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FM MOSCOW  
TO DESKBY 301300Z F C O  
TELNO 1325  
OF 301120Z SEPTEMBER 87  
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#### GORBACHEV'S RETURN

1. GORBACHEV MADE HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE SINCE 7 AUGUST WHEN HE SPOKE ON 29 SEPTEMBER TO A GROUP OF PROMINENT FRENCH PERSONALITIES ATTENDING A BILATERAL FORUM IN MOSCOW 'INITIATIVE-87'. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ON HOLIDAY FROM 24 AUGUST TO 24 SEPTEMBER, AND HAD BEEN WORKING ON BOTH A BOOK ABOUT 'PERESTROIKA' AND HIS REPORT FOR THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION.

2. IN RESPONSE TO A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS FROM THE FRENCH DELEGATES ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOVIET INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES, GORBACHEV GAVE A LONG, DIFFUSE, AND MOSTLY UNSCRIPTED RESPONSE IN WHICH THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE OF INTEREST.

#### INTERNAL

#### 3. THE PURPOSE AND LIMITS OF GLASNOST' AND PERESTROIKA

'WHEN PEOPLE ASK WHAT ARE THE LIMITS... WE SAY ANYTHING THAT STRENGTHENS SOCIALISM, INCLUDING GLASNOST' AND DEMOCRACY, SHOULD BE UPHELD AND WELCOMED. HOWEVER IF SOMEBODY INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY WISHES TO USE OUR OPENNESS (OFKRYTOST') AND GLASNOST' IN ORDER TO INCITE EXTREMIST ELEMENTS, ANTI-SOCIALIST ELEMENTS,... WE WILL SAY NO, WE WILL NOT LET ANYONE GO AGAINST SOCIALISM.' 'PERESTROIKA WITHOUT DEMOCRACY AND GLASNOST' IS DOOMED TO FAILURE.

#### 4. OPPOSITION TO PERESTROIKA

'THERE IS NO POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION. OPPOSITION AND THE RETARDING PROCESS IS IN ALL OF US. INCLUDING ME.'

#### 5. ECONOMIC CHANGES

'NINETY PERCENT OF OUR PEOPLE WERE BORN AND GREW UP UNDER

SOCIALISM. THEY WILL NOT FOREGO ITS ACHIEVEMENTS. YOU CAN SEE HOW... THEY KEEP AN EYE ON THINGS, SO THAT INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE DOES NOT LEAD TO ACQUISITIVENESS, SO THAT THE EXPANSION OF COOPERATIVES DOES NOT GIVE RISE TO... THE RIPPING OFF OF THE WORKING-CLASS THROUGH HIGH PRICES FOR COOPERATIVE GOODS.

#### 6. SOVIET HISTORY

SOVIET SOCIETY HAS ALWAYS PROGRESSED. BUT IT COULD HAVE REACHED A HIGHER LEVEL IN THE SENSE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS, POLITICAL PROGRESS, CULTURAL PROGRESS, SCIENTIFIC TECHNICAL PROGRESS. WHY WERE THE BEGINNINGS, IMPORTANT BEGINNINGS, STOPPED SHORT ? SO IT WAS IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD, AND IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD PARTICULARLY AFTER THE 20TH CONGRESS. A GOOD DEAL OF EFFORT WAS MADE AT THAT TIME BUT THOSE EFFORTS WERE NOT CARRIED THROUGH... THE PROCESSES BEGUN IN THE PAST, ATTEMPTS AT REFORM RELATING TO THE POLITICAL SPHERE, TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SPHERES WHICH WERE UNDERTAKEN, WERE NOT STRENGTHENED BY A WIDENING AND DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY, AND BY DRAWING THE ENTIRE SOCIETY AND WORKING PEOPLE THEMSELVES INTO THE PROCESSES THROUGH THE MECHANISMS OF DEMOCRACY. THIS IS THE MAIN CAUSE OF SETBACKS IN THE PAST.

#### EXTERNAL

#### 7. PEOPLES DIPLOMACY

GORBACHEV SAID THE WORLD WAS AT A CROSSROADS LEADING EITHER TO CONFRONTATION AND TENSION OR THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. 'MODERN IMPERATIVES ARE SUCH THAT IT WILL BE NOT ONLY POLITICALS... WHO WILL DETERMINE THE DIRECTION OF WORLD PROCESSES CONCERNING MAN'S SURVIVAL AND PRESERVATION'. THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WAS AND WOULD BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT. THIS FORUM WAS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO SAY IN THIS CONTEXT THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY TRADITION WAS THAT OF PEOPLES DIPLOMACY. THIS WAS NOT PROPAGANDA, 'WE PROCEED FROM THE REALITY THAT A NEW TYPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CANNOT BE BUILT WITHOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF FORCES OF SOCIETY AND PEOPLES THEMSELVES.'

#### 8. THE NEED FOR NEW THINKING

EXPANDING HIS THOUGHTS ON NEW ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREIGN POLICY GORBACHEV BELIEVED THAT 'CRISES, TENSION AND CONFRONTATION ARE DUE TO ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE COMPLETELY NEW QUESTIONS ON THE BASIS

OF ATTITUDES OF THE 1940S AND EVEN 1930S. IT IS NO USE LOOKING FOR ANSWERS TO NEW QUESTIONS IN SPEECHES BY CHURCHILL AND TRUMAN - AND HERE I HAVE IN MIND THE SADLY FAMOUS FULTON SPEECH. THERE IS ALSO NO USE IN ATTEMPTING TO LOOK FOR ANSWERS IN THE SPEECHES BY POLITICIANS OF A LATER TIME. THERE IS NO TIME TO BE WASTED''.

9. ON THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO SOVIET EXHORTATIONS FOR NEW THINKING GORBACHEV SAID THAT IT HAD INITIALLY BEEN DISMISSED AS UTOPIAN AND WHAT ONE MIGHT EXPECT FROM ''A NEW LEADERSHIP WITH LITTLE EXPERIENCE IN POLITICS''. HOWEVER THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT OFFERING A UTOPIA BUT A REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY AND REALISTIC INITIATIVES. FOR THIS POLICY TO WORK A GLOBAL BALANCE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS WAS REQUIRED.

#### 10. ARMS CONTROL

GORBACHEV REHEARSED THE STANDARD LINE ON EQUAL SECURITY FOR BOTH SOVIET UNION AND THE USA. ALL NATIONS WERE ENTITLED TO EQUAL SECURITY. HERE HE REFERRED TO THE ''COMMON EUROPEAN HOME''. ON THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS, GORBACHEV REPEATED THAT ''EVERYTHING HAS BEEN CALCULATED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PRESERVE A BALANCE AND EQUALLY SECURITY AT EVERY STAGE, SO THAT NO ONE SHOULD FEEL THREATENED.''

#### 11. HUMAN RIGHTS

GORBACHEV STRESSED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN ALL SPHERES, HOWEVER HE EXPECTED ''RESPECT FOR OUR VALUES AND OUR CHOICE'', SINCE ''IT IS THE AFFAIR OF EACH PEOPLE TO DECIDE WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND MORALITY IT WISHES.''' - GORBACHEV HOPED THAT FRANCE WOULD SUPPORT THE IDEA OF A HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW. ON EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION HE SAID THE ONLY OBJECTION WAS ON GROUNDS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. ''WHEN THE SECRETS HE HAS BECOME OUT-DATED, THE PERSON MAY LEAVE''.

12. GORBACHEV FINISHED HIS SPEECH WITH SOME TRENCANT CRITICISM OF THE FRENCH AND OTHER ''BOURGEOIS WESTERN PRESS'' AND THEIR ATTITUDES DESIGNED TO ''EITHER IGNORE OR DISTORT THE PICTURE OF THE PROCESSES CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE IN THE SOCIALIST SOVIET UNION AND TO WEAKEN THE IMPACT OF SOCIALIST IDEAS IN ORDER TO PREVENT PEOPLE FROM REALISING THAT SOCIALISM HAS THE ABILITY FOR SELF-DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-PERFECTION.''

#### 13. COMMENT FOLLOWS BY TELEGRAM.

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MY TELNO 1325: GORBACHEV'S ADDRESS TO THE FRANCO/SOVIET FORUM  
ON 29 SEPTEMBER

SUMMARY

1. A LACKLUSTRE AND DEFENSIVE PERFORMANCE, PERHAPS CONDITIONED BY A NEED FOR RESTRAINT AND CONSENSUS IN THE RUN-UP TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS.

DETAIL

2. ALTHOUGH (ACCORDING TO MY FRENCH COLLEAGUE WHO WAS PRESENT) GORBACHEV LOOKED REFRESHED AND VIGOROUS AFTER HIS HOLIDAY, THIS WAS BY HIS STANDARDS RATHER A PEDESTRIAN AND UNEXCITING PERFORMANCE. THROUGHOUT, HE PLACED MORE EMPHASIS ON WHAT WOULD NOT CHANGE (I.E. SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES) THAN ON WHAT WOULD: HIS TONE THROUGHOUT WAS RATHER DEFENSIVE ABOUT THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PERESTROIKA (UNDERLINED) AND GLASNOST' (UNDERLINED).

3. THE MOST LIKELY EXPLANATION FOR THIS RATHER UNTYPICAL PERFORMANCE IS THAT GORBACHEV FELT OBLIGED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF, AND TO AVOID TAKING ISSUE WITH, THE ADMONITORY SPEECHES OF LIGACHEV (TO MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES ON 16 SEPTEMBER) AND OF CHEBRIKOV (ON DZHERZHINSKY'S ANNIVERSARY ON 10 SEPTEMBER) REPORTED IN NOBLE'S LETTER OF 17 SEPTEMBER TO SOVIET DEPARTMENT (NOT COPIED TO ALL). EVEN IF GORBACHEV DISAGREES WITH THE EMPHASIS PLACED BY HIS TWO MORE CONSERVATIVE COLLEAGUES ON THE RISKS INHERENT IN PERESTROIKA (UNDERLINED), HE MAY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IN THE RUN-UP TO THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY THE POLITBURO SHOULD BE SEEN TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE. IF, AS IS PROBABLE, HE WISHES TO RESUME AND EVEN ENHANCE THE MORE RADICAL LINE WHICH HAS MARKED HIS MAJOR STATEMENTS DURING THE PAST YEAR, HIS OPPORTUNITY WILL COME AT THE PARTY CONFERENCE IN JUNE 1988.

4. A SECOND FACTOR MAY HAVE BEEN HIS CURRENT PREOCCUPATION

WITH HIS REPORT ON THE OCCASION OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION WHICH, AS HE TOLD HIS FRENCH AUDIENCE, HE SPENT MUCH OF HIS HOLIDAY PREPARING. THE ANNIVERSARY WILL, BY DEFINITION, BE THE OCCASION FOR ACCENTUATING THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF COMMUNIST RULE SINCE 1917 RATHER THAN FOR WASHING DIRTY STALINIST LINEN.

GORBACHEV SAID, AT THE END OF HIS ADDRESS, THAT MUCH OF WHAT HE HAD TOLD THE FRENCH GROUP WOULD BE REPEATED IN HIS REPORT. HIS ADDRESS WAS TELEVISED IN FULL AND MOST OF IT WAS PROBABLY AIMED AT HIS DOMESTIC AUDIENCE RATHER THAN AT THE FRENCH. GORBACHEV HAS LEFT TODAY ON A TRIP TO MURMANSK: IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE IF THE SPEECH WHICH HE IS LIKELY TO MAKE THERE REPEATS THE MORE CONSERVATIVE LINE.

5. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT GORBACHEV NOW INCLUDES THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE 20TH PARTY CONGRESS AS ONE IN WHICH THERE WAS A PARTICULAR FAILURE TO BUILD ON THE INITIAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM: THIS TAKES IN MOST OF KHRUSHCHEV'S PERIOD OF LEADERSHIP (IE 1956-64) IN CONTRAST TO THE MORE USUAL LINE THAT IT WAS IN 1965, UNDER BREZHNEV, THAT MOMENTUM BEGAN TO BE LOST. THIS REFLECTS THE EVIDENT CONFUSION OF THE PARTY AT PRESENT OVER HOW TO DEAL WITH THE REINTERPRETATION OF SOVIET HISTORY, ON WHICH THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY WILL INEVITABLY THROW A SPOTLIGHT.

6. THE ADDRESS CONTAINED ONE OR TWO INTERESTING PERSONAL REVELATIONS, E.G. THE PRECISE PERIOD OF GORBACHEV'S HOLIDAY (A RESPONSE TO WESTERN RUMOURS OF HIS POSSIBLE ILLNESS), THE COMPLETION OF HIS BOOK ABOUT PERESTROIKA (UNDERLINED) AND 'NEW THINKING' (WHICH, HIS US PUBLISHERS HAVE BEEN ASSURED, IS GENUINELY ALL HIS OWN WORK) AND THE FACT THAT DURING HIS HOLIDAY HE HAD NOT STRAYED MORE THAN 100 METRES FROM THE HOUSE IN WHICH HE WAS LIVING (SOME HOLIDAY).

7. GORBACHEV MAY SOON RESUME HIS MORE AUDACIOUS AND COLOURFUL STYLE: BUT I WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF HE WERE TO MAINTAIN THIS MORE CAUTIOUS AND STAID APPROACH TO PERESTROIKA (UNDERLINED) UNTIL THE REGIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY ARE BEHIND HIM.

CCN: 5. IT IS NOTEWORTHY ETC

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