANTI-IMPERIALIST IN NATURE, NOTING SOVIET INTEREST IN DEVELOPING GOOD RELATIONS. HE BALANCED HIS COMMENTS, HOWEVER, BY NOTING THAT ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS COULD BE EITHER A LIBERATING OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCE.

14. JAPAN: BREZHNEV TOOK A MORE NEGATIVE LINE

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ON JAPAN THAN HE HAD DURING HIS SPEECH AT ALMA ATA  
LAST AUGUST, REFLECTING THE GENERAL DOWNTURN IN  
RELATIONS (MOSCOW 2444). HE COMMENTED THAT  
"NEGATIVE ELEMENTS" (PLAYING UP TO WASHINGTON  
AND PEKING AND MILITARIZATION) ARE GAINING PROMINENCE  
IN JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY, BUT NOT SURPRISINGLY,  
SAID THAT FAR-SIGHTEDNESS WOULD PREVAIL IN TOKYO.

15. INDIA: BREZHNEV PREDICTABLY SINGLED OUT THE  
SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA, PRAISED (HIS  
OWN) RECENT NEGOTIATIONS IN INDIA, AND ASSERTED  
THAT "JOINT ACTION" WITH INDIA WOULD CONTINUE  
TO BE ONE OF THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF SOVIET FOREIGN  
BT



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 MOSCOW 02602

C O R R E C T E D COPY-INFO ADDEE ADDED  
CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
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16. SOUTHEAST ASIA: BREZHNEV PAID FAIRLY MINIMAL ATTENTION TO VIETNAM AND KAMPUCHEA. THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO THE RECENT COMMUNIST PROPOSALS FOR INDOCHINA-ASEAN DISCUSSIONS. SURPRISINGLY, HE SINGLED OUT INDONESIA AS A PLACE WHERE THERE WERE "NO OBSTACLES TO FRIENDLY COOPERATION" AS WELL AS OTHER ASEAN MEMBER COUNTRIES.

17. SUMMIT OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS: BREZHNEV PROSED A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ATTENDED BY ITS MEMBERS' TOP LEADERS - AND OTHER LEADERS IF THEY WISH - TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND PREVENT WAR. THIS STRIKES US AS A NEW TWIST ON THE WARSAW PACT'S MAY 1980 PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL CRISIS AREAS.

18. LATIN AMERICA: BREZHNEV MADE ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO LATIN AMERICA. SIGNIFICANTLY, EL SALVADOR RECEIVED NO MENTION, AND CUBA WAS BROUGHT UP ONLY IN THE LISTING OF SOCIALIST NATIONS. LACK OF ELABORATION OF CUBA'S INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY AND STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM (POINTS MADE IN THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS BY BREZHNEV) STAND IN CONTRAST TO THE RECENT PRO-SOVIET GESTURES AT THE 2ND CUBAN PARTY CONGRESS BY FIDEL CASTRO, WHO IS ATTENDING THE CPSU CONGRESS. AND WHO, CONSPICUOUSLY, EMBRACED BREZHNEV AFTER THE LATTER RETURNED FROM THE PODIUM.

19. AFRICA: AFRICA WAS NOT STRESSED IN THE SPEECH, BUT BREZHNEV DID REFER TO THE "MOUNTING INTENSITY" OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA AND "NOW ALSO" IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE "DEFENSE CAPABILITY" OF ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA. MATLOCK  
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2. FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES AT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS

Brezhnev will almost certainly reaffirm the USSR's commitment to detente as a basic foreign policy line, even though the Soviets no longer anticipate an early improvement in US-Soviet relations. While denying the validity of linkage, Moscow presumably recognizes that its relationship with the West for sometime to come will be shaped by the outcome of developments in Poland.

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Brezhnev's keynote speech on February 23 will endorse the Party's "peace program," the ideological justification for the policy of detente first adopted in 1971. Long identified personally with the detente line, Brezhnev could hardly turn his back on it now.

The Soviets want Washington to bear the onus for the chill in US-Soviet relations. Professing to have been "insulted" by recent US statements, Moscow has taken the line that it is not going to "give in to provocations," and Brezhnev is likely to stress the USSR's readiness to enter into East-West negotiations.

Brezhnev will probably lament Washington's failure to ratify SALT II, but stop short of categorically rejecting renegotiation of any part of it. He will want to appear ready and willing to work on arms control in a variety of forums--talks on TNF, the MBFR negotiations, a new European conference--and his speech may add some new items to the list of familiar Soviet disarmament proposals. While Moscow probably expects no early agreements in the disarmament field it almost certainly will try to generate West European interest in the possibilities of negotiation, hoping thereby to create pressure on Washington.

Brezhnev's public discussion of Poland perhaps may be limited to an anodyne paragraph. But with all of the East European leaders, Moscow, Poland undoubtedly will be a major topic of top-level corridor discussion. Moreover, the Congress may provide an opportunity for a multilateral follow-up to the December Warsaw Pact summit.

On other foreign policy issues, the Congress will

- denounce China for making common cause with imperialism, and Japan for whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria, but profess a desire to normalize relations with both countries; and
- reaffirm support for national liberation struggles while excoriating the US on the terrorism issue.

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(Foreign Policy

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Assessment)

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C O R R E C T E D COPY-INFO ADDEE ADDED  
E.O. 12065: GDS 02/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK F., JR.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINS, PINT UR  
SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: INITIAL COMMENT ON  
FOREIGN POLICY PORTION OF BREZHNEV REPORT  
REF: (A) MOSCOW 2575, (B) MOSCOW 2602

1. (p-ENTIRE TEXT)

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2. AT A TIME OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION FOR THE SOVIET UNION, A LACK OF FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES, AND DOMESTIC IMMOBILITY, BREZHNEV ATTEMPTED TO PAINT AN OPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION AND POLICIES. HIS EMPHASIS WAS ON THE SOVIET UNION'S "PEACEFUL" APPROACH AND, FOR CONSISTENCY, HE AVOIDED MUCH OF THE RECENT STRONG POLEMICS IN THE SOVIET PRESS. HE ALSO GENERALLY DEEMPHASIZED SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD'S TROUBLE SPOTS AND TREADED LIGHTLY ON SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS ON SUCH KEY ISSUES AS POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN, LEAVING LITTLE DOUBT ON POLAND THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT ALLOW THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE TO A POINT THAT THREATENED PRIMARY SOVIET CONTROL AND INFLUENCE.

3. WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT BREZHNEV'S EMPHASIS ON AN "ACTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH THE US REFLECTS A REAL DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS. HOWEVER, WE SEE HIS REFERENCES TO SUMMITRY AS BASICALLY A TACTICAL, PROPAGANDISTIC MOVE TO IMPROVE ATMOSPHERICS WITHOUT DEALING REALISTICALLY WITH SPECIFIC ISSUES. IF IT WERE INTENDED AS A SERIOUS INITIATIVE, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE MOST LIKELY FIRST FLOATED IT WITH US IN PRIVATE. BREZHNEV'S SALT STANCE MAY BE INTENDED AS CONDUCIVE TO ENCOURAGING A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE, BUT WE FIND VERY LITTLE ELSE POSITIVE IN HIS VARIOUS "INITIATIVES". AS WE READ THE SPEECH, BREZHNEV HAS GIVEN NO GROUND ON THE BASIC INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THAT DIVIDE US, NOR DOES HE GIVE ANY INDICATION THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER NEGOTIATING A REAL CHANGE IN THEIR POLICIES THAT HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE STRAINED INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

4. ONE CAN READ INTO THE BREZHNEV SPEECH THE SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE A TACIT RECOGNITION OF SOVIET AND US SPHERES OF INFLUENCE. BREZHNEV WAS QUITE RESERVED ON LATIN AMERICA AND OTHER AREAS (SOUTHEAST ASIA, AFRICA) FAR FROM SOVIET BORDERS. HE WAS, HOWEVER, RIGID ON POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN. IN FACT, IT IS POSSIBLE TO READ THE ENTIRE SPEECH AS LITTLE MORE THAN AN EFFORT TO POSITION THE SOVIETS IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY. IF THEY DECIDE TO INVAD OR ENCOURAGE A TOUGH INTERNAL CRACKDOWN IN POLAND. THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE CONCEPT HAS DEEP ROOTS IN MOSCOW AND WE MAY HEAR MORE OF IT AS WE TAKE A TOUGH STAND ON LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES.

5. BREZHNEV IN HIS SPEECH WAS, OF COURSE, SPEAKING TO OTHER AUDIENCES IN ADDITION TO THE US. HIS



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EFFORT TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE US AND THE  
WESTERN EUROPEANS WAS PREDICTABLE; DETENTE IS  
POSSIBLE IF THE EUROPEANS COOPERATE, BUT POLAND IS  
NOT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. THE DOOR IS LEFT  
OPEN FOR THE CHINESE AND THE JAPANESE IF THEY WILL  
MEND THEIR WAYS, AND BREZHNEV LEFT NO DOUBT THAT  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6724  
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1674  
USINT HAVANA 0605  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1954  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2564  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0863  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5306  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1877  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 9500  
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AMEMBASSY ROME 4898  
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THE SOVIETS WILL TRY TO GET BACK INTO THE ARAB/  
ISRAELI SETTLEMENT PROCESS. HIS ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY  
THE SOVIET UNION AS REASONABLE AND PURSUING INITIA-  
TIVES FOR PEACE AS WELL AS THE AFGHANISTAN-PERSIAN  
GULF PROPOSAL PLOY WERE DIRECTED TOWARD THE WORLD  
AT LARGE AND WERE CLEARLY DESIGNED TO RECOUP SOME

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OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE THE SOVIET UNION HAS LOST OVER THE PAST YEAR ESPECIALLY IN THE NAM AND AMONG THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES. IN NONE OF THESE CASES IS THE SPEECH LIKELY TO REALLY CHANGE THE BASIC ATTITUDES OF THOSE TO WHOM IT WAS INTENDED.

6. PERHAPS THE MOST ININTERESTED AUDIENCE, HOWEVER, WAS THE ONE AT HOME IN THE SOVIET UNION. OVER THE PAST MONTH, WE HAVE PICKED UP SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE HARSH SOVIET PROPAGANDA ON THE US AND THE PERCEIVED DETERIORATION IN SOVIET-US RELATIONS HAS RAISED APPREHENSIONS AMONG SOME SECTIONS OF THE SOVIET ELITE. WHILE A "WAR SCARE" WOULD BE AN OVERLY DRAMATIC CHARACTERIZATION, THERE HAS SEEMED TO BE A REAL WORRY THAT A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR, OR WORSE, IS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY. BREZHNEV'S TONE MAY WELL HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO DAMPEN SUCH CONCERNS. HE NOTED EARLY IN HIS SPEECH THE IMPORTANCE TO THE MAN IN THE STREET OF THE PARTY'S "MANAGING TO PRESERVE PEACE," AND THE THRUST OF HIS COMMENTS WERE CLEARLY INTENDED TO SUGGEST THE CHANCES FOR CONTINUING ON THIS PATH WERE GOOD.

7. IN SUM AND IN LOOKING BEYOND THE RHETORIC, WE SEE BREZHNEV'S REPORT AS BASICALLY A SIGN THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS REACHED AN IMPASSE ON SEVERAL FOREIGN POLICY FRONTS, ESPECIALLY AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND. THE SOVIET PROPOSALS ARE AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE OVERALL SITUATION THEY FIND THEMSELVES IN OFF DEAD CENTER ON A LEAST-COST BASIS TO SOVIET INTERESTS AND NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. WE DETECT AN ELEMENT OF THEIR SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS, BUT WITH TRADITIONAL RIGIDITY ON GUT ISSUES. INDEED, THE INITIATIVES SHOULD BE NOTED MORE FOR THEIR QUANTITY THAN FOR THEIR SUBSTANCE. MATLOCK  
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 AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7707

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 E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK F., JR.) OR-M  
 TAGS: PINT, UR  
 SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: RESUMPTION OF LIVE  
 TELEVISION COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

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BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

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2. SOVIET TELEVISION CARRIED LIVE COVERAGE OF THE LAST FOUR MINUTES OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE XXVI CPSU CONGRESS'S OPENING SESSION, WHICH CONCLUDED MID-AFTERNOON FEBRUARY 23. AS REPORTED, LIVE TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE OF THE BREZHNEV ADDRESS HAD CEASED IN MID-MORNING AFTER LESS THAN EIGHT MINUTES OF THE SPEECH. BREZHNEV'S FINISH APPEARED AS STRONG - IF NOT STRONGER - THAN HIS OPENING, GIVING RISE TO DOUBTS THAT HE DELIVERED THE FULL SPEECH IN THE INTERVENING TIME.

3. THERE ARE REPORTS FROM THE CONGRESS PRESS CENTER THAT BREZHNEV IN FACT DELIVERED AN ABBREVIATED SPEECH SHORTER THAN THAT READ BY THE TELEVISION AND RADIO COMMENTATORS. SOVIET TELEVISION COMMENTATOR VALENTIN ZORIN HAS TOLD U.S. CORRESPONDENTS THAT BREZHNEV TALKED FOR THREE HOURS.

4. THERE IS ALSO A REPORT ORIGINATING WITH WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS THAT SELECTED PORTIONS OF THE BREZHNEV REPORT WERE LEAKED TO SOME FOREIGN JOURNALISTS SUNDAY NIGHT IN AN EFFORT TO FOCUS SUCH CORRESPONDENTS' ATTENTION ON THE REPORT'S SUBSTANCE RATHER THAN OTHER DEVELOPMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE CONGRESS, I.E., BREZHNEV'S PERFORMANCE. MATLOCK  
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USINT HAVANA 0584

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1929

AMEMBASSY LONDON 2543

AMEMBASSY MADRID 0842

AMCONSUL MUNICH 5286

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AMEMBASSY ROME 4877

USNMR SHAPE BE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5867

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3242

AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4225

USMISSION USNATO 9214

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7702

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E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MCCALL, SHERROD) OR-M

TAGS: PINS, PINT, UR.

SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: LIVE TRANSMISSION OF  
 . BREZHNEV'S REPORT INTERRUPTED AFTER A FEW  
 . MINUTES

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. IT APPEARS THAT SOVIET TELEVISION IS NOT GOING TO

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

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TELEWISE THE BULK OF BREZHNEV'S REPORT TO THE XXVI PARTY CONGRESS. AFTER ABOUT 10 MINUTES OF LIVE COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH, THE CAMERA ABRUPTLY SWITCHED, PERHAPS BY PRE-ARRANGEMENT, TO A TELEVISION STUDIO WHERE A COMMENTATOR IS PRESENTLY READING THE SPEECH. RADIO MOSCOW ALSO SWITCHED FROM BREZHNEV TO A RADIO MOSCOW COMMENTATOR. WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS FROM AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST IN THE PRESS CENTER THAT THERE WAS A SWITCH FROM LIVE COVERAGE THERE ALSO.

3. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT ALL MICROWAVE TRANSMISSIONS FROM THE KREMLIN TO OSTANKINO TV TOWER HAVE CEASED. THESE TRANSMISSIONS ARE NORMALLY REBROADCAST TO EAST BLOC COUNTRIES ON INTERVISION.

4. WESTERN NEWSMEN AT THE CONGRESS PRESS CENTER HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT KIRILENKO WAS TO TAKE OVER FROM BREZHNEV IN READING THE SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS ITSELF.

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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6705  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2554  
USINT HAVANA 0585  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1931  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2544  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0843  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5287  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1858  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6500  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4878  
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5868  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3243  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4226  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7703

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E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK) ORRM  
TAGS: PINS, PINT, UR  
SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: BREZHNEV'S APPEARANCE  
REF: MOSCOW 2561

1. (✓ - ENTIRE TEXT)

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

RA NAN COL VP  
EOB:EURE,EFUR,WEUR

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2. AS REPORTED IN REF, LIVE COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH HAS CEASED. ON TELEVISION, COVERAGE STOPPED ABRUPTLY AT THE END OF THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE: "TODAY IT IS COMPLETELY APPARENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES ARE NOW MORE THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME THE MAIN SUPPORT ON EARTH, SUPPORT OF PEACE ON EARTH." AT THIS POINT THE TELEVISION TRANSMISSION SWITCHED TO A STILL PHOTO OF THE PALACE OF CONGRESS BUILDING. AFTER A FEW SECONDS, A PROMINENT VREMYA ANNOUNCER APPEARED ON THE SCREEN, STATING: "FURTHER IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT IN THE SECTION ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY CONCERNING THE SOVIET UNION, IT IS SAID: OUR STRUGGLE FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE, FOR THE DEEPENING OF THE RELAXATION (RAZRYADKA) OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION, IS ABOVE ALL A STRUGGLE IN ORDER TO SECURE FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE THE ESSENTIAL EXTERNAL CONDITION FOR SOLVING THE CREATIVE TASKS STANDING BEFORE THEM." THE BREAK IN LIVE COVERAGE CAME JUST AFTER BREZHNEV HAD MUFFED THE LINE, OMITTING THE WORD "PEACE," AND IN MID-SENTENCE HAD PAUSED TO WIPE HIS MOUTH.

3. ON RADIO, LIVE COVERAGE CONTINUED SEVERAL WORDS BEYOND THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE TELEVISION BROADCAST. THE LIVE RADIO BROADCAST ENDS IN MID-WORD, WITH BREZHNEV SAYING "ALL THESE YEARS, THE PARTY, ITS CEN...." THE RADIO COMMENTATOR DID NOT COMPLETE THIS SENTENCE, BUT RATHER REPEATED VERBATIM THE SAME OPENING LINES OF THE TELEVISION ANNOUNCER.

4. IN TERMS OF APPEARANCE, BREZHNEV WAS NOT MUCH OFF HIS STANDARD FORM, ALTHOUGH HE DID APPEAR TIRED FOR ONE WHO SUPPOSEDLY HAS JUST RETURNED FROM A PERIOD OF REST. HE READ HIS GREETING TO THE DELEGATES FROM A PREPARED TEXT THAT APPEARED TO TELEVISION VIEWERS TO HAVE VERY LARGE TYPE. WE NOTED SLIGHTLY MORE SLURRING OF SPEECH THAN WAS APPARENT IN OTHER RECENT BREZHNEV SPEECHES. WHEN TIME CAME FOR BREZHNEV TO GO TO THE PODIUM TO DELIVER THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT, THE CAMERA SHOWED HIM RISING UNASSISTED FROM HIS SEAT BUT THEN SWITCHED TO THE AUDIENCE REACTION AND DID NOT RETURN TO ITS COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV UNTIL HE WAS ALREADY STANDING AT THE PODIUM.

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5. THE CAMERA SHOWED BREZHNEV AND SUSLOV LEADING THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO ON TO THE DAIS. ON BREZHNEV'S LEFT AFTER SUSLOV WERE SEATED TIKHONOV, KIRILENKO, FEL'SHE, ANDROPOV, USTINOV, AND ROMANOV. TO BREZHNEV'S RIGHT WERE CHERNENKO, GRISHIN, GROMYKO, SHCHERBITSKIY, KUNAYEV, AND GORBACHEV. THIS RANKING APPEARS TO ELEVATE SOMEWHAT CHERNENKO'S STANDING. (AT THE LAST NOVEMBER 6 SPEECH CHERNENKO WAS SEATED NEXT TO LAST ON BREZHNEV'S LEFT.)

6. GIVEN BREZHNEV'S STATE OF HEALTH, WE ARE NOT  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION. 2 OF. 2 MOSCOW. 2572

MADRID FOR CSCE  
 SURPRISED THAT HE WOULD DELIVER AN ABBREVIATED  
 SPEECH. HOWEVER, SINCE THE INTERRUPTION OF HIS  
 SPEECH OCCURRED LESS THAN 10 MINUTES INTO THE REPORT AND  
 AT A PLACE THAT DOES NOT SEEM TO CONSTITUTE A NATURAL  
 PAUSE, IT IS LIKELY THAT BREZHNEV'S FALTERING DELIVERY  
 PROMPTED AN IMMEDIATE DECISION TO SAPITCH FROM LIVE

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TO INDIRECT COVERAGE AT A POINT EARLIER THAN PLANNED.  
IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME BEFORE WE CAN CONTACT VCRIOUS  
SOURCES WHO CAN FILL US IN ON WHAT OCCURRED AT THE  
CONGRESS ITSELF. THE RUMOR AT THE CONGRESS PRESSD  
CENTER IS THAT KIRILENKO HAS BEEN READING THE SPEECH.

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26th Congress  
(Foreign Policy  
Highlights)

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AMEMBASSY MADRID 848  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5292  
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AMEMBASSY ROME 4883  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5873  
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BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 1 OF 05 MOSCOW 02602

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR, PARM, CSCE, UR, US, AF, CH, JA, IN, IR, IZ, XF, ZP, XT, XM  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY HIGHLIGHTS OF BREZHNEV'S  
- REPORT TO THE XXVI PARTY CONGRESS

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

RA NAN COL VP  
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REF: MOSCOW 2575

1. (c-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. THERE FOLLOWS OUR INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF THOSE PORTIONS OF BREZHNEV'S REPORT TO THE XXVI CPSU CONGRESS ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE SIGNIFICANT. HIS STATEMENTS ON POLAND HAVE BEEN REPORTED REETEL.

3. - U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS: BREZHNEV VIRTUALLY PROPOSED A SUMMIT CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN. HE DEPLORED THE ACTIONS OF THE FORMER ADMINISTRATION WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS "DESTROYING THE POSITIVE ELEMENTS" IN OUR RELATIONSHIP AND THE "BELLICOSE CALLS AND STATEMENTS" FROM THE PRESENT U.S. LEADERSHIP. HE, TYPICALLY, URGED A "REALISTIC" APPROACH BY THE ADMINISTRATION. HE NOTED THE THREAT OF AN ARMS RACE AND LABELED ANY ATTEMPT BY ONE SIDE TO OUTSTRIP THE OTHER AS "DANGEROUS MADNESS." BREZHNEV THEN REFERRED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE POLICY OF THE USSR AND THE U.S. IN THE WORLD, CALLED FOR AN "ACTIVE DIALOGUE AT ALL LEVELS," AFFIRMED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED FOR SUCH A DIALOGUE, AND ADDED THAT "THE CRUCIAL LINK IS MEETINGS AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL." HE UNDERLINED THE TOPICALITY OF THIS POSITION BY SAYING THAT THIS WAS TRUE YESTERDAY AND "IS STILL TRUE TODAY." IT IS CLEAR FROM THE CONTEXT THAT BREZHNEV'S CALL FOR SUMMITRY WITHIN THE U.S.-SOVIET CONTEXT IS SEPARATE FROM HIS PROPOSAL (SEE BELOW) FOR A MEETING OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. HE CONCLUDED HIS REMARKS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS BY NOTING THE "USSR WANTS NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.A."

4. SALT: BREZHNEV ATTEMPTED TO CONVEY A FORTH-COMING STANCE ON THE RENEGOTIATION OF SALT II, STATING THAT THE USSR IS READY TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS "WITHOUT DELAY," AND THAT MOSCOW CONSIDERS "REDUCTION" AND NOT JUST "LIMITATION" OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS AS A "PARAMOUNT PROBLEM." HE LAID DOWN THE PRECONDITION THAT THE "POSITIVE ELEMENTS" OF THE SALT II TREATY MUST BE PRESERVED, A REFORMULATION OF THE MARKER LAID DOWN BY GROMYKO



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IN HIS "KOMMUNIST" ARTICLE (MOSCOW 837)  
THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT ENGAGE IN TALKS  
WHOSE AIM IS TO "RENDER NULL AND VOID" THE SALT  
II TREATY. HE ALSO MADE THE OBLIGATORY REFERENCE  
TO "EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY." ANTICIPATING  
FUTURE U.S. PROPOSALS AIMED AT RESTRICTING THE  
COUNTERFORCE CAPABILITIES OF SOVIET LAND-BASED  
ICBMS, BREZHNEV PRESENTED ONE OF THE QUID PRO  
QUOS LIKELY TO BE RAISED BY THE SOVIET SIDE:  
QUALITATIVE CONSTTAINTS ON SLBMS; HE EVEN MADE  
AN UNUSUAL PUBLIC CEFEENCE TO THE NAME OF A  
SOVIET STRATEGIC SYSTEM (ALBEIT IN TERMS OF ITS  
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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1864  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 MOSCOW. 26 2

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
NATO CODE-NAME) IN PROPOSING LIMITS ON THE DEPLOYMENT  
OF THE U.S. TRIDENT AND SOVIET TYPHOON SSBNs.  
FINALLY, HE MADE A PASSING REFERENCE TO THE NEED  
IN THE LONG RUN TO BROADEN THE SALT TALKS TO



INCLUDE "ALL OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS," AN OBLIQUE REMINDER OF THE POSITION THAT MOSCOW CANNOT AGREE TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN ITS STRATEGIC FORCES UNLESS EUROPEAN AND CHINESE NUCLEAR FORCES ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

5. TNF: BREZHNEV REFERRED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN PUBLIC TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A FREEZE ON "MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR-MISSILE WEAPONS OF THE NATO COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION." TABLED AT THE END OF THE FIRST ROUND OF THE TNN PRELIMINARY EXCHANGES IN NOVEMBER. ALTHOUGH THE PROPOSAL IS PATENTLY ONE-SIDED, GOING PUBLIC MAKES THE SOVIETS LOOK FORTHCOMING FOR THE WEST EUROPEAN AUDIENCE AT A TIME WHEN MOSCOW IS ATTEMPTING TO EXPLOIT U.S.-EUROPEAN DIFFERENCES ON NUCLEAR ISSUES, IN PURSUIT OF ITS LONG-STANDING OBJECTIVE OF OVERTURNING NATO'S TNF DEPLOYMENT DECISION.

6. OTHER ARMS CONTROL ISSUES: WITHOUT PRESENTING ANY NEW INITIATIVES, BREZHNEV, IN A CURSORY MANNER, REAFFIRMED MOSCOW'S SUPPORT FOR A VARIETY OF OTHER NEGOTIATIONS AND OUTSTANDING SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS: MBFR, CTB, RW, CW, LIMITING THE MANUFACTURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BANNING THE "NEUTRON BOMB." HE ALSO MADE PASSING REFERENCE TO THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER TALKS, CITING THEM AS ONE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS UNILATERALLY SUSPENDED BY THE U.S.

7. EXPANSION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES: IN AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO TURN THE TABLES ON THE FRENCH CDE PROPOSAL, BREZHNEV STATED THAT MOSCOW IS PREPARED TO APPLY CBM'S TO THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR, PROVIDED THAT WESTERN STATES EXPAND THE CONFIDENCE A ZONE ACCORDINGLY. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO HOLD CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL INTERESTED COUNTRIES ON EXTENSION OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES TO THE FAR EAST, WHERE "THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND JAPAN BORDER ON EACH OTHER." AS THE SPEECH CHARACTERIZES THESE AS "FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS," WE ASSUME THEY ARE TWO SEPARATE INITIATIVES, AND THAT THE IMPLIED SOVIET PRICE FOR EXTENSION OF CBM'S TO THE URALS IS ACCEPTANCE OF CBM APPLICABILITY TO THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT, WITH THE FAR EAST INITIATIVE BEING A SEPARATE NEGOTIATION.



8. - AFGHANISTAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF: IN  
ANOTHER NEW DEPARTURE, BREZHNEV STATED THAT  
MOSCOW DOES NOT OBJECT TO THE "QUESTIONS CONNECTED  
WITH AFGHANISTAN" BEING DISCUSSED TOGETHER WITH  
QUESTIONS OF PERSIAN GULF SECURITY, ALTHOUGH HE  
SAID THE SOVIET UNION ALSO STANDS READY TO DISCUSS  
EACH PROBLEM SEPARATELY. HE ADDED THE STANDARD  
SOVIET POSITION THAT THE SOVIETS' WOULD ONLY  
DISCUSS THE "INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE AFGHAN  
PROBLEM" AND NOT INTERNAL AFGHAN AFFAIRS.  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW 771  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2561  
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AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1939  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS 9486  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION. 3 OF. 5 MOSCOW. 26 2

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
AFGHANISTAN'S SOVEREIGNTY, LIKE ITS NON-ALIGNED  
STATUS, MUST BE "FULLY PROTECTED," HE SAID.  
THE PLOY OF LINKING AFGHANISTAN TO THE SOVIET  
PERSIAN GULF SECURITY PROPOSAL CLEARLY IS DESIGNED



TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON AFGHANISTAN, TO INCREASE THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE PERSIAN GULF INITIATIVE AND TO TRY TO WEAKEN WESTERN ARGUMENTS THAT SOVIET TROOPS IN AFGHANISTAN ARE THE CHIEF SECURITY PROBLEM IN THE REGION. BREZHNEV AGAIN CLAIMED THAT SOVIET TROOPS WERE SENT INTO AFGHANISTAN IN RESPONSE TO THE DIRECT THREAT ON ITS SOUTHERN BORDER, AND REPEATED THE FORMULA THAT THEY WILL BE WITHDRAWN ONLY WHEN OUTSIDE INFILTRATION IS COMPLETELY STOOPE, AGREEMENTS ARE SIGNED WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS, AND GUARANTEES AGAINST NEW INTERVENTION ARE IN PLACE.

9. CHINA: BREZHNEV TOOK A FAIRLY UPBEAT APPROACH TO CHINA, SHORTER THAN GROMYKO'S RECENT ARTICLE IN KOMMUNIST. HE NOTED THE INTERNAL CHANGES IN CHINA ("TIME WILL ONLY SHOW WHAT THEY MEAN"), ADDING, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE NO "CHANGES FOR THE BETTER" IN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY. HE ACCUSED THE US, JAPAN, AND SOME NATT COUNTRIES OF WANTING TO EXXAND TIES WITH CHINA TO USE ITS HOSTTLITY TOOARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND CALLED THIS A "HAZARDOUS GAME." HE ADVOCATED IMPROVED TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ON A "GOOD-NEIGHBOR" BASIS.

10. MIDDLE EAST: BREZHNEV ADVOCATED A "SPECIALLY CONVENED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE" ON AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AND RENEWED HIS CALL FOR "COLLECTIVE EFFORTS," BUT PHRASING IT THIS TIME IN TERMS OF A "COLLECTIVE SEARCH OF AN ALL-EMBRACING JUST AND REALISTIC SETTLEMENT." HE SPECIFICALLY INCLUDED AS "INTERESTED PARTIES" IN THIS EFFORT, THE ARABS, THE PLO, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. HE ALLUDED TO THE OCTOBER 1977 JOINT U.S.-USSR COMMUNIQUE BY STATING, "WE ARE PREPARED FOR SUCH A SEARCH JOINTLY WITH THE UNITED STATES - AND I MAY REMIND YOU THAT WE HAVE HAD SOME EXPERIENCE IN THIS REGARD SOME YEARS AGO." IN A SECONDARY MANNER, HE GAVE A NOD TO THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND SAID THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH THEM. THE UN IS ALSO SINGLED OUT TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE. CONCERNING THE SUBSTANCE OF A SETTLEMENT, HE REPEATED THE WELL-KNOWN SOVIET POSITION WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE "INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE...NOT SHORT OF ESTABLISHING THEIR OWN



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STATE" AND ENSURING "THE SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL THE STATES OF THE REGION, INCLUDING THOSE OF ISRAEL." THE DETAILS OF A SETTLEMENT, HE CONCLUDED, COULD BE TAKEN UP AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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11. - WESTERN EUROPE: BREZHNEV INDICATED CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENTIATION IN RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE, WITH FRANCE AT THE TOP OF THE LIST, THE UK AT THE BOTTOM, AND FRG SOMEWHERE BETWEEN. HE STRESSED THE PRACTICALLY "UNINTERRUPTED"

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AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 194  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2552  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH 5295  
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 MOSCOW 02602

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH FRANCE AS A "MAJOR FACTOR"  
IN DETENTE. IT IS SIGNIFICANT IN TERMS OF SOVIET  
ATTITUDE TOWARD BERLIN THAT, WHILE PRAISING FRG-SOVIET  
RELATIONS AND INCREASED TRADE, HE ALSO RAPPED

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BONN ON THE KNUCKLES FOR "OCCASIONAL" ATTEMPTS TO CIRCUMVENT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT AND DISREGARD THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GDR. AFTER SPECIFIC POSITIVE MENTION OF ITALY, FINLAND, AND TURKEY, BREZHNEV REGRETTED THAT SOVIET - UK RELATIONS WERE STAGNATING CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

12. RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES: BREZHNEV TOOK A MIDDLE COURSE HERE BY STRESSING THAT, ALTHOUGH DIFFERENCES OF VIEWPOINTS AMONG PARTIES ARE NATURAL AND FULLY IN ACCORD WITH LENINISM, CRITICISM OF MOSCOW WHICH DISTORTS "SOCIALIST REALITY" AND PLAYS INTO THE HANDS OF IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA IS UNACCEPTABLE. HE ADMITTED CRITICISM BY OTHER CP'S OF CERTAIN "CONCRETE ASPECTS" OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE USSR AND RESPONDED THAT MOSCOW DOES NOT CLAIM ALL IN ITS POSSESSION TO BE IDEAL. PUTTING THE BURDEN OF DEFENSE ON THE EUROCOMMUNISTS, HOWEVER, BREZHNEV WARNED AGAINST FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARIES AND REFORMISTS OR BETWEEN CREATIVE MARXISM AND DOGMATIC SECTARIANISM OR ULTRA-LEFT ADVENTURISM. THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH PARTIES WERE CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM THE LISTING OF PARTIES WITH WHICH THE CPSU HAS GOOD, FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

13. IRAN-IRAQ: BREZHNEV USED STANDARD LANGUAGE ON THE IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT, CHARACTERIZING IT AS A "SENSELESS WAR" BEING TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF BY IMPERIALISM AND CALLING FOR AN EARLY POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. HIS CLAIM THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS TRYING TO FACILITATE AN END TO THE WAR "IN PRACTICE," MIGHT IMPLY SOME BEHIND-THE-SCENE MEDIATION OR, MORE LIKELY, CONTINUING RESTRAINT IN ARMS SALES TO THE BELLIGERENTS. IN A SEPARATE PASSAGE, BREZHNEV PRAISED THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AS A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL EVENT, CALLING IT ESSENTIALLY ANTI-IMPERIALIST IN NATURE, NOTING SOVIET INTEREST IN DEVELOPING GOOD RELATIONS. HE BALANCED HIS COMMENTS, HOWEVER, BY NOTING THAT ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS COULD BE EITHER A LIBERATING OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCE.

14. JAPAN: BREZHNEV TOOK A MORE NEGATIVE LINE ON JAPAN THAN HE HAD DURING HIS SPEECH AT ALMA ATA LAST AUGUST, REFLECTING THE GENERAL DOWNTURN IN



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RELATIONS (MOSCOW 2444). HE COMMENTED THAT "NEGATIVE ELEMENTS" (PLAYING UP TO WASHINGTON AND PEKING AND MILITAAIZATION) ARE GAINNNG GROMINENCE IN JAPAN'S FOREIGN PPLICY, BUT NOT SURRPISSNGLY, SAID THAT FAR-SIGHTEDNESS WOULD PREVAIL IN TOKYO.

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15. INDIA: BREZHNEV PREDICTABLY SINGLED OUT THE SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA, PRAISED (HIS OWN) RECENT NEGOTIATIONS IN INDIA, AND ASSERTED THAT "JOINT ACTION" WITH INDIA WOULD CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF THE IMPORTANT AREAS OF SOVIET FOREIGN BT

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USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 6298  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN 2372  
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AMEMBASSY BONN 194  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6714  
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USINT HAVANA 0594  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1941  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2553  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 0852  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5296  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1867  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 65 9  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4887  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5877  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4235  
USMISSION USNATO 9224  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9213  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
USNMR SHAPE BE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION. 5 OF. 5 MOSCOW. 26 2

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD/INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
POLICY.

16. SOUTHEAST ASIA: BREZHNEV PAID FAIRLY MINIMAL



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ATTENTION TO VIETNAM AND KAMPUCHEA. THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO THE RECENT COMMUNIST PROPOSALS FOR INDOCHINA-ASEAN DISCUSSIONS. SURPRISINGLY, HE SINGLED OUT INDONESIA AS A PLACE WHERE THERE WERE "NO OBSTACLES TO FRIENDLY COOPERATION" AS WELL AS OTHER ASEAN MEMBER COUNTRIES.

17. SUMMIT OF SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS: BREZHNEV PROSED A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ATTENDED BY ITS MEMBERS' TOP LEADERS - AND OTHER LEADERS IF THEY WISH - TO GROOM FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND PREVENT WAR. THIS STRIKES US AS A NEW TWIST ON THE WARSAW PACT'S MAY 1980 PROPOSAL FOR A WORLD SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL CRISIS AREAS.

18. LATIN AMERICA: BREZHNEV MADE ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO LATIN AMERICA. SIGNIFICANTLY, EL SALVADOR RECEIVED NO MENTION, AND CUBA WAS BROUGHT UP ONLY IN THE LISTING OF SOCIALIST NATIONS. LACK OF ELABORATION OF CUBA'S INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY AND STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM (POINTS MADE IN THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS BY BREZHNEV) STAND IN CONTRAST TO THE RECENT PRO-SOVIET GESTURES AT THE 2ND CUBAN PARTY CONGRESS BY FIDEL CASTRO, WHO IS ATTENDING THE CPSU CONGRESS. AND WHO, CONSPICUOUSLY, EMBRACED BREZHNEV AFTER THE LATTER RETURNED FROM THE PODIUM.

19. AFRICA: AFRICA WAS NOT STRESSED IN THE SPEECH, BUT BREZHNEV DID REFER TO THE "MOUNTING INTENSITY" OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA AND "NOW ALSO" IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE "DEFENSE CAPABILITY" OF ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA. MATLOCK  
BT

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26th Congress  
(on POLAND)

118

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UTS1694  
DE RUEHMO #2575 1 5412 4  
O 231157Z FEB 81 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0234

INFO DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4228  
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USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
USNMR SHAPE BE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 02575

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
E.O. 12065: GDS 2 23 87 (MATLOCK, JACK) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR, PL, UR  
R

UBJECT: POLAND - BREZHNEV'S REMARKS AT THE  
          XXVI PARTY CONGRESS

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR E.O. 114/1 #10537

BY km NARA DATE 4/7/2011

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

RA NAN COL VP  
EOB:EURE,EEUR,WEUR

PSN:013405

PAGE 01

TOR: 54 12:33Z

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1. (C-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO THE XXVI CPSU CONGRESS INDICATES THAT THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP STILL BELIEVES THAT THE "PILLARS OF SOCIALISM ARE IN JEOPARDY" IN POLAND, AND EMPHASIZES THE CONTINUING DANGER OF ALLEGED "IMPERIALIST SUBVERSION," THEREBY MAINTAINING THE POLITICAL GROUNDWORK FOR THE CONTINGENCY OF SOVIET INTERVENTION. THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUGGESTS THAT MOSCOW HAS NOT YET GIVEN UP ON THE POLISH REGIME'S OWN EFFORTS TO PULL THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE CRISIS, POINTING APPROVINGLY TO THE RECOVERY PROGRAM LAUNCHED AT THE RECENT POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY PLENUM. BUT IN REAFFIRMING THE GENERAL LINE ADOPTED AT THE DECEMBER 5 WARSAW PACT SUMMIT, BREZHNEV CONSPICUOUSLY OMITTS A CITATION OF THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE'S EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE POLES' OWN ABILITY TO SURMOUNT THE CRISIS, EMPHASIZING INSTEAD THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES ARE PREPARED TO "DEFEND THE SOCIALIST GAINS" OF THE POLISH PEOPLE BY WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY. NONETHELESS, BREZHNEV'S REPORT INDIRECTLY ACKNOWLEDGES THE LEGITIMACY OF SOME OF THE POLISH WORKERS' COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE SYSTEM, CALLING ON THE CPSU TO PAY CLOSER HEED TO THE "VOICE OF THE MASSES," TO COMBAT "BUREAUCRATISM AND VOLUNTARISM," AND TO BE CAUTIOUS FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY. IT ALSO CONCEDES THAT NATIONAL FEATURES CAN AFFECT THE FORMS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION EMPLOYED TO REACH "A SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE."

3. SOME OF THE KEY POINTS IN BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ON POLAND ARE:

- BY STIRRING UP ANARCHY, "THE OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM, SUPPORTED BY OUTSIDE FORCES, ARE SEEKING TO CHANNEL EVENTS INTO A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY COURSE;" THE 8TH PZPR PLENUM CONFIRMED THAT THE "PILLARS OF SOCIALISM ARE IN JEOPARDY."
- AT PRESENT, THE POLISH COMRADES ARE ENGAGED IN REDRESSING THE CRITICAL SITUATION,...STRIVING TO HEIGHTEN THE PARTY'S ACTION CAPACITY AND TO TIGHTEN LINKS WITH THE WORKING CLASS,...AND WORKING ON A CONCRETE PROGRAM TO RESTORE TO HEALTH THE POLISH ECONOMY."
- THE DECEMBER WARSAW PACT SUMMIT "HAS RENDERED



\*\*\*\*\*~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~\*\*\*\*\*E COPY

POLAND IMPORTANT POLITICAL SUPPORT. IT SHOWED  
CLEARLY THE THE POLISH COMMUNISTS, THE POLISH  
WORKING CLASS, AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THAT  
COUNTRY CAN FIRMLY RELY ON THEIR FRIENDS AND  
ALLIES; WE WILL NOT ABANDON FRATERNAL SOCIALIST POLAND  
IN ITS HOUR OF NEED, WE WILL STAND UP FOR IT."  
-- "THE HISTORY OF WORLD SOCIALISM HAS SEEN ALL  
BT

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DE RUEHMO #2575/02 0541211  
O 231157Z FEB 81 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0235

INFO DIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
USICA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 65 3  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4881  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5871  
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4229  
USMISSION USNATO 9218  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 9207  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
USNMR SHAPE BE

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION. 2 OF. 2 MOSCOW. 2575

CINCEUR, SHAPE FOR POLAD INTAFF  
MADRID FOR CSCE  
SORTS OF TRIALS,...(BUT) LET NO ONE DOUBT OUR  
COMMON DETERMINATION TO SECURE OUR INTERESTS AND  
TO DEFEND THE SOCIALIST GAINS OF THE PEOPLE."

-- "THE EVENTS IN POLAND SHOW HOW IMPORTANT IT IS



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FFF THE PAATY...TO OAY CLOSE HEED TO THE VOICE OF  
THE MASSES, ,ESOLUTELY TT COMBAT ALL SIGNS OO  
BUREAUCRATISM AND VOLUNTARISM, ACTIVELY TO DEVELOO  
SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND TO CONDUCT A CONSIDERED  
AND REALSTIC POLICY IN FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS."

·  
-- "THE PROCESS SS CONVERGENCE -F THE SOCIILIIT  
STATES...IS CONTINUING, BUT IT DOES NOT OBLITERATE  
THE SPECIFIC NATIONAL FEATURES OR THE HISTORICAL  
DISTINCTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

·  
-- OUR CLASS OPPONENTS ARE LEARNING FROM THEIR  
DEFEATS, THEIR ACTIONS AGAINST THE SOCIALIST  
COUNTRIES ARE INCREASINGLY REFINED AND TREACHEROUS."

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26th Congress

(Brezhnev's Appearance)

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO DIA WASHDC

SECDEF WASHDC

USICA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2923

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2570

USINT HAVANA 0602

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AMEMBASSY LONDON 2561

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AMCONSUL MUNICH 53 3

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AMEMBASSY ROME 4895

USNMR SHAPE BE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5884

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3261

AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4242

USMISSION USNATO 9231

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7719

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 2625

E.O. 12065: GDS 2/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK F., JR.) OR-M

TAGS: PINT, UR

SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: OFFICIAL LINE ON  
BREZHNEV'S APPEARANCE AT OPENING SESSION

1. (U) SUMMARY: CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESS  
SPOKESMAN LEONID ZAMYATIN HAS TOLD JOURNALISTS

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR E06-114/9 #10538

BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

\*\*\*\*\*WHSR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

NAN CL VP

EOB:EURE,WEUR,FEUR

PSN:013956

PAGE 01

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THAT BREZHNEV DELIVERED A THREE HOUR AND FORTY MINUTE SPEECH AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS. THE EVENING NEWS PROGRAM VREMYA'S TELECASTING, IN EDITED FORM, OF MANY PORTIONS OF THE SPEECH WHICH WERE NOT CARRIED LIVE HAS LARGELY SUBSTANTIATED ZAMYATIN'S CLAIM. BREZHNEV IN FACT LOOKED STRONG IN VREMYA'S EDITED VERSION. THE EXCISION OF ALL BUT THE OPENING AND CLOSING OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH FROM THE LIVE TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE UNDERSCORES, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET REGIME'S CONCERN THAT BREZHNEV'S UNEDITED SPEAKING PERFORMANCE WOULD NOT DO HIM CREDIT, BUT WOULD HEIGHTEN THE PUBLIC'S CONCERN ABOUT HIS LEADERSHIP CAPABILITIES. THE AWKWARD HANDLING -- FROM A PUBLIC RELATIONS PERSPECTIVE -- OF THE COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV MAY ADD TO SUCH CONCERN ANYWAY. END SUMMARY.

-

2. (U) AT A LATE AFTERNOON PRESS CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 23, CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESS SPOKESMAN ZAMYATIN SOUGHT TO THROW COLD WATER ON SPECULATION ABOUT LIMITED LIVE COVERAGE OF BREZHNEV'S SPEECH. HE CLAIMED THAT BREZHNEV HAD DELIVERED THE ENTIRE SPEECH "AT A VERY GOOD PACE AND WITH HIGH ENTHUSIASM", SPEAKING FOR THREE HOURS AND FORTY MINUTES WITH ONLY TWO BRIEF INTERMISSIONS.

-

3. (U) IN ANSWER TO PRESS QUERIES, ZAMYATIN ARGUED THAT THERE IS NOT A "TRADITION" FOR TELEVISION BROADCAST OF THE SPEECHES. WHEN REMINDED THAT THE 1976 CONGRESS SPEECH HAD BEEN COVERED LIVE (AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE 1976 CONGRESS, BREZHNEV SPOKE FOR FIVE HOURS, WITH TWO BREAKS), ZAMYATIN CLAIMED THAT THE "TRADITION" HE MENTIONED WAS THAT EACH CONGRESS DETERMINES ITS OWN RULES AND THE NATURE OF THE BROADCASTS IT PROVIDES OF THE PROCEEDINGS. IN THIS CASE, "LEADING BODIES OF THE PARTY" HAD DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE LIMITED BROADCAST.

-

4. (U) THE EVENING NEWS PROGRAM VREMYA IN A SPECIAL EXPANDED, TWO-HOUR, VERSION DEVOTED TO THE CONGRESS, LARGELY SUBSTANTIATED ZAMYATIN'S CONTENTION. VREMYA CARRIED LONG FILM CLIPS OF PORTIONS OF THE BREZHNEV SPEECH -- INCLUDING THE VAST BULK OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION AND MORE SELECTIVE PORTIONS OF THE SECTION ON INTERNAL POLICY -- WHICH WERE NOT CARRIED LIVE EARLIER. THE FILM



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CLIPS WERE EDITED, DELETING ANY MAJOR GAFFES AND SHOWING BREZHNEV SPEAKING SMOOTHLY AND WITH ONLY OCCASIONAL SLURRING. (IN CONTRAST, BREZHNEV MADE SEVERAL MISTAKES AND TOOK FOUR DRINKS IN THE LESS THAN EIGHT MINUTES OF LIVE COVERAGE OF THE OPENING OF THE SPEECH.)

5. (C) COMMENT: THE EXCISION OF ALL BUT THE OPENING AND CLOSING PORTIONS OF THE BREZHNEV SPEECH FROM LIVE TELEVISION AND RADIO COVERAGE APPEARS TO REFLECT THE REGIME'S FEAR THAT BREZHNEV'S HEALTH WOULD NOT PERMIT A GOOD SPEAKING PERFORMANCE, AND  
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0269

INFO DIA WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USICA WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY BEIJING 2924  
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AMEMBASSY BERLIN 238  
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6722  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2571  
USINT HAVANA 0603  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1952  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2562  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH 5304  
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AMEMBASSY ROME 4896  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5885  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3262  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4243  
USMISSION USNATO 9232  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 772

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 02625

THAT PUBLIC EXPOSURE OF BREZHNEV'S PHYSICAL INFIRMI-  
TIES AND MENTAL LAPSES COULD GIVE RISE TO HEIGHTENED  
CONCERN OVER HIS LEADERSHIP CAPABILITIES. THIS  
SAME CONCERN WAS EVIDENT IN THE CAMERA WORK OF THE  
LIVE PORTIONS OF THE SPEECH. UNLIKE THE TELEVISION  
COVERAGE IN 1976, WHEN THE CAMERA LINGERED ON  
BREZHNEV IN CLOSE-UPS, THERE WERE FEW CLOSE-UPS  
THIS TIME AROUND, AND THOSE THAT DID OCCUR LASTED

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PAGE 01

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FOR ONLY SEVERAL SECONDS.

6. (S) THERE ARE, OF COURSE, UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT BREZHNEV'S PERFORMANCE AND THE REGIME'S AWKWARD HANDLING OF THE TELEVISION COVERAGE, QUESTIONS WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY SOVIET CITIZENS ARE PONDERING ALSO. WE WILL BE PURSUING QUESTIONS OF BREZHNEV'S PERFORMANCE FURTHER WITH EAST EUROPEAN AND OTHER SOURCES IN THE COMING DAYS. MATLOCK

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Assessment)

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O 232030Z FEB 81  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0270

INFO DIA WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USICA WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2572  
USINT HAVANA 6 4  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1953  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2563  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 862  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5305  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1876  
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AMEMBASSY ROME 4897  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5886  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3263  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4244  
USMISSION USNATO 9233  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7721

*Ripes*

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION. 1 OF. 2 MOSCOW. 2626

E.O. 12065: GDS 02/23/87 (MATLOCK, JACK F., JR.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINS, PINT UR  
SUBJECT: XXVI PARTY CONGRESS: INITIAL COMMENT ON  
FOREIGN POLICY PORTION OF BREZHNEV REPORT  
REF: (A) MOSCOW 2575, (B) MOSCOW 2602

1. (~~h~~-ENTIRE TEXT)
2. AT A TIME OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION FOR THE

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NAN COL VP  
EOB:EURE,WEUR,FEUR

DECLASSIFIED

NLRR E06-114/9 #10639

BY KML NARA DATE 4/7/2011

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PAGE 01

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SOVIET UNION, A LACK OF FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES, AND DOMESTIC IMMOBILITY, BREZHNEV ATTEMPTED TO PAINT AN OPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION AND POLICIES. HIS EMPHASIS WAS ON THE SOVIET UNION'S "PEACEFUL" APPROACH AND, FOR CONSISTENCY, HE AVOIDED MUCH OF THE RECENT STRONG POLEMICS IN THE SOVIET PRESS. HE ALSO GENERALLY DEEMPHASIZED SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD'S TROUBLE SPOTS AND TREADED LIGHTLY ON SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. HE DID NOT, HOWEVER, MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS ON SUCH KEY ISSUES AS POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN, LEAVING LITTLE DOUBT ON POLAND THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT ALLOW THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE TO A POINT THAT THREATENED PRIMARY SOVIET CONTROL AND INFLUENCE.

3. WE DO NOT DOUBT THAT BREZHNEV'S EMPHASIS ON AN "ACTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH THE US REFLECTS A REAL DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS. HOWEVER, WE SEE HIS REFERENCES TO SUMMITRY AS BASICALLY A TACTICAL, PROPAGANDISTIC MOVE TO IMPROVE ATMOSPHERICS WITHOUT DEALING REALISTICALLY WITH SPECIFIC ISSUES. IF IT WERE INTENDED AS A SERIOUS INITIATIVE, THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE MOST LIKELY FIRST FLOATED IT WITH US IN PRIVATE. BREZHNEV'S SALT STANCE MAY BE INTENDED AS CONDUCIVE TO ENCOURAGING A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE, BUT WE FIND VERY LITTLE ELSE POSITIVE IN HIS VARIOUS "INITIATIVES". AS WE READ THE SPEECH, BREZHNEV HAS GIVEN NO GROUND ON THE BASIC INTERNATIONAL ISSUES THAT DIVIDE US, NOR DOES HE GIVE ANY INDICATION THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER NEGOTIATING A REAL CHANGE IN THEIR POLICIES THAT HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE STRAINED INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.

4. ONE CAN READ INTO THE BREZHNEV SPEECH THE SUGGESTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE A TACIT RECOGNITION OF SOVIET AND US SPHERES OF INFLUENCE. BREZHNEV WAS QUITE RESERVED ON LATIN AMERICA AND OTHER AREAS (SOUTHEAST ASIA, AFRICA) FAR FROM SOVIET BORDERS. HE WAS, HOWEVER, RIGID ON POLAND AND AFGHANISTAN. IN FACT, IT IS POSSIBLE TO READ THE ENTIRE SPEECH AS LITTLE MORE THAN AN EFFORT TO POSITION THE SOVIETS IN THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY. IF THEY DECIDE TO INVAD OR ENCOURAGE A TOUGH INTERNAL CRACKDOWN IN POLAND. THE SPHERE OF INFLUENCE CONCEPT HAS DEEP ROOTS IN MOSCOW AND WE MAY HEAR MORE OF IT AS WE TAKE A TOUGH STAND ON LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES.

5. BREZHNEV IN HIS SPEECH WAS, OF COURSE, SPEAKING TO OTHER AUDIENCES IN ADDITION TO THE US. HIS



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EFFORT TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE US AND THE  
WESTERN EUROPEANS WAS PREDICTABLE; DETENTE IS  
POSSIBLE IF THE EUROPEANS COOPERATE, BUT POLAND IS  
NOT A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. THE DOOR IS LEFT  
OPEN FOR THE CHINESE AND THE JAPANESE IF THEY WILL  
MEND THEIR WAYS, AND BREZHNEV LEFT NO DOUBT THAT  
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DE RUEHMO #2626/02 0542046  
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0271

INFO DIA WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USICA WASHDC  
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AMEMBASSY BERLIN 2382  
AMEMBASSY BONN 2 5  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6724  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO 2573  
USINT HAVANA 6 5  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 1954  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2564  
AMEMBASSY MADRID 863  
AMCONSUL MUNICH 5306  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 1877  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 95  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6519  
AMEMBASSY ROME 4898  
USNMR SHAPE BE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5887  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3264  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4245  
USMISSION USNATO 9234  
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW 7722

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION. 2 OF. 2 MOSCOW 02626

THE SOVIETS WILL TRY TO GET BACK INTO THE ARAB/  
ISRAELI SETTLEMENT PROCESS. HIS ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY  
THE SOVIET UNION AS REASONABLE AND PURSUING INITIA-  
TIVES FOR PEACE AS WELL AS THE AFGHANISTAN-PERSIAN  
GULF PROPOSAL PLOY WERE DIRECTED TOWARD THE WORLD  
AT LARGE AND WERE CLEARLY DESIGNED TO RECOUP SOME  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE THE SOVIET UNION HAS  
LOST OVER THE PAST YEAR ESPECIALLY IN THE NAM AND

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AMONG THE ISLAMIC COUNTRIES. IN NONE OF THESE CASES IS THE SPEECH LIKELY TO REALLY CHANGE THE BASIC ATTITUDES OF THOSE TO WHOM IT WAS INTENDED.

6. PERHAPS THE MOST ININTERESTED AUDIENCE, HOWEVER, WAS THE ONE AT HOME IN THE SOVIET UNION. OVER THE PAST MONTH, WE HAVE PICKED UP SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE HARSH SOVIET PROPAGANDA ON THE US AND THE PERCEIVED DETERIORATION IN SOVIET-US RELATIONS HAS RAISED APPREHENSIONS AMONG SOME SECTIONS OF THE SOVIET ELITE. WHILE A "WAR SCARE" WOULD BE AN OVERLY DRAMATIC CHARACTERIZATION, THERE HAS SEEMED TO BE A REAL WORRY THAT A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR, OR WORSE, IS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY. BREZHNEV'S TONE MAY WELL HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO DAMPEN SUCH CONCERNS. HE NOTED EARLY IN HIS SPEECH THE IMPORTANCE TO THE MAN IN THE STREET OF THE PARTY'S "MANAGING TO PRESERVE PEACE," AND THE THRUST OF HIS COMMENTS WERE CLEARLY INTENDED TO SUGGEST THE CHANCES FOR CONTINUING ON THIS PATH WERE GOOD.

7. IN SUM AND IN LOOKING BEYOND THE RHETORIC, WE SEE BREZHNEV'S REPORT AS BASICALLY A SIGN THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS REACHED AN IMPASSE ON SEVERAL FOREIGN POLICY FRONTS, ESPECIALLY AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND. THE SOVIET PROPOSALS ARE AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE OVERALL SITUATION THEY FIND THEMSELVES IN OFF DEAD CENTER ON A LEAST-COST BASIS TO SOVIET INTERESTS AND NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. WE DETECT AN ELEMENT OF THEIR SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS, BUT WITH TRADITIONAL RIGIDITY ON GUT ISSUES. INDEED, THE INITIATIVES SHOULD BE NOTED MORE FOR THEIR QUANTITY THAN FOR THEIR SUBSTANCE. MATLOCK  
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