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FM MOSCOW 111530Z DEC 84

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1413 OF 11TH DEC 84

INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, BONN, UKDEL NATO

INFO SAVING EAST EUROPEAN POSTS

SPEECH BY GORBACHEV

SUMMARY

1. VIRTUALLY ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR LONDON, GORBACHEV HAS DELIVERED A MAJOR DOMESTIC SPEECH ON CONTEMPORARY SOVIET IDEOLOGY AND PROBLEMS OF THE LONGER-TERM DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY. ON BOTH FRONTS HIS WATCHWORD IS CONTINUITY RATHER THAN CHANGE. (THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S LACK OF INNOVATIVE THOUGHTS IS IN CONTRAST WITH WHAT DENG XIAOPING HAS RECENTLY BEEN SAYING IN PEKING.) ALTHOUGH CONFIDENT IN TONE AND ORTHODOX IN EXPRESSION, GORBACHEV DISPLAYS ANXIETY AT THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN GALVANISING THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND SOME IMPATIENCE WITH THE INFLUENCE OF DOGMA.

DETAIL

2. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME GORBACHEV HAS DELIVERED THE MAIN ADDRESS ON AN IMPORTANT IDEOLOGICAL OCCASION SINCE THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY IN APRIL 1983. IT UNDERLINES HIS STATUS AS THE SENIOR SECRETARY AFTER CHERNENKO, AND THE BREADTH OF HIS RESPONSIBILITIES. CHERNENKO'S ABSENCE WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISING IN VIEW OF HIS OWN CLOSE INTEREST IN AND EARLIER RESPONSIBILITY FOR IDEOLOGY. HOWEVER A MESSAGE FROM HIM WHICH CONTAINED NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE, WAS GIVEN A STANDING OVATION LED BY GORBACHEV WHO ALSO QUOTED HIM FREQUENTLY IN HIS SPEECH.

3. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH (PRINCIPAL POINTS IN BIFT) REFLECTED THE THEMES AND LANGUAGE OF THE JUNE 1983 PLENUM ON IDEOLOGY AND THE SESSION IN APRIL THIS YEAR OF THE CENTAL COMMITTEE COMMISSION PREPARING THE REVISED EDITION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISCERN A SPECIFICALLY GORBACHEVIAN GLOSS ON THE PARTY LINE. BUT THE EMPHASIS IS ON PRACTICAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MEASURES RATHER THAN THE IDEOLOGICAL THREAT FROM IMPERIALISM. HIS REFERENCE TO THE PERSISTENCE OF DOGMATIC IDEAS, BY IMPLICATION HINDERING ECONOMIC REFORMS, AND TO THE NEED TO MAKE TIMELY CORRECTIONS TO IDEAS AND PRACTICE "WHEN LIFE SO DICTATES," MAY REFLECT HIS PERSONAL PRAGMATIC APPROACH SEMI COLON BUT SUCH FORMULATIONS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE SPEECHES OF CHERNENKO AS WELL AS ANDROPOV.

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4. THE PRAVDA TEXT SUMMARISED IN MIPT IS ITSELF A SUMMARY AND
IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME OF THE MORE INTERESTING PASSAGES WERE
OMITTED.

5. FCO PLEASE PASS ADVANCE COPIES INCLUDING MIFT TO PRIVATE
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STATE FOR SCOTLAND AND THE MINISTERS FOR TRADE AND AGRICULTRE
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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1414 OF 11TH DEC 84

INFO PARIS, BONN, WASHINGTON, UKDEL NATO

INFO SAVING EAST EUROPEAN POSTS.

MIPT: SPEECH BY GORBACHEV AT CONFERENCE ON IDEOLOGY

1. GORBACHEV DELIVERED THE MAIN ADDRESS AT AN ALL-UNION CONFERENCE ON 'DEVELOPED SOCIALISM AND THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF THE JUNE 1983 PLENUM', WHICH BEGAN IN MOSCOW ON 10 DECEMBER. CHERNENKO WAS NOT PRESENT BUT A MESSAGE FROM HIM TO THE PARTICIPANTS WAS READ OUT BY ZIMYANIN. OF THE PARTY HIERARCHY ALL THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES EXCEPT CHERNENKO ATTENDED, PLUS THE MOSCOW PARTY SECRETARY GRISHIN AND THE MINISTER OF CULTURE DEMICHEV.
2. THE FOLLOWING WERE GORBACHEV'S MAIN POINTS:
 - A) THE CONFERENCE WAS A MILESTONE IN THE WORK OF FULFILLING THE DECISIONS OF THE JUNE 1981 PLENUM ON IDEOLOGY AND AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE 27TH CONGRESS.
 - B) THE CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF AN HISTORICALLY LENGTHY PERIOD OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM HAD BEEN SUBSTANTIATED AND ON THIS BASIS THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE PARTY'S CONCEPT OF A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY WERE BEING WORKED OUT.
 - C) DESPITE SOME USEFUL WORK, SOVIET ECONOMIC SCIENCE HAD NOT YET PROVIDED ANY CLEAR CONCEPT OF THE TRANSITION TO A DYNAMIC HIGHLY EFFICIENT ECONOMY AND AN IMPROVED ECONOMIC MECHANISM. DOGMATIC IDEAS "WHICH AT TIMES HAVE DONE AN ILL-SERVICE TO OUR THEORY AND PRACTICE" HAD NOT BEEN FULLY OVERCOME.
 - D) GORBACHEV CALLED FOR SERIOUS WORK ON THE THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A PROFOWND IDEA OF THE FOUNDERS OF MARXISM-LENINISM.
 - E) THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE TO INTENSIFICATION OF THE ECONOMY ON THE MOST MODERN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL BASIS AS THE MEANS OF IMPROVING THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE, STRENGTHENING THE COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND ENABLING IT TO ENTER THE NEXT MILLENIUM AS A GREAT AND PROSPEROUS POWER. THIS PROCESS OF INTENSIFICATION SHOULD BE GIVEN THE SAME KIND OF POLITICAL IMPETUS AS INDUSTRIALISATION HAD BEEN GIVEN AT AN EARLIER PERIOD IN THE SOVIET UNION'S HISTORY. GORBACHEV REFERRED IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE FORTHCOMING PLENUM ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. (FOR WHICH A DATE HAS NOT YET BEEN SET BUT WHICH IS LIKELY TO BE HELD NEXT APRIL)

(F)

F) ONE OF THE MAIN QUESTIONS ON THE AGENDA WAS THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE FORMS AND METHODS OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND THE CREATION OF AN ECONOMIC MECHANISM APPROPRIATE TO THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM. THE SEARCH FOR THE BEST MEANS OF ACCOMMODATING THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF SOCIETY, OF THE LABOUR COLLECTIVES, AND THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER SHOULD BE PURSUED STILL MORE ENERGETICALLY.

G) ON SOCIAL JUSTICE GORBACHEV SAID THAT DEVIATIONS FROM "SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES OF DISTRIBUTION AND MANAGEMENT" COULD AND DID GIVE RISE TO PASSIVITY, PARASITISM, MORAL NIHILISM AND "HIDDEN FORMS OF REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND BENEFITS". THE LAW WOULD BE INVOKED AGAINST THOSE WHO FAILED TO RESPOND TO ARGUMENTS OF REASON, CONSCIENCE AND DUTY.

H) THE PARTY WOULD INCREASE ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE SERVICES SECTOR. THE COMPLEX PROGRAMME FOR DEVELOPING THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS AND THE SERVICES SECTOR WAS NEARING COMPLETION.

I) ECHOING A STATEMENT BY ANDROPOV, GORBACHEV SAID THAT SOCIALISM EXERTED ITS MAIN INFLUENCE ON WORLD DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ITS ECONOMIC POLICY AND SUCCESSES. "EVERY NEW STEP FORWARD ON THIS ROAD IS THE MOST CONVINCING ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE SOVIET WAY OF LIFE".

J) IN A RELATIVELY BRIEF PASSAGE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE GORBACHEV STATED THAT THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM WAS NOT ONLY THE AGGRAVATION OF ITS ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS BUT A SPIRITUAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL CRISIS. AT THE SAME TIME THE ADVERSARY HAD SHARPLY STEPPED UP ITS IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY IN RECENT YEARS AND CREATED A HUGE PROPAGANDA MACHINE, USING COMPLEX TECHNICAL RESOURCES, SABOTAGE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVICES. "IN ITS INTENSITY, CONTENT AND METHODS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR NOW BEING CONDUCTED BY IMPERIALISM REPRESENTS A SPECIAL VARIETY OF AGGRESSION WHICH TRAMPLES ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OTHER COUNTRIES".

K) IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE PARTY REQUIRED POLITICAL VIGILANCE, AN IRRECONCILABLE ATTITUDE TO ALIEN VIEWS, - CREATIVE, VIGOROUS IDEOLOGICAL WORK WHICH WAS BUSINESS-LIKE BOLD AND PERSISTANT.

L) IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK THE PARTY MUST GIVE TIMELY AND SUBSTANTIAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS POSED BY WORLD DEVELOPMENTS AND THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO OPPOSING SYSTEMS SEMI COLON AND MAKE IN GOOD TIME CERTAIN CORRECTIONS IN ITS CONCEPTS AND PRACTICE WHEN LIFE REQUIRED THIS.

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