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BOOK MESSAGE

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1. USSR: THE MEASURED TONE OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION IN THE RECENTLY AVAILABLE FULL TEXT OF KOSYGIN'S SPEECH IN MINSK ON 14 NOVEMBER SUGGESTS A GENERALLY SOBER REACTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS. IT PROBABLY ALSO REFLECTS KOSYGIN'S BASICALLY TOUGH-MINDED, FACT-ORIENTED APPROACH TO POLICY ISSUES. THE ROLE OF THE PACE-SETTING, FREQUENTLY EBULLIENT SALESMAN OF DETENTE FALLS TO BREZHNEV, BY VIRTUE OF BOTH HIS PRE-EMINENCE AND HIS INCLI-NATIONS. KOSYGIN'S APPROACH IS MORE RESTRAINED.

PRESENTING THE BELORUSSIAN SSR WITH THE ORDER OF PEOPLES' FRIEND-SHIP KOSYGIN BEGAN HIS FOREIGN POLICY REMARKS WITH A LENGTHY DISCUS-SION OF THE USSR'S SOCIALIST AND THIRD-WORLD (NOT WESTERN)

> HR70-14 (U)

APPROVED FOR RELEASE DATE: MAR 2008

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ORIENTATION AND COMMITMENTS. HE ASSERTED THAT "THE INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR AND THE UTILIZATION OF ITS ADVANTAGES HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CONDITIONS FOR THE ACCELERATION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT," BUT SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSED ONLY SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION (CEMA). BREZHNEV, SPEAKING AT THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW ON 26 OCTOBER, HAD SPOKEN MORE BROADLY OF AN "INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR," BEGINNING WITH THE WHOLE EUROPEAN CONTINENT (NOT JUST SOCIALIST EASTERN EUROPE). BREZHNEV HAD ALSO ADVOCATED LARGE-SCALE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE CAPITALIST WORLD IN SPEECHES IN ALMA ATA IN AUGUST AND TASHKENT IN SEPTEMBER. KOSYGIN'S NARROWER FOCUS MAY DERIVE IN PART FROM HIS INTENSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE FREQUENTLY CONTENTIOUS DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTING A DEGREE OF SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION THROUGH CEMA.

<u>KOSYGIN ALSO EMPHASIZED SOVIET TIES WITH THE FORCES OF NATIONAL</u> <u>LIBERATION, CITING INDOCHINA AS WELL AS THE MIDDLE EAST. HE AC-</u> <u>KNOWLEDGED THAT THE OUTBREAK OF NEW MIDDLE EAST HOSTILITIES WAS A</u> "SERIOUS TEST FOR THE POLICY OF RELAXING INTERNATIONAL TENSION." <u>LIKE</u> <u>BREZHNEV SPEAKING IN NEW DELHI ON 29 NOVEMBER, HE CREDITED DETENTE</u> WITH BASING THE CRISIS.

//KOSYGIN'S FORMULATION PROJECTED MORE CONFIDENCE THAT THE US

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PAGE 03 ______S E C. E T NO FORBERN DISSEM WOULD HONOR ITS TREATY AGREEMENTS THAN HAD BREZHNEV'S ON 26 OCTOBER, WHEN THE MOST SERIOUS PHASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS FOR SOVIET-US RELATIONS HAD JUST ENDED. PROMISING SOVIET ADHERENCE TO TREATY OBLI-GATIONS, KOSYGIN ASSERTED: "WE BELIEVE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT IS DISPLAYING A SIMILAR APPROACH TO THE AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CON-CLUDED." BREZHNEV HAD CLAIMED THE USSR WAS "CONSCIENTIOUSLY FULFILL-ING" ITS TREATY AGREEMENTS WITH THE US AND ADDED POINTEDLY, "NATUR-ALLY WE ARE EXPECTING THE SAME FROM THE OTHER SIDE." IN NEW DELHI, BREZHNEV ALSO SOUNDED MORE CONFIDENT THAN BEFORE, ASSERTING A FIRM SOVIET INTENTION TO DEEPEN DETENTE, AND NOTING THAT MOSCOW "OF COURSE PROCEEDS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE AMERICAN SIDE WILL ACT ACCORD-TNGLY."//

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KOSYGIN SEEMED CAUTIOUS AND REALISTIC ABOUT THE HURDLES FACING DETENTE, HOWEVER. HE DESCRIBED THE "STRUGGLE TO MAKE THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE A UNIVERSAL NORM" AS DEMANDING "STRENUOUS" AND "PROLONGED" EFFORTS. KOSYGIN CITED THE STANDARD SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY GOALS APPROVED BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1971, WHICH LIST PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE AVOIDANCE OF WORLD WAR AFTER BUILDING COMMUNISM, INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST UNITY AND SUPPORT OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. SINCE THE CONGRESS, BREZHNEV'S OWN FORMULATIONS PAGE 04 SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS HAVE EVOLVED INTO A GREATER EMPHASIS ON

DETENTE AND ARMS LIMITATION.

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KOSYGIN PRAISED BREZHNEV'S 26 OCTOBER SPEECH FOR ITS COMPREHEN-SIVENESS AND "PROFOUND CONCLUSIONS," HOWEVER, AND ACKNOWLEDGED BREZH-NEV'S PERSONAL ROLE, ALONGSIDE POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE EFFORTS, IN RECENT SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESSES. C

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ON THE CHINESE PROBLEM KOSYGIN ALSO STOOD SQUARELY WITH BREZH-NEV. KOSYGIN LISTED THE "PRESENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP" AMONG THE "ENEMIES OF DETENTE," AND PUT THE ONUS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS ON PEKING. "IF THE CHINESE SIDE IS REALLY INTERESTED IN IMPROVING RELATIONS, IT MUST FIRST REPLY TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE PRO-POSALS SUBMITTED TO CHINA BY THE USSR AND PROCEED TO DISCUSS THEM IN A BUSINESSLIKE WAY." BREZHNEV HAD STRUCK SIMILAR NOTES IN HIS SPEECH OF 26 OCTOBER AS WELL AS IN HIS TASHKENT SPEECH ON 24 SEPTEMBER. (CONFIDENTIAL)

2. USSR: MOSCOW'S CLAMPDOWN ON ACTIVE DISSIDENTS CONTINUES TO SHOW CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. SIGNS OF DISARRAY AMONG FORMER CHAMPIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT ARE NUMEROUS. MANY WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED HAVE APPARENTLY LOST HOPE FOR THEIR CAUSE AND HAVE PUBLICLY RECANTED OR COLLABORATED WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN RETURN FOR LENIENT TREAT- PAGE 05 SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM MENT. OTHERS HAVE EMIGRATED OR ARE CONSIDERING GOING INTO EXILE. THE REMAINING ACTIVISTS ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO INTENSE PRESSURES.

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THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT, REPORTEDLY ORDERED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER 1971, HAS HAD TWO PRINCIPAL TRIUMPHS TO DATE. THE FIRST WAS THE SILENCING OF THE CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS, WHICH CEASED PUBLICATION IN 1972 AFTER A SERIES OF ARRESTS AND INTERROGATIONS. THE SECOND WAS THE CAPITULATION OF PYOTR YAKIR AND VIKTOR KRASIN, FORMER LEADING SPOKESMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTWHO COLLABORATED WITH THE KGB AND DENOUNCED THEIR FORMER ACTIVITIES AND ASSOCIATES IN A SHOW TRIAL HELD FROM 27 AUGUST TO 1 SEPTEMBER. THEIR EXAMPLE HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY AT LEAST TWO OTHERS: IRINA BELOGORODSKAYA, A MOSCOW DISSIDENT AND IVAN DZYUBA, A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST. BELOGORODSKAYA REPORTEDLY GAVE EVIDENCE AGAINST OTHER DISSIDENTS, AND DZYUBA PUBLICLY RECANTED IN RETURN FOR RELEASE FROM CONFINEMENT IN MID-NOVEMBER.

THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS OF DEMORALIZATION AMONG ACTIVE DISSIDENTS. THERE HAVE BEEN AT LEAST TWO RECENT SUICIDES, AND MANY DISSIDENTS ARE SEEKING TO JOIN THOSE WHO HAVE GONE INTO EXILE IN THE WEST OR ISRAEL. ANDREY SAKHAROV, WHO WITH NOVELIST ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN CONSTI-TUTES THE MOST PROMINENT REMAINING VOICE OF OPPOSITION, TOLD WESTERN

E T NO FURBICN DISSEM 6 JOURNALISTS ON 20 NOVEMBER THAT HE INTENDS TO SEEK TO LEAVE THE USSR WITH HIS FAMILY. HIS DEPARTURE WOULD ADD TO THE PRESENT MALAISE IN-• () (OFPOSITION CIECLES. AMONG THE FACTORS WHICH PROBAELY LED SAKHAROV TO SEEK AN EXIT VISA WERE KGE HINTS TO HIS WIFE THAT SHE MIGHT BE TRIED <u>ه</u> O... OR INCARCERATED IN A MENTAL ASYLUM. THREATS OF THIS SORT WERE GIVEN. ADDED FORCE ON 26 NOVEMBER WHEN YURI SHIKHANOVICH, A MOSCOW DISSI-О DEMT. WAS ORDERED CONFINED TO A MENTAL HOSPITAL.

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2 O ON THE OTHER HAND, THE REGIME CONTINUES TO OPERATE WITH AN ELE-MENT OF CAUTION. AT LEAST ONE DISSIDENT WHO IS NOT KNOWN TO HAVE RECANTED-ANDREY AMAIRIK, AUTHOR OF WILL THE USSR SURVIVE TILL »О 1984--HAD HIS THREE-YEAR PRISON TERM REDUCED TO A PERIOD OF EXILE. AFTER AN APPEAL. AMAIRIK WILL SPEND HIS EXILE IN THE SOVIET FAR EAST, 0 FAR FROM WESTERN JOURNALISTS. HIS HEALTH HAS NOT BEEN GOOD, AND THE 12 ы **О** GRANTING OF LENIENCY MAY HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY CONCERN FOR THE CRITICISM THAT WOULD HAVE RESULTED FROM HIS DEATH IN A LABOR CAMP. //THE EMBASSY REPORTS THAT// AMALRIK HAD CONDUCTED A 117-DAY HUNGER 50 **O** STRIKE PRIOR TO HIS RELEASE, SUGGESTING THAT PRESSURES STILL OPERATE ²²O BOTH WAYS. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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&3. USSR-INDIA: MOSCOW AND NEW DELHI HAVE GOOD REASON TO BE 54 . 56 **O** SATISFIED WITH THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED VISIT

PAGE 07 SECRET NO POREIGN DISSEM

OF SOVIET PARTY LEADER BREZENEV,

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THOUGH MEITHER SIDE APPEARS TO HAVE ACHIEVED ITS MAXIMUM GOALS.

AS ANTICIPATED, THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE VISIT FOR THE SOVIETS WERE POLITICAL. INCLA ENDORSED THE SOVIET POLICY OF DETENTE AND MADE NUMEROUS LAUDATORY REFERENCES TO EREZHNEV'S PERSONAL CONTRIBU-TIONS. THIS ENDORSEMENT TENDS TO UNDERCUT CRITICISM OF SUPERPOWER DIPLOMACY BY OTHER NONALIGNED COUNTRIES. THE TWO SIDES SIGNED A 15-YEAR ECONOMIC AGREEMENT, A PLANNING ACCORD, AND A CONSULAR CONVEN-TION, WHICH THE RUSSIANS CAN PORTRAY AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET POSITION IN INDIA. EREZHNEV MAY HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS IN CONVINCING THE INDIAN LEADERSHIP--AT LEAST FOR NOW--THAT MOSCOW WILL NOT NEGLECT INDIAN INTERESTS IN PURSUING ITS POLICY OF DETENTE.

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BREZHNEV MADE A STRONG PITCH FOR HIS ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL IN A SPEECH BEFORE THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT, BUT HE FAILED TO GET INDIA'S ENDORSEMENT. THE JOINT DECLARATION ISSUED AT THE END OF THE VISIT NOTED MERELY THAT THE TWO SIDES ATTACHED "PARTICULAR SIG-NIFICANCE TO A BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION AND STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA, THROUGH COMMON EFFORTS BY ALL." BREZHNEV APPARENTLY ALSO MADE LITTLE OR NO PROG- PAGE 08 SERET NO PORTION DISSEM RESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO SECURE CLOSER SOVIET-INDIAN MILITARY COOPERA-20 O TION.

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INDIA'S GAINS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN MOSTLY ECONOMIC, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS DID ENDORSE A PROPOSAL SUPPORTED BY INDIA THAT THE INDIAN OCEAN BE DECIARED A "ZONE OF PEACE." MOSCOW WILL PROVIDE LARGE AMOUNTS OF SOME OF THE SCARCE COMMODITIES INDIA WAS SEEKING, INCLUD-ING NEWSPRINT, CRUDE OIL, AND POSSIELY ADDITIONAL FOODGRAINS. THE SOVIETS AGREED TO PROVIDE NEW ASSISTANCE IN SEVERAL FIELDS, MOST NOTA BLY TO HELP OVERCOME INDIA'S ENERGY SHORTAGES. BOTH COUNTRIES PLEDGED TO TRY TO DOUBLE THEIR TRADE TURNOVER BY 1980.

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IT IS NOT CLEAR IF THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO PROVIDE THE KINDS AND AMOUNTS OF AID NECESSARY TO PRODUCE AN IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON THE NEGATIVE AID FLOW--INDIA PRESENTLY PAYS MORE ON OLD DEBTS THAN IT RE-CEIVES IN THE WAY OF NEW SOVIET AID. IF INDIA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO GET THE USSR TO SUBSTANTIALLY REVISE THE TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF GOODS TRADED AND TO GRANT MORE LIBERAL CREDIT TERMS, THE FRIENDLY RELATION-SHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES COULD DETERIORATE. (CONFIDENTIAL)

&4. USSR - MIDDLE EAST: MOSCOW IS DISPLAYING HEIGHTENED CON-CERN OVER THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, BUT APPEARS TO E PECT THE CUR-RENT CEASE-FIRE TO HOLD. PAGE 09 SECRET NO FORELON DISSEM

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PRAVDA LAUNCHED ITS TOUGHEST ATTACK ON ISRAEL IN SEVERAL WEEKS IAST FRIDAY, ACCUSING TEL AVIV OF TRYING TO PURSUE ITS PRE-OCTOBER COURSE AND OF PLACING EVERY POSSIBLE OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF A POLITI-CAL SETTLEMENT. THE FOLLOWING DAY, MOSCOW RADIO GAVE ITS TACIT AP-PROVAL TO CAIRO'S DECISION TO BREAK OFF THE TAIKS AT KILOMETER 101 AND WARNED OF A SHARP INCREASE IN TENSIONS CAUSED BY ISRAELI ACTIVI-TY. A TASS OFFICIAL, HOWEVER, HAS EXPRESSED NO SPECIAL CONCERN OVER THE BREAKDOWN OF THE TAIKS AND HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOVIET-DEPEND-ENTS ARE RETURNING TO EGYPT.

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//WHAT IS ESPECIALLY NETTLESOME TO THE USSR AT THIS JUNCTURE IS THE EUDDING US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP. SOVIET OFFICIALS IN CAIRO HAVE QUESTIONED BOTH US VISITORS AND THE EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY A BOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN CAIRO AND WASHINGTON.//

IN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET DEMARCHES, AND IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO ENSURE THAT EGYPT'S MAJOR SOURCE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT IS NOT CUT OFF AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE, THE EGYPTIANS ARE DEMONSTRATING OVERT GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION FOR THE USSR. IN FRIDAY'S AL AHRAM, FOR EXAMPLE, INFLUENTIAL EDITOR HAYKAL TERMED THE SOVIET-EGYPTIAN RELA-TIONSHIP "VITAL AND IRREPLACEABLE FOR ARAB PEACE." //HE WROTE THAT RELATIONS WITH THE US SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO DIMINISH THE SOVIET 5. ARAB STATES - ISPAEL: ISRAEL AND EGYPT APPEAR TO BE ENGING TOWARD AN AGREEMENT TO RESUME DISENGAGEMENT TALKS AT KILOMETER 101.

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AN EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID ON 3 DECEMBER THAT IN-DIRECT DIPLONATIC CONTACTS BETWEENLEGPT AND ISRAEL ARE UNDER WAY AND RESULTS CAN BE EXPECTED "PERHAPS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE." CAIRO STILL INSISTS, HOWEVER, THAT BEFORE IT WILL AGREE TO RESUME THE TAIKS TEL AVIV MUST INDICATE A WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE ITS "INTRANSIGENT" EARGAINING POSITION ON TROOP PULLBACKS. LOWER LEVEL CONTACTS EE-TWEEN ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS, MEANWHILE, ARE CON-TINUING. LOCAL COMMANDERS ALONG THE FRONT ARE KEEPING IN TOUCH AND MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD AT KILOMETER 101 TO DISCUSS MATTERS SUCH AS THE TRANSFER OF SUPPLIES TO SUEZ CITY.

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FOR THE SECOND CONSECUTIVE DAY, RELATIVELY HEAVY EXCHANGES OF FIRE ERUPTED ON THE SYRIAN FRONT. THE SYRIANS APPARENTLY AGAIN FIRED ON ISRAELI CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY NEAR THE CEASE-FIRE LINES WITH SMALL ARMS, ANTI-TANK, AND ARTILLERY. DAMASCUS CLAIMS TO HAVE DESTROYED ONE BULLDOZER AND A HALF-TRACK AND KILLED OR WOUNDED 15 ISRAELIS AT A COST OF ONE SYRIAN KILLED AND FOUR WOUNDED. THE ISRAELIS ADMITTED TO FOUR WOUNDED.



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TEL AVIV PLANS TO PRESENT REPORTS TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS UCD OTHW INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CHARGING EGYPT WITH TORTURING ISRAELI PRISONERS OF WAR, ACCORDING TO AN ISRAELI RADIO EROADCAST. THE BROADCAST CLAIMED OFFICIALS DEBRIEFING THE POWS LEARNED OF TORTURE AND EVEN MURDER BY THE EGYPTIANS. IN AN INITIAL RESPONSE, AN EGYPTIAN EMBASSY SPOKESMAN IN LONDON DENIED THE ISRAELI ALLEGATIONS AND COUNTERED WITH CHARGES OF ISRAELI MISTREATMENT OF EGYPTIAN FOWS.

//Some influential israelis, meanwhile, may be arguing for a More flexible israeli position concerning a possible us security GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL AS PART OF A MIDDLE EAST PEACE PACKAGE. IN A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ON 2 DECEMBER, AN ISRAELI JOURNALIST, WHO IN THE PAST HAS REFLECTEE MINISTER OF DEFENSE DAYAN'S VIEWS, CALLED FOR A FRESH LOOK AT THE IDEA AND ADDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE US. NOTING SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S CALL FOR A SENATE-CONFIRMED US-ISRAELI DEFENSE TIE, THE JOURNALIST POINTED OUT THAT SUCH CONFIRMATION WOULD BIND FUTURE US ADMINISTRATIONS AND WOULD BE MUCH MORE MEANINGFUL THAN PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENTS. IN AN APPARENT RESPONSE TO PRIME MINISTER MEIR'S POSITION THAT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES ARE NO SUESTITUTE FOR DEFENSIBLE BORDERS, THE ARTICLE STATES THAT AMERICAN "PHYSICAL AND PAGE 12 SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM CONCRETE" GUARANTEES SHOULD INFLUENCE ISRAEL'S DECISION ON SECURE BORDERS.//

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ANOTHER ISRAELI JOURNALIST PROBABLY REFLECTED THE VIEWS OF MORE HARD-LINE ISRAELI GROUPS WHEN HE STATED IN THE JERUSALEM POST ON 30 NOVEMBER THAT THE ISRAELI DEFENSE FORCE (IDF) MUST FIND A NEW DETERRENT FORMULA TO IMPRESS UPON THE ARABS THE HOPELESSNESS OF FUTURE MILITARY ACTION. THE AUTHOR CLAIMS THAT ONLY CONTINUED MO-BILIZATION AND A PERMANENT HIGH STATE OF ALERT WILL KEEP THE ARABS AT BAY, BUT ADMITS THAT ISRAEL WOULD FIND THIS "INTOLERABLE." THE IDF, HE SAYS, MUST THEREFORE DEVELOP A DOCTRINE THAT EXPLOITS FULLY ISRAEL'S NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND SUPERIOR MANPOWER.

SOME EGYPTIAN COMMENTATORS CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE THE MILITARY OPTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST EQUATION. ONE COMMENTATOR CLAIMED ON 3 DECEMBER THAT EGYPTIAN ARMED FORCES ARE IN A CONSTANT STATE OF ALERT AND THAT ISRAEL'S BEHAVIOR CAN BE INFLUENCED ONLY BY AMERICAN PRESSURE OR ARAB MILITARY PRESSURE. (CONFIDENTIAL) E-2 IMPDET.