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CONFIDENTIAL FILING.

Soviet leadership

Major Political Speeches

SOVIET UNION

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GORBACHEV ADDRESS TO PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES.

SUMMARY

1. IN DEFENSIVE SPEECH, GORBACHEV ARGUES TIME IS RIGHT FOR TRANSITION TO REGULATED MARKET ECONOMY. ATTEMPTS TO JUSTIFY FORTHCOMING LEGISLATION IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC LIBERATION AND MOTIVATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL. DEFINES NEW PARTY ROLE IN EDUCATING POPULATION WHICH CURRENTLY LACKS MARKET PSYCHOLOGY. THE PARTY APPARATUS STILL UNEASY ABOUT MARKET IDEAS. ECONOMIC DEBATE LIKELY TO BE A CENTRAL THEME OF FORTHCOMING CPSU CONGRESS.

DETAIL

2. ON 11 JUNE THERE WAS A MEETING OF REPUBLIC AND REGIONAL PARTY LEADERS IN MOSCOW. THE TEXT OF GORBACHEV'S SPEECH, BUT NONE OF THE OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS, WAS PUBLISHED IN PRAVDA ON 13 JUNE. NEARLY ALL HIS REMARKS WERE DIRECTED TO ECONOMIC REFORM.

3. THE SOVIET LEADER BEGAN BY ADMITTING THAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE MARKET ECONOMY WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED. ON 13 JUNE THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENTARY ECONOMIC REFORM COMMISSION WOULD MAKE THEIR FINAL PRESENTATION TO THE SUPREME SOVIET FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION STAGE OF RYZHKOV'S REFORM PACKAGE (WE WILL BE REPORTING THIS SEPARATELY).

ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

4. GORBACHEV RAISED THE ISSUE OF WHETHER PRIVATISING STATE PROPOERTY CONTRADICTED SOCIALISM. HE EMPHASISED THAT ECONOMIC FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL MUST ACCOMPANY HIS POLITICAL EMANCIPATION AND CLAIMED THAT LENIN HAD COME TO REALISE THIS, EVEN IF ONLY IN HIS LATER YEARS. A RETURN TO THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION AS THE LATTER WAS OUT-DATED AND HAD IMPEDED SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS. THE SOVIET ECONOMY LAGGED SO FAR BEHIND ITS US COUNTERPART NOT ON ACCOUNT OF A LACK OF RESOURCES, BUT RATHER DUE TO THE ABSENCE OF INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC MOTIVATION.

5. THE SOCIAL CHANGE INVOLVED IN THE TRANSITION TO A REGULATED MARKET WAS COMPARABLE WITH THAT WHICH OCCURRED AFTER OCTOBER 1917.

THE REFORMS WOULD HAVE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE POPULATION BUT PRICE INCREASES SHOULD LEAD TO MORE, NOT LESS, GOODS ON THE SHELVES. A 7-8 MONTH PREPARATORY PERIOD FOR LEGISLATION WOULD NOW ENSUE, AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF WHICH WOULD BE TO DECIDE EFFECTIVE MEASURES OF SOCIAL PROTECTION. THOSE WHO ARGUED THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE INTRODUCED MARKET-ORIENTATED REFORMS EARLIER WERE WRONG AS ENTERPRISES HAD NEEDED TIME TO READJUST TO NEW CONDITIONS.

IDEOLOGY AND FUTURE ROLE OF THE PARTY

6. GORBACHEV ARGUED THAT THE ACTIVE COOPERATION OF PARTY AND STATE ORGANS WAS REQUIRED IF ECONOMIC REFORMS WERE TO ACHIEVE THEIR MAXIMUM POTENTIAL. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE REQUIRED WAS EVEN MORE COMPLEX THAN THE ECONOMIC ONE. THE SOVIET PEOPLE 'ABSOLUTELY' LACKED A MARKET PSYCHOLOGY AT PRESENT AND THE CPSU WOULD HAVE TO TASK ITSELF WITH EXPLAINING THE PURPOSE OF FORTHCOMING LEGISLATION AND EDUCATING THE POPULATION GENERALLY.

7. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE REFORM PLAN WOULD CAUSE 'TEMPORARY DISCOMFORT'. BUT BEFORE CRYING 'GUARD' THE ISSUES SHOULD BE STUDIED CAREFULLY. THIS SHOULD BE DONE BY EVERYONE TOGETHER: IF THERE WAS NOT AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY AMONG THOSE IN RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS THEN THE REFORM PROCESS WOULD BE CHOKED OFF. THERE WAS NO NEED TO FEAR THAT THE MARKET WOULD MAKE THE ECONOMY UNMANAGEABLE. BUT IT HAD TO BE CLEAR THAT THE PRUPOSE OF REFORM WAS TO IMPROVE LIVING STANDARDS - NOT TO KEEP CERTAIN PEOPLE IN POWER.

COMMENT

8. GORBACHEV'S ATTEMPT TO PLACE THE PROPOSED ECONOMIC REFORMS WITHIN A LENINIST IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK WAS UNCONVINCING. THE CPSU, AS THE VERY EMBODIMENT OF THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM, APPEARS AN UNLIKELY AND UNQUALIFIED ADVOCATE OF A REGULATED MARKET ECONOMY. BUT IT IS CLEAR FROM THIS SPEECH THAT THERE IS STILL A LOT OF OPPOSITION WITHIN THE PARTY EVEN TO THE CURRENT CAUTIOUS MARKET REFORM PROGRAMME OF THE GOVERNMENT. GORBACHEV IS EVIDENTLY EXPECTING THE DEBATE OVER ECONOMIC CHANGE TO PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN THE OUTCOME OF THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS.

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SOVIET UNION: 9 MAY ANNIVERSARY: SPEECHES BY GORBACHEV AND YAZOV

SUMMARY
1. GORBACHEV SETS THE RECORD STRAIGHT ON STALIN AND THE WAR AND STRESSES AGAIN THE NEED FOR MILITARY REFORM. A GOOD SPEECH - BUT ONE WHICH WILL NOT HAVE HELPED MEND FENCES WITH THE MILITARY.

DETAIL
2. GORBACHEV ADDRESSED THE PRE-ANNIVERSARY MEETING ON THE EVENING OF 8 MAY WITH A SPEECH ENTITLED ''LESSONS OF WAR AND VICTORY''. DEFENCE MINISTER YAZOV MADE HIS MUCH BRIEFER COMMENTS AT THE PARADE ON RED SQUARE ON 9 MAY. THE MILITARY PARADE ITSELF WAS METICULOUSLY PRESENTED AND WENT OFF WITHOUT INCIDENT.

GORBACHEV'S SPEECH
3. GORBACHEV BEGAN BY NOTING THAT THE 9 MAY ANNIVERSARY WAS AN OCCASION FOR NATIONAL PRIDE AND FOR NATIONAL MOURNING. HE NOTED THE WAR HAD COST ALMOST 27 MILLION SOVIET LIVES. HE PAID TRIBUTE TO THE HEROISM OF SOVIET TROOPS AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND ALSO EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE ALLIES - SINGLING OUT FIRST THE UK AND THE USA.

4. THE REST OF GORBACHEV'S SPEECH DEALT WITH THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE WAR AND THE WAR ITSELF: IN HIS FINAL PASSAGES HE DEALT WITH THE ISSUE OF MILITARY REFORM.

LESSONS FROM THE WAR
5. GORBACHEV REFERRED TO THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE PURGES OF 1937-38 TO THE USSR'S INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. THE QUESTION WAS OFTEN ASKED, HE SAID, WHETHER THE WAR COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED. THINGS WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT WITHOUT THE WEST'S POLICY OF APPEASEMENT: BUT THERE WAS PROBABLY LITTLE THAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE TO PREVENT THE WAR. THE USSR CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES HAD RECENTLY GIVEN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THE RIBBENTROP/MOLOTOV PACT: HE DID NOT WANT TO ADD TO THIS - EXCEPT

TO SAY THAT THE ENORMOUS POLITICAL AND MORAL COSTS OF DELAYING THE WAR IN THIS WAY HAD BEEN GIVEN EVEN MORE FORCE BY SUBSEQUENT SERIOUS STRATEGIC MISTAKES BY THE SOVIET UNION. HE REFERRED TO STALIN'S DECIMATION OF THE OFFICER CORPS. MORE THAN 40,000 HAD BEEN KILLED OR IMPRISONED. HE ALSO REFERRED AT SOME LENGTH TO STALIN'S REFUSAL TO BELIEVE ALL THE EVIDENCE THAT A GERMAN ATTACK WAS IMMINENT AND TO THE DISASTROUS RESULTS OF THIS IN THE OPENING PHASES OF THE WAR.

6. TURNING TO THE REASONS FOR THE EVENTUAL SOVIET VICTORY, GORBACHEV REJECTED THE PARALLELS WITH NAPOLEON: I.E. THAT THE GERMAN ARMY WAS DEFEATED BY THE SIZE OF THE COUNTRY, THE WEATHER ETC. HE ALSO REJECTED THE IDEA THAT VICTORY WAS WON NOT BY COURAGE OR INTELLIGENCE BUT PURELY BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET UNION'S WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE ENORMOUS NUMBERS OF LIVES. HE EMPHASISED IN PARTICULAR THE UNITY OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL USSR THROUGHOUT THE WAR - SOMETHING OVER WHICH HITLER BADLY MISCLACULATED. HE ALSO PAID TRIBUTE TO THE ENORMOUS ROLE PLAYED BY THE CPSU.

7. GORBACHEV RAISES ANOTHER FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTION - WHY DID THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY THAT WON THE WAR NOW LIVE WORSE THAT THOSE THEY HAD DEFEATED. THE ANSWER: HAVING WON THE WAR, THE SOVIET PEOPLE WERE ONCE AGAIN SUBJECTED TO AUTHORITARIANISM. THOSE WHO RETURNED FROM THE WAR DID NOT WANT ANY LONGER TO BE COGS IN A POLITICAL MACHINE. BUT THEY DID NOT GET THEIR HONOUR AND FREEDOM UNTIL 1956. HE ALSO NOTES THAT DURING THE COLD WAR THE VAST WEALTH CREATED BY THE SOVIET PEOPLE WAS LARGELY INVESTED IN INCREASING THE COUNTRY'S MILITARY STRENGTH - ONE OF THE FACTORS WHICH HAD LED THE ECONOMY TO ITS PRESENT CRISIS.

MILITARY REFORM

8. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE MILITARY WERE NOW BEING DISCUSSED HEATEDLY EVERYWHERE. THE ISSUES WERE INTER-LINKED WITH THE NEW APPROACHES IN FOREIGN POLICY, THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AS WELL AS CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. IT WAS NATURAL THAT THE ARMED FORCES SHOULD REFLECT THE WIDER PLUSES AND MINUSES OF MODERN SOVIET LIFE. THE ARMY COULD NOT BE PLACED ABOVE CRITICISM. PERESTROIKA MEANT THAT THE ARMY'S ROLE IN SOCIETY HAD TO BE LOOKED AT AGAIN. BUT DISCUSSIONS OF THEIR PROBEMS HAD TO BE COMPETENT, CONSTRUCTIVE AND COHESIVE.

9. THE AIM OF MILITARY REFORM WAS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFICIENT STRUCTURE AT THE MINIMAL COST. LIFE IN THE MILITARY HAD TO BE DEMOCRATISED - THE ROLE OF POLITICAL SECTIONS HAD TO BE RETHOUGHT.

10. THE ISSUE OF MILITARY REFORM AFFECTED EVERYBODY - THERE HAD TO BE A CAREFULLY WORKED OUT STATE-WIDE PROGRAMME FOR WIDE RANGING CUTS IN PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT, BUDGET REDUCTIONS AND CONVERSION OF THE MILITARY SECTOR. AT THE SAME TIME, THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE MILITARY AND OTHER FAMILIES HAD TO BE IMPROVED. THE HONOUR AND DIGNITY OF THE MILITARY HAD TO BE PROTECTED. THERE SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPT TO INFRINGE THEIR SOCIAL OR POLITICAL RIGHTS. ON THIS DAY OF VICTORY, GORBACHEV SAID HE WANTED TO SAY TO THE MILITARY HOW MUCH THEIR WORK AND THEIR READINESS TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY WAS VALUED.

SPEECH BY DEFENCE MINISTER YAZOV

11. THE WAR, SAID YAZOV, HAD CONVINCINGLY DEMONSTRATED THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM, AND THE UNBREAKABLE FRIENDSHIP OF ITS PEOPLES. THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAD DEFEATED FASCISM NOT ONLY ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE BUT ALSO ECONOMICALLY. IN THE STRUGGLE FOR METAL, COAL, BREAD AND ENERGY, THE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM HAD BEEN DEMONSTRATED. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY AND ITS APPARATUS HAD BEEN CRUCIAL. VICTORY IN THE WAR HAD OPENED BEFORE MANKIND NEW AVENUES TO SOCIAL PROGRESS AND PEACE.

12. NEW POLITICAL THINKING AND THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION HAD PRODUCED POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. THERE WAS NOW DIALOGUE INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATION. BUT THESE ACHIEVEMENTS WERE NOT YET IRREVERSIBLE: MILITARY DANGER STILL EXISTED.

13. THE SOVIET MILITARY WELCOMED AND SUPPORTED THE NEW PARTY PLATFORM AND THE DECISIONS OF THE LAST PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND OF THE PRESIDENT AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE USSR.

COMMENT

14. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH WAS DESIGNED TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT ABOUT THE LESSONS OF THE WAR AND THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO IT. HE SET OUT, IN MORE DETAIL THAN HE HAD DONE BEFORE, THE IMPACT OF STALIN - HIS PURGES OF THE ARMY AND HIS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE IMMINENCE OF A GERMAN ATTACK. HIS ACCOUNT WAS DESIGNED TO MAKE THAT POINT THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY DEMOCRACY NOT BY A RETURN TO AUTHORITARIANISM.

15. THIS WAS A CAREFULLY PREPARED, SOPHISTICATED AND RELATIVELY OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS. BUT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A REAL QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER THIS WAS THE TIME AND PLACE FOR SUCH A SPEECH. BY AN ACADEMIC AUDIENCE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WELL RECEIVED. THE ACTUAL AUDIENCE - MAINLY WAR VETERANS AND THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL

ESTABLISHMENT - GAVE IT A NOTICEABLY COOL RECEPTION. GIVEN THE APPARENT TENSIONS IN GORBACHEV'S RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY, HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN BETTER ADVISED TO RESTRICT HIMSELF - AS YAZOV DID - TO THE SORT OF PLATITUDES RUSSIANS ARE USED TO HEARING ON THESE OCCASIONS.

16. HIS COMMENTS ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF MILITARY REFORM WERE REASONABLY BALANCED. THEY FOLLOWED THE SAME LINE AS OTHER RECENT COMMENTS EG IN SVERDLOVSK. HE INSISTED ON THE NEED FOR REFORM: THERE WAS NO SIGN OF BACKTRACKING ON MANPOWER OR BUDGET CUTS. THE ARMY HAD TO BE DEMOCRATISED AND COULD NOT REMAIN ABOVE CRITICISM. BUT HE ALSO STRESSED HIS COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING MILITARY HONOUR AND DIGNITY AND WARNED AGAINST LETTING PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE ARMED FORCES GO TOO FAR.

17. YAZOV'S COMMENTS INCLUDED A SHORT AND RATHER GRUDGING ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE NEED FOR REFORM. HIS ASSURANCE THAT GORBACHEVS POLICY OF PRESERVING THE UNITY OF THE UNION HAD MILITARY SUPPORT WAS PRESUMABLY DIRECTED, IN PARTICULAR, AT LITHUANIA.

BRAITHWAITE

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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10 July 1989

Dear Charles,

Gorbachev's Speech at the Council of Europe, 6 July

You have seen the text of speech given by Gorbachev at the Council of Europe on 6 July; I enclose a further copy.

The speech concentrates on areas which Gorbachev considers ripe for cooperation across Eastern and Western Europe, under the general umbrella theme of the "Common European Home". It is broadly positive and forthcoming in tone, although it gives the impression of being something of a rag-bag of disparate ideas. Gorbachev invokes the now familiar themes of the interdependence of nations, and respect for the right of each people to choose their social system, adding that any attempt to limit the sovereignty of states whether friends, allies or anyone else is inadmissible - a very clear intended reference to the Brezhnev Doctrine. He suggests that the main obstacle to greater European unification is not the existence of two social systems, but the belief that 'what is meant by overcoming the division of Europe is actually "overcoming socialism"'. Both social systems can co-exist and cooperate in a more united Europe. While there are some welcome passages in this, the section as a whole contains a "hands-off" message based on the negative premise that socialism in the East is a "historical fact".

Press interest has so far concentrated on Gorbachev's remarks on SNF, although in fact there is little substantially new in these, and Gorbachev's appeal is more emotional than rational. The offer of unilateral reductions in short- range nuclear weapons once the Alliance has signalled its readiness to join in negotiations on "tactical nuclear weapons" is disingenuous since in Russian parlance the phrase includes all theatre nuclear systems. The Alliance is not of course willing to engage in negotiations which go beyond short-range missiles.

More interesting is the suggestion that the Soviet Union, US, UK, and France, together with countries upon whose soil nuclear weapons are based, should discuss in depth questions such as the concept of minimum deterrence and the point at which the ability to retaliate with nuclear weapons becomes an ability to use them for attack. This is one of a number of recent hints which the Russians have given that, while not

/abandoning

abandoning their traditional rejection of the concept of nuclear deterrence, they may be willing to accept that nuclear weapons have a role to play in European security. Talks such as Gorbachev proposes would contain pitfalls - the issue of deterrence is one for the Alliance as a whole, not for individual nations - and the Russians would no doubt use such contacts to disparage the deterrent value of short-range nuclear weapons. These issues may well be raised by the Russians at next year's CSBM seminar on military doctrine.

Economic and Other Cooperation

Gorbachev spoke of the possibility of Soviet accession to certain Council of Europe conventions open to signature by non-member states. He also made a pitch for greater East/West economic cooperation, speaking strongly about COCOM. He listed a series of possible joint East/West projects, including a trans-European high-speed railway, and programmes on solar energy and nuclear safety. He spoke positively of cooperation and the EC and EFTA.

Gorbachev suggested that a new Helsinki conference was becoming increasingly urgent. It is not clear what he hopes to gain by this, unless a further platform for the Soviet Union to show its reform process in a good light. There is already a full programme of meetings leading up to the 1992 Helsinki Review Conference: and many commitments made by the East at earlier meetings have yet to be fulfilled. The speech did, however, contain a useful commitment to the establishment of a "State of Law" in the Soviet Union and Europe.

Comment

Little of this is really new. Gorbachev has used the forum of the Council of Europe and the theme of the Common European Home to bring together a number of fairly disparate Soviet proposals into a more general picture of cooperation across East and West Europe. He has stuck to Soviet support for two different social systems in Europe, although with the implication that the division into two blocs will become less threatening and less important. Apart from the section on SNF there is little here that calls for a substantive response.

Visit to Paris

There were no surprises from the earlier part of Gorbachev's visit to France. The 21 bilateral agreements signed during the visit cover well trodden ground, for instance cultural centres and management training (a programme on the same sort of scale as the FRG's). The French apparently resisted Soviet pressure for a joint statement on the lines of the one issued in Bonn, and there is no major political declaration.

/President Mitterrand

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President Mitterrand took a firm line over the need for practical steps to overcome the East/West division. Gorbachev for his part spoke in forth- coming terms of the freedom of the East Europeans to go their own way: "It is up to Hungary and Poland to decide their own affairs". He also, however, made clear that he envisaged the future of the East European nations as being in "a socialist system and a socialist democracy" - the same ambiguity which marked the Strasbourg speech.

According to press reports, Gorbachev spent much of his time with Mitterrand explaining the present position of the reform process in the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister may like to ask Mitterrand for his impressions when she meets him in Paris next week.

I am copying this letter to Brian Hawtin (MOD).

Yours ever,

Richard Gozney

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

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Prime Minister

Mr. Gorbachev's speech in Strasbourg. There is nothing very new in it. The emphasis is heavily on getting US out of Europe – & the Germans are predictably rising to the bait.

CDP
7/7.

STATEMENT BY

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

AT THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

OF THE COUNSIL OF EUROPE

STRASBOURG

1989

Unofficial translation

Mr. President,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you for the invitation to make an address here--in one of the epicenters of European politics and of the European idea.

This meeting could, perhaps, be viewed both as evidence of the fact that the pan-European process is a reality and of the fact that it continues to evolve.

Now that the 20th century is entering a concluding phase and both the post-war period and the cold war are becoming a thing of the past, the Europeans have a truly unique chance--to play a role in building a new world, one that would be worthy of their past, of their economic and spiritual potential.

I.

Now more than ever before, the world community is experiencing profound changes. Many of its components are currently at the turning point of destinies.

The material foundation of life is changing drastically as are its spiritual parameters. There are new, and increasingly more powerful factors of progress emerging.

But alongside these factors and in their wake, there continue to persist and even escalate the threats emanating from this very progress.

There is an inevitable need to do everything within the power of modern intellect so that Man would be able to continue the role assigned to him on this Earth, perhaps in the Universe at large,

so that he would be able to adapt himself to the stress-inducing newness of modern existence and win the fight for the survival of the present and succeeding generations.

This applies to all mankind. But it applies three times as much to Europe--both in the sense of its historic responsibility and in the sense of the urgency and immediacy of problems and tasks at hand, and in the sense of opportunities.

It is also the specific feature of the situation in Europe that it can cope with all this, live up to the expectations of its peoples and do its international duty at the new stage of world history,

only by recognizing its wholeness and by making the right conclusions.

The years 1920s saw the theory of "a declining Europe" gain wid currency. But that theme seems to be in vogue with some people even today. As far as we are concerned, we do not share the pessimism regarding the future of Europe.

Europe experienced, before everyone else, the consequences of the internationalization first and foremost of economic and subsequently of the whole public life.

The interdependence of countries, as a higher stage of the process of internationalization, made itself felt here before it did in other parts of the world.

Europe experienced more than once the attempts at unification by force. But it also experienced lofty dreams of a voluntary democratic community of European peoples.

Victor Hugo said that the day would come when you, France, you, Russia, you, Italy, you, England, you, Germany--all of you, all the nations of the continent will, without losing your distinguishing features and your splendid distinctiveness, merge inseparably into some high society and form a European brotherhood... The day would come when the only battle-field will be markets open for trade and minds open to ideas.

Nowadays it is no longer enough to merely ascertain the commonality of destiny and interdependence of European states.

The idea of European unification should be collectively thought over once again in the process of the co-creation of all nations--large, medium and small.

Is it realistic to raise the question in these terms? I know that many people in the West perceive the main difficulty in the existence of two social systems.

Yet the difficulty lies elsewhere--it lies in the rather wide-spread belief (or even in the political objective) that what is meant by overcoming the division of Europe is actually "overcoming socialism".

But this is a course for confrontation, if not something worse. There will be no European unity along these lines.

The fact that the states of Europe belong to different social systems is a reality. The recognition of this historical fact and respect for the sovereign right of each people to choose their social system at their own descretion are the most important prerequisite for a normal European process.

The social and political order in some particular countries did change in the past, and it can change in the future as well. But this is exclusively a matter for the peoples themselves and of their choice.

Any interference in internal affairs, any attempts to limit the sovereignty of states--both friends and allies or anybody else--are inadmissible.

Differences between states cannot be eliminated. In fact, they are even salutary, as we said on more occasions than one.

Provided, of course, that the competition between different types of society is aimed at creating better material and spiritual conditions of life for people.

Thanks to perestroika, the Solviet Union will be in a position to take full part in such an honest, equal and constructive competition. For all our present shortcomings and lagging behind, we know full well the strong points of our social system which follow from its essential characteristics.

And, we are confident that we shall be able to make use of them both to the benefit of our ourselves and of Europe.

It is time to consign to oblivion the cold war postulates when Europe was viewed as an arena of confrontation divided into "spheres of influence" and someone else's "forward-based defenses", as an object of military confrontation--namely a theatre of war.

In today's interdependent world the geopolitical notions, brought forth by a different epoch, turn out to be just as helpless in real politics as the laws of classical mechanics in the quantum theory.

In the meantime, it is precisely on the basis of the outmoded stereotypes that the Soviet Union continues to be suspected of hegemonistic designs and of the intention to decouple the United States from Europe.

There are even some people who are not unwilling to put the USSR outside of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals by confining it to the space "from Brest to Brest". To them, the Soviet Union is ostansibly too big for joint living: the others will not feel very comfortable next to it, or so they say.

The realities of today and the prospects for the foreseeable future are obvious: the Soviet Union and the United States are a natural part of the European international and political structure.

Their involvement in its evolution is not only justified, but also historically conditioned. No other approach is acceptable. In fact, it will even be counterproductive.

For centuries Europe has been making an indispensable contribution to world politics, economy, culture and to the development of the entire civilization.

Its world historic role is recognized and respected everywhere.

Let us not forget, however, that the metastases of colonial slavery spread around the world from Europe. It was here that fascism came into being. It was here that the most destructive wars started.

At the same time Europe, which can take a legitimate pride in its accomplishments, is far from having settled its debts to mankind. It is something that still has to be done.

And it should be done by seeking to transform international relations in the spirit of humanism, equality and justice and by setting an example of democracy and social achievements in its own countries.

The Helsinki process has already commenced this important work of world-wide significance.

Vienna and Stockholm brought it to fundamentally new frontiers. The documents adopted there are today's optimal expression of the political culture and moral traditions of European peoples.

Now it is up to all of us, all the participants in the European process, to make the best possible use of the ground work laid down through our common efforts. Our idea of a Common European Home serves the same purpose too.

II.

It was born out of our realization of new realities, of our realization of the fact that the linear continuation of the path, along which inter-European relations have developed until the last quarter of the 20th century, is no longer consonant with these realities.

The idea is linked with our domestic, economic and political perestroika which called for new relations above all in that part of the world to which we, the Soviet Union, belong, and with which we have been tied most closely over the centuries.

We also realized that the colossal burden of armaments and the atmosphere of confrontation did not just obstruct Europe's normal development,

but at the same time prevented our country--economically, politically and psychologically--from being integrated into the European process and had a deforming impact on our own development.

These were the motives which impelled us to decide to pursue much more vigorously our European policy which, incidentally, has always been important to us in and of itself.

In our recent meetings with European leaders questions were raised about the architecture of our "common home", on how it should be built and even on how it should be "furnished".

Our discussions of this subject with President Francois Mitterand in Moscow and in Paris were fruitful and fairly significant in scope.

Yet even today, I do not claim to carry a finished blue-print of that home in my pocket. I just wish to tell you what I believe to be most important.

In actual fact, what we have in mind is a restructuring of the international order existing in Europe that would put the European common values in the forefront and make it possible to replace the traditional balance of forces with a balance of interests.

What are the questions that deserve specific mention in this context?

First and foremost, these are security issues.

As part of the new thinking, we began with a critical reassessment of our perceptions of the military confrontation in Europe, of the dimensions of the external threat and of the factor of force in strengthening security.

This did not come easy, sometimes it was downright painful. But as a result, decisions were made that have made it possible to break the vicious circle of "action-re-action" in East-West relations.

No doubt, joint Soviet-US efforts in the area of nuclear disarmament played a major starting role in the process.

The INF Treaty got something more than just approval from the Europeans. Many contributed to its conclusion.

The Vienna talks opened a fundamentally new stage in the arms reduction process.

23 states, rather than just two powers are participating in it. All the 35 participants in the CSCE process continue to work out military confidence-building measures. Although the two negotiating processes are going on in different rooms, they are closely interrelated.

There are no "bystanders", nor can there be any, in peace-building in Europe; all are equal partners here and everyone, including neutral and non-aligned countries, bears his share of responsibility to his people and Europe.

The philosophy of the concept of a "Common European Home" rules out the probability of an armed clash and the very possibility of the use or threat of force, above all military force, by an alliance against another alliance, inside alliances or wherever it may be.

It suggests a doctrine of restraint to replace the doctrine of deterrence. This it is not just a play on notions, but a logic of European development imposed by life itself.

Our objectives at the Vienna talks are well-known. We believe--and the US President has also spoken in favour of it--that substantial reductions within two or three years in the level of armaments in Europe can well be achieved, naturally, given the elimination of all asymmetries and imbalances.

I emphasize, all asymmetries and imbalances. No double standards are admissible there.

We are convinced that it is high time talks on tactical nuclear systems were initiated among all interested countries. The ultimate objective is to completely eliminate those weapons. Only Europeans who have no intention of waging war against one another are threatened by those weapons. What are they for then and who needs them?

Are nuclear arsenals to be eliminated or retained at all costs? Does the strategy of nuclear deterrence enhance or undermine stability?

On all these questions the positions of NATO and WTO appear to be diametrically opposed.

We, however, are not dramatizing our differences. We are looking for solutions and invite our partners to join us in this quest.

After all, we see the elimination of nuclear weapons as a stage-by-stage process. Europeans can travel part of the distance separating us from complete destruction of nuclear weapons together, without backing away from their positions--with the USSR remaining faithful to its non-nuclear ideals and the West--to the concept of "minimum deterrence".

However, there is merit in figuring out what lies behind the concept of "minimum" deterrence and where the limit is beyond which nuclear retaliation capability is transformed into an attack capability. Here much remains unclear, and ambiguity breeds mistrust.

Why shouldn't experts from the USSR, the United States, Great Britain and France, as well as from states who have nuclear weapons on their territories, hold an in-depth discussion of those questions?

If they arrive at some common views, the problem would become simpler at the political level, too.

If it becomes clear that NATO countries are ready to join us in negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, we could, naturally after consulting our allies, carry out without delay further unilateral reductions in our tactical nuclear missiles in Europe.

The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries, notwithstanding the Vienna talks, are already unilaterally reducing their armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Their posture and operational structure are changing in line with the defensive doctrine of reasonable sufficiency.

That doctrine--both in terms of quantities of armaments and troops and in terms of their deployment, training and all military activities--makes it physically impossible to launch an attack or to conduct large-scale offensive operations.

In any case, as was declared at the USSR Supreme Soviet, we intend, if the situation permits, to cut sharply--by 1.5 to 2 times--the share of our defense expenditure in national income already by 1995.

We have seriously addressed conversion of the military industry. All CSCE participating countries will come to face this problem one way or another. We are ready to exchange views and share experience.

We think that the opportunities offered by the United Nations can also be used and, say, a joint working group can be set up within the Economic Commission for Europe to look into conversion problems.

Facing the European parliamentarians, and consequently the entire Europe, I should like to say once again a few words about our straightforward and clear-cut positions on disarmament. These positions are the result of the new thinking and they were laid down on behalf of our entire people in the Resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR:

- we are in favour of a nuclear-free world and in favour of eliminating all nuclear weapons by the turn of the century;

- we are in favour of complete elimination of chemical arms at the earliest possible date, and we favour the destruction, once and for all, of the production base for the development of such arms;

- we are in favour of a radical reduction in conventional arms and armed forces down to a level of reasonable defense sufficiency that would rule out the use of military force against other countries for the purposes of attack;

- we are in favour of complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other countries;

- we are absolutely opposed to the development of any space weapons;

- we are in favour of dismantling military blocs and launching immediately a political dialogue between them to that end, we are in favour of creating an atmosphere of trust that would rule out any surprises;

- we are in favour of a deep, consistent and effective verification of all treaties and agreements that may be concluded with respect to disarmament issues.

I am convinced that it is high time the Europeans brought their policies and their conduct in line with a new common sense--not to prepare for war, not to intimidate one another, not to compete in improving weapons, all the more so-in attempts to "offset" the initiated reductions, but rather to learn to make peace together and to jointly lay a solid basis for it.

III.

If security is the foundation of a Common European Home, then all-round cooperation is its bearing frame.

What is symbolic about the new situation in Europe and throughout the world in recent years, is an intensive inter-ctate dialogue, both bilateral and multilateral. The network of agreements, treaties and other accords has become considerably more extensive. Official consultations on various issues have become a rule.

For the first time contacts have been established between NATO and WTO, between EC and CMEA, not to mention many political and public organizations in both parts of Europe.

We are pleased with the decision of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to grant the Soviet Union the status of a "specially invited" state. We are prepared to cooperate. But we think that we can go further than that.

We could accede to some of the international conventions of the Council of Europe that are open to other states--on the environment, culture, education, television broadcasting. We are prepared to cooperate with the specialized agencies of the Council of Europe.

The Parliamentary Assembly, the Council of Europe and the European Parliament are situated in Strasbourg. Should our ties be expanded in the future and be put on a regular basis, we would open here, with the French government's consent, of course, a Consulate General.

Interparliamentary ties have major significance for making the European process more dynamic. An important step has already been made: late last year a first meeting of the parliamentary leaders of 35 countries was held in Warsaw.

We have duly appreciated the visit to the USSR of the delegation of the Parlimantary Assembly of the Council of Europe headed by its President, Mr. Bjork.

The delegation could, I hope, "feel" directly the potent and energetic pulse of the Soviet perestroika.

We regard as particularly important the recently initiated contacts with the European Parliament.

Inter alia, we took note of its resolutions on military-political issues which are seen by the Parliament as the core of the West European consensus in the area of security.

In this connection I cannot but mention the plans for "the Western European defense". Of course, any state or any group of states have the right to take care of their security in the forms they consider most appropriate.

It is important, though,that these forms are not in contradiction with the prevailing positive trends, i.e. the trend toward a military detente.

That they do not lead to the reappearance of confrontational tendencies in European politics and hence to a renewed arms race.

The need to convene within the next 18-24 months a second Helsinki-type meeting is coming to the fore with ever increasing urgency. It is time for the present generation of the leaders of the European countries, USA and Canada to discuss, in addition to the most immediate issues, how they contemplate future stages of progress toward a European community of the XXI century.

The economic content of the Common European Home. We regard as realistic--though not a close one--the prospect of emergence of a vast economic space from the Atlantic to the Urals where Eastern and Western parts would be strongly interlocked.

In this sense, the Soviet Union's transition to a more open economy is essential; and not only for ourselves, i.e. for higher economic effectiveness and for meeting consumer demands.

Such a transition will increase East-West economic interdependence and, thus, will tell favorably on the entire spectrum of European relations.

Similarities in the functioning of economic mechanisms, strengthening of ties and economic interest, mutual adaptation, training of experts--these are all long-term factors of cooperation, a guarantee of stability of the European and the international process as a whole.

My contacts with prominent representatives of the business communities of Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the United States during my trips

abroad and on numerous occasions in Moscow, testify to an increased interest in doing business with us in the conditions of perestroika.

Many of them do not overdramatize our difficulties, take into account the specificity of the moment, when the reform is more successful in destroying obsolete mechanisms then in engaging new ones.

I have also noted the resolve of experienced businessmen with a broad political outlook to take justified risks, demonstrate audacity and act with long-term prospects in mind.

And incidentally, not only in the interests of business but also in the interests of progress and peace and in universal human interests.

We also feel the awareness that focus on the immediate commercial profit may miss the chance for broad-scale and much more beneficial long-term economic cooperation with us as an integral part of the European process.

I think that the distinguished audience will agree that in our age segregating economic ties from scientific and technological ties is something less than normal. Yet, East-West relations have of late been bled white by COCOM.

If one could justify such practices at the peak of the cold war, today many restrictions seem utterly ridiculous.

Of course, we, too, are often excessively closed. However, we have begun to straighten this out. We have started to take down our "domestic COCOM"--the wall separating military and civilian production--in particular, in connection with conversion.

So maybe experts and representatives of the respective governments could get together and break all those cold war log-jams.

To bring secrecy down to reasonable limits which are indeed required for security, and to give the green light to the normal two-way flow of scientific knowledge and technical art?

The following projects, for example, are equally urgent both for the East and West of Europe:

a trans-European high-speed railway;

a common European programme on new solar-energy technologies and equipment;

processing and storing nuclear waste and enhancing the safety of nuclear power stations;

additional fiber optics channels for transmitting information;

an all-European satellite TV system.

Of great interest is the proposed high definition television. The research is under way in several countries and this system has a promising future for use within a "European home". Naturally, one would prefer the most advanced and inexpensive system.

In 1985 in Paris President Mitterand and I put forward the idea of developing an international thermonuclear experimental reactor. It is an inexhaustible source of environmentally clean energy.

Under the IAEA aegis this project--the result of pooling scientific capabilities of the Soviet Union, West European countries, the United States, Japan, and other countries--is moving to the stage of practical research.

Scientists believe that such a reactor could be built by the end of the century. It is a great achievement of academic thought and technological art, which will serve the future of Europe and the entire world.

The model of economic rapprochement between Eastern and Western Europe will to a large extent be determined by the relations between Western regional organizations--the EC, EFTA, and CMEA. Each of them has its own dynamics of development and its own problems.

We do not doubt that integration processes in Western Europe are acquiring a new quality. We are far from underestimating the emergence in the next few years of a single European market.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is also working towards establishing a integrated market though we are lagging far behind in this respect.

The rate of internal change in the CMEA will to a considerable degree determine what will have a priority development in the near future--ties between the CMEA and EC as groups or ties between inidividual socialist countries and the EC.

It is quite possible that now and then one or the other form will come to the forefront. What is important is that both forms fit in the logic of establishing a common European economic dimension.

As for the Soviet Union, coming up is a trade and economic agreement between our country and the EC. We attach substantial significance to this act from the standpoint of all-European interests too.

We are, naturally, far from seeing our ties with the EC as opposed to ties with other associations or states. The EFTA countries are our good and old partners.

It might be reasonable to talk also about developing ties between the CMEA and EFTA and use this channel of multilateral cooperation, too, in the construction of new Europe.

The common European home will have to be environmentally clean as well. Life has taught us bitter lessons. Major ecological problems have long ago transcended national confines. Setting up a regional ecological security system is therefore an urgent task.

It is quite possible that it is in this direction which is indeed a priority direction that the all-European process will advance most rapidly.

Elaborating a long-term continental ecological programme could be a first step.

We have proposed setting up a UN centre for emergency ecological assistance.

Such a centre or agency with a warning and monitoring system is urgently needed in Europe.

We might also give thought to establishing an all-European institute for ecological research and assessment.

And ultimately--on the creation of an organ with binding authority.

The Vienna meeting decided that an environmental forum of the 35 would be held this autumn in Sofia, Bulgaria. It could also discuss the problems in practical terms.

Humanity is suffering increasingly grave losses as a result of natural and technological disasters. Scores and even hundred of thousands of lives are lost each year. Huge sums are spent to control the consequences. Scientists are alarmed because largest cities are increasingly vulnerable in the face of natural disasters.

We are aware of the major projects designed to cope with this growing global threat.

The USSR Academy of Sciences has established an International Institute for the Theory of Earthquake Prediction, and it invites scientists from around the world to take part in developing a scientific basis for the problems of security and safety of larger cities, forecasting of draughts and possible climatic catastrophes.

The Soviet Union is ready to provide for these purposes satellites, oceanic vessels and new technology. It would be probably useful to involve also military services of various countries, above all medical and engineering units in the international rescue and restoration efforts.

The humanitarian content of the pan-European process is one of the crucial aspects.

A world where military arsenals would be reduced but where human rights would be violated, would not be a safe place.

We have made this conclusion for ourselves once and for all.

The decisions made by the Vienna meeting represent a real breakthrough in this respect. It laid down a programme of joint actions by European countries, made up of all kinds of activities. Understanding was reached on many issues which until very recently had been stumbling blocks in East-West relations.

We are convinced that the all-European process should rest on a solid legal ground. We are thinking of an all-European home as a community rooted in law. And for our part we have begun to move in that direction.

The Resolution adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR says inter alia:

"Guided by international rules and principles, including those in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki accords and agreements, and bringing its domestic legislation in line with the above, the USSR will seek to contribute to the establishment of a world community of states rooted in law".

Europe could set an example in that respect. Naturally, its international legal integrity includes national and social specific features of states. Each European country, the United States and Canada have their own laws and traditions in the humanitarian sphere, even though there exist some universally recognized rules and principles.

It would, perhaps, be useful to make a comparison of the existing legislations on human rights by setting up to that end an ad hoc working group or a kind of European institute for comparative humanitarian law.

In view of the different social systems

we are not likely to achieve a complete identity of views. However, the Vienna meeting and the recent London and Paris conferences have demonstrated that common views and common approaches do exist and can be multiplied.

This makes it possible to speak of the possibility of creating a European legal space.

At the Paris Humanitarian Forum, the Soviet Union and France cosponsored an initiative to that effect. They were joined by the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

What we need is to expand greatly cultural cooperation, increase interaction in the field of humanitarian sciences and to attain a higher level of information exchanges.

In a word, the Europeans must step up the process of getting to know each other better.

A special role here could be played by television which brings in contact scores and hundreds of millions, rather than hundreds or thousands, of men and women.

There are also certain dangers inherent in that. They should be seen. Performing stages, screens, exhibition halls, and publishing houses are flooded with commercial pseudo-culture alien to Europe. National languages are treated with disdain. All this calls for our common attention and joint work in the spirit of respect for the true national values of each and every one.

That may involve sharing of experience in the preservation of cultural heritage, actions to familiarize European peoples with the original present-day culture of each other and collective promotion of language studies.

This may also involve cooperation in the preservation of historical and cultural monuments, joint production of cine-, TV-, and videofilms which promote national cultural achievements and the best examples of artistic creation of the past and of today.

x x

x

Ladies and gentlemen,

The Europeans can meet the challenges of the coming century only by pooling their efforts.

We are convinced that what they need is one Europe--peaceful and democratic, a Europe that maintains all its diversity and common humanistic ideas, a prosperous Europe that extends its hand to the rest of the world. A Europe that confidently advances into the future.

It is in such Europe that we visualize our own future.

Perestroika, which seeks to radically renew Soviet society, determines our policy aimed at the development of Europe precisely in that direction.

Perestroika is changing our country, advancing it to new horizons. That process will continue, extend and transform Soviet society in all dimensions--economic, social, political and spiritual, in all domestic affairs and human relations.

We have firmly and irreversibly embarked on that road. This was confirmed by the Resolution passed by the Congress of People's Deputies on the "Basic guidelines of domestic and foreign policies of the USSR". That document confirmed in the name of the people our choice, our path of perestroika.

I commend this Resolution to your attention. It has a fundamental and revolutionary significance for the destinies of the country to which you yourselves refer as a superpower.

As a result of its implementation, you and your governments, your parliaments and peoples will soon be dealing with a totally different socialist nation than has been the case before.

And this will have and cannot but have a favourable impact on the entire world process.

I thank you.

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MY TELNO 716: GORBACHEV'S CLOSING SPEECH TO THE PLENUM

SUMMARY

1. GORBACHEV ASSESSES THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE ELECTIONS FOR THE PARTY. THERE WAS NOW A REVOLUTION FROM BELOW AS WELL AS FROM ABOVE. THIS DID NOT, AS SOME WERE CLAIMING, POSE A THREAT TO THE PARTY OR TO SOCIALISM. THE PARTY MUST LEAD THE PROCESS: NOT TRY TO REVERSE IT. THERE WAS STILL SERIOUS ECONOMIC FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT.

DETAIL

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE KEY POINTS FROM GORBACHEV'S CLOSING ADDRESS TO THE PLENUM ON 25 APRIL.

LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS

3. GORBACHEV CHARACTERSIED DISCUSSION AT THE PLENUM AS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF THE PARTY AT A CRUCIAL STAGE IN PERESTROIKA. IN STUDYING THE LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR EMOTION. THEY HAD TAKEN PLACE UNDER EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS. CONSUMER SHORTAGES WERE GETTING WORSE: THE FINANCIAL POSITION WAS GRAVE: EXTREMIST AND ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS WERE EXPLOITING NATIONAL FEELINGS. BUT PREDICTIONS THAT PEOPLE WOULD NOT GO TO THE POLLS, OR THAT THOSE THAT DID WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE PARTY, HAD BEEN PROVED MISTAKEN. THE PEOPLE HAD UNAMBIGUOUSLY BACKED THE PARTY'S POLICY OF MODERNISING SOCIETY. THE LESSONS OF THE ELECTIONS HAD NOT YET BEEN FULLY ANALYSED. THERE WOULD BE A FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR DISCUSSION AT THE NEXT PLENUM ON THE EVE OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES DEPUTIES WHEN THERE WOULD ALSO BE DISCUSSION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONGRESS AND THE FORMATION OF OTHER STATE BODIES.

4. GORBACHEV AGREED WITH THOSE AT THE PLENUM WHO HAD ATTRIBUTED MANY OF THE PROBLEMS OF PERESTROIKA TO THE FAILINGS OF CENTRAL BODIES. BUT PEOPLE WERE ALSO UNHAPPY WITH REGIONAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES, WITH THEIR WORK IN THE SPHERE OF TRADE, SERVICES, TRANSPORT: WITH ECONOMIC AND ECOLOGICAL MIS-MANAGEMENT AND VIOLATIONS OF THE RULE OF LAW. VOTERS AT THE ELECTIONS HAD MADE A RIGOROUS ANALYSIS NOT JUST OF OVERALL PARTY POLICY, BUT OF HOW IT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED IN

SPECIFIC CITIES AND REGIONS. IN SOME REGIONS PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE. BUT NOT IN OTHERS. MANY OF THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS WOULD BE SOLVED BY LOCAL INITIATIVE. PEOPLE WERE OPEN TO REASONABLE ARGUMENTS: BUT WHEN THEY WERE NOT TREATED WITH RESPECT THIS CAUSED RESENTMENT.

5. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT SOME PEOPLE WERE ALREADY SAYING THAT DEMOCRACY AND OPENNESS WERE LEADING TO DISASTER. THEY SAW THE FACT THAT PEOPLE HAD NOW BEGUN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS TAKING PERESTROIKA TOO FAR. ON THE CONTRARY. THIS WAS A SUCCESS FOR RESTRUCTURING. GORBACHEV STRESSED THAT THIS WAS ALSO THE VIEW OF THE POLITBURO.

THE ECONOMY

6. GORBACHEV NOTED SOME POSITIVE SIGNS. FIGURES SUGGESTED THAT THE TREND TOWARDS A SLOWING DOWN OF GROWTH RATES HAD BEEN CHECKED. PEOPLE'S PSYCHOLOGY WAS CHANGING. RESTRUCTURING WAS TAKING PLACE AT THE LEVEL OF THE ENTERPRISES.

7. NEVERTHELESS, PEOPLE WERE JUSTIFIABLY DISSATISFIED WITH WHAT HAD BEEN DONE SO FAR. PEOPLE WERE RESPONDING BADLY TO SHORTAGES AND QUEUES. THEY FELT HUMILIATED. BUT THERE COULD BE NO YIELDING TO PRESSURE TO STEP BACK FROM THE AGREED COURSE OF REFORM.

8. WHAT HAD GONE WRONG? CENTRAL ECONOMIC BODIES AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO HEADED THEM HAD BEEN VEY SLOW IN UNDERSTANDING THE IMPLICATIONS OF HTE COUNTRY'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. MANY DECISIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN WITHOUT DUE ACCOUNT OF THE REAL STATE OF FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES. THERE HAD BEEN A FAILURE TO DEVELOP PROPER LEVERS FOR REGULATING INCOMES: THERE WAS NO WELL-THOUGHT-OUT TAXATION POLICY. AS A RESULT WAGES WERE OUTSTRIPPING PRODUCTIVITY. THIS WAS UNDERMINING THE PROCESS OF REFORM. THESE ISSUES NEEDED TO BE EXPLAINED TO WORKING PEOPLE. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD DRAFT A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE ON THIS. IF THE NEW AGRARIAN POLICY WAS CONSISTENTLY IMPLEMENTED AND PEOPLE WEE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO MANAGE THEIR LAND, THERE COULD BE A BREAKTHROUGH IN FOOD SUPPLIES BEFORE TOO LONG. BUT IN MANY AREAS LOCAL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT WAS DOING LITTLE TO PROMOTE THIS.

9. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO ENUMERATE IN FAIRLY STANDARD TERMS THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN TO INCREASE THE OUTPUT OF CONSUMER GOODS, AND AGAIN STRESSED THAT MUCH OF THE RESPONSIBILITY LAY WITH BODIES AT THE REPUBLIC AND LOCAL LEVEL. IT WAS TIME ONCE AND FOR ALL TO ABIDE BY PAST DECISIONS. EACH REPUBLIC AND REGION SHOULD ANSWER BEFORE ITS POPULATION FOR THE LIVING STANDARDS IT OFFERED THEM. BUT THE LEADERS OF CERTIAN REPUBLICS STILL PREFERRED CONSTANTLY TO ASK MOSCOW FOR MORE RESOUCES. THERE WAS ALSO THE SEROIUS PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC MIS-MANAGEMENT, OF GROSS MIS-CALCULATIONS IN INVESTMENT POLICY AT THE CENTRE AND LOCALLY. FUNDS TIED UP IN UNCOMPLETED CONSTRUCTION

PROJECTS HAD INCREASED BY 30 BILLION ROUBLES OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. IN 1988 THERE HAD BEEN A 41% INCREASE IN NEW CONSTRUCITON PROJECTS. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO CRITICISE A NUMBER OF MINISTERS IN VERY SHARP TERMS FOR INEFFICIENCY AND IRRESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOUS. THERE WAS ALSO CORRUPTION. PEOPLE WERE DEMANDING STRICT PUNISHMENT FOR THOSE GUILTY OF MIS-MANAGEMENT. THE POLITBURO HAD AGREED THAT CASES OF MIS-MANAGEMENT AT BOTH CENTRAL AND REGIONAL LEVEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN PUBLIC SO THAT PEOPLE WOULD KNOW ABOUT THE MEASURES BEING TAKEN.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

10. GORBACHEV SAID THAT HE DID NOT AGREE WITH SOME OF THE EXTREME JUDGEMENTS WHICH SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTY WAS LOSING ITS POSITION IN THE COUNTRY, OR THAT IT WAS TURNING INTO A DISCUSSION CLUB. SOME WERE HINTING AT WEAKNESS AND INDECISION IN THE CENTRE. BUT THIS WAS A SIGN THAT PARTY OFFICIALS WERE LOSING CONFIDENCE. THIS WOULD NOT DO. THE MAIN POINT IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WAS THE RAPID GROWTH IN PEOPLE'S SELF-AWARENESS. THE INITIAL STAGES OF PERESTROIKA HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED FROM ABOVE. NOW THERE WAS ALSO A POWERFUL MOVEMENT FROM BELOW. NUMEROUS PUBLIC GROUPS WERE BEING FORMED. THE PARTY HAD TO LEARN TO WORK IN THESE NEW CONDITIONS. THE ELECTIONS HAD SHOWN THAT SOME WERE NOT READY FOR THIS. THERE WAS A GROWING PARADOX. THE PARTY HAD INITIATED DEMOCRATISATION. BUT WHEN SOME SAW THE RESULTS OF THIS THEY TRIED TO HOLD THE PROCESS BACK. SOME EVEN PANICKED AND SAW A THREAT TO SOCIALISM. INSTEAD, THE TASK OF THE PARTY WAS TO LEAD THIS PROCESS. ONLY IN THIS WAY WOULD THE PARTY INCREASE ITS SUPPORT AMONG THE WORKING PEOPLE. IF THE PARTY LOST THE INITIATIVE, IRREPARABLE DAMAGE WOULD BE DONE TO THE CAUSE OF PERESTROIKA. THE PARTY MUST LEARN TO BE MORE IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE INORDER TO EARN THEIR CONFIDENCE.

11. THIS WAS ALSO THE LESSON TO BE DRAWN FROM THE DRAMATIC EVENTS OF 9 APRIL IN TBILISI. THE POLITBURO HAD GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS FOR EVERYTHING THAT HAD HAPPENED THERE TO BE CAREFULLY ANALYSED. BUT IT WAS ALREADY CLEAR THAT EVERYTHING MUST BE DONE USING POLITICAL METHODS AND THE FORCE OF LAW TO PREVENT A REPETITION.

12. PERESTROIKA REQUIRED A MECHANISM FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY. POPULAR ACTIVITY COULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DEVELOP INTO SOMETHING WHICH INFRINGED THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS OF OTHERS. THE RECENTLY PUBLISHED DECREE OF THE SUPREME SOVIET (IE THAT INTRODUCING NEW LEGISLATION FOR ARTICLES 70 AND 190 OF THE CRIMINAL CODE WAS INTENDED TO DO THIS. ON THE WHOLE IT HAD BEEN RECEIVED WITH UNDERSTANDING. BUT, GORBACHEV SAID, HE AGREED WITH SOME COMRADES WHO SAID THAT THE PRESS HAD DEVELOPED A HABIT OF AUTOMATICALLY CRITICISING EVERY NEW DOCUMENT AS SOON AS IT WAS PUBLISHED WITHOUT PROPER ANALYSIS. URGENT ACTION WAS ALSO NEEDED TO TACKLE THE GROWING CRIME RATE WHICH IN SOME REGIONS

HAD BECOME ALARMING.
13. IN HIS CONCLUDING PASSAGES GORBACHEV EMPHASISED THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE GOVERNING BODIES OF THE PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO BEAR THEIR OWN SHARE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN WORK. PARTY CADRES HAD TO CHANGE THEIR STYLE OF WORK. PERSONNEL CHANGES SHOLD BE MADE WHERE THEY WERE NECESSARY. THE USSR WAS A COMPLEX MULTI-NATIONAL COUNTRY. THE PARTY WAS STILL THE NATURAL POLITICAL LEADER AND THE ONLY POLITICAL ORGANISATION CAPABLE OF ENSURING SOCIAL STABILITY AND RESTRICTING DANGEROUS MANIFESTATIONS OF NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM.

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office

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7 October 1988

Dear Charles,

The Implications of the Leadership Changes in Moscow

The Prime Minister may find it useful to have a brief assessment of the recent leadership changes in Moscow.

The forceful and dominant way in which Gorbachev bounced the changes he wanted through the Central Committee Plenum and Supreme Soviet stamped his authority firmly on the leadership. But it was clearly not all plain sailing.

There was no obvious reason for moving so quickly. It may be that Gorbachev detected growing opposition to his proposals for reforming the Party mechanism, and decided to nip this in the bud.

Certainly Gorbachev has strengthened his hand in the Politburo. Four of the new total of twelve are committed reformers (Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev and Medvedev). The old guard are down to three (Ligachev, Chebrikov and Shcherbitsky). Of the rest, two are more committed to economic than political reform. The remaining three tend to support the "conservative" line.

Gorbachev's two main opponents, Ligachev and Chebrikov, remain in the Politburo. Ligachev has been handed the poisoned chalice of agriculture. It remains to be seen whether he will retain the number two role or whether that role itself may change with the creation of the six commissions in the Secretariat instead (we assume) of the previous 30 or so departments. The fact that the existing Secretary for Agriculture, Nikonov, has not yet been assigned a new role may mean that Gorbachev originally wanted Ligachev out altogether but compromised at the last moment, leaving Nikonov high and dry.

Chebrikov is now to run the Legal Affairs Commission, a strange role for the ex-Head of the KGB. For the first time since 1973, the KGB itself has no representative on the Politburo. Since Chebrikov's former deputy, Kryuchkov (who was at Brize Norton last December) has been promoted to KGB Chairman, Chebrikov may continue in practice to exercise considerable control.

/While

While the concentration of reformists in the field of foreign affairs (Shevardnadze and Yakovlev) represents a victory for Shevardnadze's approach, it is not clear where their division of responsibility will fall. The transfer of the ideology portfolio from Yakovlev to Mednedev may also mean a less forthright public commitment to glasnost in the future. Gorbachev has recently shown signs of concern that too much press openness is not always helpful to perestroika; some tightening of "discipline" may now be a possibility.

It is not clear who in the Party will be responsible for nationalities, industry or "delivering the goods". Nor is it clear how far the overall size of the Central Committee apparatus is to be reduced. Both may be affected by Gorbachev's announced intention of reducing the extent to which the Party second-guesses the Government.

More generally, it is striking that two of Gorbachev's keenest and most effective allies now deal with foreign affairs. This is of course a key area from our point of view; but it is neither particularly controversial in Soviet terms nor crucial to Gorbachev's reform objectives. Meanwhile two of those who are widely seen as hostile to reform, Ligachev and Chebrikov, have been given responsibilities which Gorbachev knows - and has stated - are vital if perestroika is to make headway. A flexible, non-ideological approach to agricultural reform will be essential if the government is to succeed in putting more food in the shops. And moving towards a state where the rule of law applies will mean rolling back the arbitrary power of the Party and the KGB. Neither Ligachev nor Chebrikov seem to fit these job descriptions. Gorbachev may intend to dominate these areas himself and use their inability to adapt to push both out at a later stage. If so, it is a risky tactic.

The changes Gorbachev has made will not in themselves help economic reform to produce tangible results. Nor will they bring other key issues such as the nationalities question any nearer a solution. By concentrating more power in his own hands Gorbachev has made effective opposition or a "conservative backlash" more difficult. But extending his authority into the lower reaches of the system is quite another matter. And he has made it clearer than before that the buck stops with him.

It will be well into 1989 before the new-style Supreme Soviet can begin, as Gorbachev hopes it will, to create a stronger platform for reform. Meanwhile the ruthless way in which Gorbachev bounced his leadership changes through the system exposes a basic paradox he faces. As Gorbachev has

/constantly

constantly stressed, decentralised responsibility is essential for economic reform; but command methods are essential to get change moving. Gorbachev's handling of last week's changes, and the supine way in which his colleagues accepted them is a reminder that he is not a democrat in any true sense of the word.

Yours ever,

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LEADERSHIP CHANGES IN MOSCOW

THE PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY AND TODAY (MY TELEGRAMS 1617 AND 1619) ADD UP TO A REMARKABLE TWO DAYS IN SOVIET POLITICS. WE SHALL NEED TO LET THE DUST SETTLE BEFORE WE PRODUCE A CONSIDERED ASSESSMENT. BUT IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT GORBACHEV HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS POSITION THROUGH AN OPPORTUNIST, THOUGH DEFT POLITICAL OPERATION, IN WHICH HE APPEARS TO HAVE HELD THE INITIATIVE THROUGHOUT.

2. WE KNOW NO MORE THAN BEFORE ABOUT HIS MOTIVES. THE OBVIOUS EXPLANATION STILL SEEMS THE LIKELIEST: PERESTROIKA WAS FLAGGING, DISCONTENT WAS SPREADING AMONG THE PEOPLE AND PERHAPS THE LEADERSHIP. AND A DRAMATIC COUP DE MAIN - IN HIS USUAL STYLE - SEEMED THE BEST WAY TO REASSERT HIS DOMINANCE. HE IS NOW PRESIDENT - A POST HE HAD PLANNED TO RECEIVE ONLY NEXT SPRING. HE HAS REEMOVED MOST OF THE OLD BREZHNEV HANDS FROM THE LEADERSHIP (ONLY SHCHERBITSKY, THE UKRAINIAN PARTY LEADER REMAINS: BUT TO REMOVE HIM WOULD REQUIRE A PLENUM OF THE UKRAINIAN PARTY). LIGACHEV HAS BEEN HANDED THE POISONED CHALICE OF AGRICULTURE. THE MEN HE HAS PUT IN CHARGE OF IDEOLOGY AND SECURITY DO NOT HAVE THE PERSONAL AUTHORITY OF THEIR PREDECESSORS. (THE KGB IS NOT REPRESENTED IN THE POLITBURO, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1973). GORBACHEV NOW HAS THE FREER HAND HE WANTED TO PURSUE HIS OWN POLICIES.

3. THAT DOES NOT, OF COURSE, MEAN HE WILL HAVE THINGS ALL HIS OWN WAY. THE CLEAN-OUT WAS A CIVILISED ONE: THE TREATMENT OF GROMYKO WAS PARTICULARLY COUORTEOUS. BUT IT WILL HAVE AROUSED RESENTMENT AMONGST THE OLD HANDS WHO HAVE HAD THEIR WINGS CLIPPED. THEY WILL BE WAITING FOR GORBACHEV TO PUT A FOOT WRONG. AMONGST A WIDER PUBLIC, THE CONSPIRATORIAL NATURE OF THE COUP, THE SUPINE ROLES OF BOTH THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE SUPREME SOVIET, AND THE TOTAL LACK OF CONVINCING PUBLIC EXPLANATION, IT, WILL REINFORCE CYNICISM ABOUT GORBACHEV'S COMMITMENT TO GENUINE OPENNESS AND DEMOCRATISATION.

4. MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, THESE POLITICAL CHANGES AT THE CENTRE, AND

FIDDLING WITH PARTY ORGANISATION'S IN THE PROVINCES, WILL HAVE NO DIRECT EFFECT ON THE APATHY AMONGST WORKING PEOPLE, OR ON THE DEEP ROOTED ILLS OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY, WHICH ARE AT THE BASIS OF THIS COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS. GORBACHEV MAY NOW HAVE THE POWER. BUT BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE BUCK NOW STOPS WITH HIM. IF HE CANNOT DELIVER THE GOODS TO THE PEOPLE, HE WILL HAVE NO ONE ELSE TO BLAME IN FUTURE.

5. MY I.F.T. COMMENTS ON THE PESONNEL CHANGES IN MORE DETAIL. MY SECOND I.F.T. CONTAINS RECOMMENDATIONS ABOUT MESSAGES TO GORBACHEV AND GROMYKO.

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LIGACHEV AND PERESTROIKA

SUMMARY

1. LIGACHEV SHARPLY CRITICISES THOSE WHO ARE SPREADING RUMOURS OF SPLITS IN THE POLITBURO, BUT NEVERTHELESS GIVES A REMARKABLY CONSERVATIVE INTERPRETATION OF PERESTROIKA.

DETAIL

2. ON 4 JUNE LIGACHEV ADDRESSED A MEETING OF WORKERS AT THE TOGLIATTI CAR PLANT. ACCORDING TO THE SUMMARY IN THE CENTRAL PRESS ON 5 JUNE MUCH OF HIS SPEECH CONSISTED OF A ROUTINE PEP TALK OF THE TYPE REGULARLY GIVEN BY MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP TOURING THE COUNTRY. BUT HE ALSO GAVE A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF PERESTROIKA.

3. LIGACHEV SAID THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO PERESTROIKA. IT WAS THE ONLY WAY OF OVERCOMING ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND SOCIAL APATHY SEMICOLON AND OF MORALLY CLEANING UP SOCIETY. RIGHTIST FORCES IN THE WEST SAW PERESTROIKA AS A THREAT. ALIEN VOICES WERE URGING THE USSR TO ADOPT A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND AT TIMES CLAIMING THAT THIS WAS A PRE-CONDITION FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. THEY ALSO URGED THAT THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD ADOPT WESTERN MARKET ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. ALL THIS WAS AIMED AT WEAKENING THE POLITICAL STABILITY OF THE USSR, DESTROYING SOCIAL JUSTICE AND INCREASING DIVISIONS IN SOCIETY. THE SOVIET UNION, HE SAID, WOULD NOT DEPART FROM SOCIALISM. THE HEALTHY DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS THE GUARANTEE OF THEIR REVERSABILITY OF PERESTROIKA. IT WENT WITHOUT SAYING THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT DID NOT IMPLY THE WATERING DOWN OF THE PARTY'S ROLE IN SOCIETY. PROPOSALS OF THIS TYPE WERE UNACCEPTABLE. BUT THE PARTY DID HAVE TO PAY PERMANENT ATTENTION TO INCREASING ITS CONTACTS WITH THE WORKING CLASS.

4. LIGACHEV THEN TURNED TO AGRICULTURE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES BASED ON LEASING. HE STRESSED THAT THESE NEW STRUCTURES WERE FULLY COMPATIBLE WITH SOCIALISM. THEY BROUGHT ABOUT SUBSTANTIAL INCREASES IN PRODUCTIVITY, AND IF WAGES ALSO INCREASED THIS WAS MONEY WELL EARNED. LIGACHEV STATED THAT THE ECONOMY WAS MAKING REASONABLE PROGRESS AND REJECTED CLAIMS THAT THE REFORMS WERE HAVING NO EFFECT.

5. HE THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF DIVISIONS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP. THERE WERE SOME, HE SAID, WHO FOR THEIR OWN REASONS TRIED TO FOIST ONTO PERESTROIKA THE THEORY OF INCREASING CONTRADICTIONS. HE COULD NOT HELP RECALLING HOW THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE 1930'S HAD BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY THE IDEA OF THE WORSENING CLASS STRUGGLE - AND THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF THIS WERE WELL KNOWN. THERE WERE OF COURSE DISCUSSIONS AND ARGUMENTS WHICH WERE CONDUCTED ON A SOCIALIST PLATFORM. BUT ENEMIES IN THE WEST (AND SOME WITHIN THE COUNTRY) WERE SPREADING THE IDEA THAT THERE WERE DISAGREEMENTS IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND IN THE POLITBURO. SUCH ACCUSATIONS HAD BEEN MADE MORE THAN ONCE AND THEREFORE MUST BE CONSIDERED INTENTIONAL. WEDGE-DRIVING WAS A WELL-KNOWN TACTIC. IT HAD WORKED IN THE PAST WHEN FALSE RUMOURS ABOUT MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP HAD LED TO THE DEATHS OF MANY PEOPLE. BUT THESE WERE DIFFERENT TIMES, A DIFFERENT POLICY AND DIFFERENT LEADERS. ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WITH GORBACHEV AT THEIR HEAD WERE COMMITTED TO THE POLICY OF PERESTROIKA. AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF PERESTROIKA UNITY AND CONSOLIDATION WERE ESSENTIAL. THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONFERENCE WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SUCH UNITY.

COMMENT

6. THIS IS A NOTICEABLY HARD LINE SPEECH, AND THE REFERENCES TO THE ENEMIES IN THE WEST TRYING TO DESTABILISE SOVIET SOCIETY HAVE A REMARKABLY OLD-FASHIONED RING. THE REFERENCE TO THOSE INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION SPREADING RUMOURS ABOUT SPLITS IN THE POLITBURO IS CLEARLY AIMED AT ELTSIN, AND THE HARSH TONE OF LIGACHEV'S COMMENTS (EQUATING ELTSIN, BY IMPLICATION, WITH THE RUMOUR-MONGERS WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE PURGES UNDER STALIN) SUGGESTS THAT HE HAS BEEN REALLY NEEDLED BY THE NATIONWIDE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO ELTSIN'S CALL FOR HIS RESIGNATION IN GORBACHEV'S RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE (MY TELNO 941). THESE COMMENTS ALSO SUGGEST THAT HE IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY IRRITATED BY SPECULATION IN THE WESTERN PRESS ABOUT

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HIS DIFFERENCES WITH GORBACHEV. AS GORBACHEV HAS DONE RECENTLY, LIGACHEV USED THIS OCCASION TO UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHED TO LEADERSHIP UNITY IN THE RUN-UP TO THE CONFERENCE.

7. NEVERTHELESS, JUDGING BY HIS MORE GENERAL COMMENTS ON PERESTROIKA IN THIS SPEECH, HE IS NOT PREPARED TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS IN THE DIRECTION OF GORBACHEV'S MORE RADICAL CONCEPT OF PERESTROIKA IN SEARCH OF SUCH UNITY. THE MESSAGE THAT COMES OVER IS A MARKEDLY CONSERVATIVE ONE. THE IDEA OF PERESTROIKA AS A ''REVOLUTION'' IS NOT MENTIONED: NOR IS THERE ANY ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED FOR RADICAL POLITICAL REFORM. PERESTROIKA IS MADE IRREVERSIBLE BY THE ''HEALTHY'' DEMOCRATISATION OF THE PARTY - BUT THERE IS TO BE NO REDUCTION OR WATERING DOWN OF ITS ROLE. GLASNOST SHOULD HAVE A ''BUSINESS-LIKE'' CHARACTER. MARKET ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES WERE A WEAPON OF WESTERN OPPONENTS AIMING TO DESTABILISE SOVIET SOCIETY.

8. COMING THREE WEEKS BEFORE THE OPENING OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE, LIGACHEV'S COMMENTS WILL BE WELCOMED BY THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OFFICIALS WHO ARE LIKELY TO CONSIDER THEM AS THEIR MANIFESTO FOR THE CONFERENCE.

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PARTY CONFERENCE: SELECTION OF MOSCOW DELEGATION

SUMMARY

1. AFTER A WEEK'S POSTPONEMENT A COMPROMISE REACHED ON THE INCLUSION OF REFORMIST INTELLECTUALS IN MOSCOW'S DELEGATION TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

DETAIL

2. THE MOSCOW CITY PARTY COMMITTEE MET ON 3 JUNE TO ELECT ITS DELEGATION TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY GORBACHEV AND ZAIKOV, BOTH OF WHOM SPOKE.

3. ZAIKOV, AS HEAD OF THE MOSCOW PARTY ORGANISATION GAVE THE KEYNOTE SPEECH. ACCORDING TO THE SUMMARY PROVIDED BY TASS HIS COMMENTS WERE DIRECTED ENTIRELY TO THE ELECTIONS IN MOSCOW. HE SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN A DIFFICULT PROCESS AND A TEST OF THE POLITICAL MATURITY OF THE MOSCOW PARTY ORGANISATION. AT VARIOUS STAGES MORE THAN 3,000 CANDIDATES HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD, NOT ONLY AT PARTY MEETINGS BUT ALSO IN THE PRESS, ON TELEVISION AND RADIO AND IN NUMEROUS LETTERS AND APPEALS TO PARTY COMMITTEES. PEOPLE HAD EVEN BEEN ON THE STREETS GATHERING SIGNATURES IN SUPPORT OF PARTICULAR CANDIATES. (CLIPS OF THE LAST-MENTIONED ACTIVITY WERE SHOWN ON TELEVISION).

4. HE SAID THAT PARTICULAR PROBLEMS HAD ARISEN IN THOSE PARTS OF THE CITY WHERE ACADEMIC AND CREATIVE ESTABLISHMENTS WERE CONCENTRATED. THESE ESTABLISHMENTS HAD PUT FORWARD MANY STRONG SUPPORTERS OF PERESTROIKA AS CANDIDATES. HE LISTED SOME DOZEN OF THESE ADDING THAT IF THEY WERE NOT ALL ELECTED DELEGATES THIS DID NOT IN ANY WAY DIMINISH THE CONTRIBUTION THEY HAD MADE TO PERESTROIKA.

5. HE THEN DEALT WITH TWO PARTICULAR CASES WHICH HAD CAUSED CONCERN -

THAT OF YURI AFANASEV, THE RECTOR OF THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES INSTITUTE AND A LEADING SUPPORTER OF HISTORICAL GLASNOST, AND GAVRIIL POPOV, A REFORMIST ECONOMIST BASED AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, BOTH OF WHOSE CANDIDACIES HAD BEEN REJECTED BY THE PARTY ORGANISATION. IN AFANASEV'S CASE, ZAIKOV SAID, IT HAD BEEN DECIDED TO MAKE AN EXCEPTION AND HE HAD BEEN REINSERTED ON THE LIST OF CANDIDATES TO BE PUT TO THE FINAL MEETING OF THE CITY PARTY COMMITTEE. IN THE CASE OF POPOV, THE LOCAL PARTY ORGANISATION HAD LOOKED AGAIN AT THE CASE BUT HAD DECIDED THAT THE TWO CANDIDACIES THAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON (THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY RECTOR AND PARTY SECRETARY) SHOULD STAND. HE ADDED THAT KOROTICH (EDITOR OF OGONYCK) WHO HAD BEEN REJECTED IN MOSCOW, HAD SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN ELECTED TO THE CONFERENCE AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE OF THE UKRANIAN DELEGATIONS.

6. ZAIKOV THEN ANNOUNCED THAT ALL THE 319 CANDIDATES PUT TO THE FINAL MEETING OF THE MOSCOW PARTY COMMITTEE HAD RECEIVED THE NECESSARY NUMBER OF VOTES AND WOULD CONSTITUTE THE CITY'S DELEGATION TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE. HE NOTED THAT THOSE ELECTED BY MOSCOW INCLUDED GORBACHEV, LIGACHEV AND HIMSELF.

7. GORBACHEV THEN TOOK THE FLOOR, AND BEGAN BY BRIEFING THOSE PRESENT ON THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED SUMMIT. HE SAID THAT THE DIALOGUE HAD BEEN DIFFICULT AND AT TIMES TENSE, BUT THAT ON BALANCE IT HAD LED TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE USA. ON THE ECONOMY HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE NOW REAL OPPORTUNITIES TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY IN RESOLVING THE FOOD PROBLEM, BUT THAT ECONOMIC REFORM WAS A WHOLE WAS NOT YET PRODUCING THE RESULTS THAT HAD BEEN HOPED FOR. THERE WAS NO NEED FOR PANIC, HOWEVER, OR FOR UNNECESSARY SHOWS OF EMOTION. LEFTIST PHRASES WERE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. ONE COULD NOT BUY CHEAP AUTHORITY WITH THEM. ADVENTURISM WAS NOT THE POLICY.

COMMENT

8. THE SELECTION OF MOSCOW'S DELEGATION TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN A FRAUGHT PROCESS. THE FINAL ELECTION MEETING WAS DUE TO HAVE BEEN HELD ON 29 MAY, BUT WAS POSTPONED FOR A WEEK. INTELLECTUALS HERE OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE WEEKS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSING CONCERN AT THE WAY IN WHICH THE MOSCOW PARTY AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN REJECTING THE CANDIDACIES OF MOST OF THE MAIN FIGUREHEADS OF GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA. THE TWO CASES TO WHICH ZAIKOV REFERRED IN DETAIL (SEE PARAGRAPH 5 ABOVE) HAVE BEEN WRITTEN UP IN SEVERAL ARTICLES WHICH EXPRESSED CONCERN AT THE UNDEMOCRATIC WAY IN WHICH THEIR CANDIDACIES HAD BEEN REJECTED.

BURLATSKY TOLD FOREIGN JOURNALISTS LAST WEEK THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE WEEK'S POSTPONEMENT WAS INTENDED TO ALLOW FOR ''CORRECTION'' OF THE SELECTION PROCESS WHICH HAD DEVIATED FROM THE POLITBURO GUIDLINES.

9. THE ISSUE IS AN IMPORTANT ONE FOR GORBACHEV AS EVIDENCED BY THE FACT THAT HE HIMSELF ATTENDED THE FINAL MEETING. HE HAS PUBLICLY CALLED FOR THE DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE TO BE ARDENT SUPPORTERS OF PERESTROIKA. IF THE MOSCOW PARTY AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN SEEN TO BE ABLE TO REJECT THE CANDIDACIES OF A BROAD SWEEP OF THE NATIONALLY KNOWN PROPONENTS OF RADICAL REFORM THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN A DEMONSTRATION OF HIS INABILITY TO CONTROL THE ELECTION PROCESS. IN ADDITION, THE PRESENCE OF INDEPENDENT MINDED INTELLECTUALS AT THE PARTY CONFERENCE SHOULD ENSURE THAT THERE ARE SOME RADICAL REFORMIST SPEECHES IN ADDITION TO THE STAGE-MANAGED CONTRIBUTIONS OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

10. IN THE EVENT, A LARGE NUMBER OF REFORMIST INTELLECTUALS HAVE FAILED TO MAKE THE DELEGATION. BUT AFANASEV, WHO WAS REINSERTED INTO THE FINAL LIST WITH SCANT REGARD FOR DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES, IS A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION. AND THE FINAL DELEGATION LIST WHICH HAS NOW BEEN PUBLISHED IN THE LOCAL PRESS CONTAIN ANOTHER HALF DOZEN LEADING RADICALS - ENOUGH TO MAKE THIS A REASONABLE COMPROMISE FOR GORBACHEV, AND TO ENSURE THAT THERE WILL BE AT LEAST SOME RADICAL REFORM RHETORIC FROM THE CONFERENCE FLOOR.

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MY TELNO 810: CPSU CONFERENCE: CALL ON DOBRYNIN

SUMMARY

1. AN APPARENTLY FRANK ACCOUNT BY DOBRYNIN ON THE PROCEDURES ENVISAGED FOR ELECTIONS PRIOR TO THE PARTY CONFERENCE AND FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE CONFERENCE ITSELF. DOBRYNIN AT PAINS TO DISMISS SPECULATION THAT THE CONFERENCE COULD POSE ANY THREAT TO GORBACHEV'S POSITION.

DETAIL

2. DOBRYNIN RECEIVED ME FOR ONE HOUR ON 18 MAY (TETE A TETE, AT HIS INSISTENCE). MY MAIN PURPOSE IN CALLING ON HIM WAS TO ELICIT AN AUTHORITATIVE PREVIEW OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE AT THE END OF JUNE, GIVEN THE ABSENCE OF ANY COHERENT INFORMATION IN THE SOVIET MEDIA ON THE SUBJECT.

3. ON THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, DUE TO BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF MAY, DOBRYNIN SAID THAT EACH REGIONAL PARTY COMMITTEE (OBKOM) HAD BEEN ALLOCATED A QUOTA OF DELEGATES RELATED TO THE NUMBER OF PARTY MEMBERS IN THE REGION CONCERNED. THE OBKOMS WOULD PREPARE LISTS OF CANDIDATES, USUALLY IN EXCESS OF THE QUOTA, WHICH WOULD THEN BE DISCUSSED AT MEETINGS UNDER OBKOM AUSPICES, TO WHICH NON-PARTY INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE ADMITTED BUT WITHOUT VOTING RIGHTS. EACH NAME ON THE OBKOM LIST WOULD BE SUBMITTED INDIVIDUALLY TO THE MEETING FOR APPROVAL, COMMENT OR REJECTION. IT WOULD BE OPEN TO RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBERS TO PROPOSE ADDITIONS TO THE LIST AS WELL AS DELETIONS FROM IT. NON-PARTY ATTENDERS WOULD BE FREE TO COMMENT ON THE CANDIDATES. WHEN EVERY MEMBER ON THE LIST, AND NAMES ADDED TO IT, HAD BEEN DISCUSSED, A VOTE WOULD BE TAKEN, BY SECRET BALLOT, ON EACH CANDIDATE. THE OBKOM'S DELEGATION TO THE CONFERENCE WOULD CONSIST OF THE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES EQUIVALENT TO ITS QUOTA WHO HAD OBTAINED THE MOST VOTES FROM THE MEETING.

4. DOBRYNIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS PROCEDURE REPRESENTED SOME ADVANCE, IN TERMS OF ''DEMOCRATISATION'', ON THE PROCEDURES WHICH WERE IN FORCE AT THE TIME OF THE ELECTIONS TO THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1987. OBKOMS WOULD HAVE LESS DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE FINAL COMPOSITION OF THE LISTS OF CANDIDATES. THIS, AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR NON-PARTY INDIVIDUALS TO COMMENT, SHOULD HELP TO GIVE THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE A FIRMLY PRO-PERESTROIKA COMPLEXION.

5. DOBRYNIN SAID THAT THE AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE ''THESES'' AGREED IN ADVANCE BY THE POLITBURO, WHICH WOULD PROBABLY (BUT NOT YET CERTAINLY) BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THE CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE. IT WOULD NOT, THEREFORE, BE NECESSARY TO HOLD A PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRIOR TO THE CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE WOULD LAST FOR FOUR, OR POSSIBLY FIVE, DAYS. ITS WORK WOULD BE DIVIDED BETWEEN TWO BROAD THEMES: PROGRESS OF PERESTROIKA, AND OF THE 12TH FIVE YEAR PLAN IN PARTICULAR, AND THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND OF THE PARTY. THE THRUST OF THE DRIVE FOR GREATER ''DEMOCRATISATION'' WOULD BE THE TRANSFER OF A WIDE RANGE OF ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES FROM THE LOCAL PARTY APPARATS TO THE LOCAL SOVIETS, IN ORDER TO REDUCE THE EXTENT TO WHICH PARTY ORGANS WERE INVOLVED IN THE DAY TO DAY RUNNING OF THEIR LOCALITIES. THERE WAS UNLIKELY TO BE MUCH, IF ANY, OPPOSITION TO THIS TREND: MOST PARTY OFFICIALS WOULD BE ONLY TOO GLAD TO HIVE OFF SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHORES WHICH HAD BEEN LAID AT THEIR DOOR OVER THE YEARS.

6. THE CONFERENCE WOULD ADOPT RESOLUTIONS BUT COULD NOT USURP THE FUNCTIONS EITHER OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OR OF A PARTY CONGRESS. RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE ECONOMY OR THE SOVIETS WOULD BE REMITTED TO THE SUPREME SOVIET FOR CONSIDERATION AND EVENTUAL TRANSLATION INTO LAW. RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE PARTY, EG ON THE INTRODUCTION OF A MAXIMUM AGE UP TO WHICH, AND THE LENGTH OF TIME FOR WHICH, PARTY OFFICES COULD BE HELD, WOULD BE REMITTED TO THE NEXT PARTY CONGRESS (IN TWO AND HALF YEARS TIME). ONLY THE PARTY CONGRESS COULD REVISE THE PARTY STATUTES: THE BUILT-IN TIME LAG WHICH THIS IMPLIED WOULD SERVE TO REDUCE ANY POTENTIAL OPPOSITION TO RESOLUTIONS BY THOSE PARTY MEMBERS WHO MIGHT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THEM.

7. IN THEORY, THE PARTY CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE THE POWER TO EFFECT PERSONNEL CHANGES, EG IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. BUT DOBRYNIN STRESSED THAT AT THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCE SUCH CHANGES WOULD

BE MINIMAL AND INSIGNIFICANT: ''A FEW'' MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MIGHT RETIRE AND BE REPLACED BY EXISTING CANDIDATE MEMBERS. NEW ELECTIONS, THEREFORE, WERE LIKELY TO BE CONFINED TO A FEW NEW CANDIDATE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. SPECULATION CONCERNING MORE DRAMATIC CHANGES WAS VERY WIDE OF THE MARK.

8. THE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE OF PRICE REFORM WAS UNLIKELY TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE CONFERENCE. A SPECIAL PARTY COMMITTEE WAS ALREADY WORKING ON THE PROBLEM AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD, IN DUE COURSE, BE PUBLISHED FOR ''PUBLIC DISCUSSION''. THE MATTER WOULD THEN BE REFERRED TO A SPECIALLY CONVENED CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

9. THE NATIONALITIES PROBLEM, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS LIKELY TO BE DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ALREADY DESIGNATED TO CONSIDER THE ISSUE WOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF VIEWS EXPRESSED AT THE CONFERENCE (WE HAVE HEARD SEPARATELY THAT THIS PLENUM IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE NEXT AUTUMN).

COMMENT

10. THE RECURRENT THEME IN THE REPLIES WHICH DOBRYNIN GAVE TO THE QUESTIONS I PUT TO HIM WAS THAT BY NO STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION COULD THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONFERENCE POSE ANY KIND OF THREAT TO GORBACHEV. THE ISSUES ADDRESSED BY THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE ONES ON WHICH THERE WAS ALREADY AN OVERWHELMING CONSENSUS WITHIN THE PARTY (THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES, SUCH AS PRICE REFORM, WOULD BE KEPT OF THE CONFERENCE AGENDA ON ONE PRETEXT OR ANOTHER). DOBRYNIN SEEMED ENTIRELY CONFIDENT THAT THE ELECTION PROCEDURES WOULD MORE OR LESS AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCE THE KIND OF DELEGATES ON WHOSE SUPPORT GORBACHEV COULD RELY (ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT, I THINK, SELF-EVIDENT FROM THE ACCOUNT WHICH HE GAVE ME). WHEN I ASKED DOBRYNIN WHETHER, IN HIS VIEW, WESTERN COMMENTATORS HAD BEEN TAKING AN OVER-DRAMATIC VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE, DOBRYNIN SAID THAT IT WOULD BE A DRAMATIC OCCASION IN TERMS OF ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE CONTINUATION OF PERESTROIKA, BY RE-AFFIRMING AND FILLING OUT THE AGENDA OF REFORM: BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT BE DRAMATIC IN TERMS OF CLASHES OF OPINION OR COMPETITION FOR INFLUENCE WITHIN THE PARTY.

11. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SURPRISING IF DOBRYNIN HAD TAKEN A DIFFERENT LINE, I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT HIS CONFIDENCE IN GORBACHEV'S ABILITY TO MANAGE THE CONFERENCE IS JUSTIFIED.

HOWEVER, IF DOBRYNIN IS CORRECT, AS HE PROBABLY IS, IN FORECASTING ONLY VERY MINIMAL PERSONNEL CHANGES, THIS MAY MEAN THAT GORBACHEV HAS DECIDED AGAINST ATTEMPTING TO BRING ABOUT THE MORE AMBITIOUS CHANGES WHICH I AM SURE HE WOULD IDEALLY LIKE TO MAKE, PARTICULARLY IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THIS MORE CAUTIOUS POLICY WOULD BE IN LINE WITH THE TONE OF HIS RECENT SPEECHES (MY TELS NOS 807 AND 840).

12. DOBRYNIN EVIDENTLY ATTRIBUTED MY CALL TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S SUPPOSED PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE FOR GORBACHEV'S FUTURE. HE CONCLUDED BY ASKING ME TO ASSURE MRS THATCHER THAT GORBECHEV WOULD STILL BE IN PLACE WHEN THE CONFERENCE WAS OVER: AND TO CONVEY HIS BEST WISHES TO HER.

13. WHEN WE HAD FINISHED DISCUSSING THE PARTY CONFERENCE, DOBRYNIN MADE SOME POINTS ON ARMS CONTROL, FOR WHICH SEE MY TELNO 859.

CARTLEDGE

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Gorbachev Speech at Central Committee of CPSU

Moscow May 10 TASS -As already reported, a meeting with media executives and the heads of ideological institutions and professionals' unions took place at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on May 7.

Mikhail Gorbachyov said in his opening remarks there:

"We want to devote this meeting to the forthcoming 19th Party Conference. We see that society and the Party have become involved in the process of preparing it. This is why guideposts are needed.

"The press has already introduced relevant rubrics and the debates have, effectively, already got under way - and not only within the Party, but on a nationwide scale as well. I think the mass media have already gained some experience in this respect and some questions have arisen, too."

Many of those attending then expressed their opinions on matters under discussion. In conclusion the meeting was addressed by Gorbachev. He said: "Such meetings are very important to us, to the Central Committee, and it is good that we now have such a tradition. There are at least two points that could be taken up.

"First, the Party's leadership needs to consult you. A policy devoid of a scientific basis is doomed to vacillation and errors. We know this from our own experience. A policy not resting on morality can cause, I think, no less harm. And we are aware as well of what this has led to. This is why this meeting is important to us.

"Second, I hope that the exchange of opinions offers a possibility for you, heads of ideological organizations, journals and newspapers, as well to check your tack and your approaches. For it is common reference points that we all need, especially in the sphere of ideology and consciousness. I think that freedom always goes together, comrades, with increasing responsibility. The editors, the media executives bear vast responsibility at this watershed time when our society has found itself at a very crucial phase in its history. Every editor, of course, needs such contacts, such meetings in order , as they say, to check his watch. This is why I welcome this meeting once again.

"You may rest assured that we take in the entire pluralism of opinions at these meetings with you. After all, it offers food for thought and the basis for understanding things better, for honing ideas and formulating them in order later to realize them in practice. I find it inspiring, for example, that our meetings are growing each time more substantive and the dialogue is getting ever more meaningful and profound. This is understandable, though, as perestroika, too, has scaled new heights and acquired new parametres.

"I said in my opening remarks that we wanted to devote this meeting to the forthcoming 19th Party Conference. Much is expected from this conference in our Party and in our society indeed. Much is expected from our conference also by our foreign friends. Our antagonists are also making their own plans and calculations. This probably explains the tremendous interest in our conference.

"Very many people are anxious about the question of who will be elected to the conference, of who will have the power to decide on vital problems bearing on the fate of our society and of socialism.

"In short, people are showing concern for the destiny of perestroika. And even this by itself is very good.

"The CPSU Central Committee has expressed its opinion on procedures for electing delegates to the conference. Our position is it is committed stalwarts of perestroika, active communists, that should be elected delegates. There must be no more quotas, as was the case in the past, specifying how many factory workers and farmers and how many women are to be elected, among others. The principal political directive is to elect active supporters of perestroika to go to the conference.

"We expressed ourselves for the candidates to be picked out necessarily with the participation of Party organizations and worker collectives and of Party committees at district and city levels, in short, by all the people. Some regional party committees have decided to make the names of the candidates public in the local press even before the plenary meetings that are to elect the delegates, so that they can be publicly discussed. This is just right, in our view. This will make it possible to approach the candidate selection from correct positions.

"The CPSU Central Committee will keep the entire process of electing the body of delegates to the Party Conference in its focus of attention all the time. Some 5,000 delegates will be elected, or the same number that was elected to the 27th Party Congress.

"Comrades, we are positive that the line of the 27th Congress is correct. The three years since the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum have borne out that we have made the right choice.

"How do we define the task for the Conference? What is its concept? The Conference is to make a thorough review of the progress of perestroika and give it a further and strong fillip. The Conference is to create the political, ideological and organizational prerequisites that would not only guarantee the irreversibility of the processes of perestroika and democratization, but also contribute decisively to unfolding these processes and furthering them.

"We have entered, figuratively speaking, the boost phase of perestroika. And we have been able to foresee that the second stage, the coming two or three years, will be very difficult. Strategy is being transformed into real policy, into real social processes and affecting all sections of society. We knew that we should expect tension and that a new situation would emerge. And still - as was pointed out correctly here - far from everybody has proved prepared for this. It is only natural, comrades, that the load on the Party, on the cadre and on all society is increasing. This is evidenced by broader glasnost and democracy and by deep-going changes in the very basis, in the management system and in every aspect of society's life. It is as if doors had opened for us to a new and unusual environment. And it has proved vast and unfamiliar in many respects. We are covering new ground, like pioneers, and this means that we're making progress. And hence the varied reactions of people to the processes under way.

"We knew: we should be prepared for this. Be prepared to think, act and live in a new manner.

"In the Politburo we have compared notes and concluded that the novel nature of problems and the dimensions of new phenomena and processes at the second stage of perestroika have put the whole Party and its cadre in a new situation. We saw that far from everybody was prepared to view the present situation correctly. We found veritable confusion in the minds of many people - workers, intellectuals and administrators alike. And, let us be blunt, not only on the ground level, but also on the top. So the Politburo decided that the general secretary had to speak on ideological support for the second stage of perestroika. I want to stress that everything that has been said on behalf of the Politburo and won backing at the February Plenum fully retains its significance as reference points today as well.

"I am telling you this because some people have indeed lost their bearings amid all these processes under way. Some people have failed to keep their heads and

panicked. And the panic - and this is very serious - has taken the form of asking: 'Isn't perestroika coming to mean the wrecking and rejection of the values of socialism, isn't it giving rise to alien phenomena, isn't it destabilizing society?'. I'll tell you that all these questions are very serious. And I wouldn't reckon those who have panicked to be irresponsible people or people opposed to perestroika out of hand.

"No, comrades, we should treat this seriously, without falling into another extremity, without branding everybody who has voiced some doubts as an opponent of perestroika. And I am especially against the position of those who have put the 'enemy of perestroika' phrase into circulation in the press.

"What does it mean, comrades? this sounds somehow ominous. This is the same as the allegation which has been floated through Sovetskaya Rossiya that we are being threatened by the descendants of Nepmen and kulaks. Just think of it: 70 years on, they're trying to scare us with the descendants of Nepmen, Trotskyites and Dans. Let's rise to the occasion, comrades.

"Through perestroika, we want to restore Lenin's image of socialism and lead Soviet society to a drastically new level. We should really bring out the humanist potential of socialism - that is the task for perestroika. But this means that at the second stage of perestroika we should see the overriding goal - an updated society and updated relations among people in line with Lenin's ideas.

"We should work towards this end by using methods marked by humanity, trust and respect. This does not mean lack of principle, any eclecticism or reconciling the irreconcilable. No, it doesn't. We should restore the genuine, wonderful meaning of the great word +comrade+, restore the spirit of comradeship in the Party and in society.

"We cannot pursue perestroika, which aims to upgrade socialism to meet the parameters of Lenin's thinking in the interest of the people, by practicing a free-for-all. We aren't after all destroying the social system or changing the forms of

ownership. The Soviets (elected governing councils) will stay put. Listen to Lenin: socialism has to be built with the human material inherited from capitalism. We are effecting perestroika with people born under socialism. So should we renounce part of them, then?

"No, we can't put the question this way. Our slogan is: uniting and rallying society for perestroika. This is the main thing, comrades. When it is essential, we should find out the root causes of these or other negative phenomena. This approach is proof of our confidence in the chosen path, in the chosen aims and in the chosen methods. And we have already identified them. This is precisely what, in my opinion, distinguishes perestroika and makes it strong. We should all think it over in real earnest. This would be useful for us and, most important, simply indispensable, vital for us. I have already said this in a remark here and I want to stress it once more: both the Party is at the service of the people and all the media are at the service of the people.

"It is impossible to write of the people's destiny in a formal, bureaucratic, soulless way. Sometimes a true-to-life picture is presented, but the author writes as if the pain of the people is not sensed. And if there is no awareness of this pain, then epithets and metaphors are used, labels are stuck on, anything. This, I repeat, happens, if the author does not sense the people's pain. And if this sense is present, if you remember your people always, if you write with an anguished heart of the grimmest things, then there will surely emerge something which in the long run will contain a lesson and optimism. For there will be a sense of involvement in the destiny of the people and the care that their life should be better. I am not going to teach you, I simply address your hearts and minds.

"All in all, you, too, should reform. The media are an instrument of perestroika. And in order to be an effective instrument they should undergo restructuring, just like the entire society. We say that there is no monopoly of

criticism, that no zones are denied to criticism. But, hence, the press itself cannot be exempt from criticism. You should pose questions in a serious way, truthfully, in the interests of the people, socialism, restructuring. And in this the press can count on the support of the Party.

."Why is conservatism so tenacious? this is another theme which I would like to discuss with you. What is it that feeds conservatism?

"I believe that conservatism is the main factor impeding perestroika. Establishing what is it that feeds conservatism should not be avoided as the answer to this question will help the Party and the media to determine correctly the methods of overcoming this phenomenon.

"We must defeat conservatism on the roads of perestroika. Conservatism in part of society is nourished not only by dogmatic mentality, the habit of thinking in stereotypes, the fear of everything new, but also by egoistic interests. As to egoistic interests, this theme is raised by the press. It is shown that perestroika pinches someone and they start resisting, hampering the process of renewal of society. But this is just part of the problem. The main thing for all society is still the need to overcome dogmatic mentality as it is something that a politician, a writer, a scientific worker have. It exists in all who are connected with intellectual activity and this largely determines theoretical analysis, the shaping of politics, etc.

"There are stereotypes of thinking and action and they have a grip on a worker, an intellectual, a politician. This is a serious and profound phenomenon. We are all products of our time. We have conceived perestroika and we also manifest many of the things that inhibit it. To reveal this, comrades, is a very important task of the media and, certainly, of the Party and ideological work. Such a treatment of this subject helps man make a revolution in his own thoughts and determine his stand.

"Indeed, conservatism quite often stems from egoistic interests. But will anyone mount the rostrum now and say he will write in a letter to a newspaper, that

he raises some problem or other in order to save his present positions and preserve what suits him very much? Not at all. His stand will be presented as if he were acting for the benefit of the people, for the sake of socialism. This is something to be seen and understood.

"And, comrades, there is another very important aspect. We often label as a conservative a person who holds his own special point of view. But take a more attentive look and you will realise that he gets into this position for the reason that so far he has not learnt how to work in the new conditions. He just does not know how to work, comrades. This is quite commonplace now. And we see how difficult it is to learn to work in a new way when we have been acting for decades in the framework of methods of the command-and-administer system. Then should these people who have not yet learnt how to work be regarded as adversaries of perestroika, as inveterate conservatives?

"A real process of perestroika is being conducted in society through concrete experience, through debates, comprehension and realisation of this process and changing positions, and taking into consideration the renewal of our society. And these are important things. We give everyone a chance to adjust. We talk about this in conversations, in the press. But sometimes it is reasoned in the following way: everyone has been given three years for perestroika and that is enough. If you have failed to reform, get out. But we, all of us, have not yet reformed. I shall say this outright that we have not yet reformed and are only in course of doing this.

"What is to be done now? What emphasis is to be placed on the Party work, on the work of the media? A correct idea has been expressed here - that though during perestroika much is being done in all directions, the main thing --the life of the people, their wellbeing, their mood, the way they feel -- should not be overlooked, comrades. It is not only material wellbeing, social environment, but also the way people feel, their dignity, that should be taken into consideration.

"The main thing that is to be done in every area, including spiritual, is to overcome alienation which, deplorably, takes place under socialism when it is deformed by authoritarian-bureaucratic aberrations. And it is only on the roads of democracy, glasnost, on the roads of moral purification of our society that alienation, bureaucratism, formalism can be overcome. In this work we are aware of the vigorous involvement of the enhanced political, intellectual, cultural potential of the entire people.

"We also feel the support from our intelligentsia, and this support is growing. How can restructuring be implemented without intelligentsia? The fact is that not only workers and peasants but also our intelligentsia played an important role in what has been achieved.

"An atmosphere that would guarantee the successful holding of the Party Conference should be created in the Party and in society. The merit lies not in being the first to point out some particular fact or event and proclaim this the loudest. What is needed is that the media should raise vital problems. There already exists a history of perestroika, difficult and complicated, which should be revealed. And when we address ourselves to the past, this has the aim of understanding better what we need now so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

All this should be done without undue sensationalism. I would like to say that a good sensation for us is the one that our people are waiting for and our adversaries fear. It is the success of perestroika.

"The further development of criticism, the widening of glasnost is a matter of extreme importance. This matter has been resolved. It is sometimes asked what are the limits of criticism and glasnost. We have resolved this matter within the framework of socialist pluralism of opinions. We are for broad development of criticism and glasnost but in the interests of society, of socialism, in the interests of the people. Waging consistently and resolutely the struggle against conservatism,

rooting out everything that hinders the process of perestroika we must no less firmly protect, popularise and uphold everything which promotes perestroika, which is in favour of the country, of the people.

"We need new approaches, new methods, new discoveries in asserting perestroika. Let us recall Lenin's words: Do not try to resolve new problems by old methods. Nothing will come of it. Hence we must conduct the quest for new methods. And we conduct it in every direction -- in the economic area, in the spiritual area, in science, in education. The mass media must help the people master new forms, new methods, new approaches.

At the February Plenary Meeting we set ourselves the task of grasping Lenin's concept of socialist society more profoundly in order to apply it creatively in the present concrete historical conditions. Note, creatively. It was right that when the theme of NEP cropped up, it was said that we cannot copy, cannot repeat precisely the approaches of the past. No, comrades. We must study Lenin's thinking. It always provides many instructive things.

"Consider, for instance, how Lenin acted in suggesting NEP. In the situation when the country was in ruins Lenin's resolute thinking and decisive policy were addressed to realities, based on realities. Therefore not everyone, not even Lenin's closest associates, accepted NEP at once. Lenin was accused of apostasy. It was thought he was pushing the country onto a road leading to ruin. So I say that we should address ourselves to Lenin's thinking instead of copying specific decisions of that period. And there is room for new, off-beat decisions. This is natural. And it sometimes happens with us that as soon as an off-beat decision is made, there is an outcry: 'Help, socialism is in danger, they are spawning private operators!'

"Therefore I repeat that we should grasp Lenin's concept of socialist society in order to apply it creatively and taking into account the present conditions. What is

needed is not just a return to the past. This would be the worst kind of talmudism, dogmatic mentality.

"We should get rid once and for all of the view that socialism means levelling out, negating personality, of the notion of socialism as a certain minimum: the minimum of material benefits, the minimum of justice, the minimum of democracy.

"We have a right to pose the question in the following way -- realistically and seriously: with the economic, intellectual and cultural potential accumulated over seven decades of our history, we should implement a contemporary model of society ensuring for all its members civilised living standards and multiform opportunities to meet spiritual and cultural needs, the freedom of choice and expression of opinions. But all this should be implemented in the framework of our socialist choice, in the framework of our socialist democracy and morals. This society will inevitably be more multi-layer, but it will remain socialist and it will not forgo the principles of social justice, comradeship and internationalism in the slightest.

"Why do I mention this? Generally speaking, our entire society is for socialism.

"The point is that we are now faced with the task of the renewal of socialism. All of us, comrades, should realise what socialism is and by what methods it can and must be built, renewed and improved. This is the theme on which one should think and work. We should advance our traditional notions of socialism to the level of contemporary demands, so that they may keep abreast of the present day and the future of science, economic, scientific and technological progress. In short, we should restore the revolutionary character and historic perspective to socialism. Perhaps it is necessary to establish the criteria of socialism for as soon as some advance is made and some new features appear, the question arises: where are we moving, are we not moving away from socialism?

"It is necessary to determine these criteria. What is truly socialist and what is alien to the very idea of socialism? It is necessary to rid socialism of everything pseudosocialist, distorted and deformed in the period of the personality cult, the command system, stagnation, and restore the truly Leninist meaning to socialism. And the role of the media in this cannot be overestimated.

"We need that, without that we cannot go to the Conference. We cannot do that without a clear idea, without drawing a picture, as it were, of the society for which we strive. We certainly must do this work with the greatest responsibility. I will say again: we should look for answers to the objectives of perestroika within the framework of the socialist choice.

"And let no journal, no newspaper urge us onto another path, by referring to the diversity of views.

"Socialism in Lenin's interpretation makes it possible to ensure a pluralism of views, a pluralism of interests and requirements, and to ensure that these interests and requirements are met.

"We are going to the Conference, which means that we must give an account and sum up the results. We must already have more discussions at the Conference on the history of perestroika proper. The accent will be placed on summing up results. And this is to be done from the standpoint of self-criticism: what has been done, and what are our weaknesses?. Then we shall be able to outline the perspectives better. It is necessary that the conference be more businesslike.

"The time has come to lay even greater emphasis on the question of the unity of word and deed, on the decisions taken and the course of their implementation. We have taken very important decisions which will ensure a serious change in the structural policy towards the light and the food industries, towards the social sphere. All this should lead to improving the living standards of the Soviet people. The implementation of the decisions on questions ofprogress in science and technology,

in the field of machine-building and electronics is designed to ensure an acceleration of our advance, the attainment of new parameters of labour productivity and the quality of products.

"And now on how things stand today. In 1987, our gross national product grew 3.3 per cent. The growth in volume of industrial output was 3.8 per cent.

"Over the three years from 1985 to 1987 the average annual growth rates were: as regards national income -- 3.3 per cent, the gross national product -- 3.9 per cent, industrial output -- 4.2 per cent, the output of consumer goods -- 4.7 per cent. The gross agricultural output in average annual count grew 1.9 per cent, the commissioning of fixed assets -- 3.5 per cent, of housing -- 3.6 per cent.

"We have made progress in the output of commodities, progress has also manifested itself in health protection and public education.

"The creative forces of the society have been set into motion. Positive tendencies are appearing. This is exactly what changes life. And this should effect a change, if we develop these trends in the right way.

"Take, for example, labour productivity. From 1981 to 1984 we obtained 86 per cent of the national income due to it. From 1985 to 1987 -- 96 per cent. In 1987 the whole increase was ensured through labour productivity. In the first quarter of this year labour productivity in industry grew 5.4 per cent, including at enterprises working on the basis of full cost-accounting and self-financing -- 6.6 per cent. In the building industry -- this growth was 8.9 per cent, and of those who work on the basis of full cost-accounting -- 9.8 per cent. This is, comrades, serious progress. If we keep up this trend I believe that many things will then change for the better.

"Here is an interesting fact. In 1985 the renewal of machine-building products was 3 per cent, and in 1987 -- 9.1 per cent. This is a three-fold increase. We set ourselves the aim of achieving the 13 per cent mark. Contract discipline is

heightening. Cost-accounting is beginning to bear fruit there too. The positive trend is making headway, overcoming the natural difficulties involved in transition to cost-accounting, to new economic standards, state quality control and many other things, which fundamentally renew our production field.

"Now what do we eat, what we are short of? Above all meat, fruit and vegetables.

"The situation with foodstuffs is a source of concern for us, of much concern. We should look for more cardinal measures to advance towards resolving that problem faster. It is necessary to stock the shops, public catering, the market and cooperative trade with enough foodstuffs.

"Now about housing. Over the three years ten million families have bettered their housing conditions. This is a considerable growth. We had no growth in housing construction throughout several five-year-plan periods.

"And now about the trade turnover. It has grown 13 per cent. And it is appropriate to note that over the past three years the sale of alcoholic drinks has declined by more than half.

"The growth is evident, but the shortages are evident too. This means, comrades, that we must have by far more of everything, of everything including the services, but the quantities are insufficient. There are enormous potentialities for cooperatives in that field.

"Every year the country's population increases by two and a half million. These dynamics should determine the growth of the rates of production of foods and commodities.

"We are at a difficult stage in the economy, a very difficult one. We are introducing the reform, enhancing state- quality control, mastering cost-accounting. Half the country is run on a cost-accounting basis and the other half not. This is,

indeed, an unusual situation. To rectify the errors a decision is now being prepared on the question of state orders.

"Such, comrades, are the realities of perestroika. I would ask you to show more competence in covering the perestroika processes, whatever fields they may concern. This takes profundity, responsibility and a well-balanced attitude. While criticising conservatism and shortcomings, we should most actively support everything that is progressive.

"In general, comrades, we should raise all these questions both at the stage of preparations and at the Conference itself from positions of principle.

"We have something to tell the Conference, as regards both the results and the further perspectives.

"We should come to the conference with major proposals concerning our society's political system, which is also in need of fundamental restructuring.

"We should comprehend the role of the Party as the political vanguard at the current stage. We do not give up Lenin's concept of the Party as society's political vanguard. We believe that at the stage of perestroika, the Party's role grows still more in the course of perfecting socialist society, in carrying out far-reaching transformations. This means that a science-based policy be outlined on the strength of correct appraisals and forecasts. That necessitates a large amount of ideological and organizational work.

"Only the Party, equipped with the methods of scientific Marxist analysis, can cope with this task. Consequently, far from calling in question the guiding and leading role of the Party, we believe, on the contrary, that we should get a more profound understanding of it. This role should undoubtedly be a different, weightier one, precisely in the terms I am speaking about -- as regards carrying out the functions of the political vanguard.

"In that connection the question arises of dividing the functions between the Party, the Soviets and the economic management bodies. A mixing of the functions resulted in a situation in which the Party took upon itself many economic matters and began resolving specific issues, down to day-to-day ones.

"This brought about a weakening of the functions of the political vanguard. On the other hand,it has resulted in a decline in the responsibility both of the Soviets and of the economic management bodies.

"We should also reappraise the structure of the Party machinery. This will uncover the enormous potentialities inherent in our Party. If we simultaneously with that do everything to ensure that every communist becomes more active, that every primary organization,all our cadres, start working more vigorously, then things will start moving. We are planning to put forward a number of proposals on that score at the Congress.

"And naturally, comrades, in connection with the reappraisal of the functions of the Party as the political vanguard, the role of the Soviets should be understood in a new way. We have to enhance the role of the Soviets, and the significance of the work of the sessions of the Soviets and the commissions of deputies. The activities of the Supreme Soviet should also be reorganized. We should all give adequate thought to this.

"We should arrive at the creation of machinery, permanently functioning and democratic, that would contain everything necessary to ensure the irreversibility of perestroika, the active involvement of the people in it, that would name the most active people for leading offices, be aware of the sentiments and make the necessary corrections in the work. If we fail to do so, comrades, the economic reform will get bogged down as will other processes, too.

"If we take a closer look, we will see that the key to everything is by way of democratisation, by drawing the people into all matters. Therefore the aim of

perestroika is man and the means of perestroika is the mobilisation of human potential. We shall press ahead with perestroika through that and naturally through the cultural field, through strengthening the spirit of the people.

"We must complete the creation of a socialist legal state. So we shall also need a judicial-legal reform. And this will also be formulated as an objective at the conference.

"This is a major turn, comrades. We are now creating the prerequisites upon which our society will function for decades. This determines the measure of our today's responsibility. So when we are told that we are indecisive in something and are reproached for that, we say: 'No' - and once again 'no'. The most costly mistakes are the political ones. The best results are produced by well-prepared political decisions. In general, comrades, we want the 19th All-Union Party Conference to take responsible decisions that will give our perestroika a new, second wind, and open up to our society an even wider road of progress towards democracy, the road of socialism.

ends

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MY TELNO 645: SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA AND PRAVDA: ROLE OF THE LEADERSHIP

SUMMARY

1. REPORTS CIRCULATING IN MOSCOW HAVE IT THAT WHEN THE POLITBURO DISCUSSED PRAVDA'S RESPONSE TO THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA ARTICLE OF 13 MARCH GORBACHEV DEMANDED AND RECEIVED A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN HIMSELF, AND THAT THE MEETING APPROVED A WRITTEN CENSURE OF LIGACHEV (IN HIS ABSENCE). THIS INFORMATION IS OF UNPROVEN AUTHENTICITY BUT NOT INCONSISTENT WITH WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN. IF TRUE, WE COULD EXPECT EVIDENCE TO EMERGE IN PUBLIC OF THIS SHARP TRANSFORMATION OF THE EXISTING DEBATE INTO A QUESTION OF PERSONAL AUTHORITY. A MOVE AGAINST LIGACHEV COULD BE ON THE CARDS.

DETAIL

2. SEVERAL WESTERN MISSIONS AND JOURNALISTS HAVE HEARD MORE DRAMATIC AND DETAILED VERSIONS OF THE POLITBURO' S REACTION TO THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA ARTICLE THAN THAT OFFERED IN MY TUR. ACCORDING TO THESE ACCOUNTS, FOR WHICH THERE APPEAR TO BE THREE SEPARATE IMMEDIATE SOURCES, A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE POLITBURO WAS SUMMONED ON 30 MARCH IN THE ABSENCE OF LIGACHEV (IN VOLOGDA, 28-30 MARCH). GORBACHEV REPORTEDLY SAID THAT HE WOULD ONLY CONTINUE TO SERVE IF HE HAD THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE POLITBURO AND ASKED ALL THOSE PRESENT TO STATE THEIR POSITION. ALL DECLARED THEIR SUPPORT, ALTHOUGH ONE SOURCE HAS IT THAT CHEBRIKOV DISSENTED. IN ADDITION TO AUTHORIZING THE PRAVDA ARTICLE THE POLITBURO THEN APPROVED A REBUKE TO LIGACHEV, WHICH ALL SIGNED, CALLING ON HIM TO DESIST FROM SUPPORTING THE CONSERVATIVE CAUSE AND INSTRUCTING HIM TO READ THE PARTY STATUTES IN CONNECTION WITH HIS RESPONSIBILITY AS A SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

3. ANOTHER VERSION HAS IT THAT THERE WERE TWO EXTRAORDINARY POLITBURO SESSIONS: ONE, ON 30 MARCH, WHICH CENSURED LIGACHEV IN HIS ABSENCE, AND A SECOND, ON 4 APRIL, WHICH APPROVED THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE PRAVDA RESPONSE WITH LIGACHEV (PRESENT ON THIS OCCASION) AND CHEBRIKOV DISSENTING.

4. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS STORY DEPENDS CRITICALLY ON ITS AUTHENTICITY, FOR WHICH WE CANNOT VOUCH. BUT TAKEN AT FACE VALUE:

- IT APPEARS THAT GORBACHEV CONSIDERED THE CHALLENGE REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA ARTICLE WAS SUFFICIENTLY SERIOUS THAT HE HAD TO RESPOND BY ABRUPTLY TRANSFORMING THE ISSUE INTO ONE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY SEMICOLON

- THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS EVENT IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BEHIND LIGACHEV'S BACK, IS ITSELF A NEGATION OF DEMOCRATISATION AND GLASNOST. THIS COULD SUGGEST THAT GORBACHEV WAS UNSURE OF ACHIEVING THE SAME DEGREE OF SUPPORT IF LIGACHEV HAD BEEN THERE TO DEFEND HIS VIEWS, AND IS ITSELF A TRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTH OF THE CONSERVATIVE CONSTITUENCY SEMICOLON

- IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND HOWEVER THAT ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION, LIGACHEV HAS TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF GORBACHEV'S ABSENCE TO ADVANCE HIS OWN IDEAS SEMICOLON AND THAT THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA PIECE WAS TIMED TO APPEAR JUST AS GORBACHEV WAS DEPARTING FOR YUGOSLAVIA SEMICOLON

- IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT WHAT IS TANTAMOUNT TO AN OFFER OF RESIGNATION BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY AND THE HUMILIATION OF THE SECOND MAN IN THE PARTY HIERARCHY COULD END HERE.

- IF THE STORY IS TRUE LIGACHEV'S AUTHORITY WILL HAVE SUFFERED A SEVERE DENT, AND HIS DAYS IN HIS PRESENT NUMBER TWO POST MIGHT BE NUMBERED. THERE HAVE IN THE PAST BEEN RUMOURS THAT HE WOULD SUCCEED GROMYKO AS HEAD OF STATE.

DID SUCH A CLASH TAKE PLACE?

5. MUCH OF THE STORY HAS STRONG CIRCUMSTANTIAL CREDIBILITY. LIGACHEV IS THE LEADING CONSERVATIVE PROTAGONIST IN A VISIBLE DIVISION OF OPINION IN THE LEADERSHIP WHICH IS DAMAGING THE CAUSE OF REFORM. THE EVIDENCE FOR HIS INVOLVEMENT IN SOME WAY

IN THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA PIECE IS GENERALLY TAKEN HERE AS CONVINCING.

6., THE TIMING OF THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA PIECE WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY CALCULATED TO HAVE THE MAXIMUM INFLUENCE ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONFERENCE IN JUNE. ONE MAY QUESTION WHETHER THIS ATTEMPT TO MARSHAL SUPPORT FOR THE REACTIONARY TENDENCY WILL ACTUALLY INFLUENCE THE CONFERENCE AGENDA AND ARRANGEMENTS FOE THE CHOICE OF DELEGATES WHOSE ELECTION IS PENDING: BUT IT SEEMS LIKELY TO HAVE OFFERED REASSURANCE TO THOSE OF CONSERVATIVE VIEWS IN THE RANK AND FILE BUREAUCRACY THAT THEY HAVE SUPPORT AT THE CENTRE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE VIGOROUS RESPONSE FROM PRAVDA AND OTHER NEWSPAPERS WILL WARN THAN THAT THE DRIVE FOR REAL REFORM RETAINS ITS MOMENTUM.

7. FOR THE REFORMERS, THEREFORE, THERE WAS GOOD REASON FOR FIRM ACTION TO ATTEMPT TO STOP THE SPREAD OF THE THINKING REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA ARTICLE. THERE WOULD AT THE SAME TIME BE A STRONG INTEREST IN AVOIDING ANOTHER PUBLIC ROW SUCH AS THAT WHICH SURROUNDED THE REMOVAL OF ELTSIN. IN THIS CONTEXT A SHORT SHARP INTERNAL RAP OVER THE KNUCLES FOR LIGACHEV MAKES SENSE.

8. THE REFORMIST PRESS, PLUS PRAVDA, CONTINUED TO SUPPORT PRAVDA'S REBUTTAL OF SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA AND TO USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PUSH FORWARD THEIR CAMPAGIN FOR GLASNOST AND POLITICAL REFORM. BUT, AS RECORDED IN MY TELNO 663 (NOT TO ALL) CHEBRIKOV IN A RECENT SPEECH DID NOT SHRINK FROM GIVING FULL WEIGHT TO THE CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO REFORM.

WHOSE INTERESTS DOES THE PUBLICATION (OR FABRICATION) OF THIS EPISODE SERVE?

9. ALTHOUGH, AS NOTED ABOVE, IT WAS PREFERABLE TO AVOID A PUBLIC CLASH, THE SALUTARY LESSON OF THE REBUKE TO LIGACHEV WOULD HAVE ONLY PARTIAL EFFECT IF ITS EXISTENCE WERE KNOWN ONLY TO THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED. DISCREET PUBLICITY WOULD SERVE AS A WARNING TO ALL THAT SERIOUS DISSENT WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED. THE SAME ARGUMENT CAN OF COURSE BE USED TO EXPLAIN THE CIRCULATION OF A FABRICATED STORY TO THE SAME EFFECT. THE FACT THAT THERE WAS GOOD REASON FOR GORBACHEV'S SUPPORTERS TO GIVE CURRENCY TO THE STORY OFFERS NO COMMENT ON ITS AUTHENTICITY.

CONCLUSION

10. WESTERN REACTION HERE IS CAUTIOUS.
IT IS NEVERTHELESS VERY LIKELY THAT THERE WAS SOME DIRECT TALKING IN THE POLITBURO AT THE TIME OF THE APPROVAL OF THE PRAVDA REPLY. BUT, PENDING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, WE WOULD BE WISE TO TREAT THE DETAILS WITH CIRCUMSPECTION. IF THERE WAS INDEED A SHOWDOWN ON THE SCALE OUTLINED ABOVE, I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF THIS BEFORE TOO LONG.

11. WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT PERHAPS IN THE MEANTIME IS THAT, FOR THE PRESENT, THE VIEWS OF THE REFORMERS SEEM TO HAVE THE UPPER HAND AMONG THE LEADERSHIP. BUT AMONG THE RANK AND FILE, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE REMOTE FROM MOSCOW, THE STRENGTH OF THE REFORMIST CAUSE IS MUCH LESS IN EVIDENCE.
GORBACHEV WITH THE APPARENT SUPPORT OF THE LEADERSHIP, IS LOOKING TO RECEIVE AT THE PARTY CONFERENCE, IF NOT A DECISIVE MANDATE TO PRESS AHEAD WITH REFORMS AT LEAST A SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO PURSUE THE PARTY'S PRESENT COURSE. FOR THIS REASON ALSO THE CONSERVATIVE TENDENCY KNOW THAT THE TIME REMAINING IN WHICH TO MOBILISE FORCES WHICH WOULD ACT AS A BRAKE AT THE PARTY CONFERENCE IS VERY SHORT.

MARSHALL

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Prime Minister
Interesting.
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Jp 0537

c Sir Robin Butler

MR POWELL

Soviet Union: Leadership Divisions

There are now clear signs of a split in the Party over 'perestroika', which reaches up to the highest level in the Soviet leadership.

2. On 13 March, one day before Gorbachev left Moscow on a visit to Yugoslavia, the Soviet newspaper "Sovietskaya Rossiya" published a "letter to the editorial office", supposedly from a university teacher in Leningrad. While including a couple of brief quotes from Gorbachev, the author, Andreeva, devoted the great bulk of her "letter" to criticising the effects of 'glasnost' and democratisation - in particular, the (to her) excessively negative treatment of the past and the freedom of debate which, she claimed, had allowed "left liberals" and "peasant socialists" to come out with their programmes. These were confusing for young people. She concluded that the whole process of discussion raised the fundamental question of whether or not the leading role of the Party and the working class was to be recognised in socialist construction and in 'perestroika'. The article as a whole was a visceral reaction against 'perestroika'. It contained no specific recommendation about political or economic reform. It was also strongly anti-Semitic.

3. "Pravda" replied authoritatively on 5 April. In a full-page unsigned editorial (a clear indication of high-level backing), the newspaper took issue with Andreeva's "letter", saying that it could only be described as "providing an ideological platform and manifesto for anti-restructuring forces". "Pravda" claimed that the "letter" virtually advocated a return to "the system whereby bureaucratism, lack of control, corruption, bribery, and petty bourgeois degeneration flourished lavishly".

4. It is virtually inconceivable that "Sovietskaya Rossiya" would have published the "letter" without high-level approval. It filled a full page, and, despite flying in the face of major elements in Gorbachev's reform policy, was not accompanied, or even followed, by any comment or "alternative view". It may not even have been a letter at all (or may, at the least, have been heavily reworked). "Pravda" described it as "an article, written in the style of 'a letter to the editorial office'".

5. Having been published, however, it was clearly given a fair wind. "Izvestia" on 10 April noted that no sooner had it appeared than it was hastily reprinted in other newspapers, and local Party organisations began to organise large-scale meetings to express support for the ideas contained in it.

6. We do not know who, in the higher levels of the Party, was behind the publication of the "letter". The only obvious candidate, however, is Ligachev, the senior Party Secretary, and the number two to Gorbachev in the Party hierarchy. Supervising the press is part of his job as Secretary in charge of ideology: one unconfirmed report suggests that he may even have called editors together to commend the "letter" to them. While he outwardly (and probably genuinely) supports many aspects of Gorbachev's reforms, he is notably more conservative in some areas (especially culture) and may have doubts about the pace of change. Bearing in mind the timing of the "letter", it may also be indicative that Ligachev has something of a track record for making his moves in Gorbachev's absence. He made a strikingly hard-line speech while Gorbachev was on holiday last summer.

7. The "Pravda" response, on the other hand, was in part drafted, we believe, by Party Secretary Yakovlev, a close associate of Gorbachev, and was formally endorsed by Gorbachev in a speech a few days later.

8. It does not seem likely that the "letter" was printed for the express purpose of being demolished, as some sort of effort to re-emphasise the importance of reform. "Pravda" criticised not only the "letter" but "Sovietskaya Rossiya" for showing a lack of responsibility in publishing it.

9. The Soviet press machine has now swung into line. Even "Sovietskaya Rossiya" is now publishing letters from its readers attacking the "letter" and supporting the "Pravda" line.

10. We do not know what further steps Gorbachev will now take. If Ligachev was responsible (and if it was not he, then there is clearly some other centre of high-level opposition within the Party), he has clearly lost this particular battle. It remains to be seen whether Gorbachev will try to paper over the cracks, or look for a chance to remove Ligachev from his influential position. But the hard-line approach clearly has many supporters in the Party. "Izvestia", having noted how quickly people initially rushed to support the "letter", asked "What is the state of public awareness if the slightest test could have produced such confusion of mind and fecklessness of action?". An article by a prominent reform economist in "Sovietskaya Kultura" on 7 April, supporting the "Pravda" editorial, warns that, unless people can see some benefits from restructuring, and can become actively involved in it, then they could become a breeding ground for the resurrection of the "command system", enabling the opponents of restructuring to defeat its supporters and grasp the levers of power.

11. Gorbachev clearly has major problems to solve before the Soviet Party Conference in June.

15 April 1988

PERCY CRADOCK

Prime Minister
CDP
19/2

Jp 0497

MR POWELL

c Sir Robin Butler

Soviet Central Committee Plenum

The Prime Minister may like to see the attached minute from Martin Nicholson in the Assessments Staff.

PERCY CRADOCK

19 February 1988

MR HALL

19 February 1988

cc Mr Burke
Mr Short
Mr Wordsworth

SOVIET CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: LEADERSHIP CHANGES

Changes in the leadership as a result of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 17-18 February are as follows:

- Full Members of Politburo: no change.

- Candidate Members of Politburo:

- Eltsin dropped.

- Yu D Maslyukov (50), who recently took over from Talyzin as Chairman of Gosplan, promoted to Candidate Member. (Talyzin, now Chairman of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers for Social Development, retains his candidate membership.)

- G P Razumovsky (52), currently Head of the Central Committee Department for Organisational Party Work and junior Party Secretary for personnel questions, is promoted to Candidate Member, while remaining a CC Secretary.

- Central Committee Secretaries:

- O D Baklanov (55), hitherto Minister of General Machine Building (ie ballistic missiles), is transferred to become a Central Committee Secretary.

2. Comment. The dropping of Eltsin was a foregone conclusion. Maslyukov's promotion was expected, but Talyzin's retention of his Politburo status in his new job (social

affairs, including employment) is no surprise, given the importance the leadership now ascribe to this area. Baklanov comes out of the blue. While his precise role as a Central Committee Secretary will not become clear until he has been in the job for some months, we can be fairly certain that he will take over Party supervision of the defence industries from Zaikov, who has recently been combining this with his new Moscow job. (Zaikov, however, has apparently retained his post as Party Secretary. It is not clear whether he will retain some residual supervision of industry or whether his dual function is designed to tie Moscow more closely to the Party Secretariat - Eltsin had complained of lack of support from the Secretariat.)

3. It is likewise not yet clear whether Razumovsky will broaden or change his responsibilities on promotion. He may be being groomed to replace Ligachev (to whom he currently reports on personnel questions) in due course, or possibly Chebrikov, Chairman of the KGB. While not a Gorbachev protégé in the narrow sense, Razumovsky, from what we know of him, can be expected to support Gorbachev fairly consistently.

4. Shcherbitsky soldiers on. His award of an Order of Lenin on the opening day of the Plenum means nothing more than that it was his 70th Birthday. Under Brezhnev he would have got a higher award, but the currency is being generally revalued. He remains the only Party leader of a Republic in the leadership. It is slightly surprising that he has not been joined by the Belorussian Party leader, who traditionally has a place as Candidate Member (and the Belorussians are in good odour). This may have something to do with the Central Asians, who also traditionally have one or two places in the leadership, but are currently in the dog house. The leadership may want to avoid looking unduly Slav.

5. Conclusions. Overall, a tidying up Plenum. But the advancement of Razumovsky is a good chess move. He is now well placed to take over a senior leadership job. Maslyukov could be an eventual replacement for Prime Minister Ryzhkov. People in their early fifties are moving up; although Gorbachev remains the youngest Full Member of the Politburo, there are now three members of the leadership younger than he is.

Martin Nicholson

MARTIN NICHOLSON

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MY TELNO 335 (NOT TO ALL), 338 AND 340. CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: COMMENT

SUMMARY

1. A MAJOR AND WIDERANGING SPEECH BY GORBACHEV, BUT ONE LACKING IN SPARKLE AND NOVELTY, AND COUCHED AT TIMES IN UNUSUALLY DEFENSIVE LANGUAGE. SOME SHARPER COMMENTS BY LIGACHEV ON THE OPENING DAY OF THE PLENUM ON ISSUES RELATED TO GLASNOST. A MINOR LEADERSHIP RESHUFFLE WITH A SMALL PLUS FOR GORBACHEV. BUT NO MAJOR CHANGES. THE GLASNOST PROCESS MAY NOW BE LOSING SOME IMPETUS AS ENERGIES ARE CONCENTRATED ON THE ECONOMY AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

DETAIL

2. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH COVERED THE WHOLE FIELD OF PERESTROIKA - GLASNOST', DEMOCRATISATION AND ECONOMIC REFORM - AS WELL AS FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON WHICH I HAVE TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY. IT WAS A MODERATE AND CAUTIOUS SPEECH. ITS MAIN MESSAGE IS THAT GLASNOST' MAY HAVE BEEN PROCEEDING TOO FAST WHILE DEMOCRATISATION AND THE ECONOMIC REFORM HAVE NOT BEEN PROCEEDING FAST ENOUGH.

3. SOME OF GORBACHEV'S LANGUAGE WAS NOTABLY DEFENSIVE. HE HAS TALKED ON MANY OCCASIONS IN THE PAST OF BUREAUCRATIC FOOT-DRAGGING OVER THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROCESS. BUT ON THIS OCCASION HE USED EVEN STRONGER LANGUAGE, REFERRING AT ONE POINT TO THOSE WHO ARE DELIBERATELY TRYING TO SABOTAGE AND DESCREDIT THE REFORMS. HE ALSO STRESSED TO A GREATER EXTEND THAN I HAVE SEEN BEFORE THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOME OF THE OPPOSITION TO PERESTROIKA. HE MADE A SPECIFIC POINT OF TAKING UP THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO CLAIMED THAT PERESTROIKA REPRESENTED A DEPARTURE FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND MARXISM-LENINISM. IN TALKING OF DEMOCRATISATION HE MENTIONED

THOSE WHO HAD WARNED THAT THIS WOULD LEAD TO CHAOS.

4. HE STRESSED, AS HE HAS ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, THE NEED FOR THE PARTY ITSELF TO SET AN EXAMPLE IN THE MATTER OF DEMOCRATISATION, BUT THE LANGUAGE HE USED SUGGESTS THAT MANY PARTY MEMBERS REMAIN UNENTHUSIASTIC. HIS COMMENTS ON THE DIRECTION SUCH REFORMS MIGHT TAKE WERE NOTICEABLY VAGUE. THIS SUGGESTS THAT, WITH THE PARTY CONFERENCE NOW ONLY SOME FOUR MONTHS AWAY, THERE IS STILL LITTLE IN THE WAY OF LEADERSHIP AGREEMENT ON CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR THIS KEY ITEM OF THE CONFERENCE AGENDA.

ECONOMY

5. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, GORBACHEV'S CRITICISMS OF THE MINISTERIAL BUREAUCRACY HAD A WEARY AND FAMILIAR RING. IT IS ALSO CLEAR FROM THIS SECTION OF HIS SPEECH THAT THE NEW LAW ON THE STATE ENTERPRISE IS NOT HAVING AN EASY PASSAGE. HIS CLAIM THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO REAL GROWTH IN NATIONAL INCOME BETWEEN 1960-80 IF ONE DISCOUNTED OIL PRICE FLUCTUATIONS AND THE GROWTH IN ALCOHOL PRODUCTION IS LIKELY TO HAVE SHOCKED MANY OF HIS AUDIENCE. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS RECENTLY THAT SOME OF THE GROWTH RATES CLAIMED IN THE LATE 1970S WERE ILLUSORY. BUT I HAVE NOT YET SEEN SUCH A GRAPHIC CONDEMNATION OF ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE UNDER BREZHNEV. PRESUMABLY GORBACHEV HOPES THAT SUCH REVELATIONS WILL FINALLY PERSUADE HIS AUDIENCE THAT THERE IS INDEED NO ALTERNATIVE TO HIS REFORMS.

GLASNOST'

6. THE LANGUAGE ON GLASNOST' AND HISTORY WAS MEASURED AND CAUTIOUS. THERE WAS NO SUGGESTION OF BACKTRACKING, BUT THE EMPHASIS THROUGHOUT THIS PASSAGE WAS ON THE NEED FOR A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION. THE ANALYSIS OF HISTORY NEEDED TIME. PEOPLE MUST RESTRAIN THEIR IMPATIENCE. HE ALSO EMPHASISED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING ONE-SIDED (IE UNDULY NEGATIVE) INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY, AND SAID THAT IS WAS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WERE AN INHERENT PART OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THOSE WHICH WERE DISTORTIONS. PRESUMABLY THIS IS A WARNING TO SOME ACADEMICS WHO HAVE BEGUN TO SUGGEST THAT STALINISM WAS A NATURAL PRODUCT OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND NOT AN INDIVIDUAL ABERRATION. THE MEDIA AND THE CULTURAL INTELLIGENTSIA WERE PRAISED FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO GLASNOST BUT ALSO WARNED AGAINST GOING TOO FAR TO FAST.

LIGACHEV

7. LIGACHEV'S SPEECH ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE PLENUM WAS VERY LARGELY DEVOTED TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM, ON WHICH WE SHALL BE REPORTING IN MORE DETAIL BY BAG. BUT HE ALSO MADE A NUMBER OF COMMENTS ON GLASNOST'-RELATED ISSUES WHICH PROVIDE AN INTERESTING OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPARISON WITH GORBACHEV'S TREATMENT OF THE SAME SUBJECT. LIGACHEV'S COMMENTS WERE BOTH MORE INCISIVE AND MORE CONSERVATIVE. HIS HEAVY EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR A CORRECT CLASS/IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAD A MARKEDLY OLD-FASHIONED RING, AS DID HIS ILL-TEMPERED COMMENTS ON WHAT HE TERMED THE CURRENT FAD FOR ''PRIMITIVE'' MUSIC. HIS DISLIKE OF THOSE WHO OVEREMPHASISED THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF SOVIET HISTORY CAME THROUGH MORE STRONGLY THAN IN GORBACHEV'S SPEECH, AND HIS PRAISE FOR PRAVDA'S (NOTABLY CONSERVATIVE) HANDLING OF THIS SUBJECT WOULD SEEM TO BACK UP THE REPORTS WE HAVE HAD THAT HE HAS BEEN ENCOURAGING PRAVDA IN TAKING THIS LINE.

8. LIGACHEV'S COMMENT THAT THE RESULTS OF DISTORTED NATIONAL ATTITUDEŚ HAD BEEN SEEN IN YAKUTIA AS WELL AS IN ALMA ATA IS THE FIRST PUBLIC CONFIRMATION I HAVE SEEN OF THE FACT (WHICH WE HAVE HEARD MENTIONED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS) THAT THERE WERE NATIONAL DISTURBANCES IN YAKUTIA LAST YEAR.

LEADERSHIP CHANGES

9. THE PROMOTION OF MASLYUKON THE NEW CHAIRMAN OF GOSPLAN, AND THE DEMOTION OF ELTSIN CAME AS NO SURPRISE. THE PROMOTION OF RAZUMOVSKY, WHO WAS BROUGHT IN BY GORBACHEV TO RUN THE SENSITIVE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR PARTY PERSONNEL MATTERS IN 1985, IS A MINOR PLUS FOR GORBACHEV. AGED 51, HE IS THE YOUNGEST OF THE CANDIDATE AND FULL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO AND MAY BE A MAN TO WATCH.

10. THE BRINGING INTO THE SECRETARIAT OF BAKLANOV, WHO WILL, WE ASSUME, UNDERSTUDY ZAIKOV IN SUPERVISING THE DEFENCE INDUSTRIES GETS ROUND THE PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT ZAIKOV'S DOUBLE PORTFOLIO (HE IS ALSO FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MOSCOW PARTY COMMITTEE). BUT IT ALSO SUGGESTS THAT THERE ARE STILL PROBLEMS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON CANDIDATES FOR FULL POLITBURO STATUS. DESPITE A NUMBER OF FAIRLY SHARP PRESS CRITICISMS, SHCHERBITSKY RETAINS HIS POSITION IN THE POLITBURO, AND IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO HOLD ON UNTIL HE CAN BE PRISED OUT OF

HIS ENTRENCHED POSITION AT THE HEAD OF THE UKRAINIAN PARTY.

CONCLUSIONS

11. YEGOR YAKOVLEV, EDITOR OF MOSCOW NEWS AND ONE OF THE LEADING CAMPAIGNERS FOR GLASNOST', TOLD ME WHEN HE CAME TO MY RESIDENCE TO MEET YOU FOR LUNCH ON 16 FEBRUARY THAT HE THOUGHT THE BALANCE WAS NOW TIPPING AGAINST GLASNOST'. KOROTICH, THE EDITOR OF OGONEK AND ANOTHER OF GLASNOST'S LEADING PROPONENTS, HAS BEEN SAYING MUCH THE SAME RECENTLY. THE EVIDENCE OF THIS PLENUM IS THAT THEY ARE PROBABLY RIGHT. IT HAS BEEN EVIDENT FOR SOME TIME THAT GLASNOST' IS PROCEEDING CONSIDERABLY MORE QUICKLY THAN ECONOMIC REFORM OR DEMOCRATISATION AND THAT THIS HAS BEEN CAUSING CONCERN. IT NOW SEEMS THAT GORBACHEV HAS ACCEPTED THIS POINT, AND THAT THERE WILL NOW, AT BEST, BE A PERIOD OF TREADING WATER WHILE EFFORTS ARE CONCENTRATED ON OVERCOMING BUREAUCRATIC OPPOSITION TO THE ECONOMIC REFORMS. BUT THE PARTY CONFERENCE WILL ALSO REQUIRE GORBACHEV TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ISSUE OF DEMOCRATISATION AND PARTY REFORM AND THIS, IT SEEMS, IS LIKELY TO PROVE JUST AS CONTROVERSIAL AS GLASNOST' WITH SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE LEADERSHIP AND IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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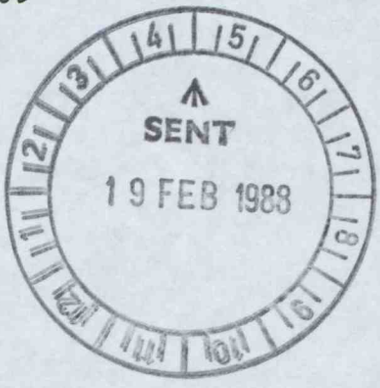

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GORBACHEV'S SPEECH TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, 18 FEBRUARY: FOREIGN POLICY AND ARMS CONTROL

SUMMARY

1. A DEFENSIVE, LACK-LUSTRE JUSTIFICATION OF ARMS CONTROL POLICY, MAXIMISING THE SUCCESS OF THE INF TREATY. UK AND FRANCE CRITICISED. NEW THINKING IS GIVEN GOOD LENINIST CREDENTIALS, AND SAID TO BE ESSENTIAL.

DETAIL

ARMS CONTROL

2. GORBACHEV SAID ARMS CONTROL HAD BEEN AN EARLY PRIORITY FOR THE PARTY. THE INITIATIVES PUT FORWARD BY THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT BEEN AD-HOC, BUT HAD BEEN GIVEN A ''SOUND, LONG-TERM SCIENTIFIC BASIS''.

3. THE INF TREATY WAS DESCRIBED IN FAMILIAR TERMS AS THE ''BEGINNING OF REAL DISARMAMENT''. GORBACHEV ADDED ''BUT IT IS ALSO A RESULT. A RESULT OF THE STRUGGLE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, OTHER PEACE-LOVING AND PROGRESSIVE STATES, MASS POPULAR MOVEMENTS, THE UN, THE NON-ALIGNED.....OF THE ACTIVITY OF LEADERS OF SCIENCE, CULTURE, THE CHURCH.....OF THE COMMON-SENSE OF POLITICIANS BUSINESSMEN AND THE MILITARY. THE TREATY IS SOME KIND OF INIDCATOR OF THE POTENTIAL FOR PEACE''.

4. HE THEN CAUTIONED THAT THERE WAS NO CAUSE FOR COMPLACENCY. WITHIN DAYS OF THE SUMMIT EUPHORIA, ''OPPONENTS OF NORMALISING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION'' WERE TRYING TO RALLY SUPPORT. GORBACHEV PAID A MIXED TRIBUTE TO THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. ''THE ADMINISTRATION IS KEEPING ITS WORD AND SUPPORTING THE TREATY. BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT ECHOES THE EXTREME RIGHT IN ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-COMMUNIST RHETORIC,...AND ALSO IN DEEDS. WE HAVE AGAIN WITNESSED PROVOCATIONS ON OUR BORDERS. SOMEONE CLEARLY DOES NOT

LIKE THE ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY THE VISIT TO THE USA.''

5. THERE WAS SHARP CRITICISM OF THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO. ''THEY ARE HURRYING TO ARRANGE COMPENSATION FOR THE MISSILES COVERED BY THE TREATY. THEY PLAN TO MODERNISE OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS,.....CYNICALLY ARGUING THAT THEY ARE NOT ENCOMPASSED BY IT. WE HAVE ONCE AGAIN HEARD FROM LONDON, FROM PARIS, AND FROM NATO HQ A CATEGORICAL 'NO' TO GIVING UP NUCLEAR WEAPONS EVEN IN THE DISTANT FUTURE. APPROVAL OF A START TREATY IS ACCOMPANIED BY STATEMENTS THAT FRANCE AND BRITAIN ARE NOT AT ALL PREPARED TO STOP INCREASING THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. QUITE THE REVERSE.''

6. GORBACHEV THEN COMMENTED ON THOSE URGING CAUTION IN THE WEST, WHO WERE SUSPICIOUS OF THE ''DIPLOMACY OF SMILES''. THEY WERE TRYING TO PREVENT PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT AND ALSO WERE STEPPING UP THE IDEOLOGICAL ATTACK, ''TO BRING THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE OVER THE QUESTION OF PERESTROIKA AND DISARMAMENT INTO OUR TERRITORY, INTO OUR MIDST.'' HOWEVER, NEW THINKING AND OTHER STEPS WHICH UNDERMINDED THE 'ENEMY IMAGE' WOULD OVERCOME THIS.

NEW THINKING

7. GORBACHEV SPOKE AT LENGTH IN DEFENCE OF NEW THINKING, WHICH, LIKE PERESTROIKA (LAST WORD UNDERLINED) HAD BEEN THE NECESSARY RESULT OF THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP IN 1985. ''THERE IS CONFUSION IN THE MINDS OF SOME PEOPLE ABOUT THE ESSENCE OF NEW THINKING. IT IS NOT SURPRISING. THE PROBLEMS ARE CONSIDERABLE''. AGAINST THIS DOCTRINE OF MILITARISM, THE SOVIET UNION WAS ADVANCING THE IDEAS OF ''A BALANCE OF INTERESTS AND EQUAL MUTUAL SECURITY''. HE ASSERTED THAT IT WAS THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD, AND WAS A MORAL ASSET TO THE SOVIET UNION.

8. HE TOLD THE PLENUM THAT NEW THINKING WAS THE CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF THE REALITIES SUBJECT TO ANALYSIS BY DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. IT RELIED ON THE LENINIST THEORY OF IMPERIALISM. NEW THINKING WAS WELL SUITED TO SOCIALISM'S ''HISTORIC MISSION'' OF CREATING NEW REALITIES WHICH WOULD BE AN INSUPERABLE BARRIER AGAINST AGRESSION AND INTERVENTION. GORBACHEV CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THAT THE SUCCESS OF PERESTROIKA (LAST WORD UNDERLINED) WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE WITHOUT A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON NEW THINKING.

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MY TELNOS 335 AND 338: CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: GOBRACHEV'S SPEECH

1. THE FULL TEXT OF GORBACHEV'S SPEECH IS PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S PRESS. IT RANGES WIDELY OVER INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN POINTS OF INTERNAL POLICY. WE ARE TELEGRAPHING SEPARATELY ON POINTS FROM THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF THE SPEECH.

DIFFERENT VIEWS OF PERESTROIKA

2. GORBACHEV BEGAN BY LOOKING AT SOME KEY IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PERESTROIKA. AT FIRST, HE SAID, MANY PEOPLE HAD FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THESE CHANGES PERESTROIKA INVOLVED. THIS MEANT THAT THE PARTY HAD LITERALLY TO FIGHT FOR PERESTROIKA IN BOTH ITS ECONOMIC AND SPIRITUAL ASPECTS.

3. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THERE WERE DIFFERING VIEWS OF PERESTROIKA. SOME SAW IT AS SIMPLY A PROCESS OF COSMETIC ADJUSTMENT - AS SOMETHING SUPERFICIAL. OTHERS DEMANDED THE DISMANTLING OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM AND ASKED THAT POLICIES FOLLOWED FOR DECADES SHOULD BE DECLARED TO HAVE BEEN MISTAKEN. OTHERS USED RADICAL PHRASEOLOGY BUT WANTED TO MISS OUT NECESSARY LOGICAL STAGES OF THE PROCESS.

4. GORBACHEV THEN SAID THAT THERE WERE SOME PEOPLE WHO EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT PERESTROIKA, AND INTERPRETED IT AS A RETREAT FROM SOCIALISM. NOT SURPRISINGLY, SUCH TALK HAD LED TO THE APPEARANCE OF QUOTE ''DEFENDERS'' OF MARXIST LENINISM. THEY WERE MISTAKEN. PERESTROIKA DID NOT INVOLVE ANY RETREAT FROM SOCIALISM. BUT IT DID INVOLVE THE FIRM REJECTION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S DOGMATIC, BUREAUCRATIC AND VOLUNTARIST LEGACY FROM THE PAST.

HISTORY

5. GORBACHEV STRESSED THE NEED FOR A TRUTHFUL AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. THIS MUST SHOW HOW PEOPLE REALLY LIVED AND WORKED, THEIR VICTORIES AND THEIR FAILURES, THE GLORIOUS AND THE TRAGIC, THE REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE, THE VIOLATION OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY AND AT TIMES THE CRIMINAL ACTS. BUT A MARXIST/LENINIST AND DIALECTICAL APPROACH WAS NEEDED IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE NO ONE-SIDEDNESS. THE ANALYSIS OF HISTORY NEEDED TIME. SOME PEOPLE WANTED TO LOOK TOO QUICKLY AT THE CLOSED PAGES OF THE PAST. THIS ONLY RESULTED IN SUPERFICIAL WORK. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE PRESS RECEIVED MANY LETTERS FROM PEOPLE CONCERNED ABOUT ONE SIDED APPROACHES TO HISTORY. THE AIM, GORBACHEV STRESSED, MUST BE TO CREATE CONDITIONS FOR CALM AND OBJECTIVE WORK WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE IN DISCUSSING HISTORICAL ISSUES.

DEMOCRATISATION

6. GORBACHEV STRESSED THAT THE PARTY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS ONLY THROUGH DEMOCRATISATION THAT THE HUMAN FACTOR CAN BE BROUGHT INTO PLAY AND THAT APATHY CAN BE OVERCOME. BUT THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO BECAME NERVOUS AND ISSUED WARNINGS THAT DEMOCRACY COULD TURN INTO CHAOS. IN GENERAL THESE WARNINGS WERE THE RESULT OF THEIR OWN SELFISH CONCERNS, NOT OF THEIR CONCERN FOR A SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. PARTY OFFICIALS STILL TRIED TO PUT ARTIFICIAL LIMITS ON GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY. PARTY OFFICIALS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE PARTY CAN ONLY ENSURE ITS LEADING ROLE IF IT ADOPTS DEMOCRATIC METHODS OF WORK.

PRESS CRITICISM

7. PRESS AND TELEVISION HAVE BEEN TURNING THE SPOTLIGHT OF GLASNOST ON THOSE WHO ARE RESISTING AND HINDERING PERESTROIKA. THIS WAS HEALTHY. BUT FROM TIME TO TIME JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS MADE MISTAKES AND COULD NOT RESIST SENSATIONALISING. THERE WERE STILL TOO FEW POSITIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE PROGRESS OF PERESTROIKA.

CULTURE

8. GORBACHEV STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING A RICH AND VARIED CULTURE AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF PERESTROIKA. BUT HE SAID THAT HE AGREED WITH THOSE AT THE PLENUM WHO HAD SPOKEN ABOUT THE IMPERMISSIBILITY OF A LIGHT-HEARTED APPROACH TO ISSUES OF CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY. IN THIS AREA, PERHAPS PARTICULARLY IN THIS AREA, ACTIONS HAD TO BE GUIDED BY MARXIST/LENINIST PRINCIPLES.

NATIONALITIES

9. GORBACHEV DID NOT DWELL ON THIS ISSUE, BUT RECOMMENDED THAT A FUTURE PLENUM SHOULD DEVOTE ITSELF TO THE SUBJECT.

ECONOMIC REFORM

10. GORBACHEV THEN TURNED TO THE ECONOMY AND THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME. HE NOTED THAT THE MOVE OVER TO KHOZRASCHET (SELF-ACCOUNTING) HAD ONLY JUST BEGUN, AND THAT OTHER KEY ELEMENTS IN THE REFORM PROGRAMME SUCH AS THE INTRODUCTION OF WHOLESALE TRADING DIRECTLY BETWEEN ENTERPRISES, AND PRICE REFORM STILL LAY AHEAD. EVEN SO, HE SAID, THE REFORM PROGRAMME WAS ALREADY MEETING PROBLEMS. THE BRAKING MECHANISM HAD STILL TO BE FULLY OVERCOME. THERE WAS STILL TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO INDICATORS OF GROSS OUTPUT, AND THERE WERE CASES WHEN INSTRUCTIONS WERE ISSUED TO FIRMS WHICH WENT CONTRARY TO THE NEW LAW ON STATE ENTERPRISES. THE ATTACHMENT TO THE OLD SYSTEM WAS SO STRONG THAT EVEN IN CASES WHERE FIRMS WERE PROFITABLY PRODUCING ITEMS IN GREAT DEMAND THEY DID NOT PURSUE THIS BUT OPTED FOR THE QUIET LIFE INSTEAD. GORBACHEV WARNED THAT IF THESE OLD FASHIONED ATTITUDES WERE NOT OVERCOME THEN THE REFORMS WOULD NOT HAVE THE NECESSARY EFFECT. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATIVE AND INDIVIDUAL LABOUR ACTIVITY, THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW FAMILY AND OTHER UNITS IN AGRICULTURE WAS MEETING PROBLEMS AND BEING SUBJECTED TO ARTIFICIAL DELAY. RADICAL IMPROVEMENTS WERE STILL NEEDED IN THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY. THERE WERE STILL PEOPLE WHO PLAYED AT INTRODUCING REFORMS, AND OTHERS WHO WERE OPPOSED TO THE VERY CONCEPT AND THE REFORM AND AIMED TO SABOTAGE AND DISCREDIT THE NEW METHODS. GORBACHEV WARNED THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THESE REFORMS. IT WOULD BE IMPERMISSIBLE TO LET THEM BE STOPPED HALF WAY OR ROLLED BACK.

11. GORBACHEV ALSO STRONGLY ATTACKED THE CONTINUED ATTACHMENT TO THE IDEA OF ''LEVELLING OUT'' OF WAGES. IT WAS HARDLY A SECRET HE SAID THAT MANY RECEIVED WAGES SIMPLY FOR TURNING UP AT WORK WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING ANYTHING. BUT AS SOON AS PEOPLE IN NEW SELF-ACCOUNTING COLLECTIVES BEGAN INCREASING OUTPUT AND THEREBY INCREASING THEIR INCOME THERE WERE ANGRY CRIES. PEOPLE MUST LEARN THAT LEVELLING OUT WAS A REFLECTION OF PETTY BOURGEOISE VIEWS AND HAD NOTHING IN COMMON WITH MARXIST LENINISM. THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF SOCIALISM ''FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITIES, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS LABOUR'' MUST BE APPLIED.

12. GORBACHEV THEN REMINDED HIS AUDIENCE OF THE PARLOUS STATE OF THE ECONOMY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1980S - SOMETHING HE SAID WHICH HE HAD NEEDED TO DO ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1980S GROWTH RATES HAD FALLEN AND HAD REACHED A CRITICAL POINT. BUT, AS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY BECOME CLEAR, EVEN WHAT GROWTH THERE WAS HAD BEEN BASED ON UNHEALTHY AND TEMPORARY FACTORS. HE CITED IN PARTICULAR THE HIGH WORLD OIL PRICE AT THE TIME AND THE UNJUSTIFIED EXPANSION OF THE PRODUCTION OF ALCOHOL. IF ONE ELIMINATED THESE FACTORS, THEN THERE HAD BEEN NO REAL GROWTH IN NATIONAL INCOME DURING THE WHOLE FOUR FIVE YEAR PLANS LEADING UP TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 1980S. FROM THIS POINT NATIONAL INCOME HAD EVEN BEGUN TO DECLINE. ONLY NOW HE SAID WAS ECONOMIC GROWTH BEGINNING ON A HEALTHY BASIS.

13. BUT THERE WERE STILL SERIOUS PROBLEMS. THE CUT BACK IN THE SALE OF ALCOHOLIC PRODUCTS HAD COST THE STATE MORE THAN 37 BILLION ROUBLES OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, WHILE RECEIPTS FROM REVENUES FROM THE SALE OF IMPORTED GOODS HAD DECLINED BY 9 BILLION ROUBLES FROM 1985-7 BECAUSE OF SHORTAGES OF HARD CURRENCY.

14. GORBACHEV THEN DEALT WITH 3 PARTICULAR AREAS OF THE ECONOMY - THE FOOD PROGRAMME, HOUSING AND THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS. SHORTCOMINGS IN THE LAST OF THESE WAS A MATTER FOR PARTICULAR CONCERN. THERE HAD BEEN NO TANGIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN THE QUALITY OF CONSUMER GOODS AND CONSUMER DEMAND WAS FAR FROM BEING SATISFIED. THIS HAD TO BE CHANGED QUICKLY. THE WAY THIS PROBLEM WAS HANDLED WOULD, GORBACHEV STRESSED, LARGELY DETERMINE PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS PERESTROIKA.

POLITICAL REFORM

15. GORBACHEV STRESSED THE INTER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC REFORM, POLITICAL REFORM, DEMOCRATISATION AND GLASNOST. THEY WERE ALL LINKS IN THE SAME CHAIN. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM NEEDED OVERHAULING. THIS DID NOT MEAN REPLACING THE EXISTING SYSTEM, BUT SUPPLEMENTING IT WITH NEW STRUCTURES. THIS ISSUE HAD TO BE THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE PARTY CONFERENCE. THE MAIN PROBLEM WAS TO CREATE A MECHANISM IN WHICH DEMOCRATIC CONTROL WOULD BE CLEARLY EXERCISED, AND TO WORK OUT APPROPRIATE LEGAL PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD AT LEAST SERIOUSLY RESTRICT THE ELEMENT OF SUBJECTIVITY AND CHANCE (SLUCHAINOST) IN THE DECISION MAKING SYSTEM. AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF REFORM THAT WAS NEEDED GORBACHEV CITED THE FURTHER DEMOCRATISATION OF THE SYSTEM OF LOCAL SOVIETS. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS ALSO NECESSARY TO THINK ABOUT THE

ROLE OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND INCREASING THE EFFICIENCY OF ITS WORK. THERE ALSO HAD TO BE CLEARER DELIMITATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF PARTY AND STATE BODIES. THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY WAS AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION FOR THE FUNCTIONING AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. IN CONDITIONS OF PERESTROIKA AND DEMOCRATISATION THE LENINIST TEACHING ABOUT THE PARTY AND ITS ACTIVITIES MUST BE REVIVED. CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT PROPOSALS ON THESE ISSUES HAD TO BE WORKED OUT IN TIME FOR THE PARTY CONFERENCE.

16. IN CONCLUSION GORBACHEV NOTED THAT PERESTROIKA HAD MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS OVER THE PAST 3 YEARS BUT THAT THERE WAS STILL A LONG WAY TO GO. MANY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS STILL REMAINED TO BE RESOLVED. AS THE COUNTRY APPROACHED THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE THERE HAD TO BE A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS, AND IN PARTICULAR OF THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE OPERATION OF THE NEW LAW ON THE ENTERPRISE. FUTURE TASKS FOR THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATISATION AND ECONOMIC REFORM HAD TO BE CAREFULLY DEFINED, AND CONCRETE DECISIONS WERE NEEDED ON HOW TO IMPROVE BOTH THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE PARTY IN ITS ROLE AS THE POLITICAL AVANTGARD.

17. COMMENT FOLLOWS.

CARTLEDGE

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Some interesting points here.
CR.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

1. THE PLENUM OPENED ON 17 FEBRUARY WITH A LENGTHY SPEECH BY LIGACHEV ON THE RESTRUCTURING OF EDUCATION. THE FULL TEXT OF THE SPEECH APPEARS IN TODAY'S PRESS. LIGACHEV'S SPEECH WAS FOLLOWED BY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE FLOOR WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED. THE PLENUM CONTINUES TODAY. IT IS CUSTOMARY FOR ANY LEADERSHIP CHANGES TO BE ANNOUNCED AT THE END OF A PLENUM.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS THE SUMMARY OF THE MAIN POINTS FROM LIGACHEV'S SPEECH.

3. LIGACHEV SAID THAT WIDERANGING REFORM OF THE WHOLE EDUCATION SYSTEM WAS NEEDED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE PROCESS OF PERESTROIKA. HE IDENTIFIED THREE MAJOR FAILINGS IN THE REFORM PROGRAMME INTRODUCED IN 1984. ITS APPROACH WAS TOO EVOLUTIONARY: THIS CONFLICTED WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF PERESTROIKA. SECONDLY, THE REFORMS WERE BASED ON AN ''EXTENSIVE'' APPROACH. THERE WAS NEED FOR GREATER SPECIALISATION. AND FINALLY, THE SYSTEM FOR RUNNING EDUCATION NEEDED DEMOCRATISATION.

4. LIGACHEV'S MAIN MESSAGE WAS THE NEED TO GIVE SCHOOLS MORE FLEXIBILITY IN ORDER TO ENABLE THEM TO CONCENTRATE ON DEVELOPING INDIVIDUAL ABILITIES. THERE SHOULD BE NO LEVELLING DOWN. THE PROGRAMME FOR INTRODUCING VOCATIONAL TRAINING INTO BASIC SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION HAD NOT BEEN A SUCCESS, AND SHOULD BE DISCONTINUED. THE NETWORK OF SEPARATE VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS SHOULD BE IMPROVED, IN ORDER TO OVERCOME THE SHORTAGE OF SKILLED WORKERS IN THE ECONOMY. THERE SHOULD BE MUCH CLOSER LINKS WITH INDUSTRY. HIGHER EDUCATION WAS NOT MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE ECONOMY. THERE WERE TOO MANY ENGINEERS TRAINED IN SOME AREAS AND A SHORTAGE IN OTHERS. THERE WAS AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF ECONOMISTS. A NETWORK OF TRAINING CENTRES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR RETRAINING WORKERS AND UPGRADING THEIR SKILLS.

5. INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION HAD DECLINED FROM 11% OF THE BUDGET IN 1970 TO 8% IN 1986. 21% OF SCHOOLS HAD NO CENTRAL HEATING, 30%

HAD NO RUNNING WATER AND 40% NO DRAINAGE. THE NUMBER OF PLACES AT PRE-SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS WAS 1 MILLION SHORT OF DEMAND. IN MANY AREAS THE SWITCH FROM SCHOOL ENTRY AT 6 YEARS RATHER THAN 7 WAS ONLY BEING MANAGED BY 2, AND IN SOME CASES 3 SHIFT, SYSTEMS. THE RATE OF BUILDING OF NEW SCHOOLS WOULD DOUBLE IN THE NEXT TWO 5 YEAR PLANS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE 28 MILLION NEW PLACES BETWEEN 1990 AND THE YEAR 2000. THE PROGRAMME FOR EQUIPPING SCHOOLS WITH COMPUTERS WOULD HAVE TO BE SPEEDED UP. IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM FOR EDUCATION, EDUCATIONAL COUNCILS WILL BE ESTABLISHED INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF PUPILS, PARENTS AND LOCAL FIRMS AS WELL AS TEACHERS. HIGHER EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS WILL BE EXPECTED TO OBTAIN SOME FUNDS FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS FROM INDUSTRY.

6. LIGACHEV ALSO DEALT WITH THE NEED TO IMPROVE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TEACHINGS IN SCHOOLS. APOLITICISM, AND THE INFLUENCE OF BOURGEOIS MORALITY WAS INCREASING, AS WERE DISTORTED NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS, THE RESULTS OF WHICH HAD BEEN SEEN IN RECENT EVENTS IN ALMA ATA, THE BALTIC REPUBLICS AND YAKUTIA. FURTHER IMPROVEMENT WAS NEEDED IN THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN ORDER TO COPE WITH THE GROWING INTEREST OF THE YOUNG IN THE PROBLEMS OF PERESTROIKA AND DEMOCRATISATION AND TO ENABLE THEM TO UNDERSTAND THEIR HISTORY. LIGACHEV CONDEMNED THE GROWING TENDENCY, IN THE NAME OF GLASNOST, TO REPRESENT SOVIET HISTORY AS A SERIES OF MISTAKES AND CRIMES, AND THE LACK OF EMPHASIS GIVEN TO THE SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. THIS WAS SHAMEFUL HE SAID. SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHERS MUST ENSURE THAT THE YOUNG WERE TAUGHT THE SUBJECT FROM A CLASS POSITION AND THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD CLASS NATURE OF THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NO INTENTION OF ''LIBERALISING'' SOVIET SOCIETY IN THE WESTERN SENSE, OR OF COPYING BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM IN ANY WAY.

7. LIGACHEV ALSO STRESSED THE NEED TO GIVE GREATER ATTENTION TO AESTHETIC EDUCATION, AND CONDEMNED THE CURRENT FAD FOR ''PRIMITIVE'' MUSIC AMONG THE YOUNG. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A PROPER INTERNATIONALIST APPROACH TO EDUCATION, AND THE NEED IN THE REPUBLICS TO ENSURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF BILINGUALISM. THERE WAS A SERIOUS SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS QUALIFIED TO TEACH RUSSIAN IN THE NON-RUSSIAN REPUBLICS.

8. COMMENT WILL FOLLOW WHEN WE SEE HOW THE PLENUM ENDS.

CARTLEDGE

From: M J Llewellyn Smith
Soviet Department

Mr Ratford
Private Secretary

Date: 6 November 1987
cc: Mr Fall
Mr Figgis, EED
Mr Meyer, News Dept
Gore-Booth Planning Staff
Mr Murrell, Research Dept
Mr Wordsworth, Assessments Staff
Sir J Fretwell

GORBACHEV AND THE 70th ANNIVERSARY

1. I promised to provide further views on Gorbachev's major anniversary speech on 2 November. You will now have seen Moscow telno 1590 containing Sir Bryan Cartledge's further comments, in addition to the account in his initial series of telegrams (1575-8). I am indebted also to Mr Murrell's analysis in what follows, though he may not agree with ~~it~~ all of it.

A
B
C

2. I agree with Sir Bryan Cartledge's adjusted view that expectations of the speech had been unduly raised (partly through the fault of the Russians themselves), and that on this occasion - a celebration of 70 years - Gorbachev had to take a positive overall view of Soviet history and achievements. Viewed in this light (and compared with what we might have expected only a year or two ago), the speech was pretty forthright; though it did not go as far in the denunciation of Stalin as Krushchev's secret speech at the 20th Party Congress.

3. On the other hand, it has not broken much new ground - probably not as much as Gorbachev would have liked. There is reason to suppose that he may have watered down his original text following the Central Committee plenum debate about it.

4. Sir Bryan gives the speech 6 out of 10 for glasnost, and a much higher mark for political judgement. Mr Murrell gives it less than 6 out of 10 for glasnost. The marking matters because, as Mr Murrell points out, the opening up of the Soviet past, and the questioning of features of the Soviet system, serves to widen Gorbachev's options for future reform. Thus the debate about history is also a debate about policy. My judgement is that Gorbachev wanted to go further in his speech than he felt able to; and that he will return to the charge. In the meantime his formulations have not, so far as I can see, closed off options for reform.

5. Two major related questions arise from the speech and surrounding events: the strength of Gorbachev's own position and the prospects for the changes he is trying to bring about in Soviet society. The JIC will look at the first of these

questions next week.

(i) Gorbachev's position The differences in the Politburo and Central Committee about glasnost and the pace of change came into the open at the Central Committee plenum with the row between Eltsin and Ligachev. The twists and turns over the Washington summit also probably owed something to Gorbachev's desire to secure his flanks against the charge of seeming soft on the Americans. It is clear that Gorbachev has to take the views of Ligachev and others seriously. Though temperamentally he stands in the tradition of the autocratic one-man Russian leader, he is still shackled by the restraints of collectivity, and of course by the inertia and resistance of the human material he has to deal with. The whole tenor of his speech, including the striking lack of references to glasnost (only one) and the implied rebute to Eltsin, show the restraints he is under. Gorbachev's personal commitment to change is so strong that I find it implausible to suppose that he will allow himself to be reined in for long. Events since 2 November, including the references in his 4 November speech to past mistakes in dealings with other communist parties, and statements reported in the press here about the need to review the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, show that the agenda of possible change has not been narrowed.

It is very difficult to be sure from the outside how much support Gorbachev has inside the Politburo, the Central Committee and the Party more widely. It is common ground amongst observers that he has moved skilfully to achieve a majority of "his" men in key positions. But that begs the question whether all of these fully support his views and the pace of change he is trying to push through. It is clear that resistance in the Party and government bureacracy is considerable and may even be increasing. There is no evidence that it has yet crystallised around one of the so-called conservatives, eg Ligachev.

(ii) The Future of Gorbachev's Reforms Gorbachev's Murmansk and Leningrad speeches, and indeed parts of the 70th anniversary speech, testify to his impatience to see implemented the economic and other changes he seeks. He believes, rightly in my view, that once the momentum of change is allowed to slacken, it will be difficult or impossible to restore if.There is at times a note of near desperation in his calls for attitudes to change and old thinkers to get out of the way. But fact is that real change is proving slow to achieve, particularly in the economy; and, resistance seems if anything to be growing.

It has always seemed to me probable that, as the difficulty of his reforming mission becomes apparent, Gorbachev would be driven to further and more radical attempts to impose perestroika. He has to face the possibility that his reforms may be incompatible with the "system" ~~as~~ in its present stage of evolution (ie centralised one-party rule); that the system is now striking back, and that he has no mandate from his colleagues to change this system in the fundamental ways he sees as necessary. Some outside observers (an increasing number) are concluding that he is doomed to failure, since economic and social reform on the

scale he is proposing contradict the grip of the party and cannot therefore be allowed. This may be right. But we should not underestimate the force of Gorbachev's personality, the power of his position as General Secretary, and the weight of the evidence of current failures to which he can point.

6. All in all, there may be a stressful period ahead inside the Kremlin. Further tensions within the leadership are likely. An eventual showdown between Gorbachev and others cannot be ruled out.

7. Are there conclusions to be drawn for our own policy? We have based ourselves hitherto on the premise that whatever we do or say can only have a marginal influence on the main political and economic developments inside the Soviet Union, and that we therefore do best to safeguard our own interests carefully while watching with interest and welcoming developments which go in the direction of a more open and cohabitable Soviet society. I see no reason to change that view.

8. One final thought. I wonder whether we should go on refering to Gorbachev as a "convinced Communist" and "believer in the system". It may be more accurate to say "a convinced believer in Leninist opportunism" who will shape the system and the ideology to his own practical priorities.

SofS not entirely convinced.

M Llewellyn Smith

M J Llewellyn Smith

U92AAJ

(Perfett)

... ~~were decided frequently by libertarian methods with the assistance of the old political and economic mechanism.~~ However the main reason for the failure of the reforms that were undertaken in this period was the fact that they ~~did not depend~~ WERE NOT BASED on the broad spread of the process-ES of democratization.

At the October 1964 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee there was a change in the leadership of the Party and country, and decisions were adopted to overcome the libertarian tendencies and distortions in domestic and foreign policy. The Party strove to achieve some stabilization of policy and to provide it with realistic features and a solid foundation.

The March and September 1965 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee put forward a fresh approach in the ~~guidance~~ RUNNING of the economy. An economic reform and large-scale programmes for opening up new areas and developing the country's productive forces were drawn up and a start was made to their implementation. In the first few years this altered the situation in the country for the better. There was an increase in the economic and scientific potential. The defence capability was strengthened. There was a rise in the level of the people's wellbeing. Many foreign-policy actions were carried out which consolidated the international prestige of our State. A military and strategic parity with the USA was ensured.

The country possessed great possibilities to further accelerate its development, but [illegible] new cardinal changes in society and ,of course, the appropriate political will were needed to utilize these possibilities and bring them into action. There was insufficient of either. Even much of what had been [illegible] decided remained just on paper and suspended in the air. The pace of our development was seriously slowed down.

At the April 1985 Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the 27th Congress the Party frankly specified the reasons for the situation that had come about, [illegible] revealed the mechanism that was slowing down our development, and gave a principled assessment of it. It was emphasized that during the latter years of the life and activities of Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev the search for the way to achieve further progress was to a great extent [illegible] held back by an adherence to customary formulas and schemes that did not reflect the new realities. There was an increasing gap between word and deed. There was a build-up of negative processes in the economy, which had in effect created a pre-crisis situation. Many anomalous features had arisen in the social, spiritual and moral spheres, which were distorting and deforming the principles of socialist justice, undermining the people's faith in it and giving rise to social alienation and amorality in various forms. The mounting divergence between the lofty principles of socialism and the everyday reality of life became intolerable. The healthy forces in the Party and society as a whole felt more and more acutely the insistent requirement and need to overcome the negative features , ALTER ~~interrupt~~ the course of events, ensure an acceleration

of the country's socio-economic development and achieve a moral cleansing and renewal of socialism. A response to this most acute social requirement was the concept and strategy for accelerating the socio-economic development of the country, which were put forward by the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, and the course for revitalizing socialism, which were developed theoretically and politically in the decisions of the 27th Congress and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee and were formulated into the general line for the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of life in socialist society.

The ideas of restructuring are based on our 70 years of history and on the solid foundation of the fundamentally new social edifice/ that has been built in the Land of the Soviets, ~~for a fundamentally new social edifice,~~ COMBINING ~~which unites~~ continuity and innovation and the historic experience of Bolshevism with the present day of socialism. We have to continue and redouble the cause of the first pioneers of socialist revolution, and we shall achieve this without fail by our labour, creatively using the experience of the generations who paved the path of the October revolution ahead of us and for us. (applause)

Comrades, we are travelling a revolutionary path. It is not a path for the weak and the timid. It is a path for strong and bold. The Soviet people has always been this very in the years of great social transformations, in the years of the trials of war and also in the years of peaceful creative toil. ~~It is precisely the people that creates its history~~ and its destiny.

END OF GORBACHEV PART 19.

1218 gmt MTF.

~~Comrades! We are travelling a revolutionary path. It is not a road for the weak and timid; it is a road for the strong and the bold, which is what the Soviet people has always been, during the years of the grandest social transformations, during the years of the war ordeals and during the years of peaceful and creative labour~~. It is the people which creates its own history and destiny - a destiny which is never easy, but unique and priceless like human life itself. And this is true one hundred times over as regards the history of socialism and continuing the cause of the Great Revolution. The working class was and remains the people's cementing and vanguard force; at the very dawn of the revolutionary movement it followed the Leninist call to fight for freedom without for a moment abandoning thoughts of socialism and to work on its implementation and the preparation of forces and organizations for the attainment of socialism. It was the working class, in alliance with all working people, that carried out the Great October Revolution, built socialism and defended it in severe encounters with the enemy. It bore, experienced and withstood everything, and today too it is in the vanguard of developing socialism and the revolutionary restructuring. Glory and all honour to it!

[applause]

Our Leninist party arose and developed as an active combat detachment of the working class, from which it absorbed the mighty strength of certainty, firmness, discipline and steadfastness in the struggle for the ideals of socialism, and a wise and humane understanding of life. And now, as the party of the entire people, it preserves these best features of the attacking and creating class today and at all stages in the history of socialism.

[applause]

The main and crucial meaning of our history consists in the fact that for all these seventy years our people has lived and laboured under the leadership of the Party in the name of socialism, in the name of a better and just life. This is the destiny of a creator-people, a builder-people.

[applause]

Comrades. We have been brought to the conclusion that restructuring is essential by burning and urgent necessities. But the more deeply we have investigated our problems and grasped their meaning, the more obvious it has become that the restructuring has a wider social-political and

historical context as well. Restucturing means not only shaking off the stagnation and conservatism of the preceding period and correcting the mistakes committed, but also overcoming historically-limited and obsolete features of social organization and working methods. It means imparting to socialism the most perfect forms appropriate for the conditions and requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and for the intellectual progress of Soviet society. This is a comparatively lengthy process of society's revolutionary rejuvenation with its own logic and stages. Lenin saw socialism's historical task in preparing the transition to communism by the work of a long succession of years. The leader of the Revolution highly rated Marx and Engels' ability to analyse, in extreme detail, precisely the transitional forms in order to take into account each separate case's dependence on specific historical peculiarities and determine what transition, from what to what, is represented by any given transitional form. In short, our teachers gave much warning that the road of constructing a new society is a long succession of transitions. We have every reason to regard the restructuring as a specific historical stage in our society's onward advance. And to answer the Leninist question from what to what are we passing, it has to be said quite definitely: we

must impart new qualities to socialism - second breath, as they say - and to do this, we must effect a profound rejuvenation of all aspects of society's life, both material and spiritual, and unfold as fully as possible the humanist nature of our system. The objective of the restructuring is to fully restore, both theoretically and practically, the Leninist conception of socialism, in which undisputed priority is afforded to the man of labour, to his ideals and interests, and to communist values in the economy, social and political relations and culture. Our hope for revolutionary purification and revival lies in unfolding socialism's tremendous social resources by galvanizing the individual and the human factor. As a result of the restructuring socialism could and should fully realize its capabilities as a system of real humanism, serving man and elevating him. It is a society for people, for the blossoming of their creative labour, prosperity, health, physical and spiritual development - a society in which man feels himself to be completely in charge and is so in practice. Two key problems in the development of society determine the destiny of the restructuring. These are the democratization of the whole of public life and the radical economic reform.

End of Part 20 1208 gmt MTF

Continuing the cause of the October, restructuring has put forward as a task of the highest priority the further deepening and development of socialist democracy. The democratization of society is the soul of restructuring; and on the future progress of democratization will depend also the success of restructuring itself and, it can be said without exaggeration, the future of socialism as a whole. This is the firmest guarantee of the transformation of policy and of the economy, and it excludes any backward movement. The reforms that are now taking place in this country are possibly the biggest step since the October on the path of the development of socialist democratism. In restructuring our economic and political system, we are obliged to create, first, a reliable and flexible mechanism by which to ensure that all the working people do, in reality, become involved in deciding the affairs of the State and of societ Secondly, we must in practice teach people to live in the conditions created by

a deepening democracy; widen - widen and strengthen - human rights;

and ~~fuse~~ FOSTER the modern political culture of the masses. In other words, we must teach and learn democracy. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our Revolution, as we take thought for the future, we must look more closely at how the process of the democratization of society is going and what is hindering it.

Here there are considerable difficulties and contradictions, at times unexpected. There is no avoiding the struggle of what is new and progressive with what is old and obsolete. There is a degree of uncertainty and indecision. In the first days after the October, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin noted that the workers and peasants were still timid; that they were not yet determined enough; that they had not yet come to terms with the fact that they themselves must take into their hands all the levers of government. But the power, vitality and invincibility of the October Revolution of 1917, wrote Lenin, lay precisely in the fact that it was awakening these qualities, breaking down all the old

impediments; that it was tearing away the delapidated trammels and leading the working people out onto the road of the independent creative endeavour of the new life. Now, too, we see how difficult it is for people to get the feel of a new situation - to accustom themselves to the possibility and necessity of living and deciding all questions by democratic methods. Many are still afraid, act circumspectly, are chary of responsibility and remain in thrall to outdated rules and instructions. The task is to instil in people a taste for independence and responsibility in their approach to industrial and public affairs on whatever scale; to develop self-government as the power of the people, exercised by the people itself and in the interests of the people. The development of self-governmen will proceed above all through the Soviets, which must, in accordance with the Party's designs, fully justify their role as plenipotentiary organs of decision. Recently, the rights and opportunities of the Soviets at all levels have been considerably expanded. That process will continue, and therefore the Soviets will

gather strength and Soviet democracy will deepen. We have begun to improve the electoral system. The elections held in June of this year have convinced us of the rightness and fruitfulness of the new approaches. They demonstrated the increased political activeness of the people, and the interest that people have in seeing that it really is the best representatives of the workers who get elected to the Soviets - though once again, formalism and over-organization were not avoided. Restructuring and the development of democracy make it possible to turn on at full capacity the energy, possibilities and rights of the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations, including those that have come into being in recent years, such as the All-Union Organization of War and Labour Veterans, the Women's Councils, the Soviet Culture Fund and the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin Children's Fund. It is important that their day-to-day activities should be concerned with solving vitally important tasks and should reflect the interests of the broad masses of the working people. Much that is new and promising has appeared in the labour kollektivs and in work linked to place of

residence. A wide scope is opening up for useful initiative, so that all vital questions may be settled efficiently and without red tape. The new processes that have got underway in our country also pose in a new way the question of general political and legal standards, which I would call the culture of socialist democratism. It is to a large extent the lack of that culture that gives rise to such defects as bureaucracy and abuse of power; undue reverence for rank; bad management and irresponsibility.

end pt 21 mf

The true culture of Socialist democracy will never accept either a command-pressure style nor organisationally wooliness, the substitution for business of empty conversations - the one and the other are alien to Socialism. There is no doubt either about something else - the broader and deeper democracy, the more attention is required by socialist legality and law and order, the more we need organisation and conscious discipline.

The culture of democracy cannot be limited to the political sphere. It must penetrate all spheres of human relations. We are proceeding from the fact that Socialism is a society of increasing variety in people's opinions, interactions and activities. Each person has their social experience, their level of knowledge and education, their particular ways of perceiving what is taking place. From this comes a vast range of opinions, convictions and assessments, which naturally requires to be attentively taken into account and compared. We are in favour of variety in public opinion and of wealth in spiritual life. We need not be afraid of openly ~~asking~~ POSING and solving the difficult problems of society's development, of criticising and debating. It is in just such conditions that truth is born and correct decisions formed. Socialist democracy must WHOLLY serve socialism and the interests of people of labour ~~with all its strength~~.

(applause)

Comrades, a solid basis for an acccelerated advance in all directions can be created only on the basis of fundamental changes in the economy. And restructuring itself will gain full force only when it has ~~fundamentally~~ DEEPLY ~~rocked~~ STIRRED the national economy. In its turn this rests on profound transformations of the economic mechanism and the entire economic management system. The aim of the radical economic reform begun in the country is/ in the next two or three years/ to guarantee the transition from an excessively centralised, command-based, management system to a democratic one, based predominantly on economic methods and an optimum combination of centralism and self-management. It presupposes a sharp expansion in the independence of associations and enterprises, their change-over to full financial autonomy and self-financing and the provision of the working collectives with all rights necessary for this. Economic reform is already not just plans and intentions, even less just abstract theoretical argument. It is firmly and deeply entering life. A significant number of associations and enterprises in industry, construction, transport and agriculture are/ TODAY working on the principles of self-financing and self-recouping. From the beginning of next year, enterprises producing 60 per cent of industrial output will be working in these conditions/ and the law on the state enterprise (association

will come into force. All this is already having an effect on economic management practice. There is a noticeable growth in the collectives of interest in the financial and economic results of work. ~~The results of expenditure are beginning to be properly regarded, saving~~ PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO MAKE A REALISTIC RECKONING OF EXPENDITURE AND RESULTS, TO MAKE SAVINGS in large and small things, and ~~more~~ TO FIND THE MOST efficient solutions ~~found~~ to problems.

END PART TWENTY TWO (mtf)

Today we must once again firmly say: the party will permit no deviation from the adopted principles of economic reform. All the envisaged transformations must be and shall be fully implemented. Economic reform and perestroyka overall actively put people first. Social justice requires that we give more attention to display of ~~the~~ personal abilities of the individual and ~~distinguish~~ THAT WE MARK, morally and materially, those who work best and hardest showing an example to others. Genuine talent and brilliant personalities are the priceless wealth of society, and they must be cared for and every necessary condition must be created for their creativity and life. We want each person's worth, knowledge, labour and ability to be respected everywhere, so that the honest, industrious, creative person may be certain that his labour is duly appreciated, that he can always prove his case and find support. But the idler, scrounger, bureaucrat, and lout will be put in ~~their~~ his place and unmasked.

The positive changes which are now taking place in our country, AND THEY are widely publicised in the mass media, ~~and~~ are warmly supported by the working people. Today an unconscientious attitude to one's task is especially intolerable. A person armed with modern knowledge and equipment produces more and more output, and his labour depends more and more closely on the activity of thousands of others participants

in public-SECTOR production. In these conditions negligence on the part of even one worker, engineer or scientist can result in extraordinarily serious consequences fraught with huge losses for society.

I would especially like to stress the growing significance of intellectual labour, the ~~relationship~~ INTER-ACTION of science, technology and society, the humanitarian, moral-ethical bias of scientific-technical progress. We want all the achievements of science and technology to be placed at the service of man, AND not lead to violation of the ecology. We extract grim lessons from such tragic events as the accident at Chernobyl atomic power station. We want to end the use of science for military purposes, to raise ~~the~~ social responsibility and professional competence. Creative performance - such today is the duty of the engineers and scientists, physicians and teachers, literary and arts figures. (Applause)

While restoring the rights and material incentives of workers and at the same time giving more attention to collective forms of such incentives, we must not permit an underestimation of socio-cultural and moral-psychological incentives. They are extraordinarily important for the normal development of relations of collectivism, comradeship, a social way-of-life, for the affirmation of our Soviet values in people's consciousness and behaviour.

End pt 23 mtf. 1250

In ~~rehabilitating the~~ material interest ~~of workers~~, and thereby increasing attention to its collective forms, we must not allow an underestimation of social and cultural and moral and psychological incentives. They are exceptionally important for the normal development of relations of collectivism and comradeship and the socialist way of life and for strengthening our Soviet values in the consciousness and behaviour of people.

Comrades, we justly say that the nationalities issue has been resolved in our country. The Revolution paved the way not only for the legal, but also the social and economic equality of rights of nations, having done an exceptional/great deal _____ to level the economic, social and cultural development of all republics and regions, and all peoples. One of the supreme gains of October is the friendship of the Soviet peoples. Per se it is a unique phenomenon in world history, and for us it is one of the main buttresses of the power and strength of the Soviet state. [Applause]

In noting today the outstanding achievements of Lenin's nationalities policy, the peoples of our country pay a tribute of profound esteem and gratitude to the Great Russian people, ~~to~~ for its disinterestedness, genuine internationalism, and inestimable contribution to the creation, development and strengthening of the Socialist Union of free and equal republics and to the economic, social and

cultural progress of all peoples in the Soviet country. [Applause]

Let us, comrades, look after our great and common property: The friendship of the peoples of the USSR! [Applause]

And therefore we will never forget the fact that we live in a multi-national state, where any social and economic, cultural, and legal decisions directly and immediately always touch upon the nationalities issue as well. Let us act in a Leninist manner, and develop as much as possible the potential of every nation and every one of the Soviet peoples. [Applause]

Relations between nationalities in our country are a vital issue of active life. We must be extremely attentive and tactful in everything to do with people's national interests or feelings and provide for the most active participation of the working people of all nations and ethnic groups in resolving the manifold tasks in the life of our multi-national society. We intend to analyze and discuss in greater depth these issues in the near future, taking into account what restructuring, democratization and the new stage in its development are bringing into the life of the country. Friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR are a sacred matter for us; this is how it has been, and this is how it will be - this is in line with the spirit of Leninism, the traditions of the Great October, and the fundamental interests of all the

nations and ethnic groups which populate our Motherland. [Applause]

Comrades! The transition of Soviet society to a qualitatively new state and the breakthrough to the future can only be accomplished on a broad front which includes also the intellectual sphere of socialism: science and education, literature and art, the whole totality of the Soviet people's social and moral values. Intellectual culture is not just an embellishment of society, but ONE OF its life-support zones, society's intellectual and cultural potential; it is, as it were, THE ALLOYING ~~the leading~~ material for IMPARTING ~~its~~ social DURABILITY TO IT ~~sturdiness~~ and a catalyst for its DYNAMISM ~~vitality~~. We must raise the prestige of Socialist culture even higher. Scientists and inventors, writers and journalists, artists, actors and teachers all workers in the various areas of culture and education are called upon to be advocates of restructuring. The Party is counting upon an active civic and social stance from our intelligentsia. [Applause]

~~The Soviet people has become an enlightened people, something which the great enlighteners of the past could only dream about. But complacency is inadmissible here.~~

end part 24 1320 gmt - mtf

The Soviet people became an enlightened people, something the great enlighteners of the past could only dream about. Here too, however, complacency is impermissible. Our achievements should not conceal the vastness and urgency of the tasks to be solved today. We can see that the system of education has in many ways ceased to meet contemporary requirements. The quality of tuition in schools and higher education establishments, the training of workers and specialists, far from fully meets life's requirements. It is essential to make a serious spurt ahead and in this sphere too to achieve fundamental changes. It is in just this way that the Party is approaching the reform of secondary and professional education and the restructuring of the higher schools. The CPSU Central Committee has decided to examine the questions of education that have come to a head, at one of its Central Committee plena.

Such, Comrades, are our strategic tasks, which we must deal with in the course of the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of socialist society. Two and a half years have passed since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. What have we managed to do? On what frontier are we now? I suggest that such questions are appropriate and unavoidable at today's solemn session. The overall conclusion ON THIS SCORE ~~at the session~~ of the CPSU Central Committee plenum that has just come to an end, is as follows: we are living through a time of dramatic change. The first stage of the work to restructure has,

basically, been completed. The concept of restructuring has been elaborated on a basis of a profound analysis of the situation and the outlook for the country's development. A new political, moral and psychological atmosphere has been created in the country. The Party has succeeded in raising people's interest in public affairs and their activity and in increasing the level of exactingness, criticism and self-criticism, glasnost, and in creating the prerequisites for genuine changes in people's thinking and moods. The main thing that defines the position of the majority of Soviet people at this stage is support for restructuring and the demand that it advance steadily. Workers, collective farm workers and the intelligentsia are reacting with understanding to the need to increase discipline, efficiency and the quality of labour. In factories and on construction sites, on collective and state farms, in scientific research organisations, an intense search for new forms of organisation and remuneration of labour is underway. People are now becoming more exacting with regard to themselves, to their leaders and specialists and are coming out determinedly against poor management ~~methods~~ and lack of responsibility. We value highly this civil position of the working people and regard it as undoubted and weighty support of the Party's drive for acceleration.

(applause)

There are grounds also for talking of some positive advances in practical affairs,

in the social and economic sphere, above all. The rates of production growth have increased and there HAVE ~~has~~ been a qualitative change in the economy. Large-scale scientific and technological programmes are being implemented and domestic machine-building modernised. Agriculture and particularly livestock farming, has begun to develop more steadily. You are all aware, Comrades, what unfavourable weather conditions there have been this year in most areas of the country. Nonetheless, we have managed to bring in a grain harvest of more than 210,000,000 tonnes. This is the result of IMMENSE ~~great~~ efforts by our people and the Party that has ROUSED ~~raised~~ it to work in a new way. (applause)

END PART 25 (mtf)

(KS)

The recovery of the economy, which has begun, has allowed us to set about the implementation of major measures in the social sphere. The scale of housing construction has risen perceptibly, the services sector is expanding, the income of working people is growing, salaries for teachers and doctors have been increased, and major programmes in the sphere of education and medical services to the population are being implemented.

And still, this is just the start. Now we can talk about the beginning of a new stage of restructuring, when all our policy and all our decisions are transformed into concrete deeds and put into practice. This requires huge efforts from all the people, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all our cadres. Now, life itself will check our ideas, plans, approaches and methods of work. The growing tension of life can be felt in everything today, but this is the tension of creation, active labour and political and intellectual activity. It is good tension, comrades, the mobilising kind. I should like to stress that, from this point of view, the forthcoming two, or perhaps three, years will be the most difficult, decisive and, in a certain sense, critical -- primarily because it will be necessary simultaneously to solve large-scale tasks, both in the economy, and in the social sphere, and in the restructuring of state and public administration, and in ideology and culture. It is necessary to implement deep structural improvements in the economy, to reach a turning-point in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, to conduct,

in the main, a restructuring of the economic mechanism and thus to take a decisive step in the transfer of the national economy onto the tracks of intensification. The difficult nature of the forthcoming period lies in the fact that the transformations will affect the interests of a larger and larger mass of people, social groups and strata of society and all cadres. We are certain that the situation in the country will continue to be determined by broad support from the working people for the restructuring, deep understanding of the necessity of the changes and energetic continuation of the restructuring despite certain problems along this path.

"But it would be wrong not to see a certain strengthening of resistance from conservative forces who regard the restructuring as merely a threat to their own selfish interests and aims. And this is occurring not only in various levels of administration, but in labour collectives as well. Nor can one be in any doubt that the forces of conservatism...the forces of conservatism will not fail to exploit any difficulties in order to attempt to discredit the restructuring and arouse dissatisfaction amongst the working people. Some people even now prefer to stand around pointing to failings instead of rolling up their sleeves and battling with shortcomings and seeking new solutions. At the same time, naturally, nobody is saying that they are against the restructuring--no, they are rather playing the role of fighters against its costs, of zealots of ideological foundations which allegedly might be shaken by the masses' growing activeness. But how long can they go on frightening us, comrades, with all sorts of costs? Of course, costs are inevitable in everything - especially in something new. But the consequences of marking time, of stagnation and indifference are far more significant and expensive than the costs which

SOCIAL

We must learn to recognize, and to unmask and to neutralize the manoeuvres of the opponents of restructuring, those who are putting a brake on things, those who place spokes in the wheels, who gloat over difficulties and failures, who attempt to drag us back to the past. Nor must we submit to pressure from the excessively zealous and impatient, those who do not want to reckon with the objective logic of restructuring and express dissatisfaction with the slow - in their view - pace of transformations, with the fact that they allegedly do not yield the necessary fruit rapidly.

It must be clear that one cannot skip stages and attempt to do everything with one stroke.

(UP)

end of part 26 (mtf) 1330 gmt

~~It must be clear that one cannot skip stages and attempt to do everything ~~in~~ with one stroke~~.

Restructuring is continuing the cause of the revolution and today ~~and~~ it is extremely ~~necessary~~ necessary to be able to wield ~~with~~ to perfection the weapon of revolutionary endurance. This endurance does not mean that one must sit where one is or flow with the current. It means ~~that~~ an ability to assess the situation realistically, not to give in to difficulties, not to panic and not to lose one's head either from successes or failures, an ability intensively and purposively to work every day, every hour, and everywhere and in everything to find, and to implement, optimum solutions dictated by life itself. (applause)~~=~~

~~end of snap 13~~ part 2 0920

WS

p.t.o.

Hence the need for confident, persistent, purposeful work to implement what we have envisaged, for the performance of the set targets and tasks. To reveal, analyse the contradictions, understand their nature, and on this basis draw up a system of political, economic, social, organisational and ideological measures: this is what our approach should be, and nothing else. (Applause)

Comrades, the success of RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~ depends primarily on the energy, purposefulness, and force of example of the party and each communist. In this historically crucial moment of socio-economic transformations, the Communist Party has boldly and resolutely mounted a struggle for the renewal of society, has taken on its shoulders the most difficult burden of work. And we can say with confidence that the great cause of October, the cause of revolutionary RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~, finds itself in firm hands. The communists will do their duty with lofty SENSE OF responsibility TO ~~before~~ the people and THE time. (Applause)

A radical improvement in the activity of the party organisations, party bodies and cadres is becoming the main task of today. It is necessary to BRING ABOUT A CHANGE ~~reach a turning point~~ in the activity of each party organisation, to step up the work of each party committee, each communist. Where this has already succeeded in being done, where party leaders, communists, have awakened the initiative and SPONTANEOUS ACTION ~~mettle~~ of the masses, have boldly embarked on THE PATH OF ~~the~~ democratisation, glasnost, introduction of financial

autonomy, collective contracting, have given scope to new forms of LABOUR organisation ~~of labour~~ AND incentive, satisfaction of people's requirements - the matter has gone forward, and decisively at that.

But we see in a number of towns and districts and oblasts and even in some republics that RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~ has STILL not really got under way. And this is a direct result of political and organisational sluggishness, lack of initiative of party committees and their leaders. This also needs to be seen. This too is our reality.

Especial responsibility for improving things is borne by the primary party organisations. All the threads of RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~ essentially meet in them. It is on the initiative of the primary party organisations that the progress of the transformations primarily depends, the ability to mobilise and inspire people, the ability to achieve a concrete improvement in work. Overall, comrades, without a sharp activisation of all party organisations we cannot complete THE RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~. Therefore, more efficiency, more democratism, more organisation and discipline, and then we shall be able to get RESTRUCTURING ~~perestroyka~~ fully under way and give fresh impulses to developing socialism. (Applause)

~~(20 minute break announced, after which Gorbachev will continue his report)~~

end pt 27 mtf 1530 gmt

(Leszczynski)

Comrades, the world would not have been as we now see it if it were not for the great revolution in Russia. Up until this turning point in the world history, the right of the strong and the rich, as well as wars of aggression were the customary norm of international relations. By its first legislative act - the famous decree on peace - the Soviet power began to lead the struggle against this state of affairs. The country of the soviets brought into international practice what previously was outside the framework of ~~big policy~~ MAJOR POLITICS: people's common sense and the interests of the working masses. During the brief years when Lenin was in charge of Soviet foreign policy, he not only worked out its starting principles, but also showed how to implement them in a most unusual, drastically changing situation.

Indeed, contrary to the initial expectations, the breaking of the weakest link of the capitalist system was not the final, decisive battle, but a beginning of a protracted and complex process. One of the greatest services rendered by the founder of the Soviet state was that he saw in good time the real prospects opening up for the new Russia as a result of the victorious end of the Civil War. As he conceived, the country not only succeeded in getting a breathing space, but also something much bigger - a new period of time when our main international existence within the network of capitalist states was won. And Lenin decisively suggested the course of learning and getting to know how to co-exist with them for a long time.

Counterbalancing left wing extremism, he found a basis for the possibility of states with different social systems to co-exist peacefully. AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, Only a year and a half to two years were needed to bring the workers' and peasants' state out of the foreign political isolation. Treaties with the neighbouring countries and then with Germany ~~and~~ /// in Rapallo were concluded. England, France, Italy, Sweden and other capitalist states extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Republic. First steps were taken to establish equal relations with the states in the East: China, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

All this does not simply represent the INITIAL victories of Leninist foreign policy and diplomacy - it was embarking on a fundamentally new international development. The CARDINAL ~~most important~~ direction of our foreign policy was laid and we call it by rights the Leninist course for peace, mutually advantageous co-operation among states and friendship among peoples.

Naturally, not all our subsequent foreign policy work consisted of successes and achievements alone. There were errors. It was not always and not everywhere, before and after the second world war alike, that we succeeded in making use of the opportunities that were opening up.

We were unable to make use of the enormous moral prestige with which the USSR emerged from the war to consolidate peaceloving, democratic forces and to stop the organisers of the cold war.

Our reaction to the provocative actions of imperialism was not always adequate. Yes, some things could have been done better and more effective action could have been taken.

Nonetheless, we are able, at this festive time, to state: the fundamental line of our policy invariably adhered to the general direction worked out and laid by Lenin - that is to say in accordance with the nature of socialism, its fundamental orientation towards peace. (applause).

And, to a decisive extent and precisely thanks to this that we succeeded in averting the unleashing of nuclear war, that we did not allow imperialism to win the cold war.

END OF PART 28 mtf

Together with our allies we inflicted a defeat on the imperialist strategy of rolling back socialism. Imperialism had to moderate its claims to world supremacy. At the ~~present~~ new stage, it is on the results of our own peace-loving policies that we have been able to rely, elaborating new approaches in the spirit of the new thinking. Lenin's conception of peaceful co-existence has, naturally, undergone changes. In the beginning it was justified primarily by the need to create the minimum external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist revolution. But while being a continuation of the class policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful co-existence has gone on, especially in the nuclear age, to become transformed into a condition for the survival of the whole of mankind. The April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee also became a milestone in the development of Leninist thought along this same avenue. The 27th congress provided a new external economic conception in detailed form. Its point of departure, you will recall, is the following idea: in spite of the profoundly contradictory nature of the modern world, and the fundamental differences of the states which comprise it, it is mutually connected, mutually dependent, and forms a definite integral whole. This is brought about by the internationalisation

GS

of world economic links, the all-encompassing nature of the scientific and technical revolution, the fundamentally new role of the media and communications, the condition of the planet's resources, the overall ecological danger, and the glaring social problems of the developing world which affect everyone; but mainly it is brought about by the rise of the problem of the survival of humankind, for the appearance and the threat of the use of nuclear weapons has placed a question mark over its very existence. Lenin's idea of the priority of interests of social development has thus acquired new sense and meaning. Starting from the April Plenum, we have told everyone sufficiently clearly how we picture the movement towards a secure and solid peace. Our intentions and our will are recorded in the decisions of the supreme poliitcal forum of the party, the 27th congress, in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, in the programme for nuclear disarmament as set out in the statement of 15th January 1986, in the Delhi Declaration, and in other documents, and in the official speeches of the leading figures of the Soviet Union. Together with the ~~the~~ countries of the socialist community, we have put forward a number of major initiatives at the UN, including a project for the creation of a comprehensive system for international peace and security. The states of the Warsaw Treaty

(WS)

have addressed to NATO and to all European countries a proposal to reduce armed forces and armaments to a level of reasonable sufficiency. We have invited comparison of the military doctrines of both alliances with a view to giving them an exclusively defensive direction. We have put forward specific plans, and are actively striving for the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. We have showed initiative in the field of organising effective methods for monitoring (R: kontrol) a reduction in armaments, including on-site inspection. We have resolutely advocated strengthening the authority of the UN, and making full and effective use of the rights which have been invested in it and its organs by the international community. We do everything in our power in order that the UN, this universal mechanism, can with full authority discuss and work to guarantee a collective quest for a balance of the interests of all states, and effectively carry out its peace-making functions.

(WS)

END PART 29 - MTF

The main thing is that our concept and the firm orientation towards peace have found reflection in deeds, in our entire conduct in the international arena, in the very style of foreign political diplomatic work which is permeated with the striving for ~~dialogue~~ a frank and honest dialogue which ~~would~~ takes into account mutual concerns and the conclusions of world science, and ~~would be~~ is free from ~~devoid of~~ attempts at winning anything from anyone or cheating anyone. So, after (more than two years, these) ~~have passed,~~ we are saying with confidence that the new political thinking is not simply declarations and ~~calls~~ appeals but a philosophy for action or, if you like, a philosophy for life. It is continuing to evolve along with the course of objective processes in the world and it is already at work. The meeting in Reykjavik in October 1986 belongs among the events of the new stage in of international development which has begun, ~~the~~ events that deserve to be mentioned on this day and will remain in history. It instilled the new thinking with practical energy, allowed it to ~~become stronger~~ become firmly established (in the most different social and political circles, and made international political contacts more effective.

(Owen). The new thinking, with its criteria that are those of the whole of mankind, and its orientation upon reason and openness, has started to make its way in world affairs, destroying the stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and suspicion

(WS)

towards our initiatives and actions. Of course, if one is to measure it by the scale of the tasks which present-day mankind is faced with solving, in order to ensure survival, then only a very, very small amount has yet been done. But the start has been made and the first signs of the changes are obvious. One convincing confirmation of this is the accord with the USA on the conclusion in the near future of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. The conclusion of this agreement is of great independent significance. For the first time a whole class of nuclear weapons will be eliminated and the first real step will be made along the path of destroying nuclear arsenals. It has been shown in practice that it is possible to move in this direction, without doing damage to anyone. This is undoubtedly an important success of the new thinking and the fruit of our willingness to seek mutually acceptable solutions, whilst strictly looking after the principle of equal security.

(K.Tanner) However, the matter of this agreement was basically resolved in Reykjavik, at our second meeting with the President. At such a responsible time the world expects more from a third and fourth meetings of thehighest leaders of the USSR and the USA than just the formal registering of what was agreed on a year ago, and not just a continuation of the discussions.

(WS)

Time is pressing, as is the growing danger ~~ous~~ of the refinement ~~ed~~ of weapons, which could go out of control. This is why we will be insistently seeking at these meetings tangible progress and specific results on the key issue of eliminating the nuclear threat, the issue of reducing strategic offensive weapons and not permitting the transfer of weapons into space.

END PART THIRTY 1324 gmt MTF

WS

(Perfett)

... ~~emergence of weapons into space.~~

Nevertheless, what grounds do we have for optimism and for considering that an all-embracing security is indeed possible? It is worth dwelling on this. As we mark the 70th anniversary of our revolution, which would not have been victorious, if it had not been theoretically prepared, we are now at a fresh ~~breakthrough~~ WATERSHED in world history and are working out in theory the prospects for advancing towards a stable peace. With the assistance of the new thinking we have in the main substantiated the requirement for and possibility of an all-embracing system of international security in conditions of disarmament. Now we need to prove the need for realistic nature OF HEADING FOR AND and reality of reaching this goal and reveal the laws for the interaction of forces, which may in struggle, amid contradictions and in the collision of interests provide the result that is sought.

In this connection we should first of all, and again from the standpoint of our Leninist teaching and making use of its methodology, ask ourselves difficult questions. First /-/ and this

has to do with the nature of imperialism, in which the main military threat is rooted [redacted], as is well known - the nature of the social system cannot, of course, be changed by the influence of external conditions, but is it possible at the present phase of world development and at the new level of interdependence and integrity of the world to have an influence on this nature that would block its most dangerous manifestations? In other words is it possible to count on the ~~regular features~~ NATURAL LOGIC of an integral world, in which general human values are the main priority, being able to limit the range of destructive actions of the egocentrical and narrow class-based features of the capitalist system ?

[redacted] Here is the second question and it is connected with the first. Is capitalism able to free itself of militarism? Can it function economically and develop without it? And [redacted] our ~~proposal~~ INVITATION for programmes [redacted] to be prepared and compared on to the Western countries [redacted] the reconversion of [redacted] economies - that is to say, their transfer on to a peaceful footing - is it not utopian ?

The third question is : can the capitalist system do without neocolonialism, which it is one of the sources for its present life support? In other words, is this system able to function without its unequal exchange with the Third World, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences? Along with this there is a further question. How realistic are the hopes that an understanding of the catastrophic danger in which the world finds itself - and we know that such an understanding is penetrating into even the topmost echelons of the ruling elite of the Western world - how realistic is it that this understanding will be carried over into practical policy?

After all, however strong the arguments of common sense might be, however developed the sense of responsibility might be and however great the instinct of self-preservation might be, there are things that must in no way be underestimated and are determined by economic and consequently class interests. ~~In other words it is a question of whether capitalism will be able ...~~

END OF Part 31. MTF 1348 gmt

(MF)

For however strong arguments of the mind may be, however developed one's feeling of responsibility, and however great the instinct of self-preservation may be, there are things which simply cannot be underestimated and which are determined by economic, and hence class, interest. In other words, it is a question of whether capitalism will be capable of adapting to the conditions of a non-nuclear and disarmed world, to the conditions of a new and just economic order, to the conditions of an honest juxtaposition of the two worlds' spiritual values. These questions are far from idle. The answers to them will determine how the historical events in the coming decades will unfold. But it is sufficient to raise if only these questions in order to see the full seriousness of the tasks. Life will provide the answers. The correctness of the very programme for a non-nuclear and secure world will be tested not only by the impeccable nature of its scientific foundations, but it will also be tested by the course of events, which is subject to influences from the most varied and new forces. It is already being tested, and here too we are true to the Leninist tradition,

to the very essence of Leninism - i.e. to the organic fusion of theory and practice, the approach to theory as a tool of practice and to practice as a mecahnism for monitoring the correctness of theory. And this is the way we are acting in transferring the new thinking to our foreign policy activity and/correcting by REFINING IT and ~~making it more precise~~ through experience obtained from real policy.

So what are we counting on, knowing that we shall have to build a secure world together with the capitalist countries? The post-War period has provided evidence of a profound modification of the contradictions which have determined the main processes in the world economy and politics. I have in mind, first and foremost, the fact that they have developed in a way that, in the past, inexorably led to war, to world wars between the capitalist states themselves. Now the situation is different. Not only the lessons of the last war, but also the fear of weakening itself in the face of... before socialism, which has become a world system, have prevented capitalism from taking its internal contradictions to the extreme. They have begun to transform themselves into a technology race with one another, they have discharged with the aid of neo-colonialism, and a kind of new

peaceful re-partition of the world has taken place according to the same rule that Lenin revealed - according to capital, i.e. whoever is the richest and strongest at any given moment gets a bigger share. In a number of countries they have begun easing economic tension by pumping resources into the military-industrial complex under the pretext of a Soviet threat, to reconcile contradictions and balance interests. The transformations taking place in the technological and organizational basis of the capitalist economy have also helped.

But that is not all. If in the past, faced with the fascist menace, an alliance of socialist and capitalist states became possible, does not a definite lesson follow from this for the present day, when the entire world has come face to face with the menace of a nuclear disaster and the necessity of ensuring the safety of nuclear power engineering and overcoming the ecological danger? These are all completely real and acute problems, demanding not only that we be aware of them, but also that we seek practical solutions.

Further, is the capitalist economy capable of developing without militarization Here one is reminded of the economic miracles in Japan, West Germany and

Italy. True, once the miracle was over they turned to militarism ~~once~~ again. We must, however, establish to what extent this turn was determined by the essential laws of the operation of contemporary monopolistic capital, and what role was played by transitory factors - the infectious example of the USA's military-industrial complex, the Cold War atmosphere, considerations of prestige, the need to have one's own military fist to talk to one's ~~opponents~~ competitors in a language understood in that milieu, as well as the desire to reinforce one's economic...reinforce one's economic invasion of the Third World by strong-arm policies. Whatever the case may be, a number of countries did go through a period of rapid development of the contemporary capitalist economy with minimal military expenditure, and this experience has remained in the baggage of history. One can approach the problem from the other side - as if from the opposite end.

[MOSCOW: Here insert ADDITIONAL TEXT EXCERPT to Snap]

Since the war, the US economy has invariably been oriented towards and based on militarism. Initially, this apparently stimulated it. But then this useless squandering of resources, unneeded by society, resulted in an astronomical state debt and other ills and defects. ~~It turned out that the ultimately super-militarization leads to growing exacerbation of the~~

END PART 32

HP

(Szatkowski) It turned out that ultimately super-militarization leads to the growing exacerbation of the situation in the country itself and puts the economy of others into a fevered state. The recent panic on the New York stock exchange and on other stock exchanges of the world, unprecedented in almost 60 years, was a serious symptom and a serious warning.

(Yanushevich) The third point: unequivalent, exploitative relations with developing countries. In spite of all fantastic innovations in the area of the creation of a second artificial nature, developed capitalism has not been able to do without the resources of these countries, and cannot do without them. This is objective reality. Banking on the destruction of the world's economic relations that have taken shape historically is dangerous and will not provide a way out. But the use of the resources of others through neo-colonialist methods, the arbitrary rule of trans-national corporations, debt bondage & debts amounting to trillions which obviously cannot be repaid are leading into a dead end. This gives rise to serious problems within capitalist countries themselves, too. There are more than enough speculations here, and their essence consists in making the Third World a kind of scapegoat for many difficulties, including the falling living standard in the centres of capital. Attempts are constantly being undertaken to consolidate a nation on a chauvinistic basis, to involve working people

into partnership for exploiting other countries and, at the same time, to ~~urge~~ INDUCE them to put up with the policies of new capitalist modernization. However, ~~none of~~ NO TRICKS OF A similar or other ANY KIND ~~tricks~~ can resolve the problem itself, they can only damp it down for a time. Unequivalent exchange remains and ultimately leads to an explosion. The possibility of such an outcome seems to be dawning on Western leaders who are looking for a way out in all sorts of palliatives. Indeed, the novelty of THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND political processes of our time has not yet been understood and mastered to the end. But one has to move towards this, for the processes that have been set in motion are endowed with the force of the objective law. Either a collapse or a joint search for a new economic order which would take into account the interests of first, second and third parties on the basis of equality. A way towards establishing such an order seems to be taking shape now and it means the implementation of the concept 'Disarmament for development'. So, searching for the answer to our third question we see that the situation does not look insoluble; contradictions in this sphere, too, yield to modifications, but for this one has to understand realities and build practical actions in the spirit of the new thinking. And this, in turn, will make easier movement towards a safer world. In one word, here too is an historic choice dictated by

the laws of ~~the~~ a world which is in many ways inter-connected and integral. There is yet another most important or even crucial circumstance. Socialism is an integral part of this world. Having started its history 70 years ago, and then turning into a worldwide system, it has determined the ~~outlook~~ ASPECT of the 20th century. It is now embarking upon a new stage of ~~the world's~~ ITS development, once again demonstrating the possibilities that are inherent in it. One can imagine, for example, what a great reserve of peaceful coexistence lies in restructuring in the Soviet Union alone!

By allowing us to attain world standards in all most important economic indices, it will make it possible for ~~an~~ a vast and most rich country to join the universal division of labour and resources on such a scale which has never been seen before. Its great scientific, technical and production potential will become a considerably more important part of world economic relations. And this will expand and strengthen, in a ~~crucial~~ DECISIVE way, the material base of the all-embracing system of peace and international security. This is, incidentally, ~~one~~ another of ~~the~~ the most important aspects of restructuring and the place reserved for it in the fate of the modern civilization.

~~THE~~ Class struggle and other manifestations of social contradictions will

exert influence on objective processES in favour of peace. The ~~progressive~~ FRONT-RANKING forces of THE workers' movement are looking for ways towards raising its political level. They have to act in a far from simple, new and changing situation. Not only the issues of protecting the ~~rights and~~ RIGHTS AND economic interests of the masses but also the issues of struggle for democracy, including democracy at production enterprises, have been posed in a different way. For example, partnership is quite often offeerd to workers, yet a kind of partnership when access to the ~~sanctum~~ HOLY OF HOLIES of business is ~~walled up~~ SHUT TIGHTLY and when free election of management STAFF is out of the question.

END PART 33 1540 gmt MTF

The Western world is full of theories that the working class is disappearing. They write that it has already dissolved in the middle class, has been socially reborn, and so on and so forth. Sure, there are large and considerable changes in the working class, but the class opponent is in vain lulling himself and trying to disorganise, to disorientate and to confuse the workers' movement istelf. The working class now, in its new social frontiers, represents a numerically predominatn force and possesses the potential to play a decisive role, all the more so at the sharp turning-points of history. The motives stimulating it can be various, and one of the probable ones is the senseless militarisation of the economy. The transition to a new phase of the technological revolution on a militarist IC basis is a strong catalyst, especially as THAT is the path to war; and that means that it affects all strata of the population and expands the extent of mass protest beyond the limits of economic demands. So, the ruling class and the lords of monopoly capital will have to make a choice here, too. We are convinced -- and science confirms it -- that, at the present level of technology and organisation of production, (PUTTING INDUSTRY BACK ONTO A CIVILIAN FOOTING) ~~reconversion~~ and demilitarisation of the economy are possible. At the same time, this will be a choice in favour of peace.

The same applies to the consequences of the crisis in relations between the developed and developing world . If things go as far as the verge of an explosion,

and it turns out impossible to continue to enjoy benefits through exploitation of the third world, the question of the unacceptability and intolerability of a system which is incapable of existing without it could reach the political plane, and very sharply. In general, and from this point of view, capitalism faces hard choices: to take matters as far as an explosion, or to take account of the laws of an interrelated, integral world, which demands a balance of interests on the basis of equal rights; and according to the situation as we see it, this is not only necessary, but possible, especially as forces in the third world itself are operating in that very direction.

It is customary to talk of the decline of the national liberation movement, but what is going on here, obviously, is a substitution of concepts and a non-recognition of the new nature of the situation. If the liberating impulse which operated at the stage of the struggle for political independence is meant, then it is weakening, of course, and that is natural. But the impulse necessary for the new, present stage of the development of the third world is only just taking shape; and it is necessary to be clearly aware of this and not to fall into pessimism. The factors from which this impulse is formed are varied and heterogeneous. Here there is a powerful economic process which sometimes takes on paradoxical forms: for example, some countries retain features of underdevelopment

and emerge at the level of great powers in world economics and politics. Here there is also a growth of political energy in the course of the formation of nations and the consolidation of national states in the genuine sense, a considerable place among whom is occupied by countries with revolutionary regimes. Here there are also GRAPES ~~storms~~ of wrath ~~based~~ on THE SOIL OF the glaring polarisation of poverty and wealth and the contrast between possibilities and the real situation. The force of ~~self-~~ ORIGINALITY ~~assertion~~ and independent action is WORKING IN AN INCREASINGLY PRONOUNCED ~~being expressed and is coming up more and~~ AND ACTIVE WAY ~~more~~ in organisations reflecting the processes of the inter-state consolidation of developing countries. This is characteristic of all organisations to a greater or lesser degree, and there are a number of them -- the Organisation of African Unity, the League of Arab ~~Countries~~ STATES, ASEAN, the Organisation of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, the SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR Regional Co-operation, the Islamic Conference Organisation and, especially, the Non-aligned Movement. They reflect the kaleidoscope of contradictory interests, requirements, needs, ideologies, pretensions and prejudices of the present stage. All of them, although they have already become a noticeable factor in world politics, have not yet unfolded their potential; but this potential is colossal, and it is difficult to foretell the results over the next half century.

end of part 34 (mtf) 1500 gmt

One thing is clear: this is a whole world, which is seeking ~~its own~~ the organizational its effective ~~traditional~~ forms for ~~active~~ and equal participation in resolving issues concerning the whole of mankind; it encompasses 2,500 million people. And one can surmise that not only its influence on world policy, but also its original role in forming the world economy of the future, will make gigantic strides forward. For all the might of transnational capital, it is not this which will determine the ways in which the Third World will progress, but it is more likely itself themselves to be compelled to adapt to the independent choice which the peoples have made or will make.

And it is these peoples and the organizations representing them which have a vital interest in the new world economic order.

And there is another aspect of no little importance. Within the capitalist world itself, the development of recent decades has given rise to new forms of social contradictions and movements: such are the movement against the nuclear threat, the movements for the protection of the natural environment, against racial discrimination, against the policy which splits society into the successful and the doomed, against the calamities of entire industrial zones which have fallen victim to the new capitalist modernization. Millions are participating in these movements; prominent scientific and cultural personalities, nationally and internationally acknowledged authorities, are becoming their

inspirers and leaders.

Social-democratic, socialist and labour parties and mass organizations similar to or linked with these are steadily continuing to play an important role in the political process in a number of countries, and in some places are increasing their influence.

So, in all respects - economic, political, and social - we can see that in the modern world the tenet which Lenin considered to be one of the most profound in Marxism is everywhere finding its justification: namely, as a historical action establishes itself, so too the number of the masses who are involved in the action will grow. And this is always the truest sign and the most powerful factor of social progress and, that means, of peace. Indeed, the greatness and the novelty of our time lie in the fact that the peoples are increasingly openly and publicly present at the front of the historical stage. Their positions are now such as to make it possible to compel that they should be taken into account, and not just in the final analysis, but directly. And thereby another new truth shines forth: constant choice is becoming increasingly characteristic of the movement of history at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, but the rightness of that choice depends upon how and to what ~~the~~ degree ~~to which~~ the interests and intentions of millions, hundreds of millions are taken into account. Hence derives the responsibility of politicians. For a real policy can be such, only

if this novelty of the time is taken into consideration. Now the human factor has emerged at the political level, and not as a distant and more or less spontaneous result of the life and activity of the human masses and their intentions: it is breaking into world affairs directly. Without an understanding of this, or to put it differently, without the new way of thinking, which rests upon modern reality and the will of the peoples, a policy becomes unpredictable improvization, risky both for its own country and for others. Such a policy can have no long-term ~~support~~ basis.

Such are the bases for our optimistic view of the future, of the prospects for establishing an all-embracing system of international security. ~~Our position on defence issues is wholly logically linked with this, too. Whilst there is still a danger of war, whilst social revenge remains the core of the strategy of the West's military~~ militarist programmes, ~~we shall continue in the future, too, to do everything necessary to maintain our defence~~ the capacity at a level which excludes military ~~superiority of imperialism over socialism.~~ (Applause)

WS

end part 35

Our position on the question of defence is also logically connected with this. As long as the danger of war persists, as long a social revenge-seeking remains the pivot of the strategy of the militarist programmes of the West, we will continue to do everything necessary to maintain our defensive power at a level which excludes a military superiority of imperialism over socialism. [applause]

Comrades! In these festive days we are paying due tribute to the merits of the international Communist movement. In the October Revolution, which has retained to this day its international stimulus, is the source of its viability. The international Communist movement is growing and developing on the soil of INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES ~~its own country~~; but there is something in common in the very image of the Communist, whatever nation he may belong to and in whatever country he may work. This is his dedication to the idea of a better, Communist society and his loyalty to the working people, above all to the working class - the struggle for their

vital interests, for peace and democracy. [applause]

I think that on this our anniversary, the Third Communist International also deserves to be mentioned. We have yet to restore the full truth about it and write its authentic and complete history. For all the shortcomings and miscalculations in its work, and however bitter it may be to recall certain pages of its history, the Comintern is part of the great past of our movement. Born of the October, it not only became a school of internationalism and revolutionary brotherhood: it made internationalism a practical weapon in the struggle for the interests of working people, for the social progress of the nations and peoples. And from its ranks arose the cohorts of the true knights of the 20th Century: people of duty and honour, of lofty flight and inflexible courage, who felt the grief of the millions of the oppressed throughout the world, heard their call and summoned them to the struggle. [applause]

The Communists were the first to sound the alarm about the peril of fascism. They were the first to rise up in the struggle against it, and they were its first victims. They gathered from all over the world and were the first to take up the armed fight against fascism in Spain. They were the first to raise the banner of resistance in the name of the freedom and national dignity of their peoples. And it was the Communists - above all, the Soviet Communists - who made

a decisive contribution to the devastating defeat of fascism in the Second World War. [applause]

And later, and now, with the same irreconcilability and bravery, the Communists are in the first ranks against all reaction and all obscurantism. They are people of legendary heroism and self-sacrifice. They are not just individuals, but hundreds of thousands of people, organized and united by a single will, iron discipline and incorruptible ideological commitment. The days of the Comintern, of the Informburo, and even of binding international conferences, have passed; but the international Communist movement exists. All Parties are fully and irreversibly independent. We said that as long ago as the 20th Congress. True, it took time to free ourselves from the old habits; now, however, this is an immutable reality. In that sense the 27th Congress of the CPSU was also a final and irrevocable milestone. I think we have shown this by our actions, in our relations with the fraternal Parties and in the course of restructuring. [applause]

The international Communist movement is at A TURNING POINT ~~the crossroads~~, and like world progress itself, its driving force. [sic] The Communist Parties are seeking their new place in the profound changes at the border of the centuries. Meanwhile, their international movement is renewing itself, gaining cohesion by

the respect - who, who/then to the renewed norms of trust, equality of rights and sincere solidarity. [MN: incoherent sentence as heard]

The movement is open to dialogue, to cooperation, to interaction and alliance with all other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces. The CPSU has no doubt about the future of the Communist movement, the carrier of the alternative to capitalism - the movement of the bravest and most consistent fighters for peace and for the independence and progress of their countries, for friendship among all the peoples of the earth. [applause]

Comrades! The most important milestone in post-October world history is the emergence of the world socialist system. For four decades now, socialism has been the common destiny of many peoples and a highly important factor of modern civilization. Our Party and the Soviet people values greatly its opportunity to interact with our friends, who for several decades now, have borne, as we do, responsibility/at state level for socialism and for its advance.

All the socialist states have amassed much interesting and useful experience in solving the social, economic and ideological tasks of building a new life. The socialist system and the quest and experience which it has tested in practice are of universal human signifance. It has offered to the world/its answers to the

fundamental questions of human life, and approbated its humanistic and collectivist values, at the centre of which stands the man of toil. The socialist system instils in him feelings of dignity, of being master of his country; it gives him social protection and confidence in the future, opening ample scope for the acquisition of knowledge and culture, and creating conditions for the realizing of individual abilities and talents. What has been achieved by the peoples of the ~~fraternal~~ SOCIALIST countries is the object of our common pride, the more so since it is both the result of many years of fruitful cooperation, and the fruits of a truly fraternal intercourse of unprecedented breadth and openness, of citizens, of Party and public organizations, of production kollektivs of creative unions and cultural institutions, family and personal ties and the joint toil and study of tens of thousands of people.

end pt 36 mf

From the heights of what has been covered, much is clearer. Life has amended our conceptions of the logical patterns and speeds of the transition to Socialism and the understanding of Socialism's role on a world scale. We are far from thinking that all the progressive changes that take place in the world are due only to Socialism but the way in which the most important problems for mankind are posed and IN WHICH the search for their solution IS PROCEEDING affirms an indissoluble link between world progress and Socialism as an international force. (applause) This link is especially visible in the struggle to avert a nuclear catastrophe and in the presence of a co-relation of world forces that permits various peoples to defend their social and political choice with greater success. The experience accumulated permits ~~cooperation~~ RELATIONS between the socialist countries to be better constructed on generally recognised principles. These are unconditional and total equality; the responsibility of the ruling party for affairs in its state, ~~the~~ AND FOR patriotic service ~~of its country;~~ TO ITS PEOPLE; concern for the general cause of Socialism; respect for one another, a serious attitude towards what has been achieved AND TRIED OUT BY FRIENDS; ~~cooperation of good will and wide variety, tried and tested by friends~~ VOLUNTARY AND VARIED CO-OPERATION; and the strict observation by all of the principles of peaceful co-existence. The practice of Socialist internationalism rests upon these. The world of Socialism rises before us now in all its national and social variation. And this is good and useful. We have become convinced that unity does not mean being

identical or ~~monotonous.~~ UNIFORM. We have also become convinced that Socialism does not, AND cannot, have a model against which all are compared. The criterion for its development at every stage and in every country is the totality and quality of the real successes which have reconstructed society in the interests of the working people. (applause)

We also know what damage can be done by a weakening of the internationalist principle in mutual relations of Socialist states, by deviation from the principles of mutual benefit and mutual aid, AND BY a lack of attention to the general interests of socialism in action on the world arena. It is with satisfaction that we state that of late our relations with all the Socialist states have acquired dynamism and are improving. Of course, cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid has become more fruitful and more business-like, which, incidentally, in no way of principle separates their participants from the other Socialist countries. The 27th Congress gave a precise definition of the stance of the CPSU in politics and in all other areas of our cooperation with each Socialist country, what is decisive is what ensures a combination of mutual interest and those of socialism as a whole. The strengthening of friendship and the all-round development of cooperation with the Socialist countries is the main priority of the international policy of the Soviet Union. Welcoming

today the delegations from the Socialist countries, in their person we welcome the peoples of the Socialist countries. (applause)

END PART THIRTY-SEVEN (mtf)

(Leszczynski)

Dear comrades, esteemed foreign guests, all our intentions and accomplishments have been and are being inspired by the life-giving force of communist ideas. These ideas were inscribed on the banner of the Revolution. They roused millions of people, who came to believe and cherish them and who accepted them as the goal and sense of their life, to struggle and labour accomplishments. The people's work and struggle, its immeasurable persistence in attaining a freely chosen goal, its joys and sorrows - all this came to be embodied in the reality of the present-day socialism which proceeds along the path of revolutionary restructuring. And it is in this that the force of the GOSR and the force of the revolution consists and continues. (applause).

Throughout the entire period of these 70 years, the Soviet people has been led by its tested vanguard, the Leninist Party. The Party and the Revolution, the Party and the GOSR are inseparable. (applause)

There would have been no victory of the socialist revolution without a party, equipped with Marxist - Leninist theory. There would have been no socialism, nor our great ~~power~~ STATE, nor the base upon which there currently proceed the renewal of all aspects of public life and the acceleration of the country's social and economic development without a party that learnt how to build a new society.

Time demands that in the new conditions, too, the Party should proceed at the head of the revolutionary renewal, that it should persistently and consistently enhance the effectiveness of its policy and that it should develop democratisation along all the directions and at all levels of public life. The growing role of the Party is a logical process. However, this role is defined least of all by words or formalistic rituals. It is to be found within the depth and honesty of analysis and appraisals, in the fact that policy has been thought out and in resoluteness of action, in the skill to make the private and the collective, the personal and the public, the present-day and the long-term compatible. It is to be found in the enhancement of the responsibility of all party organisations and of each communist for the course of events in society.

Our Party has just under 20,000,000 communists - a tenth of the country's adult population. It is an enormous force. However, the potential of the Party's influence, the Party's pressure on restructuring has not yet been fully brought into play.

The preparations for and the holding of the 19th all-Union Party Conference ought to give a serious impetus to improve this complicated and painstaking work. The destiny of the grand cause of the Revolution, of the grand cause of Lenin is now in our hands. We are again proceeding along an untrodden path and this places special responsibility on the Party and on all of us. To use Lenin's words: the time of Revolution is a time for action, action from above and from below. Such is the tradition of the party of a new type, right from its very first steps.

Such is the demand to the vanguard of the Soviet society at the current stage of socialist development, a stage which is a most complicated one, but also one which inspires by its novelty.

Comrades, mankind crossed the threshold of real history in 1917. However, the 70 years that have elapsed, the economic shocks and social cataclysms which gave birth to fascism and the second world war, the cold war and the arms race, the threat of a thermonuclear disaster and of global crises bear witness to the fact that the past still has a considerable proportion of mankind firmly in its grip. Nevertheless, we are right to regard the time we live in, the meeting point of the 20th and 21st centuries, as unique, both as far as the depth of social transformations and the global scale of the tasks that have arisen before the peoples of the world are concerned.

Today we see that mankind is indeed not doomed to exist in perpetuity the way it used to live prior to October 1917. Socialism has become a mighty, growing and developing reality. It is precisely the GOSR, it is precisely socialism that ~~point to~~ INDICATE FOR mankind the routes leading to the future, AND THE new values of genuinely human relations. (applause).

END OF PART 38 mtf

(Perfett)

Collectivism instead of selfishness, freedom and equality instead of exploitation and oppression, genuine people's power instead of the tyranny of a minority, a mounting role for common sense and humanity instead of the elemental and harsh interplay of social forces, and general human unity and peace instead of discord, dissension and wars. The present generation, and not only in our own country, is accountable for the fate of civilization and life itself on Earth. It will depend on them in the final analysis whether the beginning of a fresh millenium in world history will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future.

Only a little over 13 years remain before the beginning of the 21st Century, and in 2017 our people and all progressive mankind will be ushering in the Centenary of the Great October revolutionary. What kind of a world will it be when it steps over the 100 years mark of our revolution? What kind of socialism will it be, and what degree of maturity will have been achieved by the world community of States and peoples? Let us not speculate, but

we should remember that it is [redacted] at the present time that the foundations of the future are being laid. It is our duty to preserve our [redacted] unrepeatable civilization and life itself on Earth, achieve the triumph of reason over nuclear madness and create every condition for the free and all-round development of Man and mankind.

[Applause]

We see the possibility for endless progress. We realize that it is not easy to achieve it, but this does not intimidate us. On the contrary it [redacted] inspires us, since it fills life with a lofty humane [redacted] purpose and profound meaning.

In October 1917 we departed the old world and irreversibly rejected it. We are travelling to a new world - the world of communism. We shall never deviate from this path.

[Prolonged and stormy applause]

END OF GORBACHEV PART 39 and END OF GORBACHEV SPEECH.

1507 gmt

TEAM
USSR (HOME) STV-1
0655
gmt 02 Nov 87

GORBACHEV'S REPORT (Preceded by Gromyko - processed sep.)
(TEXT)
PART ONE (Yanushevich)

(Gromyko): The floor is given to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

(Applause)

(Gorbachev): Dear Comrades! Esteemed foreign guests! Seven decades separate us from the unforgettable days of October 1917, from those legendary days that became the starting point of a new epoch of human progress and the true history of mankind. ~~The~~ October is TRULY mankind's hour of genius and its morning dawn. The October Revolution is a revolution of the people and for the people, for man, for his liberation and development. Seven decades are quite a short time span in ~~multi-century~~ THE ascent of the world's civilization OVER MANY CENTURIES. Yet by the scale of what has been achieved history has not yet known a period comparable to the one our country has lived THROUGH since the VICTORY OF THE Great October REVOLUTION. And there is no honour higher than to go the way of pioneers and to give all of one's ~~force~~ STRENGTH, energy, knowledge, and abilities in the name of the triumph of October's ideas and goals.

(Applause)

An anniversary is a time to be proud, to be proud of what has been achieved.

Most hard trials have befallen us and we have borne them with honour, and not simply borne them but have wrested the country from devastation and backwardness; WE HAVE MADE IT INTO A MIGHTY POWER, WE HAVE transformed life, and changed beyond recognition man's spiritual world. In ~~most~~ ~~atrocious~~ THE FIERCEST battles which the 20th century has seen we have defended the right for our own way of life and protected our future. It is with ~~good~~ COMPLETE ~~reason~~ FOUNDATION that we are proud, TOO, of the fact that our revolution, work and struggle are continuing to exert profound influence on all the sides of world development - politics and economics, THE social sphere, and ~~the~~ minds of our contemporaries. An anniversary is a time for remembering those millions of people each of whom contributed to our common socialist achievements, those who smelted steel, sowed bread-grain, taught children, ~~developed~~ MOVED FORWARD science and technology, attained ~~eminence~~ THE HIGHEST LEVELS in art; ~~and also~~ for remembering with sadness those who fell defending the Motherland and paid with their lives for making society's progress possible; ~~The~~ FOR THE INDELIBLE memory of what we have gone through and lived through, ~~is indelible~~ for all this has ~~shaped~~ CREATED the present day.

END PART ONE 0810 gmt MTF

The jubilee is a moment for reflection on how our affairs and fate were sometimes formed in a difficult and complex manner. There has been everything: both the heroic and the tragic, great victories and bitter failures. We are reflecting on seventy years of intensive creation from the position of a people who are prepared to mobilise all their strength and all the immense potential of socialism for the revolutionary transformation of life. The jubilee is also a look forward to the future. Our achievements are grandiose, weighty and significANt; they are a solid foundatino and a basis for new accomplishments and the further development of society. It is precisely in the development of socialism and the continuation of the ideas and practice of the Leninism of October that we see the essence of our present-day affairs and concerns and our paramount task and moral obligation. And this dictates the need for a serious and thorough analysis of the historical importance of October, of everything which has been done in the seven post-October deacdes. (MN: Applause)

Comrades, comrades: Our pioneering path is immense and complex; it cannot be grasped or embraced in a brief analysis -- the severity of the material and moral legacy of the old world, of the First World War and the Civil War and the intervention; and the novel nature of the transformations, the hopes of people which were tied to them, and the tempo and scale of invasion by the new and unaccustomed, which on

occasions did not leave any time to look round and reflect; and the subjective factors which play a particular part in periods of revolutionary storms; VIEWS OF THE FUTURE, ~~and the revolutionary times~~ permeated with THE maximalism OF REVOLUTIONARY TIMES, ~~and the view of the future which was~~ at times OVER- simplified and ~~impetuous;~~ STRAIGHTENED OUT; and the pure, unrestrained desire of the fighters for a new life to do everything as quikcly, well and justly as possible. The path which has been trodden, and its heroism and dramatism, cannot help exciting the minds of our contemporaries. We have one history; it is irreversible. And whatever emotions it arouses, it is our history, and it is dear to us. (APPLAUSE)

end of part two (mtf) 0840 gmt

Today, we turn to the October Days that shook the world and WE LOOK FOR AND ~~still~~ find in them both a firm spiritual support and instructive lessons. Again and again we ~~are~~ BECOME convinced of the rightness of the Socialist choice made by October. The objective logic itself of the historical progress of mankind led to this frontier. The October Revolution, ~~with~~ FOR all the contradictoriness and the many variations of the path of civilisation's forward movement, was the logical result of the development of the ideas and practice of the centuries-old struggle of the working people for freedom and peace and for social justice against class, national and spiritual oppression. The year 1917 showed that the choice between Socialism and capitalism is the main social alternative of our age and that there is no way to advance in the 20th century without moving towards a higher form of social organisation, ~~and~~ to Socialism. This fundamental Leninist conclusion is no less topical today than when it was reached. Such is the logical pattern of forward social development. The Revolution in Russia / as it were became _____ the pinnacle of aspirations of liberation, the living embodiment of the dreams of the mankind's best minds from the great humanists of the past to the proletarian revolutionaries of the 19th and 20th centuries. The year 1917 absorbed the energy of the people's struggle for ~~independent~~ THEIR OWN development and ~~autonomy~~ INDEPENDENCE, of the progressive nationalist movements and the peasant risings and wars against serfdom which are typical of our history. It

embodied the spiritual quests ___ of the enlighteners of the 18th century, the heroes and martyrs of the Decembrist movement, the ardent tribunes of revolutionary democracy and the HEROIC moral ~~asceticism~~ ENDEAVOUR of the great figures of our culture. For our country's destiny, there was a determining significance in the time when, at the dawn of the 20th century, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin LED ~~took with him~~ a closely serried group of like-thinkers on the road towards creating a proletarian party of a new kind in Russia. And it was precisely this great Leninist party that raised the people and its best and honourable forces to storm the old world. The foundation of October's success was the corner-stone laid by the first Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1907. Here were the bitter lessons of 9th January and the desperate heriosm of Moscow's December barricades, the feat of thousands of freedom-fighters, known and unknown, and the birth of the first workers' soviets, the prototype of Soviet power. The victory of Great October grew out of the gains of the February Revolution of 1917 that was the first triumphant popular revolution of the age of imperialism. After the February victory the development of the Revolution proceeded with incredible speed. In it the main characters were the workers and peasants, clad in soldiers' overcoats. The spring of 1917 showed the might of the nation-wide ~~popular (MN Russian obshchenarodnogo)~~ movement. At the same time THERE WERE DISPLAYED its limitations ~~appeared~~, the contradictions of revolutionary consciousness at that stage, the forces of historical inertia as a result of which

the exploiting classes that were departing from the stage were able for a time to make use of the fruits of the people's victory. The February Revolution put the major weapon into the hands of October: the organisation of ~~authority~~ POWER in the form of the re-born soviets. February was the first experience of real democracy and the political education of the masses in practice which was acquired in the very complex conditions of diarchy. February ~~is~~ WAS unique in its opportunity for the peaceful transfer of power to the hands of the working people, an opportunity that did not, sadly, ~~materialise~~ BECOME A REALITY because of the historical circumstances. ~~of reality.~~ February was a most important historical stage on the road to October. In the complex inter-twining and confrontation of the class forces that took part in the February Revolution, Lenin brilliantly perceived the opening opportunity for THE VICTORY OF a Socialist ~~victory~~ REVOLUTION. The April Theses were the scientific foresight of and a model for the revolutionary programme of action in those historical conditions. Lenin did not only demonstrate the logic of development of the bourgeois democratic revolution into Socialist revolution but the form of that process as well, via the soviets, via their becoming Bolshevik, the essence of which lay in assisting the people, the masses to comprehend the meaning of their own struggle and to bring about revolution consciously, in their own interests. THE PATH FROM FEBRUARY TO OCTOBER WAS A TIME OF SWIFT SOCIAL CHANGES, A TIME WHEN THE MASSES RAPIDLY BECAME POLITICALLY MATURE AND THE FORCES OF THE REVOLUTION AND ITS VANGUARD — THE LENINIST PARTY — BECAME CONSOLIDATED.

~~END PART THREE (end)~~

end Part 3

In that period from February to October there manifested itself with especial force the political skill of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, who gave an instructive lesson REGARDING ~~to~~ the living dialectic of revolutionary thought and action. The party leadership demonstrated an ability TO MAKE A ~~for~~ collective creative QUEST AND ~~search,~~ to renounce stereotypes and slogans which only yesterday in a different situation had seemed indisputable and the only possible ones.

It can be said that the very flow of Lenin's thought, the whole activity of the Bolsheviks, which was distinguished for its quick change of forms and methods of work, flexibility and unconventionality of tactical solutions, political boldness - is a most brilliant model of anti-dogmatic, genuinely dialectic and therefore new thinking. Thus and only thus do real Marxist-Leninists think and act, especially during crucial, critical times when the destinies of revolution and peace, socialism and progress are being decided. ~~Let us return to April..~~.

(Applause)

Let us return to April 1917. Lenin's programme of a turn to socialist revolution seemed to many, friend and foe alike, a utopia, virtually the fruit of unrestrained fantasy. But life showed that only SUCH A ~~that~~ programme could have become and did in fact become the political

foundation for the further development of the Revolution and essentially the foundation of social salvation and prevention of national disaster.

Let us remember the days of July of 1917. With what pain the party was forced to abandon the slogan of handing all power to the soviets. But it was impossible to act in any other way, for the soviets had found themselves for some time in the hands of the SRs (MN: Socialist Revolutionaries)and Mensheviks,and powerless in the face of the counter-revolution. And how sensitively Vladimir Ilyich Lenin kepts his hand on the pulse of the Revolution, how brilliantly he determined the beginning of a new revival of the soviets which in the process of struggle acquired a truly popular essence, which enabled them to become organs of the victorious armed uprising and later also a political form of workers' and peasants' power.

All that is not just pages from the chronicle of the Great Revolution. It is also a continual reminder to us, living now, of the the lofty duty of the communists to be always at the sharp end of events, to be able to make bold decisions, take upon themselves the whole fulness of responsibility for the present and future. (Applause)

The October Revolution was a mighty upsurge of millions of people

uniting the ~~radical~~ FUNDAMENTAL interests of the working class, the age-old aspirations of the peasantry, the thirst for peace of the soldiers and sailors, the unquenchable craving of the peoples of multi-national Russia for freedom and light. In the intricate tangle of various interests, the Party of the Bolsheviks was able to find the most important thing and unite conflicting trends and aspirations, directing them to the solution of the main question of the Revolution, the question of power. And in its very first decree-s, on peace and land, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat replied in deed to the demand-s of the times, expressed the profoundest interests not only of the working class but of the absolute majority of the people, too.

end pt 4

STV-1 0655 gmt 02/11 Gorbachev Part five (Yanushevich)

(Gorbachev): And yet another most important and fundamental lesson of the October days ~~should~~ NEEDS TO be recalled today. Lenin's answer to the question put by life and revolutionary activity is in our times ~~extremely~~ UNUSUALLY topical. This is a THE question about THE correlation between THE theoretical model of the path towards socialism and the actual practice of socialist construction. As a creative teaching, Marxism-Leninism is not a package of ready-made recipes and doctrinaire instrucitons. Far from being a narrow-minded dogma, Marxist-Leninist teaching provides an active interaction between innovative theoretical thinking with practice and with the course itself of revolutionary struggle. And the Great October is a most ~~edifying~~ INSTRUCTIVE example of that. As is known, many persons, even ~~prominent~~ MAJOR figures of THE workers' movement, of that time refused to see the October Socialist Revolution as a natural phenomenon, alleging that it had happen contrary to the rules, not in accordance with the theoretical views that had taken shape. ~~In~~ ACCORDING TO their ~~opinions~~ CONCEPTIONS, Russian capitalism had not created by October 1917 all the necessary material and cultural pre-requisites for socialism. I think it is instructive and useful to recall what Lenin answered to such critics of our Revolution. You are saying that TO CREATE SOCIALISM YOU NEED TO HAVE CIVILIZATION, ~~civilizeness is required for building socialism~~, he retorted. Very well. But why ~~is it so that~~ we were unable FIRST to create in our country such pre-requisites

of CIVILIZATION ~~civiliseness~~ as THE expulsion of landowners and THE expulsion of Russian capitalists and ~~only~~ then ~~to~~ start moving towards socialism? Those who interpret Marxism in a dogmatic and pedantic way are unable to understand the MAIN THING IN ~~essence~~ ~~of~~ this teaching - its revolutionary dialectics. It WAS precisely this ESSENTIAL dialectics that distinguished the entire post-October activity of Lenin; it was precisely this dialectics that helped to accomplish, literally on the border between the possible and the impossible, the political and moral feat of the Brest Peace treaty that saved thousands and thousands of lives and the VERY existence ~~itself~~ of the socialist FATHERLAND ~~homeland~~. Another example. As both Marx and Engels, Lenin was convinced that the people's militia would become an armed defence of the Revolution, but the specific conditions dictated another solution. The civil war imposed upon the people and the outside intervention demanded a new approach, and by Lenin's decree the worker's and peasants' Red Army was created. And that was AN ~~the~~ Army of a new type which gained ~~an~~ immortal glory in the civil war and the repulse of the foreign intervention. (Applause)

END PART FIVE 0905 gmt MTF

Those years brought severe tests for the young Soviet regime. In all its simplicity and severity the question arose: Whether Socialism was to be or not to be? The Party rallied and mobilized the people to defend the Socialist Fatherland and the gains of October. The STARVING, ill-clad, ill-shod and poorly armed Red soldiers routed the well-trained and armed counter-revolutionary army, which was being abundantly fed by imperialists of the West and the East. The burning boundary of the Civil War passed through the whole country and every family, and ploughed up again the habitual way of life, psychology and fate of people. In this fight to the death the will of the people and the urge of millions for a new life won through. [Applause]

The country did everything to help the young army; it lived and acted under the slogan put forward by Lenin: Everything for Victory! The feat of the legendary heroes - the brave sailors and ~~cavalrymen,~~ MEN OF THE CAVALRY ARMIES, the soldiers and commanders of the young Red Army and Red partisans will remain in our memory for ever. They defended the Revolution - Eternal glory to them! [Applause]

The decision on the New Economic Policy is also permeated with the most profound revolutionary dialectics; it substantially expanded the horizons c conceptions of socialism and ways of building it. Or take the following issue:

As is known, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin criticized the limitations of cooperative socialism. In the specific conditions which arose after October as a result of the people gaining power, he looked afresh at this issue. The article on cooperative societies elaborates THE ideas of socialism as ~~being~~ a society of civilized cooperative members. Such were the strength and boldness of Marxist dialectics, which expressed the very essence of revolutionary learning, and which Lenin wielded so brilliantly. He held that, in creating a new world, more than once we would yet have occasion to finish off, re-do, and start afresh. Yes, more than once we have had occasion to finish off and re-do what has been started, to endure a lengthy and sustained struggle, to go through historical processes of a ~~reversing and~~ revolutionary nature REPRESENTING TURNING-POINTS; and they have done much to change the circumstances and conditions of our movement forward. They have also changed us ourselves; they tempered us, enriched us with experience and knowledge, and inspired us with even greater confidence in the success of the cause of the Revolution. In assessing on a world-wide historical scale the headway we have made, one is convinced again and again: in a short time we have done what others required centuries to do. [Applause]

~~The socialist revolution happened in a country with an average level of capitalist development, a high concentration of industry, with a peasant~~

END PART SIX - MTF

STV-1 020655 GORBACHEV PART SEVEN (Champion)

The socialist revolution was accomplished in a country with an average level of development of capitalism, a high concentration of industry, a predominantly peasant population and deep remnants of feudalism and even of preceding social formations. Russia had given the world ~~the highest~~ greatest MAJOR achievements in the sphere of science and culture, but three quarters of her population ~~was~~ were illiterate. The country had been ravaged to the extremes by the imperialist war and undistinguished leadership. Construction of the new life had no models; it required a tireless search for creative solutions. The goal was clear for the party of communists: revolution and the path of socialism, Soviet power. Lenin led the party along this path. The principles and norms of the future socialist system and forms of organising society which were without precedent in history crystallised in the lively creativity of the masses and the most complex material of Russia with her many structures. What were at first purely theoretical ideas about forms of people's power, means and limits of the socialisation of property, organisation of socialist production, setting up new, comradely discipline and about the place and role of the person in the new society were put into more precise form and filled with real living content. The main meaning of October was the creation of a new life. It did not break off for a single day, and even a short respite was used to build and seek ways towards the socialist future. The beginning of the twenties was marked with a great take-off

by the people's initiative and creativity. They became a genuine revolutionary laboratory of social innovation, the search for the optimal forms for the alliance between the working class and the labouring peasantry and the shaping of a mechanism for implementing the whole spectrum of the interests of labouring people. The party went over from the ~~war communist~~ WAR-COMMUNISM methods of organising production and consumption, which were ~~forced~~ APPLIED OF NECESSITY in the conditions of war and destruction, to more flexible, economically-based and regular instruments of influencing social reality. The measures of the New Economic Policy were directed at constructing the material foundatinos of socialism. We are now turning more and more often to Lenin's last works and to the Leninist ideas of the New Economic Policy and striving to take from that experience everything which is valuable and necessary for us today. Of course, it would be erroneous to ~~put up a sign of equality between~~ EQUATE NEP ~~and~~ WITH what we are doing at the present time, at a fundamentally different stage of development. We do not have in the country today those individual peasant farmers, the arrangement of an alliance with whom determined the most pressing goals of economic policy in the twenties. But NEP had a more far-reaching aim, too. The task was set of constructing a new society, not directly on enthusiasm, as Lenin wrote, but with the help of the enthusiams brought forth by the great revolution, on personal interest, personal

involvement and financial autonomy. This is what life and the objective course of the development of the revolution told us. Talking about the creative potential of NEP, we must obviously once more talk about the political and methodological wealth of the ideas of tax in kind (MN: a taxation procedure introduced in that period). We, of course, are not attracted by its forms then, which were intended to ensure a union of workers and peasants, but by the opportunities contained in the idea of tax in kind of liberating the creative energy of the masses, raising the personal initiative of people and removing bureaucratic obstacles restricting the operation of the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labour".

end of part seven (mtf) 1005 gmt

The socialist construction begun under Lenin's leadership brought a great deal that was fundamentally new. For the first time in world history, the methods of planned economic management were worked out and applied. The GOELRO plan (MN State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) was truly ~~a~~ THE OPENING UP OF, AND ~~discover,~~ an entire stage in, the progress of world economic thought and practice: not only an immense plan of electrification, but a plan devised by Lenin to combine harmoniously agriculture, industry and transport in a comprehensive programme - to put it in contemporary terms - for the DEPLOYMENT ~~allocation~~ and development of the country's productive forces. Lenin described it as the Party's second plan, a plan of work to create the entire national economy and to bring it up to A modern LEVEL OF technology.

A new culture was born, one which encompassed both the experience of the past and the variegated richness, boldness and originality of talents and bright individualities which the revolution brought into play and inspired in the service of the people.

Lenin's initial stage of formation of a multi-national state of the Soviets is of ABIDING ~~unsurpassed~~ importance for us, not only through its results, but also through the experience and methodology. When reflecting about the time when socialist Russia would emerge from the ~~NEP~~ RUssia OF NEP (MN New Economic Policy),

Lenin was not able, nor did he try, to set himself the task of drawing a picture of the future OF society in minute detail. But the actual ways and means of progress towards socialism, by way of establishing mechanized industry, wide-ranging UNIFICATION INTO COOPERATIVES ~~co-operation~~, involving every one of the working masses in governing the state and organizing the work of the state apparatus on the principle of "it's better to do a little but to do it well", by way of the cultural development of the entire mass of the people and strengthening the federation of free nations without falsehood and force: it is precisely this which was ~~to form~~ AIMED AT FORMING the shape of the country which was moving out onto a fundamentally new level of social order.

A system of views upon, and the actual concept of, construction of socialism in our country took shape in Lenin's last works, which were endowed with an unusual degree of intellectual and emotional concentration. This comprises the Party's great theoretical wealth.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's premature death was a profound shock for the entire Party and the Soviet people. Grief exceeded all bounds; the loss was irreparable - everyone understood this. Tasks of colossal historical significance lay ahead: without Lenin, but relying on his teachings and behests, the Party leadership ~~was~~ HAD to seek the optimum solutions capable of

consolidating the achievements of the revolution and bringing the country to socialism, in the specific conditions of the Soviet Russia of that time.

History delivered a harsh ultimatum to the new order: either to survive, by creating in the shortest possible time its own socio-economic and technical base, and to give mankind its first experience of a just organization of society; or to burn out, and remain in the memory of the ages as, at best, only a heroic but unsuccessful social experiment. The question of bringing about socialist transformations at an accelerated speed, first and foremost, assumed a vitally important and, in the full sense of the word, ~~crucial~~ fateful significance. The period after Lenin, the 1920s and 1930s, occupied a special place in the history of the Soviet state. In just about 15 years or so, radical social changes were brought about.

end of part eight mtf

~~The period after Lenin, the 20's and 30's, took up a special place in the history of the Soviet state. Over a period of something like 15 years radical social changes were put into effect.~~ So much was accommodated in these years, both from the point of view of searching for the optimal variants of socialist construction, and from the point of view of actual achievements and the creation of the foundations of a new society. These were years of persistent labour at the limits of human possibilities, of keen struggle at a multitude of levels. Industrialisation, collectivisation, cultural revolution, strengthening the multi-national state, establishing the USSR's international positions, new forms of running the economy and the whole of social life - all of this fell precisely on this period, and all of this had far-reaching consequences. Over the decades we return again and again to this time. This is natural, for it was then ~~that the construction began (NB correcting himself)~~ that the first socialist society in the world was built. This was a feat of historic dimensions and historic significance. Admiration for the feats of our fathers and grandfathers, assessments of our real achievements, will live for ever, like these same feats and achievements. (Applause)

And if today, we look into our history with an occasionally critical gaze, then

only because we want to get a better, a fuller idea of ~~its~~ OUR path into the future. It is essential to evaluate the past with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth. This has to be done, firstly, by virtue of the enormous importance of those years for the destiny of our state and for the destiny of socialism; secondly, because these years lie at the centre of discussions of many years' standing, both in our country and abroad, in which along with a questing for the truth, attempts are often made to discredit socialism as a new social system, and as a real alternative to capitalism; finally, we need truthful evaluations of this and of all the other periods of our history, especially at the present time, when restructuring has got under way; they are are needed not to settle political scores, or ~~as they say, to unburden our souls~~ CAUSE SUFFERING, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past, and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations. And so, about the 20's and 30's after Lenin. Regardless of the fact that the party and society were equipped with Lenin's conception of building socialism and with the work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin after the October period, the quest for a path was very difficult, in a keen ideological struggle and an atmosphere of political discussions. The central place in these discussions came to be occupied by the fundamental problems of the development of society,

primarily, the question of the possibility of building socialism in our country. Theoretical thought and practice were searching - along which avenues, and in what forms are social and economic transformations to be effected? How was their solution to be guaranteed on a socialist basis, in the specific historical conditions in which the Soviet Union found itself? There was placed on the agenda practical, constructive work which required the highest sense of responsibility. First and foremost the question arose in acute form of the industrialisation of the country and the reconstruction of the economy, without which socialist construction and the strengthening of defence capacity were unthinkable. This followed from Lenin's direct instructions, and from his theoretical legacy. In this same context, and also in accordance with Lenin's behests, the question arose of socialist transformations in rural areas. It was thus a question of the most major, crucial matters, problems and tasks. And although the party, I repeat, had at its disposal Lenin's directions on these questions, keen discussions unfolded around them.

END APRT 9 - MTF

STV-1 0655 gmt 02/11 (Gorbachev) PART TEN (Yanushevich)

Perhaps, it is worth mentioning that both before and after the Revolution, in the first years of socialist construction, far from all Party leaders shared Lenin's views on a number of most important issues. Besides, Lenin's reccommendations could not cover all specific questions of the construction of a new society. When analyzing ideological disputes of the time, one has to bear in mind the fact that carrying out gigantic revolutionary reforms in such a country as Russia ~~of the~~ (WAS AT THAT time was in itself a most difficult task. The country was on an historic march, its development was sharply accelerating, and all ~~the~~ SIDES ~~facets~~ of social life were changing rapidly and profoundly. ~~An~~ AN ideological struggle that was reflecting the whole gamut of THE interests of the classes, social groups and strata, the demands and tasks of the time, historical traditions and the pressure of urgent tasks, and also the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement - that ideological struggle was interwined indissolubly with events and processes in the economy, IN ~~policy~~ POLITICS and IN all the spheres of people's life. In one word, it was ~~arch~~ (EXTREMELY difficult to understand EVERYTHING and to find the solely true line in ~~that~~ (SUCH A complex and turbulent situation. The nature of the ideological struggle was being aggravated to a considerable degree by personal rivalry within the Party leadership too.

Old discords which were in evidence as far back as when Lenin was alive manifested themselves in the new situation too, and, moreover, in a very

acute form. As is known, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin warned against the possibility of such a danger. In his 'Letter to the Congress' he emphasized that it was not a trifle or it was ~~such~~ a trifle OF THE KIND that could acquire crucial importance. That was what actually happened in many respects. A petty-bourgeois nature took the upper hand in the case of certain authoritative figures. They adopted factional behaviour. This put the party organizations into a fevered state, diverted them from their vital activity and prevented them from working. They continued to provoke a split even when it became clear to an overwhelming majority of the Party that their views ran counter to Leninist ideas and plans, that their proposals were erroneous and could divert the country from the correct course it had taken. This applies above all to Trotskiy, who after the death of Lenin made inordinate claims to the leadership of the Party and thus in full measure confirmed Lenin's assessment of him as an excessively self-assured, always prevaricating and swindling politician. Trotskiy and the Trotskyites rejected the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. In foreign policy they banked on the export of revolution, domestically on turning the screws with regard to the peasantry, ON the exploitation of the ~~villages~~ COUNTRYSIDE by the towns and on bringing military-administrative methods to the running of society. Trotskyism is a political current whose

ideologists, while using left-wing pseudo-revolutionary phrases as a cover, actually held a capitulationist position. In essence this was an attack on Leninism along the whole front. What was practically at stake was the fate of socialism in our country, and the fate of the revolution. In these circumstances it was necessary on a nationwide scale to debunk Trotskiyism and to lay bare its anti-socialist essence. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Trotskiyites entered into a bloc with a new opposition led by Zinovyev and Kamenev. Realizing that they were in the minority, the leaders of the opposition again and again foisted debates on the Party, reckoning to split the Party ranks. But in the final analysis, the Party came out in support of the Central Committee's line against the opposition which was ideologically and organizationally smashed. (Applause).

END PART TEN 1015 gmt MTF

~~The situation was complicated by the fact that the Trotskyites entered into a bloc with a new opposition headed by Zinovyev and Kamenev. Realising that they were in the minority, the leaders of the opposition again and again foisted debates on the party, reckoning to split the party ranks. But in the final analysis, the party came out in support of the Central Committee's line against the opposition, which was ideologically and organisationally smashed.~~ ~~(applause)~~

~~Thus the leading nucleus of the Party, headed by Stalin,~~

~~(OWEN)~~ Thus the leading nucleus of the party, which was headed by Stalin, defended Leninism in the ideological struggle, formulated the strategy and tactics in the initial stage of socialist construction and obtained approval of the political course from a majority of the members of the party and working people. An important role in the ideological defeat of Trotskyism was played by Bukharin, Dzerzhinskiy, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze, RADZUTAK and others. (APPLAUSE)

At the very end of the 1920's a bitter struggle also broke out over the issue of ways of putting the peasantry onto the tracks of socialism. Essentially it brought out the different attitudes of the majority of the Politburo and the Bukharin group towards the application of the NEP principles in the new stage of the development of Soviet society. The concrete conditions of those times, both the internal and the international ones, put forward a substantial raising of the rate of socialist construction as a vital task. Bukharin and his supporters, in their calculations and theoretical attitudes effectively underestimated the significance of the TIME factor ~~of the times~~ in the construction of

socialism in the 1930's. To a large extent their position was determined by dogmatic thinking, by a lack of dialectic approach in their appraisal of the specific situation. Both Bu_kharin himself and his supporters soon recognized their mistakes.

In this connection it is worth recalling the description of Bukharin given by Lenin: Bukharin is not just a most valuable and major theoretician in the party. He is also legitimately considered to be the pet of the whole party. But his theoretical outlook can only be regarded with very great doubt as being fully Marxist, for in him there is something of the scholasticist. He has never learned dialectics, and I don't think he has ever fully understood it.

Life once again confirmed that Lenin was right. Thus the political debates of those times reflected the complex process in the Party's development, typified by bitter struggle over the most important problems of socialist construction.

END PART ELEVEN (mtf)

In this struggle, which had to be gone through, the concept of industrialisation and collectivisation was formed. Under the leadership of the Party and its Central Committee, heavy industry, including machine-building, ~~and~~ the defence industry, AND CHEMICAL ~~chemistry~~ production (THAT WAS) up-to-date for the times, were over a brief period effectively created over again in the country; and the GOELRO plan ~~(MN State Plan for the Electrification of Russia) fulfilled~~. WAS CARRIED OUT. Magnitka, Kuzbass, DneproGES, Uralmash, the Khibiny Combine, the Moscow and Gorkiy car factories, aircraft plants, the Stalingrad, Chelyabinsk and Kharkov tractor factories, Rostselmash, Komsomolsk-na-Amure, Turksib (MN Turkmen-Siberian Railway), the Great Fergana Canal and many other great construction projects from the first Five Year Plans, became glorious symbols of these achievements. At that time, dozens of scientific research institutions and a broad network of higher education establishments ~~were born~~ CAME INTO BEING. The Party proposed a previously unknown ~~means~~ WAY of industrialisation, THAT OF immediately ~~advancing~~ MOVING FORWARD heavy industry, without relying on external sources of finance or waiting ~~many years~~ for accumulations BUILT UP OVER MANY YEARS through the development of light industry. This was, in those conditions, the only way possible, albeit it an inconceivably difficult one for the country and the people. It was an innovatory step IN which the revolutionary impulse of the masses ~~took~~ WAS TAKEN into account as ~~comprising~~ A COMPONENT OF economic growth. In a single burst, industrialisation brought the country to a qualitatively new

level. By the end of the 30s, the Soviet Union had occupied first place in Europe for industrial output production and the second in the world and had ~~indeed~~ become a TRULY great industrial power. And this was a feat of labour of world-wide historic significance, a feat of liberated labour, a feat of the Bolshevik Party. (applause)

And, looking at history through sober eyes and taking into account the entire totality of domestic and international ~~realia,~~ REALITIES, there is no avoiding asking the question - could another course have been chosen in those condtions than the one put forward by the Party? If we wish to remain ~~with the stand point of historicism and the~~ ON A STAND-POINT OF HISTORIC METHOD AND truth of life, there can be only one answer. No, it could not. (applause)

In those conditions, when the sense of the threat of imperialist aggression was visibly growing, the conviction strengthened in the Party as to the necessity not of ~~going,~~ COVERING but literally of running (IN THE SHORTEST HISTORICAL TIMESCALE) across the distance between sledge-hammer and peasants' plough to developed industry, ~~in the shortest historical period,~~ without which the demise of the Revolution ~~a whole cause~~ THE WHOLE CAUSE OF would be inevitable. The vitality of the plans put forward by the Party, which were understood and taken in by the masses, ~~and~~ of ~~projects in slogans,~~ (THE SLOGANS AND THE PROJECTS) which embodied the revolutionary spirit of October, found its reflection in that enthusiasm that astounded the world, with which millions of Soviet people joined in the CONSTRUCTION OF SOVIET INDUSTRY. END PART TWELVE MTF

In difficult conditions, with no machinery, and on semi-starvation rations, people worked miracles. They were inspired by the fact that they were joining in ~~in~~ a great historical cause; not being sufficiently literate, they understood with their class feeling _____ what a MIGHTY ~~grandiose~~ and unprecedented cause they had become part of. It is our duty and the duty of those who will follow them to remember this, to remember the feat of our grandfathers and fathers. Everyone must know that their labour and unselfish performance were not in vain. They overcame everything that fate sent them and made a supreme contribution to strengthening the gains of October and to creating the foundations of our strength which enabled the Motherland to be saved from a mortal threat and to save Socialism for the future and for us all, comrades. Glory to them and may their good memory live on! [Applause]

At the same time, the period being referred to here also brought losses. They were IN A WAY ~~definitely~~ linked to the very successes I have talked about. At the time, people were being persuaded of the universal effectiveness of strict centralization and that the command method was the shortest and best way to resolve any tasks. This affected attitudes to people and their living conditions. A system of administration by command arose in the party and state ~~government~~ management of the country; bureacracy increased, ~~which Lenin~~ a danger which Lenin had

warned about in his time. A corresponding management structure and planning methods also began to take shape. In industry, ~~for its volume~~ WITH THE SIZE THAT IT WAS at the time, when all the main ~~facilities~~ SITES of the industrial edifice were literally in the public eye, these methods and this system of management generally yielded ~~their~~ results. However, such a rigid system of centralization and command was inadmissible in resolving the tasks of transforming the countryside. It has to be said frankly: at that new stage not enough CAREFUL attention was paid, in the Leninist way, to the interests of the working peasantry. And most importantly, they underestimated the fact that as a class, the peasantry had changed fundamentally over the years since the Revolution. The middle-level peasant became the chief figure; he became established as his own master, this peasant toiler, who had received his land from the Revolution and who over a whole decade - S had become convinced of the fact that Soviet rule was also his rule. He became a true and reliable ally of the working class, an ally on a new basis, and he satisfied himself in practice that his life was increasingly turning for the better. And if a little more consideration had been given to objective economic laws, if more attention had been paid to the social processes taking place in the countryside, if generally attitudes towards that huge mass of working peasantry - most of whom took part in the Revolution and defended it from the White Guards and the

Interventionists - had been better regulated politically, and if a policy of alliance with the middle-level peasants against the kulaks had been consistently conducted, then there would not have been any of the excesses which took place when collectivization was carried out. ~~Today it is clear that in the great cause which affected the fates of the majority of the country's population a deviation from Leninist~~ policy ~~was committed in relation to the peasantry. The management of this most important and very complex social process, where a great deal depended on local conditions, was carried out primarily by administrative methods.~~

~~[MA: incorporates SNAP 7 excerpts]~~

end part 13 1130 gmt - mtf

It is clear today that a deviations from the Leninist policy with regard to the peasantry occurred in that immense operation, which affected the fate of the majority of the population of the country. The management of this highly important and very complex social process, where a great deal depended on local conditions, was carried out predominantly by administrative methods. The conviction arose that all problems could be solved at a stroke, in A VERY SHORT ~~the shortest~~ period of time. Whole oblasts and regions in the country began competing over who would carry out full collectivisation more quickly. Arbitrary percentage-based schedules of allocations were issued from above. Gross violations of the principles of collectivisation acquired a ubiquitous character. The conduct of the struggle against the kulaks did not proceed without excesses. The policy of the struggle against the kulaks, which was in itself correct, was often interpreted so broadly that it also caught up a significant proportion of middle-level peasants. Such, comrades, is the historical reality.

But, comrades, if we are to assess the importance of collectivisation, overall, in the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the countryside, then in the final analysis it was a turning-point of fundamental importance. Collectivisation denoted a radical change in the whole structure of the life of the basic mass of the population of the country on socialist foundations. It created the social

base for the modernisation of the agricultural sector and its transfer to the tracks of cultivat~~ory~~-ED ECONOMIC management, made possible a significant increase in labour productivity and released a ~~important~~ CONSIDERABLE number of ~~working hands~~ THE WORKFORCE which were ~~necessary~~ NEEDED for other spheres of socialist construction. All this had historic consequences. For an understanding of the situation in those years, one must bear in mind that the administrative command system, which began to take shape in the course of the industrialisation and received a new impetus during the collectivisation, had effects on ~~all~~ the whole public and political life of the country. Having consolidated its position in the economy, it ~~began~~ also spread to the suprestructure, limiting the unfolding of the democratic potential of socialism and restraining the progress of socialist democracy. But what I have said does not ~~hide the~~ REVEAL all the complexities of that period.

What happened here? The phase of the most ~~severe~~ serious ideological and political tests ~~was~~ for the party ~~were~~ was virtually behind it. Millions of people set about working on implementing socialist transformations with enthusiasm, and the first successes began to appear. And, at this very time, the methods dictated by the period of struggle against the hostile resistance of the exploiting classes were mechanically transferred into the period of peaceful socialist contruction, when conditions had changed fundamentally. An atmosphere of intolerance, enmity

and suspicion was being created in the country. This political practice went on to broaden and was substantiated with the erroneous theory of stepping up the class struggle in the process of building socialism. All this had a ruinous effect upon the socio-political development of the country and had grave consequences. It is perfectly obvious that the lack of the proper level of democratisation of Soviet society was precisely what made possible both the personality cult and the violations of the law, arbitrariness and repressions of the 1930s -- to be blunt, real crimes based on the abuse of power.

end of part fourteen (mtf) 1155 gmt

Many thousands of members of the Party and non-Party members were subjected to mass repressions. That, comrades, is the bitter truth. Serious damage was done to the cause of socialism and the authority of the Party, and we must speak bluntly about this. This is essential for the final and irreversible assertion of Lenin's ideal of socialism.

WS

pto

Gorbachev pt 15

There is a lot of discussion now about Stalin's role in our history. His personality was extremely contradictory. Holding positions of historical truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and to the defence of its gains, and the gross political errors and arbitrariness permitted of occur by him and those around him, for which our people paid a great price and which had serious consequences for the life of our society.

Some times it is said that Stalin did not know about the instances of lawlessness. Documents in our possession say that this is not so. The guilt of Stalin and those closest to him before the Party and the people for the mass repressions and lawlessness that were permitted are immense and impardonable. This is a lesson for all generations.

Of course, despite the assertions of our ideological enemies, the cult of personality was not unavoidable. It is alien to the nature of socialism and represents a deviation from its fundamental principles and thus x has no justification.

At the 20th and the 22nd Party Congresses both the cult of Stalin and its consequences were harshly condemned. We now know that the political accusations and repressions against a number of figures in Party and state, against many Communists and non-Party members, economic and military cadres, academics and cultural figures were the result of deliberate falsification. Many accusations were subsequently, particularly following the 20th Congress of the Party, quashed. Thousands of innocent people who suffered were completely rehabilitated. But the process of restoration of justice was not seen through, and it effectively stopped in the mid-1960s.

(WS)

Now, in accordance with the decisions of the October 1987 plenum of the Central Committee, we have to go back to this again. The Central Committee Politburo has set up a commission to make a thorough examination of the new, and already known, factual documentation relating to these matters. As a result of the work of the commission the relevant decisions will be adopted.

All this will be reflected also in an essay on the history of the CPSU whose preparation will be entrusted to a special commission of the Central Committee. We must do this, especially since even now we still encounter attempts to turn one's back on sore questions of our history, to hush them up, to pretend that nothing special happened. We cannot agree with this. It would be neglect of historical truth, disrespect for the memory of those who found themselves innocent victims of lawlessness and arbitrariness. We cannot, furthermore, because truthful analysis must help us to solve our current problems of democratisation, legality, glasnost, overcoming bureaucratism - in brief urgent problems of perestroyka. That is why we need here, too, full clarity, accuracy and consistency,... (Applause)... an honest understanding of our tremendous achievements and past misfortunes alike.

A full and true political assessment of them will give a real moral guide for the future. (Applause)

End p15 mtf 1125 gmt

WS

STV-1 0655 gmt 02/11 GORBACHEV PART SIXTEEN (Yanushevich)

In drawing up the grand total of the period of the 20s and 30s after Lenin, one could say the following: we have passed a difficult way full of contradictions and complexities, yet a great and heroic way. Neither most gross errors nor the deviations from the principles of socialism that were committed could turn our people and our country from the path it embarked upon in 1917, having made its choice, because the impetus of the October (REVOLUTION) was too great and the ideas of socialism which took hold of the masses were too strong. The people felt that it was participating in a great cause and began to enjoy the fruit of its labour. Its patriotism acquired a new socialist content. (Applause).

And this, Comrades, showed itself with all its force during the harsh ordeals of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. The situation on the eve of the war is being actively discussed today in the West. Truth is being mixed with half-truth. The most zealous are those who are unhappy about the political, territorial or social results of the Second World War, those who continue to ponder on how to correct them. Therefore they are interested in how to turn historic truth upside down, to re-shuffle relations of cause and effect, and to falsify the chronology. In this context, they resort to

(WS)

all sorts of lies to put the blame for the Second World War on the Soviet Union alleging that the way to ~~which~~ the war was opened by the Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression pact. The issue deserves to be spoken about in a ~~more~~ rather detailed way. In fact, the Second World War became a tragic reality not on the 1st of September 1939. The occupation of ~~the northern~~ north-eastern China by Japan - the Manchurian incident of 1931-32 -, the Italian aggression against ~~Ethio~~ Ethiopia in 1935 and against Albania in the spring of 1939, the German-Italian intervention against ~~the~~ Republican Spain in 1936-39, the armed intervention of Japan in northern - and then central - China in the summer of 1937: those are ~~the~~ initial conflagrations of the Second World War. It is another question that then ~~they pretended in the West~~ the West ~~still~~ pretended that it ~~was not its business~~ was not its business and if it was, then ~~not~~ not to such a degree as ~~to~~ prompt it to defend the victims of aggressions. The hatred towards socialism, long-term calculations, and class egocentrism prevented it from ~~this~~ understanding soberly the real dangers. Moreover, Fascism was persistently offered ~~a~~ the mission of ~~the~~ striking detachment in the anti-communist crusade. Austria and Czechoslovakia followed Ethiopia and China into the furnace of ~~placating~~ appeasement. The sword was ~~risen~~ raised over Poland and all the states of the Baltic Sea and the Danube basin. An open propaganda was being conducted to turn the Ukraine ~~to~~ into the wheat field and cattle-yard of the Third Reich. In the end, the main streams of

(WS)

aggression were channelled against the Soviet Union, and taking into account that they started dividing our country long before the war, one should have no trouble in imagining what limited choice we had. They say that the decision that the Soviet Union made by signing the non-aggression pact with Germany was not the best one. Maybe it is so if one is guided not by ~~crude~~ harsh reality but/by speculative abstractions divorced from the context of (the) time. And in those conditions the question stood in about the same way as it did during the Brest peace treaty: will our country be independent or not, will there be socialism on earth or not? The USSR ~~has done~~ did a lot to create ~~the system~~ a system of collective security and to prevent a ~~world war~~ worldwide carnage. Yet the Soviet initiatives met no response from Western polititians and political intriguers who made cold-blooded calculations ~~about~~ (of the) most adroit ways for dragging socialism into the flames of war and/~~to make~~ making it clash head-on with Fascism. Being/already rejected owing to our socialist origins, under no circumstances could we be right in the eyes of imperialism. As I have already said, Western ~~right-wing~~ ruling circles, trying to whitewash their/own sins, are ~~trying~~ striving to persuade people that the Soviet-German non-aggression pact of the 23d of August 1939 triggered the Nazi/~~st~~/invasion of Poland and, through this, the Second World War. As if there had been no Munich ~~treaty~~ agreement with Hitler

(WS)

signed by Britain and France ~~as long ago as~~ back in 1938 with ~~an~~ active assistance from the USA, nor the Austrian Anschluss, nor the crucifiction of the Spanish Republic, nor the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Klajpeda by the Nazis, ~~now~~ nor the signing in 1938 of ~~pacts~~ non-aggression pacts with Germany by London and Paris - incidentaly, the pre-war Poland concluded similar pacts. As you see, all this fitted fairly well into the structure of imperialist policy, and was considered and is considered as normal.

END PART 16 1150 gmt MTF

(WS)

It is known from the documents that the date for Germany's invasion of Poland, no later than 1st September, had been set as early as 3rd April 1939, that is long before the Soviet-German pact. In London, Paris and Washington they knew all the ins and outs down to the smallest details of the preparations for the Polish campaign, just as they knew that the only obstacle capable of stopping the Hitlerites could be the conclusion, no later than August 1939, of an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military alliance. These plans were also known to the leadership of our country, and for this reason it tried to convince Britain and France of the need for collective measures. It also appealed to the Polish government of the time for co-operation with a view to ending aggression. But the western powers had other calculations: to lure the USSR with a promise of an alliance, and thereby to hamper the conclusion of the non-aggression pact which had been offered to us, to deprive us of the possibility of better preparing ourselves for the inevitable attack by Hitlerite Germany on the USSR. Nor can we forget the fact that in August 1939 the Soviet Union was faced with the real threat of war on two fronts, in the west with Germany, and in the east with Japan which had unleashed a bloody conflict on the Halhyn gol river. But life and death, scorning

(WS)

the myths, came into their own, a new chapter, (one of) the hardest and most difficult was opening. in modern history,/At that stage, however, we managed to put off the clash with the enemy, such an enemy that left both himself and his adversary one choice - to vanquish or to perish. The aggression thrust upon us was a merciless test of the vitality of the socialist system, of the strength of the multi-national Soviet state, of the strength of the patriotic spirit of Soviet people, and this test by fire and sword we passed, comrades! (Applause) Passed because that war became for our people the Great Fatherland War, for in a struggle with such an enemy as German fascism it was a question of life or death, of whether we were to be free or fall into slavery; passed because the war became nation-wide, everyone came to the defence of the native land, old and young, men and women, all nationalities and ethnic groups of the great country. Also entering their first battle was the generation born of October and brought up by the socialist system. Unprecedented fortitude and heroism on the battlefields, the courageous struggle of the partisans and underground fighters behind the front line, virtually round-the-clock tireless labour in the rear - this is what this war was for us. Soviet people fought and laboured defending the homeland, the socialist

WS

system, the ideas and cause of October. When an enormous misfortune befell our common home, the Soviet people did not flinch, did not bend, neither under the blows of the first failures and defeats, nor under the burden of millions of deaths, torments and sufferings. From the first day they firmly believed in the future victory. In soldiers's greatcoats, in workers' overalls, they did everything at the limits and beyond the limits of human strength to bring closer that long-awaited day. And when, on the 1,418th day of war, victory came, the entire world that had been saved breathed freely, paying due tribute to the Soviet people, the victor, the hero, the toiler, their valiant army which had covered thousands of embattled kilometres, each of which cost many lives, and no small amount of blood and sweat. (Applause)

END PART 17 - MTF

WS

~~(Applause)~~ The talent of the outstanding commanders who emerged from the depths of the people - Zhukov, Rokossovskiy, Vasilevskiy, Konev and other famous marshals, generals and officers - of those who commanded the ARMY fronts, ~~of the army~~ THE corps, divisions, regiments, companies and platoons, was manifested most powerfully in the Great Fatherland War. The great political will, purposefulness and persistence, and the ability to organize and discipline people / showed during the war years which Stalin played their role in attaining victory.

But it was the simple Soviet soldier who bore the main burden of the war, the simple Soviet soldier, of one flesh with the people, the great toiler, courageous and devoted to his fatherland: great honour and eternal glory to him! (Applause)

Millions of veterans of the Great Fatherland War ~~have remained in the~~ ARE STILL AT THEIR ~~ranks~~ POSTS, today, ~~too,~~ and are taking ~~an energetic~~ MILITANTLY part in the work of THE revolutionary restructuring and renewal of society. Our ~~constant~~ FILIAL gratitude to them! (Applause)

Our Leninist Party was the ~~soul~~ (INSPIRATION) of all military and labour matters. At the front, in the trenches, communists were the first to go into the attack, drawing others along with them by their example; in the rear, they were the last to leave their machines, fields and farms. Soviet people felt as never before that the VKP(b) (MN All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)) was their own Party;

and that communists were demonstrating in deed what it meant to be the vanguard of the people when the flames of war were raging and when it is a question of life and death. One can say with confidence that the years of the Great Fatherland War were one of the most glorious and heroic pages in the life of the Party itself, written with the heroism and bravery and supreme self-sacrifice and commitment of millions of communists. (Applause)

The war showed that the Soviet people, the Party, socialism and October are indivisible. And there are no forces in the world which could shatter this unity. Socialism did not only hold out and did not simply gain victory: it emerged from the most terrible and destructive of wars, having grown morally stronger, and consolidated its authority and influence throughout the world. (POLITICALLY)

At the end of the war, our foes prophesied that we would suffer economic collapse, that our country would for a long time lose its place in world politics, and considered that it would take us 50 years or more to cope with the consequences of the war. But in a very rapid space of time the Soviet people rehabilitated the destroyed towns and villages, raised from the ruins plants and factories, collective and state farms, schools and institutions of ~~further~~ higher education and cultural institutions. Once again the great power of the socialist state was manifested, as were the will of the Party motivated by the understanding of the higher interests of the motherland of October; the steadfastness and proletarian wisdom

of the workers, who shouldered the main burden of the peaceful transformation of the country's industrial might and restoring what had been destroyed; the self-sacrifice, THE endurance and patriotism of the peasantry, who gave their utmost in order to feed the devastated country; and the friendship of the peoples, and mutual assistance, the readiness together to help (IN A FRATERNAL WAY) those who suffered especially, and to help back on their feet those areas of our common motherland upon which the merciless hand of war had lain particularly heavily.

The source of our achievements, OF THE economic and scientific and technical progress, mastery of atomic energy and the first space craft launches, the growth of the cultural and material prosperity of the people, lie in the heroism of the daily round of labour in the difficult post-war years.

But at this same time, a time of new popular upsurge in the name of socialism, the contradictions between what our society had become and ~~between~~ the previous methods of leadership made themselves felt increasingly perceptibly. ABuses of power and violations of socialist legality continued; the Leningrad case, and the doctors' affair were concocted, and not just these. People worked selflessly, studied and ~~ardently sought~~ STRAINED FOR new knowledge, became reconciled to the difficulties and the shortages, but felt that both anxiety and hope were accumulating in society. And all this gripped public awareness shortly after Stalin's death.

In the mid 1950s, especially after the 20th CPSU COngress, the wind of change swept across the country. The people took heart, livened up, became bolder and more confident. It required no little courage on the part of the Party and its leadership, headed by Krushchev, to criticise the cult of personality and its consequences and to re-establish socialist legality. The previous stereotypes in domestic and foreign policy began to break down. Attempts were made to overcome the bureaucratic methods of management based on command which had become established in the 1930s and 1940s, and to endow socialism with greater dynamism, to underline humanistic ideals and values and revive the creative spirit of Leninism in theory and practice. The decisions of the September 1953 and July 1955 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee were shot through with the aspiration to change the priorities of economic development and to set in train incentives linked with personal interest in the results of labour. Greater attention began to be paid to the development of agriculture, housing construction, light industry, the consumer sphere and everything connected with satisfying a person's needs. In a word, changes for the better, both in Soviet society and in international relations, were taking place.

However, no few subjectivist errors were committed, which hampered socialism's emergence at a new stage, and which in many respects compromised

progressive undertakings. The fact is that qualitatively new tasks in domestic and foreign policy and in party construction were not infrequently SOLVED by ~~libertarian~~ VOLUNTARIST methods, with the aid of the old political and economic mechanism.

end of part 18

From: M J Llewellyn Smith
Date: 2 November 1987

Private Secretary

cc: PS/Mr Mellor
PS/PUS
Sir John Fretwell
Mr Boyd
Mr Ratford
Mr Fall
Mr Murrell, Research Dept
Mr Nicholson, Assessments Staff, Cabinet Office

GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

1. We do not yet have a full text of Gorbachev's three-speech earlier today (this will be available from Caversham tomorrow morning) but I attach some extracts from the earlier parts of the speech.

2. As soon as we have had a chance to look carefully at the full text, I will put up some considered analysis. Meanwhile you may be interested to see two minutes by Mr Murrell of Research Department, one on the speech itself, to which he listened, and one on the dissension within the Politburo which emerged over the weekend. I agree with both of them, in particular his conclusion that if Eltsin goes, Gorbachev's position will be weakened.

3. The scene-setting letter to Number Ten which I submitted on 30 October said the degree of openness in Gorbachev's speech, notably about the past, could be an important indication both of the strength of his own position and of the speed and extent of further change within the Soviet Union. First impressions suggest that, on this criterion, Gorbachev may be under greater pressure from his internal opponents (in the Politburo/Central Committee and within the government and party bureaucracy) than we had hitherto thought. This would fit with his uncertain performance over the Washington Summit. It is too soon to say whether this pressure will result in a more cautious Gorbachev than before., and less glasnost. If so, it is likely to be a case of "reculer pour mieux sauter". It is worth noting that the extracts we have seen so far from his book on Perestroika,

/published

published at the weekend, are outspoken across the whole spectrum of Soviet history and economic, political and social life. Moreover the public acknowledgement of the argument at the Central Committee plenum is itself a virtually unprecedented display of glasnost at work.

4. Sir Bryan Cartledge's telegrams reporting the speech are beginning to come in. I am seeing that these go to Number Ten Downing Street.

M J Llewellyn Smith

M J Llewellyn Smith
SOVIET DEPARTMENT

ZCZC
ZC
BBC B B44 3 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -3- =:

ON BUKHARIN: +AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL DEFEAT OF TROTSKYISM WAS PLAYED BY BUKHARIN, DZERZHINSKIY, KIROV, ORDZHONIKIDZE, RUDZUTAK AND OTHERS.

+AT THE VERY END OF THE 1920'S A BITTER STRUGGLE ALSO BROKE OUT OVER THE ISSUE OF WAYS OF PUTTING THE PEASANTRY ONTO THE TRACKS OF SOCIALISM. ESSENTIALLY IT BROUGHT OUT THE DIFFERENT ATTITUDES OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POLITBURO AND THE BUKHARIN GROUP TOWARDS THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY IN THE NEW STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY.

+THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF THOSE TIMES, BOTH THE INTERNAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL ONES, PUT FORWARD A SUBSTANTIAL RAISING OF THE RATE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AS A VITAL TASK. BUKHARIN AND HIS SUPPORTERS, IN THEIR CALCULATIONS AND THEORETICAL ATTITUDES EFFECTIVELY UNDERESTIMATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TIME FACTOR IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE 1930'S. TO A LARGE EXTENT THEIR POSITION WAS DETERMINED BY DOGMATIC THINKING, BY A LACK OF A DIALECTICAL APPROACH IN THEIR APPRAISAL OF THE SPECIFIC SITUATION. BOTH BUKHARIN HIMSELF AND HIS SUPPORTERS SOON RECOGNISED THEIR MISTAKES.

+IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS WORTH RECALLING THE DESCRIPTION OF BUKHARIN GIVEN BY LENIN: BUKHARIN IS NOT JUST A MOST VALUABLE AND MAJOR THEORETICIAN IN THE PARTY. HE IS ALSO LEGITIMATELY CONSIDERED TO BE THE FAVOURITE OF THE WHOLE PARTY. BUT HIS THEORETICAL OUTLOOK CAN ONLY BE REGARDED WITH VERY GREAT DOUBT AS BEING FULLY MARXIST, FOR IN HIM THERE IS SOMETHING OF THE SCHOLASTICIST. HE HAS NEVER LEARNED DIALECTICS, AND I DON'T THINK HE HAS EVER FULLY UNDERSTOOD IT.

+LIFE ONCE AGAIN CONFIRMED THAT LENIN WAS RIGHT.+

MTF BBC MON 14:26 0211 DS

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BBC B B44 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -4- =:

ON INDUSTRIALISATION:

+IN THIS STRUGGLE, WHICH HAD TO BE GONE THROUGH, THE CONCEPTS OF INDUSTRIALISATION AND COLLECTIVISATION WERE FORMED... THE PARTY PROPOSED A PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN MEANS OF INDUSTRIALISATION: IMMEDIATELY ADVANCING HEAVY INDUSTRY WITHOUT RELYING ON EXTERNAL SOURCES OF FINANCE OR WAITING MANY YEARS FOR ACCUMULATION THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIGHT INDUSTRY. THIS WAS, IN THOSE CONDITIONS, THE ONLY WAY POSSIBLE, ALBEIT IT AN INCONCEIVABLY DIFFICULT ONE FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

+IT WAS AN INNOVATORY STEP WHICH THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPULSE OF THE MASSES TOOK INTO ACCOUNT AS COMPRISING ECONOMIC GROWTH. IN A SINGLE BURST, INDUSTRIALISATION BROUGHT THE COUNTRY TO A QUALITATIVELY NEW LEVEL.

+BY THE END OF THE 30'S, THE SOVIET UNION OCCUPIED FIRST PLACE IN EUROPE FOR INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT AND THE SECOND IN THE WORLD AND HAD INDEED BECOME A GREAT INDUSTRIAL POWER. AND THIS WAS A FEAT OF LABOUR OF WORLD-WIDE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE, A FEAT OF LIBERATED LABOUR, A FEAT OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY.+

IN DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, WITH NO MACHINERY, AND ON SEMI-STARVATION RATIONS, PEOPLE WORKED MIRACLES...

+AT THE SAME TIME, THE PERIOD BEING REFERRED TO HERE ALSO BROUGHT LOSSES... AT THE TIME PEOPLE WERE BEING PERSUADED OF THE UNIVERSAL EFFECTIVENESS OF STRICT CENTRALISATION AND THAT THE COMMAND METHOD WAS THE SHORTEST AND BEST WAY TO RESOLVE ANY TASKS.

+THIS AFFECTED ATTITUDES TO PEOPLE AND THEIR LIVING CONDITIONS. A SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION BY COMMAND AROSE IN THE PARTY AND STATE MANAGEMENT OF THE COUNTRY. BUREAUCRACY INCREASED...

KF BBC MON 14:50 02 11 MGA/SW

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BBC B B44 (5) GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) - 5 -

ON COLLECTIVISATION:

IN INDUSTRY... THESE METHODS AND THIS SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT GENERALLY YIELDED THEIR RESULTS. HOWEVER, SUCH A RIGID SYSTEM OF CENTRALISATION AND COMMAND WAS INADMISSIBLE IN RESOLVING THE TASKS OF TRANSFORMING THE COUNTRYSIDE.....

+IF A LITTLE MORE CONSIDERATION HAD BEEN GIVEN TO OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC LAWS, IF MORE ATTENTION HAD BEEN PAID TO THE SOCIAL PROCESSES TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, IF IF GENERALLY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THAT HUGE MASS OF WORKING PEASANTRY - MOST OF WHOM TOOK PART IN THE REVOLUTION AND DEFENDED IT FROM THE WHITE GUARDS AND THE INTERVENTIONISTS - HAD BEEN BETTER REGULATED POLITICALLY, AND IF A POLICY OF ALLIANCE WITH THE MIDDLE-LEVEL PEASANTS AGAINST THE KULAKS HAD BEEN CONSISTENTLY CONDUCTED, THEN THERE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ANY OF THE EXCESSES WHICH TOOK PLACE WHEN COLLECTIVISATION WAS CARRIED OUT...

+IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT A DEVIATION FROM THE LENINIST POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE PEASANTRY OCCURRED IN THAT IMMENSE OPERATION,... THE MANAGEMENT OF THIS HIGHLY IMPORTANT AND VERY COMPLEX SOCIAL PROCESS, WHERE A GREAT DEAL DEPENDED ON LOCAL CONDITIONS, WAS CARRIED OUT PREDOMINANTLY BY ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS.

+THE CONVICTION AROSE THAT ALL PROBLEMS COULD BE SOLVED AT A 'STROKE' IN THE SHORTEST PERIOD OF TIME....GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVISATION ACQUIRED A UBIQUITOUS CHARACTER.

+THE CONDUCT OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KULAKS DID NOT PROCEED WITHOUT EXCESSES.

THE POLICY OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KULAKS, WHICH WAS IN ITSELF CORRECT, WAS OFTEN INTERPRETED SO BROADLY THAT IT ALSO CAUGHT UP A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF MIDDLE-LEVEL PEASANTS. SUCH, COMRADES, IS THE HISTORICAL REALITY.

+BUT, COMRADES, IF WE ARE TO ASSESS THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVISATION, OVERALL, IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THE POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THEN IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IT WAS A TURNING-POINT OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE.

+COLLECTIVISATION DENOTED A RADICAL CHANGE IN THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF THE LIFE OF THE BASIC MASS OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY ON SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS. IT CREATED THE SOCIAL BASE FOR THE MODERNISATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ...

MORE TO FOLLOW BBC MON 14:44 0211 MS/GT

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BBC B B44 6 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -6- =:

ON KRUSCHEV:

+AT THE END OF THE WAR, OUR FOES PROPHESIED THAT WE WOULD SUFFER ECONOMIC COLLAPSE... BUT IN A VERY RAPID SPACE OF TIME THE SOVIET PEOPLE REHABILITATED THE DESTROYED TOWNS AND VILLAGES, RAISED FROM THE RUINS PLANTS AND FACTORIES, COLLECTIVE AND STATE FARMS SCHOOLS AND FURTHER EDUCATION AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS.+

+BUT AT THIS SAME TIME, A TIME OF NEW POPULAR UPSURGE IN THE NAME OF SOCIALISM, THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN WHAT OUR SOCIETY HAD BECOME AND BETWEEN THE PREVIOUS METHODS OF LEADERSHIP MADE THEMSELVES FELT INCREASINGLY PERCEPTIBLY.

+ABUSES OF POWER AND VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY CONTINUED. THE LENINGRAD CASE, THE DOCTORS' AFFAIR WERE CONCOCTED, AND NOT JUST THESE.

+PEOPLE WORKED SELFLESSLY, STUDIED AND ARDENTLY SOUGHT NEW KNOWLEDGE, BECAME RECONCILED TO THE DIFFICULTIES AND THE SHORTAGES, BUT FELT THAT BOTH ANXIETY AND HOPE WERE ACCUMULATING IN SOCIETY. AND ALL THIS GRIPPED PUBLIC AWARENESS SHORTLY AFTER STALIN'S DEATH.+

+IN THE MID 1950'S, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE 20TH CPSU CONGRESS, A WIND OF CHANGE SWEPT ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE PEOPLE TOOK HEART, LIVENED UP, BECAME BOLDER AND MORE CONFIDENT. IT REQUIRED NO LITTLE COURAGE ON THE PART OF THE PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP, HEADED BY KRUSHCHEV, TO CRITICISE THE CULT OF PERSONALITY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES AND TO RE-ESTABLISH SOCIALIST LEGALITY.

+THE PREVIOUS STEREOTYPES IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY BEGAN TO BREAK DOWN. ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO OVERCOME THE BUREAUCRATIC METHODS OF MANAGEMENT BASED ON COMMAND WHICH HAD BECOME ESTABLISHED IN THE 1930'S AND 1940'S, AND TO ENDOW SOCIALISM WITH GREATER DYNAMISM..

+HOWEVER, NO FEW SUBJECTIVIST ERRORS WERE COMMITTED, WHICH HAMPERED SOCIALISM'S EMERGENCE AT A NEW STAGE, AND WHICH IN MANY RESPECTS COMPROMISED PROGRESSIVE UNDERTAKINGS. THE FACT IS THAT QUALITATIVELY NEW TASKS IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AND IN PARTY CONSTRUCTION WERE DECIDED FREQUENTLY BY LIBERTARIAN METHODS WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE OLD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MECHANISM. HOWEVER, THE MAIN REASON FOR THE FAILURE OF THE REFORMS THAT WERE UNDERTAKEN IN THIS PERIOD WAS THE FACT THAT THEY DID NOT DEPEND ON THE BROAD SPREAD OF THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATISATION.+

END BBC MON 15:35 02111 MGA/SW

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BBC B B44/7 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -7- =:

ON BREZHNEV:

+AT THE OCTOBER 1964 PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE THERE WAS A CHANGE IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND COUNTRY, AND DECISIONS WERE ADOPTED TO OVERCOME THE VOLUNTARISTIC TENDENCIES AND DISTORTIONS IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICCY. THE PARTY STROVE TO ACHIEVE SOME STABILIZATION OF POLICY AND TO PROVIDE IT WITH REALISTIC FEATURES AND A SOLID FOUNDATION...

+IN THE FIRST FEW YEARS THIS ALTERED THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY FOR THE BETTER...

+THE COUNTRY POSSESSED GREAT POSSIBILITIES TO FURTHER ACCELERATE ITS DEVELOPMENT, BUT NEW CARDINAL CHANGES IN SOCIETY AND, OF COURSE, THE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL WILL WERE NEEDED TO UTILISE THESE POSSIBILITIES AND BRING THEM INTO ACTION. THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT OF EITHER...

+AT THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE 27TH CONGRESS... IT WAS EMPHASISED THAT DURING THE LATTER YEARS OF THE LIFE AND ACTIVITIES OF LEONID ILYICH BREZHNEV THE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO ACHIEVE FURTHER PROGRESS WAS TO A GREAT EXTENT HELD BACK BY AN ADHERENCE TO CUSTOMARY FORMULAS AND SCHEMES THAT DID NOT REFLECT THE NEW REALITIES. THERE WAS AN INCREASING GAP BETWEEN WORD AND DEED.

+THERE WAS A BUILD-UP OF NEGATIVE PROCESSES IN THE ECONOMY, WHICH HAD IN EFFECT CREATED A PRE-CRISIS SITUATION...

+THE MOUNTING DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE LOFTY PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND THE EVERYDAY REALITY OF LIFE BECAME INTOLERABLE.+

MF BBC MON 15:55 0211 MGR/EM

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BBC B B44/8 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -8-=:

ON RESTRUCTURING-:

+WE ARE TRAVELLING A REVOLUTIONARY PATH. IT IS NOT A PATH FOR THE WEAK AND THE TIMID. IT IS A PATH FOR THE STRONG AND BOLD.+

+RESTUCTURING MEANS NOT ONLY SHAKING OFF THE STAGNATION AND CONSERVATISM OF THE PRECEEDING PERIOD AND CORRECTING THE MISTAKES COMMITTED, BUT ALSO OVERCOMING HISTORICALLY-LIMITED AND OBSOLETE FEATURES OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND WORKING METHODS.+

+WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO REGARD THE RESTRUCTURING AS A SPECIFIC HISTORICAL STAGE IN OUR SOCIETY'S ONWARD ADVANCE. WE MUST IMPART NEW QUALITIES TO SOCIALISM - A SECOND WIND, AS THEY SAY - AND TO DO THIS, WE MUST EFFECT A PROFOUND REJUVENATION OF ALL ASPECTS OF SOCIETY'S LIFE, BOTH MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL, AND UNFOLD AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE THE HUMANIST NATURE OF OUR SYSTEM.+

+TWO KEY PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THE RESTRUCTURING: THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE WHOLE OF PUBLIC LIFE AND RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM.+

+THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOCIETY IS THE SOUL OF RESTRUCTURING, AND ON THE FUTURE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRATISATION WILL DEPEND ALSO THE SUCCESS OF RESTRUCTURING ITSELF AND, IT CAN BE SAID WITHOUT EXAGGERATION, THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM AS A WHOLE.+

+THE REFORMS THAT ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN THIS COUNTRY ARE POSSIBLY THE BIGGEST STEP SINCE THE OCTOBER (REVOLUTION) ON THE PATH OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRATISM.+

+WE MUST TEACH PEOPLE TO LIVE IN CONDITIONS CREATED BY A DEEPENING DEMOCRACY: WIDEN - WIDEN AND STRENGTHEN - HUMAN RIGHTS: AND FUSE THE MODERN POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE MASSES. IN OTHER WORDS, WE MUST TEACH AND LEARN DEMOCRACY.+

+THERE ARE CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES AND CONTRADICTIONS, AT TIMES UNEXPECTED. THERE IS NO AVOIDING THE STRUGGLE OF WHAT IS NEW AND PROGRESSIVE WITH WHAT IS OLD AND OBSOLETE. THERE IS A DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY AND INDECISION.+

+MANY ARE STILL AFRAID, ACT CIRCUMSPECTLY, ARE CHARY OF RESPONSIBILITY AND REMAIN IN THRALL TO OUTDATED RULES AND INSTRUCTIONS. THE TASK IS TO INSTIL IN PEOPLE A TASTE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THEIR APPROACH TO INDUSTRIAL AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS ON WHATEVER SCALE.+

+THE BROADER AND DEEPER DEMOCRACY, THE MORE ATTENTION IS REQUIRED BY SOCIALIST LEGALITY AND LAW AND ORDER, THE MORE WE NEED ORGANISATION AND CONSCIOUS DISCIPLINE.+

+THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY MUST PENETRATE ALL SPHERES OF HUMAN RELATIONS.

+THE FORTHCOMING TWO, OR PERHAPS THREE, YEARS WILL BE THE MOST DIFFICULT, DECISIVE AND, IN A CERTAIN SENSE, CRITICAL -- PRIMARILY BECAUSE IT WILL BE NECESSARY SIMULTANEOUSLY TO SOLVE LARGE-SCALE TASKS, BOTH IN THE ECONOMY, AND IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE, AND IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF STATE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, AND IN IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE.+

+A NEW POLITICAL, MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE HAS BEEN CREATED IN THE COUNTRY. THE MAIN THING THAT DEFINES THE POSITION OF THE MAJORITY OF SOVIET PEOPLE AT THIS STAGE IS SUPPORT FOR RESTRUCTURING AND THE DEMAND THAT IT ADVANCE STEADILY.+

MORE FOLLOWS DBC MON 15:32 0211 OK/KO

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DBC B B44/9 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -9- =:

ON PROBLEMS OF RESTRUCTURING:

+IT WOULD BE WRONG NOT TO SEE A CERTAIN STRENGTHENING OF RESISTANCE FROM CONSERVATIVE FORCES WHO REGARD THE RESTRUCTURING AS MERELY A THREAT TO THEIR OWN SELFISH INTERESTS AND AIMS.

+THIS IS OCCURRING NOT ONLY AT VARIOUS LEVELS OF ADMINISTRATION, BUT IN LABOUR COLLECTIVES AS WELL. NOR CAN ONE BE IN ANY DOUBT THAT THE FORCES OF CONSERVATISM WILL NOT FAIL TO EXPLOIT ANY DIFFICULTIES IN ORDER TO ATTEMPT TO DISREDIT THE RESTRUCTURING AND AROUSE DISSATISFACTION AMONGST THE WORKING PEOPLE.

+SOME PEOPLE EVEN NOW PREFER TO STAND AROUND POINTING TO FAILINGS INSTEAD OF ROLING UP THEIR SLEEVES AND BATTLING WITH SHORTCOMINGS AND SEEKING NEW SOLUTIONS.

+NATURALLY, NOBODY IS SAYING THAT THEY ARE AGAINST THE RESTRUCTURING. -NO, THEY ARE RATHER PLAYING THE ROLE OF FIGHTERS AGAINST ITS COSTS, OF ZEALOTS OF IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS WHICH ALLEGEDLY MIGHT BE SHAKEN BY THE MASSES' GROWING ACTIVENESS.+

+THE CONSEQUENCES OF MARKING TIME, OF STAGNATION AND INDIFFERENCE ARE FAR MORE SIGNIFICANT AND EXPENSIVE THAN THE COSTS WHICH ARISE FOR A TIME IN THE PROCESS OF THE CREATIVE SETTING UP OF NEW FORMS OF SOCIAL LIFE.

+WE MUST LEARN TO RECOGNISE, AND TO UNMASK AND TO NEUTRALISE THE MANOEUVRES OF THE OPPONENTS OF RESTRUCTURING, THOSE WHO ARE PUTTING A BRAKE ON THINGS, THOSE WHO ARE PUTTING SPOKES IN THE WHEELS, WHO GLOAT OVER DIFFICULTIES AND FAILURES, WHO ATTEMPT TO DRAG US BACK TO THE PAST.+

+NOR MUST WE SUBMIT TO PRESSURE FROM THE EXCESSIVELY ZEALOUS AND IMPATIENT, THOSE WHO DO NOT WANT TO RECKON WITH THE OBJECTIVE LOGIC OF RESTRUCTURING AND EXPRESS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SLOW - IN THEIR VIEW - PACE OF TRANSFORMATIONS, WITH THE FACT THAT THEY ALLEGEDLY DO NOT YIELD THE NECESSARY FRUIT RAPIDLY.

+IT MUST BE CLEAR THAT ONE CANNOT SKIP STAGES AND ATTEMPT TO DO EVERYTHING AT A STROKE.+

MF DBC MON 15:48 0211 MGA/CK/EMM

ON ECONOMIC REFORM:

+RESTRUCTURING ITSELF WILL GAIN FULL FORCE ONLY WHEN IT HAS FUNDAMENTALLY ROCKED THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THIS RESTS ON PROFOUND TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM AND THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM.+

+THE AIM OF THE RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM BEGUN IN THE COUNTRY IS IN THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS TO GUARANTEE THE TRANSITION FROM AN EXCESSIVELY CENTRALISED, COMMAND-BASED, MANAGEMENT SYSTEM TO A DEMOCRATIC ONE, BASED PREDOMINANTLY ON ECONOMIC METHODS AND AN OPTIMUM COMBINATION OF CENTRALISM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT.+

+IT PRESUPPOSES A SHARP EXPANSION IN THE INDEPENDENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS AND ENTERPRISES, THEIR CHANGE-OVER TO FULL FINANCIAL AUTONOMY AND SELF-FINANCING AND THE PROVISION OF THE WORKING COLLECTIVES WITH ALL RIGHTS NECESSARY FOR THIS.+

+THE PARTY WILL PERMIT NO DEVIATION FROM THE ADOPTED PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC REFORM. ALL THE ENVISAGED TRANSFORMATIONS MUST BE AND WILL BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED.+

+WE WANT EACH PERSON'S WORTH, KNOWLEDGE, LABOUR AND ABILITY TO BE RESPECTED EVERYWHERE, SO THAT THE HONEST, INDUSTRIOUS, CREATIVE PERSON MAY BE CERTAIN THAT HIS LABOUR IS DULY APPRECIATED, THAT HE CAN ALWAYS PROVE HIS CASE AND FIND SUPPORT. BUT THE IDLER, SCROUNGER, BUREAUCRAT, AND LOUT WILL BE PUT IN HIS PLACE AND UNMASKED+.

+IT IS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT DEEP STRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE ECONOMY, TO REACH A TURNING-POINT IN THE ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS, TO CONDUCT, IN THE MAIN, A RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM AND THUS TO TAKE A DECISIVE STEP IN THE TRANSFER OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ONTO THE TRACKS OF INTENSIFICATIONS+.

+THERE ARE GROUNDS ALSO FOR TALKING OF SOME POSITIVE ADVANCES IN PRACTICAL AFFAIRS, ABOVE ALL IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SPHERE. RATES OF PRODUCTION GROWTH HAVE INCREASED AND THERE HAS BEEN A QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY.+

MORE POSSIBLE BBC MON 16:22 0211 MGA/QK/MW

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BBC B 844 EXCERPTS OF GORBACHEV SPEECH MARKING 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION =:

FOLLOWING ARE TEXT EXCERPTS OF PASSAGES FROM SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S KREMLIN SPEECH TODAY MARKING THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

ON STALIN:

+IT IS PERFECTLY OBVIOUS THAT THE LACK OF THE PROPER LEVEL OF DEMOCRATISATION OF SOVIET SOCIETY WAS PRECISELY WHAT MADE POSSIBLE BOTH THE PERSONALITY CULT AND THE VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW, ARBITRARINESS AND REPRESSIONS OF THE 1930'S - TO BE BLUNT, REAL CRIMES BASED ON THE ABUSE OF POWER.

+MANY THOUSANDS OF MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND NON-PARTY MEMBERS WERE SUBJECTED TO MASS REPRESSIONS. THAT, COMRADES, IS THE BITTER TRUTH. SERIOUS DAMAGE WAS DONE TO THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE PARTY, AND WE MUST SPEAK BLUNTLY ABOUT THIS...

+THERE IS A LOT OF DISCUSSION NOW ABOUT STALIN'S ROLE IN OUR HISTORY. HIS PERSONALITY WAS EXTREMELY CONTRADICTORY. HOLDING POSITIONS OF HISTORICAL TRUTH, WE MUST SEE BOTH STALIN'S INDISPUTABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM AND TO THE DEFENCE OF ITS GAINS, AND THE GROSS POLITICAL ERRORS AND ARBITRARINESS PERMITTED TO OCCUR BY HIM AND THOSE AROUND HIM, FOR WHICH OUR PEOPLE PAID A GREAT PRICE AND WHICH HAD SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LIFE OF OUR SOCIETY.

+SOMETIMES IT IS SAID THAT STALIN DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THE INSTANCES OF LAWLESSNESS. DOCUMENTS IN OUR POSSESSION SAY THAT THIS IS NOT SO. THE GUILT OF STALIN AND THOSE CLOSEST TO HIM BEFORE THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE FOR THE MASS REPRESSIONS AND LAWLESSNESS THAT WERE PERMITTED ARE IMMENSE AND UNPARDONABLE. THIS IS A LESSON FOR ALL GENERATIONS.

+OF COURSE, DESPITE THE ASSERTIONS OF OUR IDEOLOGICAL ENEMIES, THE CULT OF PERSONALITY WAS NOT UNAVOIDABLE. IT IS ALIEN TO THE NATURE OF SOCIALISM AND REPRESENTS A DEVIATION FROM ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND THUS HAS NO JUSTIFICATION...

+WE NOW KNOW THAT THE POLICAL ACCUSATIONS AND REPRESSIONS AGAINST A NUMBER OF FIGURES IN PARTY AND STATE, AGAINST MANY COMMUNISTS AND NON-PARTY MEMBERS, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY CADRES, ACADEMICS AND CULTURAL FIGURES WERE THE RESULT OF DELIBERATE FALSIFICATION.

+MANY ACCUSATIONS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, QUASHED. THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO SUFFERED WERE COMPLETELY REHABILITATED. BUT THE PROCESS OF RESTORATION OF JUSTICE WAS NOT SEEN THROUGH, AND IT EFFECTIVELY STOPPED IN THE MID-1960S.

+NOW... WE HAVE TO GO BACK TO THIS AGAIN... WE MUST DO THIS, ESPECIALLY SINCE EVEN NOW WE STILL ENCOUNTER ATTEMPTS TO TURN ONE'S BACK ON SORE QUESTIONS OF OUR HISTORY, TO HUSH THEM UP, TO PRETEND THAT NOTHING SPECIAL HAPPENED. WE CANNOT AGREE WITH THIS. IT WOULD BE NEGLECT OF HISTORICAL TRUTH, DISRESPECT FOR THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO FOUND THEMSELVES INNOCENT VICTIMS OF LAWLESSNESS AND ARBITRARINESS.+

MORE TO FOLLOW 14:07 02 11 MGA/JB

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BDC B B44 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -2-=:

(EDS: PLEASE NOTE THE TRANSLATION IN THIS SERIAL IS FROM GORBACHEV'S TELEVISED SPEECH.)

ON TROTSKY:

+AFTER THE DEATH OF LENIN, (TROTSKY) MADE INORDINATE CLAIMS TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND THUS IN FULL MEASURE CONFIRMED LENIN'S ASSESSMENT OF HIM AS AN EXCESSIVELY SELF-ASSURED, ALWAYS PREVARICATING AND SWINDLING POLITICIAN.

+TROTSKY AND THE TROTSKYITES REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING SOCIALISM IN CONDITIONS OF CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT.

+IN FOREIGN POLICY THEY BANKED ON THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION, DOMESTICALLY ON TURNING THE SCREWS WITH REGARD TO THE PEASANTRY; THE EXPLOITATION OF THE VILLAGES BY THE TOWNS AND ON BRINGING MILITARY-ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS TO THE RUNNING OF SOCIETY...

+IN ESSENCE THIS WAS AN ATTACK ON LENINISM ALONG THE WHOLE FRONT. WHAT WAS PRACTICALLY AT STAKE WAS THE FATE OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY, AND THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION.

+IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS NECESSARY ON A NATIONWIDE SCALE TO DEBUNK TROTSKIYISM AND TO LAY BARE ITS ANTI-SOCIALIST ESSENCE. THE SITUATION WAS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THE TROYSKIYITES ENTERED INTO A BLOC WITH A NEW OPPOSITION LED BY ZINOVYEV AND KAMENEV. REALIZING THAT THEY WERE IN THE MINORITY, THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION AGAIN AND AGAIN FOISTED DEBATES ON THE PARTY, RECKONING TO SPLIT THE PARTY RANKS.

+BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE PARTY CAME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S LINE AGAINST THE OPPOSITION WHICH WAS IDEOLOGICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY SMASHED.

+THUS THE LEADING NUCLEUS OF THE PARTY, WHICH WAS HEADED BY STALIN, DEFENDED LENINISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, FORMULATED THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND OBTAINED APPROVAL OF THE POLITICAL COURSE FROM A MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND WORKING PEOPLE+.

MF BDC MON 14:43 0211 MGA/KO

From: G D G Murrell

Date: 2 November 1987

Mr Llewellyn Smith
Soviet Department

GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

1. General

There was no radical reappraisal of Soviet history or striking new ideas on perestroika. In general rather duller than anticipated.

2. 1920s

Strong criticism of Trotsky for his anti-Leninist policies ~~are~~ but without abuse. No rehabilitation of Bukharin. His political mistakes were criticised relatively mildly and Lenin's characterisation of his good and bad points quoted.

3. 1930s

Forced industralisation justified - there was no other path possible in the circumstances. Collectivisation also necessary but stronger criticism than hitherto of the methods of collectivisation, especially the treatment of the middle peasants.

4. Stalin

Stalin praised for his contribution to the building of socialism and to victory in the Second World War but condemned for his "unforgivable" role in the mass repressions. Also references to the post-war abuses, eg the Leningrad affair and the "doctors plot". Many victims had been rehabilitated after the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses but the process had not been carried through. The recent October Plenum took a decision to set up a commission to examine these questions.

/5. Gorbachev...

5. Gorbachev defended the Soviet role on the eve of the Second World War in conventional terms.

6. Khrushchev

Khrushchev was praised for his courage in condeming the cult of personality. A positive assessment of the 20th Party Congress and the subsequent attempts at reform which were vitiated by subjectivism and voluntarism.

7. Brezhnev

Brezhnev was criticised by name for the stagnation of the later part of his rule.

8. Perestroika

The two key problems were democratisation and radical economic reform. Democratisation was given considerable emphasis but Gorbachev said that it had to be accompanied by order, legality and discipline.

9. Gorbachev referred to a forthcoming Plenum on education.

10. There was rather little emphasis on glasnost which was only mentioned once.

11. Opposition to perestroika

Gorbachev referred to resistance to perestroika and to those who liked to emphasise the costs of the process and to count the problems and who took malicious pleasure in setbacks. He also

/criticised...

criticised those who were too impatient and expected everything to happen all at once. He referred to oblast and even republics where the process of perestroika had hardly begun.

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Prime Minister

Gorbachev's speech

You will want to see the collected analyses & reports of Gorbachev's speech (attached.) By his standards, it is a dull & disappointing speech. It suggests that he has indeed been reined back by conservatives in the Politburo.

C.D.?

Chairman

MR HALL

Mr Powell

Mr Scott 2/4

cc Mr Burke

Mr Wordsworth

The Prime Minister may find this of interest

CC 2/4

70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION - GORBACHEV'S SPEECH

1. Gorbachev introduced a week of 70th Anniversary celebrations with a 3-hour speech in the Kremlin this morning. Although shorn of some of the hollow triumphalism of analogous speeches on past anniversaries and critical of some past and present practices, the speech was appropriately celebratory in tone: these had been 70 heroic years.

2. The past. Gorbachev broke new ground by referring to the hitherto unmentionable Trotsky and Bukharin, but did not reassess the Party's generally negative view of their role. He ~~also~~ re-confirmed that Stalin's policies of industrialisation and collectivisation were correct, if badly executed. He also re-confirmed the Party's view that Stalin was personally responsible for the purges, but did not rehabilitate any of his victims. Instead he revealed that the recent Central Committee Plenum had set-up Commissions to re-examine the questions and to produce a new version of the history of the Party. Gorbachev did not mention Stalin's responsibility for the Soviet Union's lack of preparedness at the beginning of the second world war, but indulged in a long defence of the Molotov/Ribbentrop pact. He made one positive, but rather grudging reference to "Khruschev" (no first name or patronymic), and one slightly warmer reference to "Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev", without altering the current generally negative view of both leaders.

3. Perestroika. Gorbachev reaffirmed the two pillars of perestroika - political democratisation and economic reform, drawing liberally on the ideological authority of Lenin. He was, as usual, frank about the

opposition it has engendered, berating on the one hand conservatives who gloated over its problems, and on the other hand the "excessively zealous", who wanted to skip the necessary stages and failed to display "revolutionary patience". (Comment: The cap seems to fit Eltsin, the most outspoken advocate of reform in the leadership, who was allegedly at the centre of a row at the Central Committee Plenum on 21 October. Over the weekend a Central Committee Secretary, Lukyanov, revealed that Eltsin's speech had touched on "the style of work of leading Party bodies and the progress of restructuring", that it had been critised and that Eltsin had offered his resignation, which was being considered. This explanation is consistent with Western press reports that Eltsin had criticised both Gorbachev's and Ligachev's style; it provides no evidence that the US/Soviet summit was at issue.)

4. External. Gorbachev hailed the INF agreement as a success for "new thinking", but asserted that the issue had basically been solved at his second meeting with President Reagan in Reykjavik. More was expected of the third and fourth meetings, where the Soviet Union would work unremittingly for "a palpable breakthrough, for concrete results in reducing strategic offensive arms and barring weapons from outer space - the key to removing the nuclear threat." The rest of the foreign policy section of the speech was devoted to an analysis, similar to the one given at the 27" Party Congress, of the problems of the capitalist world, which concluded that while the capitalists themselves were incorrigible, they could be brought to heel by a combination of their own working class and "peace" movements; the third world and international organisations; and Soviet plans for international security. Gorbachev did not broach the question of the ultimate victory of communism.

Martin Nicholson

MARTIN NICHOLSON

2 November 1987

From: G D G Murrell

Date: 2 November 1987

Mr Llewellyn Smith
Soviet Department

ELTSIN

1. At a press conference in Moscow on 31 October the Central Committee Secretary Lukyanov confirmed reports that the Moscow Party leader Eltsin had offered his resignation at the CC Plenum on 21 October and said that matters arising from this would be considered by the Politburo and the Moscow Party Committee.

2. The fact that Lukyanov implicitly criticised Eltsin, referring to the view that there were "practical mistakes" in his statement at the Plenum and saying that it contained assessments with which Central Committee members did not agree, indicates that, whether or not Eltsin later withdrew his offer or threat to resign, his situation is now precarious.

3. The substance of Eltsin's statement is still unclear, especially whether or not he referred to an alleged cult of Gorbachev's personality. But the thrust was evidently an attack on conservatives in the leadership (principally aimed at Ligachev) for obstructing the progress of perestroika, which backfired and brought down criticism on his own head. Whatever the rights or wrongs of Eltsin's speech at the Plenum, or of his performance as Moscow Party leader, his demise would be a severe set-back for perestroika and for Gorbachev personally. He is one of the few members of the leadership who appear to be wholeheartedly behind radical reform and glasnost', and the success or failure of his attempt to tackle the entrenched Moscow bureaucracy has been widely seen as a crucial test case for the prospects of perestroika as a whole.

4. Eltsin has played a key role in the reform process going well beyond the administration of Moscow itself. He has exercised

/considerable...

considerable influence over the development of glasnost' and cultural liberalisation through his jurisdiction over the Party committees of the creative unions and by permitting and encouraging exhibitions, public meetings and discussion clubs in the capital. Since the Party committees of all Ministries, organisations and institutes located in Moscow are formally subordinate to the Moscow Party Committee he has been in a position to apply reformist pressure to the whole central state bureaucracy and intellectual establishment.

5. At the Party Congress Eltsin is thought to have played the role of trail-blazer or lightning conductor for Gorbachev by making a more radical and outspoken speech attacking the Party bureaucracy than the General Secretary felt able to deliver in his official report. On that occasion too his speech drew a sharp retort from Ligachev. (It is significant that at the recent Plenum Eltsin was the first speaker, immediately followed by Ligachev).

6. It is a matter for speculation whether at the Plenum Eltsin spoke as he did with the knowledge and approval of Gorbachev or entirely on his own initiative. If it was a calculated challenge to the conservatives it appears to have badly misfired. Gorbachev is now faced with the dilemma of whether to defend or sacrifice a man who is a key ally, albeit possibly something of a maverick, whom he personally installed as Moscow Party leader against considerable opposition from the Moscow Party organisation itself less than two years ago. If Eltsin does go Gorbachev's position will be significantly weakened.

cc. Mr Wardwork Assessments Staff
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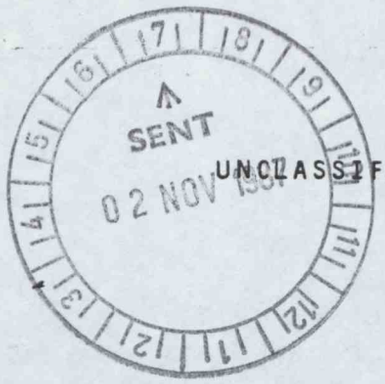

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MY TWO IPTS: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH.

1. FOLLOWING ARE KEY EXCERPTS FROM GORBACHEV'S COMMENTS ON PERESTROIKA.

- THE PURPOSE OF PERESTROIKA IS THE FULL THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF LENIN'S CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM, IN WHICH INDISPUTABLE PRIORITY BELONGS TO THE WORKING MAN WITH HIS IDEALS AND INTERESTS.

- THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY TODAY PROBABLY CONSTITUTE THE BIGGEST STEP IN DEVELOPING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

- THE TASK IS TO CULTIVATE IN PEOPLE A TASTE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THEIR APPROACH TO PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL MATTERS OF ANY SCALE, TO DEVELOP SELF-GOVERNMENT AS GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, EXERCISED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

ECONOMIC REFORM

- THE PURPOSE OF THE RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM BEGUN IN THE COUNTRY IS TO ASSURE, OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS, A TRANSITION FROM AN OVERLY CENTRALISED COMMAND SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM BASED MAINLY ON ECONOMIC METHODS AND ON AN OPTIMAL COMBINATION OF CENTRALISM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT.

- TODAY WE MUST ONCE AGAIN FIRMLY SAY: THE PARTY WILL TOLERATE NO DEPARTURES FROM THE ADOPTED PRINCIPLES OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM. ALL THE CHANGES PLANNED MUST BE AND WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL.

- THE NEXT TWO OR PERHAPS THREE YEARS WILL BE PARTICULARLY

COMPLICATED, DECISIVE AND, IN A SENSE, CRITICAL.

THE PRINCIPAL REASON IS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO SIMULTANEOUSLY TACKLE LARGE SCALE TASKS IN THE ECONOMY, IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE, IN THE REORGANISATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, IN IDEOLOGY AND IN CULTURE.

- YOU ALL KNOW COMRADES HOW UNFAVOURABLE THE WEATHER WAS IN MOST REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY THIS YEAR. NEVERTHELESS WE SUCCEEDED IN HARVESTING MORE THAN 210 MILLION TONNES OF GRAIN.

- OPPOSITION TO PERESTROIKA

BUT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO TAKE NO NOTICE OF A CERTAIN INCREASE IN THE RESISTANCE OF THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES.....THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES WILL SEIZE UPON ANY DIFFICULTY IN A BID TO DISCREDIT PERESTROIKA AND PROVOKE DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE PEOPLE.

- NOR SHOULD WE SUCCUMB TO THE PRESSURE OF THE OVERLY ZEALOUS AND IMPATIENT -- THOSE WHO REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OBJECTIVE LOGIC OF PERESTROIKA, WHO VOICE THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH WHAT THEY REGARD AS A SLOW RATE OF CHANGE, WHO CLAIM THAT THIS CHANGE DOES NOT YIELD THE NECESSARY RESULTS FAST ENOUGH. TODAY IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO MASTER THE SKILL OF EXERCISING REVOLUTIONARY SELF-RESTRAINT.

- THE DIFFICULTY OF THE FORTHCOMING PERIOD ALSO LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE TRANSFORMATIONS WILL COME TO AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF EVER GREATER MASSES OF PEOPLE, SOCIAL GROUPS AND STRATA, AND OF ALL CADRES.

- .....PERESTROIKA WILL NOT SUCCEED WITHOUT A DRASTIC INVIGORATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS.

NATIONALITIES POLICY

- COMRADES, WE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE NATIONAL QUESTION HAS BEEN SOLVED IN OUR COUNTRY. THE REVOLUTION PAVED THE WAY FOR THE EQUALITY OF OUR NATIONS NOT ONLY IN LEGAL BUT ALSO IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC TERMS, HAVING DONE A GREAT DEAL TO LEVEL UP THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR REPUBLICS, REGIONS AND PEOPLES.

- TODAY, PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY, THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRY EXPRESS THEIR

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PROFOUND RESPECT AND GRATITUDE TO THE GREAT RUSSIAN PEOPLE FOR ITS SELFLESSNESS, ITS GENUINE INTERNATIONALISM AND INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CREATION, DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF FREE AND EQUAL REPUBLICS.

EDUCATION

- WE SEE THAT THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS IN MANY RESPECTS FALLEN SHORT OF TODAY'S REQUIREMENTS.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO EXAMINE TOPICAL ISSUES OF EDUCATION AT ONE OF ITS PLENARY MEETINGS.

CARTLEDGE

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MY THREE IPTS: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, 2 NOVEMBER: FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY

1. GORBACHEV DEVOTED 30% OF HIS SPEECH TO EXTERNAL RELATIONS, IN A SECTION ENTITLED 'THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TODAY'S WORLD'. HE SPOKE IN GENERALITIES AND IN CONCEPTUAL LANGUAGE, THE MAIN THRUST BEING A COMPLEX JUSTIFICATION OF THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING AND OF A POLICY OF COOPERATING WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. HE BROKE LITTLE NEW GROUND, BUT ASSERTED THAT PERESTROIKA WOULD ENABLE THE USSR 'TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RESOURCES IN A WAY NEVER KNOWN BEFORE'. AFTER A SURPRISING EULOGY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, GORBACHEV TOOK A TOLERANT LINE ON RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

DETAIL

FROM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TO INTERDEPENDENCE

2. GORBACHEV RECAPITULATED THE FORMULATION BY LENIN OF THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, UNDER WHICH THE FIRST STEPS WERE RECOGNITION BY NEIGHBOURING AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THE BUILDING OF EQUITABLE RELATIONS WITH CHINA, TURKEY, IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN. THIS HAD CONSTITUTED 'A BREAKTHROUGH INTO A FUNDAMENTALLY NEW QUALITY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS'.

3. HE PRESENTED SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SINCE LENIN AS A BROAD CONTINUUM. HOWEVER THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT MADE FULL USE OF ALL THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE AND AFTER WORLD WAR II, HAD FAILED TO TRANSLATE ITS ENORMOUS MORAL PRESTIGE AFTER THE WAR INTO EFFECTIVE EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE PEACELOVING DEMOCRATIC FORCES,

AND 'DID NOT ALWAYS RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO IMPERIALIST PROVOCATIONS'. NEVERTHELESS, THE LENINIST POLICY HAD AVERTED NUCLEAR WAR AND PREVENTED IMPERIALISM FROM WINNING THE COLD WAR AND FROM ROLLING BACK SOCIALISM. IT HAD PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR 'FRESH APPROACHES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING'.

4. GORBACHEV TRACED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW THINKING FROM THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM THROUGH THE 27TH CONGRESS TO THE PRESENT DAY. HE PLAYED ON WELL-WORN THEMES: AN INTERDEPENDENT AND INTEGRAL WORLD, THE COMMON ENVIRONMENTAL DANGER, THE THREAT TO HUMAN SURVIVAL, AND THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. HE RECAPITULATED PROPOSALS MADE BY THE WARSAW PACT AND THE USSR FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES TO A LEVEL OF REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY, FOR COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ALLIANCES OF MILITARY DOCTRINES, FOR THE ELIMINATION OF CW, FOR EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION, AND FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS. THESE REFLECTED THE 'COMMITMENT TO DIALOGUE' WHICH PERMEATED THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING.

SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

5. IN A BRIEF PASSAGE, GORBACHEV REFERRED BACK TO REYKJAVIK AS A MEETING WGICH WOULD GO DOWN IN HISTORY, AND WHICH HAD GIVEN A PRACTICAL BOOST TO THE NEW THINKING. GUAGED AGAINST THE TASKS MANKIND WOULD HAVE TO TACKLE TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL, 'VERY LITTLE HAS SO FAR BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BUT A BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE'. EVIDENCE OF THIS WAS THE UNDERSTANDING WITH THE US TO CONCLUDE AN INF AGREEMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THIS AGREEMENT WAS VERY IMPORTANT IN ITSELF. BY ELIMINATING A WHOLE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IT WOULD BE THE FIRST TANGIBLE STEP ALONG THE PATH OF SCRAPPING NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AND ''WAS OBVIOUSLY A MAJOR SUCCESS OF THE NEW WAY OF THINKING''. THIS AGREEMENT HAD BEEN ''LARGELY SETTLED BACK IN REYKJAVIK''. THE WORLD EXPECTED 'THE THIRD AND SOURTH SOVIET/US SUMMITS TO PRODUCE MORE THAN MERELY AN OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE DECISIONS AGREED UPON A YEAR AGO, AND MORE THAN MERELY A CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION'. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD WORK UNREMITTINGLY AT THESE MEETINGS FOR ''A PALPABLE BREAKTHROUGH, FOR CONCRETE RESULTS IN REDUCING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS AND BARRING WEAPONS FROM OUTER SPACE - THE KEY TO REMOVING THE NUCLEAR THREAT''.

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR COOPERATION WITH CAPITALISM

6. AT SOME LENGTH, GORBACHEV JUSTIFIED IN ANALYTICAL MARXIST

TERMS THE BASIS FOR LOOKING FOR RESULTS FROM COOPERATION WITH CAPITALIST POWERS AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE. FIRST, HE ARGUED THAT THE CONTRADICTIONS THAT USED INVARIABLY TO LEAD TO WARS HAD BEEN MODIFIED SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THE LESSONS OF THE WAR AND THE FEAR OF SAPPING ITS OWN STRENGTH IN THE FACE OF SOCIALISM HAD PREVENTED CAPITALISM FROM ALLOWING ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS TO GO TO EXTREMES. 'SINCE AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY AND CAPITALIST STATES PROVED POSSIBLE IN THE PAST, WHEN THE THREAT OF FASCISM AROSE, DOES THIS NOT SUGGEST A LESSON FOR.....TODAY'S WORLD WHICH FACES THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE'.

7. SECOND, GORBACHEV SAID THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR CAPITALIST COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP WITHOUT MILITARISATION. CITING THE JAPANESE, WEST GERMAN AND ITALIAN ECONOMIC MIRACLES, HE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A PERIOD WHEN THE MODERN CAPITALIST ECONOMY DEVELOPED RAPIDLY IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES WHOSE ARMS SPENDING WAS MINIMAL. SINCE THE WAR, THE AMERICAN ECONOMY HAD BEEN DEPENDENT ON MILITARISM, BUT 'SUPER-MILITARISATION' HAD LED TO AN ASTRONOMICAL NATIONAL DEBT AND ECONOMIC UPSETS OF WHICH THE WALL STREET PANIC WAS A GRAVE SYMPTOM.

8. THIRD, EXPLOITATION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAD LED TO ACUTE PROBLEMS WITHIN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES THEMSELVES. ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE LATTER DAY CAPITALIST MODERNISATION DID NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM, AND WESTERN LEADERS WERE BEGINNING TO APPRECIATE THE POSSIBILITY THAT INEQUITABLE TRADE WOULD 'EVENTUALLY CULMINATE IN AN EXPLOSION'. IN THE FACE OF THE CHOICE BETWEEN A DISASTER OR A JOINT QUEST FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, THERE WAS DISCERNIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE LATTER THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT. THEREFORE, IN THIS AREA TOO, THE SITUATION DID NOT DEFY RESOLUTION AND CONTRADICTIONS'' COULD BE ''MODIFIED''.

9. FOURTH, GORBACHEV MENTIONED THAT SOCIALISM HAD MADE ITSELF A COMPONENT OF THIS INTER-CONNECTED WORLD AND HAD IN FACT DETERMINED THE CHARACTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY. THERE WERE ''VAST POTENTIALITIES FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE INHERENT IN JUST THE SOVIET UNION'S PERESTROIKA. BY MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO ATTAIN THE WORLD LEVEL IN ALL MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICATORS, PERESTROIKA WILL ENABLE OUR VAST AND WEALTHY COUNTRY TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RESOURCES IN A WAY NEVER KNOWN BEFORE'. HE WENT ON TO REFUTE WESTERN THEORIES THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAD BECOME DISSOLVED IN THE MIDDLE CLASS,'' AND CLAIMED THAT THE

WORKING CLASS ('A NUMERICALLY PREDOMINANT FORCE TODAY WITHIN ITS NEW SOCIAL BOUNDARIES') COULD PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE, FOR EXAMPLE THROUGH THE CONVERSION AND DEMILITARISATION OF THE ECONOMY.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE THIRD WORLD

10. IT WAS NATURAL THAT THE IMPULSE FOR LIBERATION SEEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE WAS WANING: BUT THE IMPULSE WAS TAKING DIFFERENT AND PARADOXICAL FORMS. SOME COUNTRIES, WHILE RETAINING FEATURES OF BACKWARDNESS, WERE ATTAINING A GREAT POWER LEVEL. THERE WAS THE WRATH BRED BY THE POLARISATION OF POVERTY AND WEALTH, AND THE URGE FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY FELT THROUGH THE REGIONAL AND COLLECTIVE ORGANISATIONS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THESE ORGANISATIONS (THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND OTHERS WHICH HE LISTED) HAD COLOSSAL POTENTIAL, AND IT WOULD NOT BE THE TRANSNATIONALS WHICH DETERMINED THE THIRD WORLD'S DEVELOPMENT.

PEACE MOVEMENTS ETC

11. MOVEMENTS CONCERNED WITH PEACE, THE ENVIRONMENT, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ETC INVOLVING MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND LED BY PROMINENT FIGURES OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE, AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND MASS ORGANISATIONS, WERE PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE. THE ASPIRATIONS OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAD TO BE HEEDED. THIS PLACED RESPONSIBILITY ON POLITICIANS: THE HUMAN FACTOR FIGURED ON THE POLITICAL PLANE AND 'DIRECTLY INVADES WORLD AFFAIRS'. GORBACHEV GAVE THIS AS A REASON FOR THE USSR'S OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE FUTURE AND AS THE LOGIC BEHIND ITS STANCE ON DEFENCE ISSUES: 'AS LONG AS THERE IS THE DANGER OF WAR AND AS LONG AS THE DRIVE FOR SOCIAL REVANCHE FORMS THE CORE OF WESTERN STRATEGIES AND MILITARIST PROGRAMMES, WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN OUR DEFENCE CAPABILITY AT A LEVEL RULING OUT IMPERIALISM'S MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER SOCIALISM'.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

12. THE ANNIVERSARY WAS THE 'RIGHT OCCASION TO MENTION THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL', THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF WHICH HAD YET TO BE WRITTEN. FOR ALL THE ERRORS IN ITS ACTIVITIES AND FOR ALL THE BITTERNESS EVOKED BY CERTAIN CHAPTERS IN ITS HISTORY, ''THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS PART OF OUR MOVEMENT'S GREAT PAST''. IT HAD MADE INTERNATIONALISM AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT AND HAD PRODUCED 'TRUE KNIGHTS OF THE 20TH CENTURY'. HAVING PAID TRIBUTE IN GLOWING TERMS TO THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN THE RESISTANCE TO

FASCISM, GORBACHEV DECLARED THAT 'THE TIME OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE INFORMATION BUREAU, EVEN THE TIME OF BINDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IS OVER. BUT THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT LIVES ON. ALL PARTIES ARE COMPLETELY AND IRREVOCABLY INDEPENDENT. WE DECLARED THAT AS EARLY AS THE 20TH CONGRESS. TRUE, THE OLD HABITS WERE NOT DISCARDED AT ONCE. BUT TODAY THIS HAS BECOME AN UNALTERABLE REALITY...THE 27 TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU WAS A FINAL AND IRREVOCABLE TURNING POINT. I THINK THIS HAS BEEN ACTUALLY PROVED BY OUR RELATIONS WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES IN THE COURSE OF PERESTROIKA'.

13. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO SAY THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE LOOKING FOR THEIR NEW PLACE IN THE CHANGING WORLD. THEIR INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT WAS UNDERGOING A RENEWAL. HE LISTED THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, INCLUDING UNCONDITIONAL AND FULL EQUALITY AND CONCERN FOR THE COMMON CAUSE OF SOCIALISM. VARIETY WAS GOOD AND USEFUL. UNITY DID NOT MEAN IDENTITY AND UNIFORMITY. 'WE HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NO 'MODEL' OF SOCIALISM TO BE EMULATED BY EVERYONE'.

14. SEE MIFT.

CARTLEDGE

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MIPT: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH: SOVIET HISTORY

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS OF GORBACHEV'S REVIEW OF SOVIET HISTORY SINCE THE REVOLUTION:

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP)

2. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT THE PARTY NOW TURNED MORE OFTEN TO LENIN'S LAST WORKS AND TO LENIN'S NEP, BUT THAT ''IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO EQUATE THE NEP WITH WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW AT A FUNDAMENTALLY NEW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT''. LENIN HAD NOT ''MEANT TO DRAW THE PICTURE OF THE FUTURE SOCIETY IN EVERY DETAIL''. HISTORY, IN GORBACHEV'S OPINION, DELIVERED THE NEW SYSTEM WITH A ''RIGID ULTIMATUM'': SOCIALISM WOULD HAVE TO DEVELOP IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME IF IT WERE TO SURVIVE.

THE 1920'S AND 30'S

3. GORBACHEV NOTED THE NEED TO ASSESS THE PAST WITH A ''SENSE OF HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ON THE BASIS OF HISTORICAL TRUTH''. THE 1920'S AND 30'S , WERE THE FOCUS OF ''EVERLASTING DISCUSSIONS BOTH IN OUR COUNTRY AND ABROAD, WHERE, ALONG WITH A SEARCH FOR TRUTH, ATTEMPTS ARE OFTEN MADE TO DISCREDIT SOCIALISM''. IN CONDITIONS OF PERESTROIKA IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PAY CREDIT TO THE PAST AND TO DRAW LESSONS FROM MISTAKES AND MISCALCULATIONS.

4. GORBACHEV NOTED THE LACK OF CONSENSUS AMONGST PARTY LEADERS IN THE EARLY YEARS OF SOVIET POWER. ''THE CHARACTER OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WAS COMPLICATED BY PERSONAL RIVALRIES IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP''. THESE DIVISIONS LED TO FACTIONALISM AND THE LEADERS IN QUESTION CONTINUED TO PROVOKE A SPLIT ''EVEN AFTER THE VAST MAJORITY IN THE PARTY SAW THAT THEIR VIEWS WERE

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CONTRARY TO LENIN'S IDEAS AND PLANS AND THAT THEIR PROPOSALS WERE ERRONEOUS AND COULD PUSH THE COUNTRY OFF THE CORRECT COURSE ..... THIS APPLIES FIRST AND FOREMOST TO TROTSKY'' WHO, IN LENIN'S OPINION, WAS ''AN EXCESSIVELY SELF-ASSURED POLITICIAN WHO ALWAYS VACILLATED AND CHEATED''. GORBACHEV CONTINUED THAT TROTSKYISM WAS ''A POLITICAL CURRENT WHOSE IDEOLOGISTS TOOK COVER BEHIND LEFTIST PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC'', AND WAS ''AN ATTACK ON LENINISM IN ALL OF ITS ASPECTS''. IT WAS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL, ''TO DISAPPROVE TROTSKYISM ... AND TO LAY BARE ITS ANTI-SOCIALIST ESSENCE''. THE TROTSKYISTS ACTED WITH ''NEW OPPOSITION HEADED BY ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV'', BUT THE ''PARTY'S LEADING NUCLEUS HEADED BY STALIN SAFEGUARDED LENINISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE''. THE POLITICAL COURSE WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY WORKED OUT WAS APPROVED BY ''MOST MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND MOST WORKING PEOPLE''. GORBACHEV NAMED BUKHARIN (AMONGST OTHERS) WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN DEFEATING TROTSKYISM.

BUKHARIN

5. BUKHARIN AND HIS FOLLOWERS RESTED ON ''DOGMATIC THINKING AND NON-DIALECTICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CONCRETE SITUATION. BUKHARIN HIMSELF, AND HIS FOLLOWERS, SOON ADMITTED THEIR MISTAKES''. GORBACHEV QUOTED LENIN'S OPINION OF BUKHARIN: THAT HE WAS A MOST VALUABLE AND MAJOR THEORIST OF THE PARTY, THAT HE WAS CONSIDERED A FAVOURITE OF THE PARTY, AND THAT HIS THEORETICAL VIEWS COULD BE CLASSIFIED ONLY RESERVEDLY AS COMPLETELY MARXIST. ''THE FACTS AGAIN CONFIRMED THAT LENIN HAD BEEN RIGHT''.

INDUSTRIALISATION

6. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE CRASH INDUSTRIALISATION PROGRAMME OF THE LATE 20'S AND 30'S WAS ''THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD IN THOSE CONDITIONS, THOUGH IT WAS INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE''. HE SHOWERED PRAISE ON THE SELFLESS HEROISM SHOWN BY SOVIET CITIZENS DURING INDUSTRIALISATION AND NOTED THAT, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE GROWING THREAT OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION, ''THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO OTHER PATH FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION''. GORBACHEV SAID THAT, IN ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION COULD HAVE DEVELOPED DIFFERENTLY, ''IF WE WISH TO BE FAITHFUL TO HISTORY AND THE TRUTH OF LIFE THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE ANSWER: NO, ABSOLUTELY NOT.

COLLECTIVISATION

7. THIS PERIOD ''ALSO SAW SOME LOSSES''. THERE WAS A GROWING RELIANCE ON RIGID CENTRALISATION AND AN ADMINISTRATIVE COMMAND SYSTEM OF LEADERSHIP, WHICH EXTENDED TO COLLECTIVISATION. THERE WAS AN UNDERESTIMATION OF CHANGES IN RURAL SOCIETY SINCE THE REVOLUTION AND A FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE PEASANTRY HAD FOUGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION. DURING COLLECTIVISATION THERE WAS ''A DEPARTURE FROM LENIN'S POLICY TOWARDS THE PEASANTRY''. IN THE RUSH TO COLLECTIVISE, ''FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVISATION OCCURED EVERYWHERE''. THERE WERE ALSO EXCESSES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KULAKS. BUT COLLECTIVISATION WAS ''IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS A TRANSFORMATION OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE ... AND CREATED THE SOCIAL BASE FOR MODERNISING THE AGRARIAN SECTOR''.

STALINISM

8. GORBACHEV SAID THAT ''AN ATMOSPHERE OF INTOLERANCE, HOSTILITY AND SUSPICION WAS CREATED IN THE COUNTRY. MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ... WERE SUBJECTED TO WHOLESALE REPRESSIVE MEASURES. SUCH, COMRADES, IS THE BITTER TRUTH''. GORBACHEV NOTED STALIN'S ''EXTREMELY CONTRADICTORY PERSONALITY''. FAITHFULNESS TO HISTORICAL TRUTH REQUIRED APPRECIATION OF BOTH STALIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND HIS ERRORS, FOR WHICH SOCIETY PAID A HEAVY PRICE.'' GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE PERSONALITY CULT WAS NOT INEVITABLE AND NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 20TH AND 22ND CONGRESSES IN CONDEMNING STALINISM. THERE FOLLOWED A REHABILITATION OF THOSE REPRESSED AS ''A RESULT OF DELIBERATE FALSIFICATION'', BUT THE PROCESS OF RESTORING JUSTICE WAS NOT SEEN THROUGH AND ''WAS ACTUALLY SUSPENDED IN THE MID-60'S.

9. GORBACHEV ANNOUNCED THAT THE POLITBURO HAD ESTABLISHED A COMMISSION TO EXAMINE NEW FACTS ON ''THESE MATTERS' AND THAT DECISIONS WOULD BE TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMISSION'S FINDING. ITS FINDINGS WILL ALSO BE REFLECTED IN A NEW HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. A TRUTHFUL APPRAISAL OF BOTH ACHIEVEMENTS AND MISFORTUNES ''WILL PROVIDE REAL MORAL GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE.'' SOVIET HISTORY WAS ''REPLETE WITH CONTRADICTIONS AND COMPLEXITIES, BUT A BIG AND HERIOC ROAD.''

MOLOTOV/RIBBENTROP PACT

10. GORBACHEV DWELT AT LENGTH ON THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE

NON-AGGRESSION PACT OF AUGUST 1939. THROUGH THE LATE 1930'S THE ''HATRED OF SOCIALISM ... PREVENTED A SOBER ASSESSMENT OF THE REAL DANGERS'', AND THAT ''FASCISM ... WAS OFFERED THE MISSION OF A STRIKE FORCE IN AN ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE.'' WITH HINDSIGHT THE CONCLUSION OF A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH GERMANY WAS NOT THE BEST DECISION BUT THAT THIS ''MAY BE SO, IF ONE IS NOT GUIDED BY HARSH REALITY, BUT BY ABSTRACT CONJECTURES TORN OUT OF THEIR TIME FRAME.'' THE ONLY WAY TO STOP FASCISM WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CONCLUSION OF AN ANGLO/FRANCO/SOVIET MILITARY ALLIANCE ''NOT LATER THAN AUGUST 1939.'' THE SOVIET UNION WAS FACED BY A ''VERY REAL THREAT OF WAR ON TWO FRONTS''.

POST-WAR

11. GORBACHEV MENTIONED THE CONTINUATION OF ABUSES OF POWER IN THE EARLY 1950S, INCLUDING THE LENINGRAD AFFAIR AND THE DOCTORS' PLOT. HE NOTED THAT THERE WAS ''IN SHORT A LACK OF GENUINE RESPECT FOR THE PEOPLE.''

KHRUSHCHEV

12. THE 20TH CONGRESS IN 1956 SAW A CHANGE IN THE PEOPLE'S SPIRIT. IT TOOK NO SMALL COURAGE ON THE PART OF THE PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP BY KHRUSHCHEV TO CRITICISE THE PERSONALITY CULT AND ITSCONSEQUENCES.'' HOWEVER, THE CHANGES BEGUN IN THE 1950'S WERE HINDERED BY ''SUBJECTIVIST ERRORS''. ''NEW PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AND OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT WERE TOO OFTEN SOLVED BY VOLUNTARISTIC METHODS'', AND WERE NOT BACKED BY A ''BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS''.

BREZHNEV

13. MANY NEW ECONOMIC CHANGES BEGUN UNDER BREZHNEV IN 1965 ''REMAINED ON PAPER AND WERE LEFT SUSPENDED IN MID-AIR. THE PACE OF OUR DEVELOPMENT WAS SUBSTANTIALLY RETARDED''. THE LATTER YEARS OF THE BREZHNEV PERIOD ''CREATED A PRE-CRISIS SITUATION AND THE GULF BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND SOVIET REALITIES ''WAS BECOMING INTOLERABLE.'' THE RESPONSE TO THESE PROBLEMS CAME WITH THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM AND ''ASSUMED FINAL SHAPE IN THE GENERAL POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY PERESTROIKA.'' THE ROAD WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS FOLLOWING, GORBACHEV SAID, ''IS NOT FOR THE WEAK AND FAINT-HEARTED: IT IS A ROAD FOR THE STRONG AND THE BRAVE.''

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GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, 2 NOVEMBER

1. OPENING THIS WEEK'S CELEBRATIONS TO MARK THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, GORBACHEV DELIVERED A THREE HOUR 'REPORT' ENTITLED 'OCTOBER AND PERESTROIKA: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES' TO A JOINT MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE USSR AND RSFSR SUPREME SOVIETS AND FOREIGN GUESTS. AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY (MY TELS 1421 AND 1425) THE CONTENT OF THE SPEECH WAS DISCUSSED AT A SPECIAL PLENARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON 21 OCTOBER, AND THE SPEECH WAS PRECEDED BY WIDE ADVANCE BILLING AS A MAJOR RE-EVALUATION OF SOVIET HISTORY. THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS ATTENDED EN MASSE, AS DID A LARGE NUMBER OF VISITING FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS.

2. MY IFTS (SELECTIVELY ADDRESSED) REPORT THE SPEECH AS FOLLOWS:

(A) HISTORY
(B) PERESTROIKA
(C) FOREIGN POLICY
(D) COMMENT

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