

10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA

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.I.

MR. HALL ✓

cc Mr Burke  
Mr Wordsworth

Mr Powell

The Prime Minister may  
find this of interest

Cherishman

W. H. R. 2/11

W. H. R.

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 "Khrushchev" (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 criticised 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<sup>th</sup> 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.

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*Martin Nicholson*

MARTIN NICHOLSON

2 November 1987

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~~ 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 industrialisation 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 condemning the cult of personality. A positive assessment of the 20th Party Congress and the subsequent attempts at reform which were viciated 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.



G. D. G. Murrell

Soviet and East European Region

Research Department

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cc. News Dept



cc/c

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



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.+

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300 E 244 O GORBAACHEV (EXCERPTS) -4- #:

ON INDUSTRIALISATION:

+IN THIS STRUGGLE, WHICH HAD TO BE DONE 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...



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SEC 3 344 (9) 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 HDN 14444 0211 WS/GT



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BDC B: B44 (E) GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -6- =:

ON KRUSCHEV:

+AT THE END OF THE WAR, OUR FOES PROPHESED 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 SWEEP 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 EBC MON 15:35 02114 MGR/SW



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BEC 3 34447 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 POLICY. 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.+

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BBC B 344/8 GORBACHEV (EXCERPTS) -8-1

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.+

+RESTRUCTURING 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 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 BBC MON 15:32 0211 GK/KD

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## 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 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.

+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 TRANSFORMATION, 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.+



ON ECONOMIC REFORMS

+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 LOUZY 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.+

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RSC B 844 (1) 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 CONTRADICTIONARY. 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 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.

+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 MGR/JS

(ENCL. 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 TROTSKYITES ENTERED INTO A PLOD WITH A NEW OPPOSITION LED BY ZINOVIEV 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 SHASSED.

+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+.



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

*Su' J Fretwell*

GORBACHEV AND THE 70th ANNIVERSARY

- A  
B  
C
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~~ *an* of it.
  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 bureaucracy 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 <sup>stressful</sup> 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 referring 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.

Says  
not  
entirely  
convinced.

*M J Llewellyn Smith*

M J Llewellyn Smith

U92AAJ

(Perfett)

... were decided frequently by ~~methods with~~ <sup>libertarian</sup> ~~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 <sup>WERE NOT BASED</sup> ~~did not depend~~ on the ~~spread~~ <sup>-ES</sup> broad spread of the process of democratization.

At the October 1964 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee there was a change in the ~~leadership~~ leadership of the Party and country, and decisions were adopted to overcome the ~~libertarian~~ 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 <sup>RUNNING</sup> ~~guidance~~ 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 ~~new cardinal changes in society and~~ ~~new cardinal changes in society and~~ 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 ~~decided~~ 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, ~~and~~ 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 ~~held back~~ 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 undermining the principles of socialist justice, ~~undermining~~ ~~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, <sup>ALTER</sup> 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~~ for accelerating the socio-economic development of the country, which ~~was~~ were put forward by the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, and the course for ~~renewing~~ revitalizing socialism, which ~~was~~ were developed theoretically and ~~politically~~ 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 ~~firm~~ solid foundation <sup>of the fundamentally new social edifice/</sup> that has been built in the Land of the Soviets, ~~for a fundamentally new social edifice,~~ <sup>COMBINING</sup> 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)

Courades, we are travelling a revolutionary path. It is not ~~for the weak and the timid.~~ a path for the weak and the timid. It is a path for ~~strong and bold.~~ strong and bold. The Soviet people has always been this ~~in the years of~~ <sup>very</sup> in the years of ~~great social transformations,~~ 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 MIF.





~~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 <sup>to</sup> 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 <sup>more deeply</sup> 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. Restructuring 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 ~~as~~ ~~in~~ ~~working~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~long~~ ~~succession~~ ~~of~~ ~~years~~ ~~to~~ ~~prepare~~ ~~the~~ ~~transition~~ ~~to~~ ~~communism~~ in preparing the transition to communism by the work of a long succession of years. ~~succession~~ ~~of~~ ~~years~~ ~~to~~ ~~prepare~~ ~~the~~ ~~transition~~ ~~to~~ ~~communism~~. The leader of the Revolution highly rated Marx and Engels' ability to analyse, in extreme detail, precisely ~~these~~ <sup>the</sup> transitional forms ~~precisely~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~transitional~~ ~~form~~ ~~with~~ ~~extreme~~ ~~thoroughness~~ in order to take into account ~~each~~ each separate case's dependence on specific historical peculiarities and determine what transition, from what to what, is represented by any given <sup>transitional</sup> 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 <sup>to</sup> 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 <sup>the whole of</sup> public life and <sup>the</sup> radical economic reform.





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 society. Secondly, we must in practice teach people to live in the conditions created by

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

<sup>FOLTER</sup>  
and ~~use~~ 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-government 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.

(11)

end pt 21 mf

The true culture of Socialist democracy will never accept either a command-pressure style nor organisational 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 <sup>people's</sup> 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 <sup>POSING</sup> asking 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 <sup>WHOLLY</sup> serve socialism and the interests of people of labour <sup>with</sup> ~~with all its strength~~.

(applause)



Comrades, a solid basis for an accelerated 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 <sup>DEEPLY</sup> fundamentally ~~rocked~~ <sup>STIRRED</sup> 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 to years/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 <sup>TODAY</sup> are working on the principles of self-financing and self-recouping. From the beginning of next year, enterprises producing 60 per cent of industrial output and will be working in these conditions/ 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. *PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO* ~~The results of expenditure~~

*MAKE A REALISTIC RECKONING OF EXPENDITURE AND RESULTS, TO MAKE SAVINGS*

~~are beginning to be properly regarded, saving in large and small things, and~~

*TO FIND THE MOST*

~~more~~ efficient solutions found to problems.

END PART TWENTY TWO (mtf)

(KLP)



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 ability<sup>IES</sup> of the individual and <sup>THAT WE MARK,</sup> ~~distinguish~~ morally and materially, those who work best and hardest showing an example to others. Genuine talent and brilliant personalities<sup>it</sup> 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 <sup>his</sup> ~~their~~ place and unmasked.

<sup>AND THEY</sup> The positive changes which are now taking place in our country, <sup>are</sup> 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 other/ participants

<sup>- KCTOR</sup>  
in public 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~~ <sup>INTER-ACTION</sup> 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, <sup>AND (to)</sup> 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 mt.f. 1250



RESTORING THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS TO A

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<sup>-ly</sup>/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, <sup>FOR</sup> ~~L~~ 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 <sup>(ONE OF)</sup> its life-support zone<sup>s</sup>, society's intellectual and cultural potential; it is, as it were, <sup>(THE ALLOYING)</sup> the leading material for <sup>(IMPARTING)</sup> its <sup>(DURABILITY TO IT)</sup> social sturdiness and a catalyst for <sup>(DYNAMISM)</sup> its 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 <sup>fully</sup> 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 <sup>have</sup> 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 <sup>ON THIS SCORE</sup> ~~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, and 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 and farm workers/ 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~~ <sup>bi</sup> 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 increased <sup>HAVE</sup> and there ~~has~~ been a qualitative change in the economy. Large-scale scientific and technological programmes are being implemented and domestic machine-building <sup>&</sup> 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 <sup>IMMENSE</sup> ~~great~~ efforts by our people and the Party that has <sup>ROUSED</sup> ~~raised~~ it to work in a new way. (applause)

END PART 25 (mtf)

(K)



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...~~ that the forces of conservatism...the forces of conservatism will not fail to exploit any difficulties in order to attempt to discredit <sup>the</sup> restructuring and arouse dissatisfaction amongst the working people. Some people ~~already~~ even now prefer <sup>to</sup> 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 ~~excesses~~ <sup>costs</sup>, 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 ~~isartixef~~ <sup>costs?</sup> sorts of ~~excesses~~. Of course, ~~excesses~~ <sup>costs</sup> are inevitable in everything - especially in ~~making~~ something new. But the consequences of marking time, of stagnation and ~~indifference~~ <sup>expensive</sup> are far more significant and ~~sartix~~ that the costs which



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 at once with one stroke.

~~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 ~~nnnnnn~~ 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 <sup>RESTRUCTURING</sup> ~~perestroika~~ 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 <sup>RESTRUCTURING</sup> ~~perestroika~~, finds itself in firm hands. The communists will do their duty with <sup>SENSE OF</sup> ~~lofty responsibility~~ <sup>TO</sup> ~~before~~ the people and <sup>THE</sup> ~~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 <sup>BRING ABOUT A CHANGE</sup> ~~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 <sup>C</sup> ~~succeeded~~ in being done, where party leaders, communists, have awakened the initiative and <sup>SPONTANEOUS ACTION</sup> ~~mettle~~ of the masses, have <sup>THE PATH OF</sup> ~~boldly embarked on~~ the democratisation, glasnost, introduction of financial

autonomy, collective contracting, have given scope to new forms of  
<sup>LABOUR</sup> /organisation of ~~labour~~ <sup>AND</sup> /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 <sup>RESTRUCTURING</sup> /~~perestroika~~ <sup>STILL</sup> has /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 <sup>RESTRUCTURING</sup> /~~perestroika~~ 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 activation  
of all party organisations we cannot complete <sup>THE RESTRUCTURING</sup> /~~perestroika~~. Therefore,  
more efficiency, more democratism, more organisation and discipline,  
and then we shall be able to get <sup>RESTRUCTURING</sup> /~~perestroika~~ 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 <sup>MAJOR POLITICS</sup> ~~big policy~~: 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. <sup>AFTER THE CIVIL WAR,</sup> 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 <sup>INITIAL</sup> victories of Leninist foreign policy and diplomacy - it was embarking on a fundamentally new international development. The <sup>CARDINAL</sup> ~~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 <sup>new</sup> ~~present~~ 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 ~~X~~1985~~X~~ 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

(WS)



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 political 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 <sup>and</sup> 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 <sup>for</sup> a balance of the interests of all states, and effectively carry out its peace-making functions.

(WS)

END PART 29 - MIF



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

take<sup>S</sup> into account mutual concerns and the conclusions of world<sup>S</sup> science, and ~~is~~ would be free from

~~attempts~~ <sup>P</sup>attempts at winning anything from anyone or cheating anyone. So,

after <sup>these</sup> (more than two years, ~~have passed~~), we are saying with confidence ~~that~~

that the new political thinking is not simply declarations and ~~will~~ appeals

but a philosophy/<sup>for</sup> action or, if you like, a philosophy/<sup>for</sup> 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/<sup>belongs</sup> ~~is~~

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 ~~is~~ <sup>become firmly established</sup> stronger (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 <sup>of</sup>

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 ~~stiximz~~ 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 the highest 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 <sup>of the</sup> ~~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 ~~unfounded~~ optimism  
~~and~~ and for considering that an all-embracing security is indeed possible?

It is worth dwelling on this. ~~As we mark~~ <sup>As we mark</sup> the 70th anniversary of  
~~our revolution~~

our revolution, which would not have been victorious, if it had not

been theoretically prepared, we are now at a fresh ~~breakthrough~~ <sup>WATERSHED</sup>

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~~ need for

realistic nature <sup>OF HEADING FOR AND</sup> and ~~possibility~~ <sup>possibility</sup> of reaching ~~this goal~~ 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~~ teaching and making use of its

methodology, ask ourselves difficult questions. First <sup>/-/</sup> and this



has to do with the nature of imperialism, in which the main military threat is rooted ~~is~~, 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 <sup>NATURAL LOGIC</sup> ~~regular~~ features of an integral world, in which general human values are the main priority, being able to limit the range of destructive actions of the egocentric and narrow class-based features of the capitalist system?

~~THE SECOND~~ 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 <sup>INVITATION</sup> ~~is~~ our ~~proposal~~ ~~for programmes~~ ~~to be prepared and compared on~~ ~~to the Western countries~~ ~~with their programmes~~ ~~for the reconversion of~~ ~~their~~ 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, <sup>which</sup> ~~it~~ is one of ~~the sources~~ the sources for its present life support? In other words, is this system able to function without its ~~unequal~~ 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~~, 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~~ 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~~ ~~must~~ must in no way be underestimated and ~~which~~ 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. MIF

1348 gmt





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, ~~interests~~. 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 <sup>provide</sup> ~~give us~~ 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 mechanism for monitoring a ~~control mechanism~~ of the correctness of theory. And this is the way we are acting <sup>in</sup> by transferring the new thinking to our foreign policy activity by <sup>REFINING IT</sup> and/correcting 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~~ 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 ~~such~~ 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 ~~themselves~~ itself in the face of... before socialism, which has become a world system, have prevented capitalism from taking its internal contradictions to the <sup>extreme.</sup> ~~final boundary~~. They have begun to transform themselves into a <sup>technology</sup> ~~technical~~ race with one another, they have discharged with the aid of neo-colonialism, and a ~~unique~~ 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 ~~afirm~~ 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 ~~threat~~ 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 ~~and~~ <sup>come face to face with</sup> 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, we be aware of them, demanding not only that ~~they be realized~~, 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 functioning of~~ <sup>operation</sup> of contemporary monopolistic ~~capitalism~~ <sup>capital</sup>, 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 ~~fast~~ <sup>rapid</sup> 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.

~~DELETED INSERT ADDITIONAL TEXT EXCEPT TO SWAP~~

Since the war, the US economy ~~and~~ <sup>has</sup> 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~~ <sup>the</sup> ultimately super-militarization leads to ~~an~~ 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: unequivocal, exploit<sup>ATIVE</sup> relations with developing countries. In spite of all fantastic innovations in the area of the creation of a second artificial nature, developed capitalism <sup>HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO</sup> do without the resources of these countries, <sup>(AND CANNOT DO WITHOUT THEM)</sup> this is objective reality. Banking on the destruction of the world's economic relations that have taken shape <sup>HISTORICALLY</sup> is dangerous and will not provide a way out. But the use of the resources of others through neo-colonialist methods, the <sup>ARBITRARY</sup> <sup>RULE</sup> of trans-national corporations, <sup>(BONDAGE</sup> debts <sup>)</sup> amounting to trillions <sup>obviously</sup> which/cannot be repaid are leading into a dead end. This gives rise to serious problems <sup>WITH-</sup> in capitalist <sup>TOO</sup> countries themselves, <sup>(</sup> There are more than enough speculations here, and their essence consists in <sup>)</sup> making the Third World a kind of scapegoat for many difficulties, including the falling living standard in the centres of capital. ~~Now and then~~ <sup>CONSTANTLY</sup> Attempts are <sup>(</sup> 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

<sup>INDUCE</sup>

~~urge~~ them to put up with the policies of new capitalist moderni-

zation. However, ~~none of~~ <sup>NO TRICKS OF A</sup> } similar or <sup>ANY</sup> other <sup>KIND</sup> ~~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 INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND the novelty of 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 <sup>are endowed with</sup> ~~the~~

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, ~~the~~ <sup>searching</sup>

for the answer to our third question we see that the situation does not look

insoluble; ~~and~~ contradictions in this sphere <sup>too,</sup> 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~~ world/~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> 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~~ <sup>ASPECT</sup> of

the 20th century. It is now embarking upon a new stage of ~~its~~ <sup>ITS</sup> develop-

ment, 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~~ <sup>a</sup> 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 import-

and part of world economic relations. And this will expand and strengthen,

in a ~~crucial~~ <sup>DECISIVE</sup> way, the material base of the all-embracing system of peace

and international security. This is, incidentally, ~~another~~ <sup>another</sup> of 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~~ <sup>FRONT-RANKING</sup>

forces of <sup>THE</sup> 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~~ <sup>(RIGHTS AND)</sup> 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 offered to

workers, yet a kind of partnership when access to the <sup>(HOLY OF HOLIES)</sup> ~~sanctum~~ of business

<sup>SHUT TIGHTLY</sup> ~~is walled up~~ and when free election of management <sup>STAFF</sup> is out of the question.

END PART 33 1540 gmt MTF

D.C.



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 itself. The working class now, in its new social frontiers, represents a numerically predominant 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<sup>IC</sup> basis is a strong catalyst, especially as ~~it~~<sup>THAT</sup> 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, reconversion <sup>(PUTTING INDUSTRY BACK ONTO A CIVILIAN FOOTING)</sup> 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 <sup>the</sup> 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 <sup>i</sup> 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 <sup>political</sup> energy in the course of the formation of nations and ~~the~~ consolidation of national states in the genuine <sup>sense,</sup> a considerable place among whom is occupied by countries with revolutionary regimes. Here there are

also <sup>CAAPES</sup> ~~the~~ of wrath <sup>THE SOIL OF</sup> based on the glaring polarisation of poverty and wealth and the contrast between possibilities and the real situation. The force of ~~self-~~

<sup>ORIGINALITY</sup> ~~assertion~~ and independent action is <sup>WORKING IN AN INCREASINGLY PRONOUNCED</sup> ~~being expressed and is coming up more and more~~ <sup>AND ACTIVE WAY</sup> ~~more~~ (in organisations reflecting the processes of the <sup>inter-</sup> 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 <sup>STATES</sup> ~~Countries~~, ASEAN, the Organisation of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, <sup>SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR</sup> the Regional Co-operation, <sup>1</sup>

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.

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 <sup>everywhere</sup> is 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 <sup>compel</sup> 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 <sup>how and to what</sup> 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 <sup>an</sup> 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 <sup>militarist</sup> military programmes, we shall continue in the future, too, to do everything necessary to maintain our defence 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 as 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 <sup>its</sup> 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 <sup>the</sup> 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 <sup>oppressed</sup> 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]

*A TURNING POINT*

The international Communist movement is at ~~the crossroads~~ <sup>A</sup>, 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/<sup>then</sup> 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 value/ greatly its opportunity to interact with our friends, who for several decades now, have borne, as we do, responsibility/<sup>at state level</sup> 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 significance. It has offered to the world/<sup>its</sup> 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~~<sup>SOCIALIST</sup> 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 <sup>IN WHICH</sup> the search for their solution <sup>IS PROCEEDING</sup> 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 <sup>RELATIONS</sup> ~~cooperation~~ 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,

<sup>AND FOR</sup> the patriotic service <sup>TO ITS PEOPLE;</sup> ~~of its country;~~ concern for the general cause of Socialism;

respect for one another, a serious attitude towards what has been achieved <sup>AND TRIED OUT BY FRIENDS;</sup>

<sup>VOLUNTARY AND VARIED CO-OPERATION;</sup> and cooperation of good will and wide variety, ~~tried and tested by friends~~ / 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



<sup>UNIFORM.</sup>  
identical or ~~monotonous~~. 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 <sup>AND BY</sup> 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, <sup>AND</sup> 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)

KA



(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~~ 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 <sup>STATE,</sup> power, 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 <sup>INDICATE FOR</sup> ~~point~~ to mankind the routes leading to the future, <sup>AND THE</sup> new values of genuinely human relations. (applause).

END OF PART 38 mtf

*(Handwritten initials)*

(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~~ elemental and harsh interplay of social forces, and general human unity and peace instead of ~~discord, dissension and wars.~~ discord, dissension and wars. The present generation, and not only in our own country, is accountable for the fate of civilization and life ~~itself~~ itself on Earth. It will depend on them in the final analysis ~~whether~~ whether the beginning of a fresh millenium in world history ~~will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future.~~ will be its tragic epilogue or an inspiring prologue to the future.

Only a little over 13 years ~~remain~~ remain before the beginning of the ~~21st~~ 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 ~~today~~ at the present time that the foundations of the future are being laid. It is our duty to preserve our ~~unrepeatable civilization and life itself~~ 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 ~~inspires~~ inspires us, since it fills life with a lofty humane ~~purpose~~ 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

(14)

TEAM

USSR (HOME) STV-1

0655 gmt 02 Nov 87

GORBACHEV'S REPORT

(TEXT)

PART ONE (Yanushevich)

*(Preceded by Gromyko - processed sep)*

(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. ~~By~~ <sup>TRULY</sup> October is 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~~ <sup>THE</sup> ascent ~~from~~ of the world's civilization <sup>OVER MANY CENTURIES</sup>

Yet by the scale of what has been achieved history has not yet known a

period comparable to the one our country

has lived <sup>THROUGH</sup> <sup>(VICTORY OF THE)</sup> <sup>(REVOLUTION)</sup> ~~from~~ (since the Great October) (And there is no honour higher than

to go the way of pioneers and to give all of one's ~~force~~ <sup>STRENGTH</sup>, 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/<sup>trials</sup> have befallen us and we have borne them with honour, and

not simply borne them but/<sup>have</sup>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/<sup>spiritual</sup> world. In ~~most~~

**THE FIERCEST**  
~~atrocious~~ 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 <sup>COMPLETE</sup>~~good~~

**FOUNDATION)** <sup>TOO,</sup>  
~~reason~~ (that we are proud) 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, <sup>THE</sup> social sphere, and ~~THE~~ minds of our contempo-

raries. 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,/<sup>taught</sup> children, <sup>MOVED FORWARD</sup>~~developed~~ science and

technology, attained <sup>THE HIGHEST LEVELS</sup>~~eminence~~ in art; ~~and also~~ for remembering with sadness

those who fell defending the Motherland and paid with their lives for

<sup>FOR THE INDELIBLE</sup>  
making society's progress possible; ~~the~~ memory of what we have gone through

and lived through, ~~is indelible~~ for all this has <sup>CREATED</sup>~~shaped~~ the present

day.

END PART ONE 0810 gmt MIF

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<sup>are</sup> grandiose, weighty and significant; they are a solid foundation 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 decades. (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,<sup>of</sup> 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<sup>on</sup>



occasions did not leave any time to look round and reflect; and the subjective

factors which played a particular part in ~~the~~ periods of revolutionary storms;

~~and the revolutionary times~~ **VIEWS OF THE FUTURE,** permeated with **THE** **OF REVOLUTIONARY TIMES,** ~~and the view of the future~~

~~which were~~ **OVER-** at times **(STRAIGHTENED OUT)** ~~simplified and impetuous~~ and the pure, unrestrained desire of

the fighters for a new life to do everything as quickly, 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)**

elo

end of part two (ntf) 0840 gat

Today, we turn to the October Days that shook the world and <sup>WE LOOK FOR AND</sup> ~~we~~ still find in them both a firm spiritual support and instructive lessons. Again and again we <sup>BECOME</sup> ~~are~~ 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, <sup>FOR</sup> ~~with~~ 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 / <sup>became</sup> as it were \_\_\_\_\_ 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 <sup>THEIR OWN</sup> independent development and <sup>INDEPENDENCE</sup> ~~autonomy~~, of the progressive national ~~and~~ 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 <sup>HEROIC</sup> <sup>ENDEAVOUR</sup> moral asceticism of the great figures of our culture. For our country's destiny, there was <sup>a</sup> determining significance in the time when, at the dawn of the 20th century, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin <sup>LED</sup> ~~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 Revolution of 1905 and 1907. Here were the bitter lessons of 9th January and the desperate heroism 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 ~~(the Russian obshchenarodnoye)~~ movement. At the same time <sup>THERE WERE DISPLAYED</sup> 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 <sup>POWER</sup> ~~authority~~ 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 <sup>WAS</sup> ~~is~~ unique in its opportunity for the peaceful transfer of power to the hands of the working people, an opportunity that did not, sadly, <sup>BECOME A REALITY</sup> ~~materialise~~ 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 <sup>THE VICTORY OF</sup> opportunity for ~~a Socialist~~ <sup>REVOLUTION</sup> ~~victory~~. 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 : : 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 (ONE)~~

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 <sup>REGARDING</sup> ~~to~~ the living dialectic of revolutionary thought and action. The party leadership demonstrated an ability <sup>TO MAKE A</sup> ~~for~~ collective creative <sup>QUEST AND</sup> ~~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 <sup>SUCH A</sup> ~~only 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 kept 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.

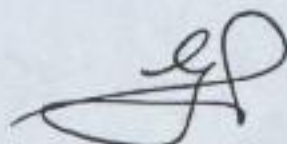
All that is not just pages from the chronicle of the Great Revolution. It is also a continual reminder to us, living now, of the lofty duty of the communists to be always at the sharp end of events, to be able to make bold decisions, take upon themselves the whole fullness of responsibility for the present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

The October Revolution was a mighty upsurge of millions of people



uniting the <sup>FUNDAMENTAL</sup> ~~radical~~ 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<sup>-s</sup>, on peace and land, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat replied in deed to the demand<sup>-s</sup> 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



(Gorbachev): And yet another most important and fundamental lesson of the

October days <sup>NEEDS TO</sup> ~~should~~ be recalled today. Lenin's answer to the

question put by life and revolutionary activity is in our times

<sup>UNUSUALLY</sup> ~~extremely~~ topical. This is <sup>THE</sup> question about <sup>THE</sup> correlation between <sup>THE</sup> theoretical model

of the path towards socialism and the actual practice of socialist const-

ruktion. As a creative teaching, Marxism-Leninism is not a package of

ready-made recipes and doctrinaire instructions. 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 <sup>(INSTRUCTIVE)</sup> ~~modifying~~ example of

that. As is known, many persons, even <sup>MAJOR</sup> ~~prominent~~ figures of <sup>THE</sup> ~~workers'~~ <sup>(of that time)</sup> movement

refused to see the October/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. <sup>ACCORDING TO</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>(CONCEPTIONS)</sup> ~~their~~ ~~opinions,~~ 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,**

~~civilization is required for building socialism,~~ he retorted. Very well. But

why ~~is it so that~~ <sup>FIRST</sup> we were unable to create in our country such pre-requisites



of <sup>CIVILIZATION</sup> ~~civilization~~ as <sup>THE</sup> ~~the~~ expulsion of landowners and <sup>THE</sup> ~~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 <sup>(MAIN THING IN</sup> ~~essence~~ <sup>IN</sup> of this teaching - its revolutionary dialectics. It <sup>IS</sup> ~~is~~ precisely <sup>THE</sup> ~~the~~ dialectics that distinguish ~~the~~ 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 <sup>VERY</sup> ~~existence~~ ~~itself~~ of the socialist <sup>FATHERLAND</sup> ~~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 <sup>AN</sup> ~~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 MIF

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 <sup>STARVING,</sup> 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 <sup>of</sup> 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 <sup>(MEN OF THE CAVALRY ARMIES)</sup> ~~and~~ 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 of 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 <sup>THE</sup> ~~theses~~ <sup>theses</sup> 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 <sup>, in creating a new world,</sup> 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~~ <sup>REPRESENTING TURNING-POINTS;</sup> revolutionary nature 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

DRD

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~~ <sup>greatest MAJOR</sup> achievements in the sphere of science and culture, but three quarters of her population ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> 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 ~~main~~ principles and norms of the future socialist system and forms of <sup>which were without precedent in history</sup> organising society ~~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~~ 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~~ 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 <sup>WAR-COMMUNISM</sup>~~war-communist~~ methods of organising production and consumption, which were <sup>APPLIED OF NECESSITY</sup>~~forced~~ 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~~ constructing the material foundations 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 <sup>EQUATE</sup>~~put up~~ a ~~sign of equality between NEP and~~ <sup>WITH</sup> what we are doing at the present time, at a fundamentally different stage of development. We do not have in the country today <sup>ose</sup>~~the~~ 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 ~~the~~ enthusiasm, as Lenin wrote, but, with the help of the enthusiasms 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 ~~still~~ <sup>once more</sup> talk about the political and methodological wealth of the ideas of tax in kind (Mik: 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 ~~persons~~ 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 gut





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, <sup>THE OPENING UP OF, AND</sup> ~~discovery~~ 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 <sup>DEPLOYMENT</sup> ~~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 <sup>A</sup> modern <sup>LEVEL OF</sup> technology.

A new culture was born, one which encompassed both the experience of the past and the <sup>variegated</sup> 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 <sup>ABIDING</sup> ~~unsurpassed~~ importance for us, not only through its results, but also through the experience and methodology. When reflecting about the time <sup>OF NEP</sup> when socialist Russia would emerge from the ~~NEP~~ Russia (MN New Economic Policy),

Lenin was not able, nor did he try, to set himself the task of drawing a picture of the future <sup>OF</sup> society in minute detail. But the actual ways and means of progress towards socialism, by way of establishing mechanized industry, <sup>UNIFICATION INTO COOPERATIVES</sup> wide-ranging ~~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~~ <sup>AIMED AT FORMING</sup> ~~Form~~ the shape of the country which was moving out onto a fundamentally new level of social order.

upon,  
A system of views/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 <sup>HAD</sup> ~~was~~ 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 <sup>A</sup>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, <sup>FATEFUL</sup> crucial 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~~ ~~(not 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 <sup>our</sup> ~~its~~ 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 <sup>CAUSE SUFFERING</sup> ~~as they say, to unburden our souls~~, 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 <sup>was</sup> ~~le~~ 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



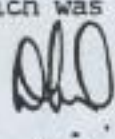
Perhaps, it is worth mentioning that both before and after the Revolution, in the first years of socialist construction, far from all Party leaders shared Lenin's views on a number of most important issues. Besides, Lenin's recommendations could not cover all specific questions of the construction of 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 <sup>(WAS AT THAT)</sup> ~~of the~~ (time) was in itself a most difficult task. The country was on an historic march, its development was sharply accelerating, and all ~~the~~ <sup>SIDES</sup> ~~facets~~ of social life were changing rapidly and profoundly. <sup>AN</sup> ~~THE~~ ideological struggle that was reflecting the whole gamut of <sup>THE</sup> 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/ <sup>encirclement</sup> - that ideological struggle was intertwined indissolubly with events and processes in the economy, <sup>IN</sup> ~~politics~~ <sup>(POLITICS)</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>IN</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>policy</sup> the spheres of people's life. In one word, it was <sup>(EXTREMELY)</sup> ~~such~~ difficult to understand <sup>EVERYTHING</sup> and to find the solely true line in <sup>(SUCH A)</sup> ~~that~~ 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~~ <sup>(OF THE KIND)</sup> a trifle 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~~ <sup>(COUNTRYSIDE)</sup> 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

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

(OPEN) 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, <sup>U</sup>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 <sup>TIME</sup> 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 (atf)

*de*

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, <sup>AND CHEMICAL (THAT WAS)</sup> ~~chemistry~~ <sup>(production)</sup> ~~up-to-date~~ <sup>(up-to-date)</sup> for the times, were/ <sup>over</sup> a brief period effectively created over again in the country; and the GOELRO plan ~~(the State Plan for the Electrification of Russia)~~ <sup>WAS CARRIED OUT</sup> fulfilled. 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 (the 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 <sup>CAME INTO BEING</sup> ~~were born~~. The Party proposed a previously unknown <sup>WAY</sup> ~~means~~ of industrialisation, <sup>THAT OF</sup> ~~immediately~~ <sup>(MOVING FORWARD)</sup> ~~advancing~~ heavy industry, without relying on external sources of finance or waiting ~~many years~~ <sup>BUILT UP OVER MANY YEARS</sup> for accumulations <sup>through</sup> 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 <sup>IN</sup> ~~which~~ the revolutionary impulse of the masses <sup>(WAS TAKEN)</sup> ~~took~~ into account as <sup>(A COMPONENT OF)</sup> ~~comprising~~ 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 <sup>TAULY</sup> 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 <sup>REALITIES,</sup> ~~realities,~~ there is no avoiding asking the question - could another course have been chosen in those conditions than the one put forward by the Party? If we wish to remain <sup>ON A STAND-POINT OF</sup> ~~with the stand-point of~~ HISTORIC METHOD AND historicism and the 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 <sup>COVERING</sup> ~~going~~ <sup>(IN THE SHORTEST HISTORICAL TIMESCALE)</sup> but literally of running across the distance between sledge-hammer and peasants' plough to developed industry, ~~in the shortest historical period,~~ without which the demise of <sup>THE WHOLE CAUSE OF</sup> ~~the Revolution's whole cause~~ would be inevitable. The vitality of the plans put forward by the Party, which were understood and taken in by the masses, <sup>(THE SLOGANS AND THE PROJECTS)</sup> ~~and of projects in slogans,~~ 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  
D.H.

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 <sup>MIGHTY</sup> 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 <sup>IN A WAY</sup> ~~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 <sup>state</sup> ~~GOVERNMENT~~ management of the country; bureacracy increased, ~~which meant~~ a danger which Lenin had



warned about in his time. A corresponding management structure and planning methods also began to take shape. In industry, <sup>WITH THE SIZE THAT IT WAS</sup> ~~for its volume~~ at the time, when all the main <sup>SITES</sup> ~~facilities~~ 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 <sup>CAREFUL</sup> ~~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 <sup>-3</sup> ~~whole decade~~ 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~~<sup>policy</sup> ~~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.~~

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

end part 13 1130 gmt - mtf



It is clear today that <sup>a</sup> deviations from the Leninist policy with ~~in~~ regard to the peasantry occurred in that immense operation, which ~~was~~ 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 <sup>A VERY SHORT</sup> ~~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~~ above. Gross violations of the principles of collectivisation acquired a ubiquitous character. <sup>The conduct of the struggle</sup> ~~Things did not happen~~ against the kulaks did not proceed without excesses. ~~without excesses in the conduct of the struggle against the kulaks~~ 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 <sup>d</sup> 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 cultivatory <sup>-ED ECONOMIC</sup> management, made possible a significant increase in labour productivity and released a <sup>CONSIDERABLE</sup> ~~important~~ number of <sup>THE WORKFORCE</sup> ~~working hands~~ which were <sup>NEEDED</sup> ~~necessary~~ 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 <sup>REVEAL</sup> ~~hide~~ the all the complexities of that period.

What happened here? The phase of the most ~~serious~~ serious ideological and political tests ~~for~~ for the party <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ 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 construction, 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 violation 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



STV-1 0655/2 Gorbachev pt 15 (Govett)

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



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 <sup>both Stalin's</sup> ~~now~~ indisputable ~~was Stalin's~~ contribution to the struggle for socialism and <sup>to</sup> the defence of its gains, <sup>and</sup> ~~as well as~~ the gross political errors and <sup>arbitrariness</sup> ~~tyranny~~ permitted <sup>to</sup> occur by him and ~~his~~ 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~~ 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 ~~cannot~~ has no justification.

At the 20th and the ~~21st~~ 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 <sup>subsequently</sup>, particularly following the 20th Congress of the Party, ~~lifted~~ quashed. Thousands of innocent people who suffered were completely rehabilitated. But the process of restoration of justice was not seen through, and <sup>it</sup> effectively stopped in the mid-1960s.



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, <sup>s and</sup> ~~factuel~~ <sup>s</sup> ~~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 <sup>outline of</sup> ~~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 ntf 1125gmt

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~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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 ~~way~~ great and heroic way. Neither <sup>the</sup> most gross errors nor the deviations from the principles of socialism that were ~~intended~~ committed could turn our people and our country from the path it embarked upon in 1917, having made its choice, because <sup>the</sup> impetus <sup>of the October</sup> was too (REVOLUTION) great and the ideas of socialism which took hold of the masses were too strong. The people <sup>I</sup> 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 <sup>force</sup> might 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. ~~There are people who are happy about the results of the Second World War particularly zealous.~~ 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

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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 <sup>rather</sup> 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 ~~Ethiopia~~ 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 <sup>the</sup> initial conflagrations of the Second World War. It is another question that then ~~they pretended in the West~~ the West <sup>still</sup> pretended that it ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~its~~ ~~business~~ was not its business and if it was, then ~~was~~ not to such a degree as <sup>prompt it to</sup> to defend the victims of aggression. The hatred towards socialism, long-term calculations, and class egocentrism prevented it from ~~this~~ understanding soberly the real dangers. Moreover, Fascism was persistently offered ~~the~~ <sup>anti-communist</sup> mission of ~~the~~ striking detachment in the/crusade. Austria and Czechoslovakia followed Ethiopia and China into the furnace of <sup>appeasement.</sup> ~~pleasing~~ The sword <sup>raised</sup> was ~~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 ~~in~~ into the wheat field and cattle-yard of the Third Reich. In the end, the main streams of

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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~~ <sup>harsh</sup> reality but <sup>by</sup> speculative abstractions divorced from the context of <sup>the</sup> 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~~ <sup>did</sup> a lot to create ~~the system~~ <sup>a</sup> system of collective security and to prevent a ~~worldwide~~ worldwide carnage. Yet the Soviet initiatives met no response from Western politicians and political intriguers who made cold-blooded calculations ~~about~~ <sup>of the</sup> most adroit ways for dragging socialism into the flames of war and ~~making~~ <sup>making</sup> it clash head-on with Fascism. Being <sup>already</sup> 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~~ <sup>ruling</sup> circles, trying to whitewash their <sup>own</sup> sins, are trying striving to persuade people that the Soviet-German non-aggression pact of the 23d of August 1939 triggered the Nazi ~~invasion~~ <sup>invasion</sup> of Poland and, through this, the Second World War. As if there had been no Munich ~~treaty~~ <sup>agreement</sup> with Hitler

(WS)

signed by Britain and France <sup>back in</sup> ~~as long ago as~~ 1938 with ~~an~~ active assistance  
from the USA, nor the Austrian Anschluss, nor the crucifixion<sup>x</sup> of the  
Spanish Republic, nor the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Klajpeda by the  
Nazis, ~~was~~ nor the signing in 1938 of ~~Paris~~ 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

(WJ)

the myths, came into their own, a new chapter, <sup>one of</sup> (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

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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' 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

WIS

(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 <sup>ARMY</sup> fronts, ~~of~~ the ~~army~~ <sup>THE</sup> 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 which Stalin people / showed during the war years 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 <sup>ARE STILL AT THEIR</sup> ~~have remained in the~~ <sup>ROSTS,</sup> ~~ranks~~ today, ~~and~~ and are taking ~~an energetic~~ <sup>MILITANTLY</sup> part <sup>THE</sup> in the work of <sup>FILIAL</sup> ~~constant~~ restructuring and renewal of society. Our ~~constant~~ <sup>FILIAL</sup> gratitude to them! (Applause)

Our Leninist Party was the <sup>(INSPIRATION)</sup> ~~source~~ <sup>(of</sup> all <sup>military</sup> 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 <sup>did not simply</sup> gain victory: it emerged from the most terrible and destructive of wars, having grown morally stronger, <sup>(POLITICALLY)</sup> and consolidated its authority and influence throughout the world.

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 from the ruins the destroyed towns and villages, raised plants and factories, collective and state farms, schools and institutions of <sup>HIGHER</sup> ~~higher~~ education and cultural institutions. Once again the great power of the socialist state was manifested, <sup>as were</sup> 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-sacrificing<sup>face, the</sup> 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 <sup>(IN A BROTHERLY WAY)</sup> those who suffered especially, back on their feet and to help those areas of our common motherland upon which the merciless hand of war had lain particularly heavily.

The source of our achievements, <sup>of THE</sup> 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.

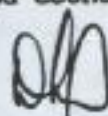
But at this same time, a time of new popular upsurge in the name of socialism, the contradictions between what our society had become and ~~between~~ the previous methods of leadership made themselves felt increasingly perceptibly. Abuses of power and violations of socialist legality continued; the Leningrad case, and the doctors' affair were concocted, and not just these. People worked selflessly, studied and <sup>(STRAINED FOR)</sup> ~~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 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 <sup>SOLVED</sup> by VOLUNTARIST ~~libertarian~~ methods, with the aid of the old political and economic mechanism.



end of part 18