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AFGHANISTAN [ADVANCE COPIES] 32

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FM MOSCOW 230910Z 10 No 162 25/2

TO IMMEDIATE FCO DESKBY 231015Z

AND INFO PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, NEW DELHI  
KABUL, ISLAMABAD AND PEKING  
AND SAVING TO BONN, PARIS, ROME AND UKMIS NEW YORK

MIPT: BREZHNEV'S SPEECH: AFGHANISTAN.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHAT TO MAKE OF THE PASSAGE ON  
AFGHANISTAN. I SAW ZEMSKOV IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SPEECH  
HAD BEEN DELIVERED AND ASKED HIM WHETHER, IN REPORTING IT,  
THERE WAS ANYTHING I SHOULD UNDERLINE. HE SAID HE HAD NOT  
HEARD IT - AND WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT THE CANADIAN ELECTION.  
SO THERE CAN SCARCELY BE ANY CONCERTED NEW DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE.

SO THERE CAN SCARCELY BE ANY CONCERTED NEW DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE.

2. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEREAS THE FIRST PASSAGE ON AFGHANISTAN RESTATES THE STANDARD LINE, ADDING ONLY A REFERENCE TO THE VIEWS OF THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF, THE SECOND HALF LOOKS AS THOUGH IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN A LATE ADDITION AND THE INTRODUCTORY PHRASE ("I WANT TO STATE VERY DEFINITELY") SUGGESTS THAT THE IDEA OF A GUARANTEE OF THE AFGHANISTAN FRONTIER IS INTENDED TO LOOK LIKE A SERIOUS PROPOSAL. MY PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT IS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE FOR WITHDRAWAL MADE SOME IMPRESSION. GROMYKO'S APPARENT FAILURE IN NEW DELHI MAY HAVE ADDED TO THIS AND THE LEADERSHIP MAY NOW SEE A RISK THAT THE IDEA OF A NEUTRALITY TREATY MAY GAIN AN EMBARRASSING DEGREE OF SUPPORT. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THEY NEEDED TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE WITH A STATEMENT WHICH WAS COMPATIBLE WITH THE ASSERTION THAT THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS WAS NECESSITATED BY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, WHICH COULD BE PRESENTED AS OFFERING A BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION, BUT WHICH WOULD HAVE AS ITS MAIN PURPOSE THE DEFLECTION OF INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE WHILE THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING INTERNAL CONTROL WAS PURSUED.

3. A MORE CONSIDERED ASSESSMENT MAY BE POSSIBLE WHEN WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO SEE HOW THE SPEECH IS FOLLOWED UP BY THE OFFICIAL COMMENTATORS.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO BONN, PARIS, ROME AND UKMIS NEW YORK.

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IMMEDIATE

CAN ONLY PRESUME IT IS TELNO 162 OM SINCE IT IS B (OR APPEARS TO BE) THE M J P ..... THE M J P T MENTIONED IN 161 BUT MOSCOW IS CLOSED NOW

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RPTD INFO. PRIORITY TO WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO, NEW DELHI

ISLAMABAD, KABUL, PEKING ..

AND SAVING TO PARIS, BONN, ROME AND UKDIS NEW YORK.

BREZHNEV SPEECH.

BREZHNEV MADE HIS ELECTORAL SPEECH LAST NIGHT. HE DWELT IN ITS OPENING PASSAGES ON THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEEDS OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY, ASSURING HIS LISTENERS THE SOVIET UNION HAD EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO REPEL "ANY MILITARY PROVOCATION". UNITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR WAS ESSENTIAL AND ...



UNITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR WAS ESSENTIAL AND HISTORY SHOWED IT WAS DEMONSTRATED WITH PARTICULAR FORCE WHEN ANYONE TRIED TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE LANGUAGE OF FORCE.

2. IN THE HALF OF HIS SPEECH DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, BREZHNEV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITY OF ACTION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. VIETNAM HAD HAD THEIR SUPPORT IN THE PAST AND WOULD HAVE IT AGAIN IF NEED BE. SO TOO WOULD LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO PEACE AND DETENTE WAS VITAL. SECURE PEACE WAS A NECESSITY FOR ALL PEOPLES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, WHICH WAS WHY SOVIET RELATIONS WERE SO GOOD WITH MANY ASIAN AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. THE USSR WAS PROUD OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND DEFENCE EFFORTS OF A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. SOVIET RELATIONS WERE PARTICULARLY GOOD WITH INDIA AND SYMBOLISED BY THE RECENT AGREEMENT ON A JOINT SPACE FLIGHT BY SOVIET AND INDIAN COSMONAUTS. IN CONTRAST, THE IMPERIALISTS, AND ESPECIALLY THE USA, WERE DISCONTENTED WITH DETENTE AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THEY HAD RESPONDED TO THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET RELATIONS WITH MANY CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, TO HELSINKI AND TO THE REVOLUTIONARIES' VICTORIES IN ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA BY DRAGGING OUT SALT II, ENCOURAGING SADAT'S TREACHERY, STEPPING UP DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AND FRUSTRATING DISARMAMENT TALKS, AND, FINALLY, DEPLOYING NEW ROCKETS IN EUROPE, "DIRECTED AGAINST THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES." THE DETERMINATION OF THE US LEADERSHIP TO WORK AGAINST DETENTE WAS CLEAR, NOT UNEXPECTED, AND SHOULD BE RESISTED. AFTER DECIDING TO DEPLOY THEIR ROCKETS IN EUROPE, THE AMERICANS HAD TURNED THEIR EYES TO ASIA AND THE NEAR EAST, SENDING THEIR FLEET TO THE SHORES OF REVOLUTIONARY IRAN AND THEN SEIZING ON THE CONVENIENT EXCUSE OF AFGHANISTAN TO UNLEASH AN UNPRECEDENTED ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN.

3. CARTER AND HIS COLLEAGUES, BREZHNEV SAID, KNEW PERFECTLY WELL THERE HAD BEEN NO RUSSIAN 'INTERVENTION' IN AFGHANISTAN, AND THAT THERE HAD BEEN INTERVENTION FROM PAKISTAN TERRITORY. THE LATTER HAD, INDEED, BEEN DIRECTED BY THE AMERICANS, TOGETHER WITH THE CHINESE AND HAD CREATED A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE AFGHAN REVOLUTION AND THE SECURITY OF THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE SOVIET UNION. BREZHNEV THEN CONTINUED : "THE WHITE HOUSE ALSO KNOWS THAT THE USSR WILL WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY CONTINGENTS FROM AFGHANISTAN AS SOON AS THE REASONS THAT CAUSED THEIR PRESENCE THERE DISAPPEAR AND THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT DECIDES THAT THEIR PRESENCE IS NO LONGER NECESSARY. THE UNITED STATES

PRESENCE THERE DISAPPEAR AND THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT DECIDES THAT THEIR PRESENCE IS NO LONGER NECESSARY. THE UNITED STATES LOUDLY DEMANDS THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS BUT IN FACT IS DOING EVERYTHING TO PUT OFF THIS POSSIBILITY; IT IS CONTINUING AND BUILDING UP ITS INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF AFGHANISTAN. I WANT TO STATE VERY DEFINITELY; WE WILL BE READY TO COMMENCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR TROOPS AS SOON AS ALL FORMS OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE DIRECTED AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN ARE FULLY TERMINATED. LET THE UNITED STATES TOGETHER WITH THE NEIGHBOURS OF AFGHANISTAN GUARANTEE THIS, AND THEN THE NEED OF SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL CEASE TO EXIST. ON ITS PART, AS IS KNOWN, THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN HAS CLEARLY STATED ITS INTENTION TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH ITS NEIGHBOURS, IN PARTICULAR, WITH IRAN AND PAKISTAN. NATURALLY, WE WELCOME THIS POSITION OF AFGHANISTAN."

4. WHY, THEREFORE, BREZHNEV ASKED, DID WASHINGTON RAISE SUCH A FUSS? AS A COVER FOR ITS EXPANSIONIST POLICIES (ESPECIALLY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN), NOT JUST IN AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLOIT THE ISSUE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. BUT TIMES HAD CHANGED, AND THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WOULD NOT BE DECEIVED. "IN WASHINGTON THEY LOVE TO TALK OF THE NEED TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF THE SUPPLY OF OIL TO THE USA. ONE CAN UNDERSTAND THIS TO SOME EXTENT." BUT SUPPLIES COULD NOT BE ASSURED BY TURNING THE REGION INTO A POWDER KEG. ADVENTUROUS "DOCTRINES" WERE DANGEROUS FOR ALL. NO ONE COULD INTIMIDATE THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH STOOD FOR STRENGTHENING DETENTE, NOT RUINING IT.

5. FOR COMMENT, PLEASE SEE MIFT.

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