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GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, 2 NOVEMBER

1. OPENING THIS WEEK'S CELEBRATIONS TO MARK THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, GORBACHEV DELIVERED A THREE HOUR 'REPORT' ENTITLED 'OCTOBER AND PERESTROIKA: THE REVOLUTION CONTINUES' TO A JOINT MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE USSR AND RSFSR SUPREME SOVIETS AND FOREIGN GUESTS. AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY (MY TELS 1421 AND 1425) THE CONTENT OF THE SPEECH WAS DISCUSSED AT A SPECIAL PLENARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON 21 OCTOBER, AND THE SPEECH WAS PRECEDED BY WIDE ADVANCE BILLING AS A MAJOR RE-EVALUATION OF SOVIET HISTORY. THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS ATTENDED EN MASSE, AS DID A LARGE NUMBER OF VISITING FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS.

2. MY IFTS (SELECTIVELY ADDRESSED) REPORT THE SPEECH AS FOLLOWS:

- (A) HISTORY
- (B) PERESTROIKA
- (C) FOREIGN POLICY
- (D) COMMENT

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MY TWO IPTS: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH.

1. FOLLOWING ARE KEY EXCERPTS FROM GORBACHEV'S COMMENTS ON PERESTROIKA.

- THE PURPOSE OF PERESTROIKA IS THE FULL THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF LENIN'S CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM, IN WHICH INDISPUTABLE PRIORITY BELONGS TO THE WORKING MAN WITH HIS IDEALS AND INTERESTS.

- THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE COUNTRY TODAY PROBABLY CONSTITUTE THE BIGGEST STEP IN DEVELOPING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

- THE TASK IS TO CULTIVATE IN PEOPLE A TASTE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THEIR APPROACH TO PRODUCTION AND SOCIAL MATTERS OF ANY SCALE, TO DEVELOP SELF-GOVERNMENT AS GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, EXERCISED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES AND IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

ECONOMIC REFORM

- THE PURPOSE OF THE RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM BEGUN IN THE COUNTRY IS TO ASSURE, OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS, A TRANSITION FROM AN OVERLY CENTRALISED COMMAND SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM BASED MAINLY ON ECONOMIC METHODS AND ON AN OPTIMAL COMBINATION OF CENTRALISM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT.

- TODAY WE MUST ONCE AGAIN FIRMLY SAY: THE PARTY WILL TOLERATE NO DEPARTURES FROM THE ADOPTED PRINCIPLES OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM. ALL THE CHANGES PLANNED MUST BE AND WILL BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL.

- THE NEXT TWO OR PERHAPS THREE YEARS WILL BE PARTICULARLY

COMPLICATED, DECISIVE AND, IN A SENSE, CRITICAL.

THE PRINCIPAL REASON IS THAT WE WILL HAVE TO SIMULTANEOUSLY TACKLE LARGE SCALE TASKS IN THE ECONOMY, IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE, IN THE REORGANISATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, IN IDEOLOGY AND IN CULTURE.

- YOU ALL KNOW COMRADES HOW UNFAVOURABLE THE WEATHER WAS IN MOST REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY THIS YEAR. NEVERTHELESS WE SUCCEEDED IN HARVESTING MORE THAN 210 MILLION TONNES OF GRAIN.

- OPPOSITION TO PERESTROIKA

BUT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO TAKE NO NOTICE OF A CERTAIN INCREASE IN THE RESISTANCE OF THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES.....THE CONSERVATIVE FORCES WILL SEIZE UPON ANY DIFFICULTY IN A BID TO DISCREDIT PERESTROIKA AND PROVOKE DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE PEOPLE.

- NOR SHOULD WE SUCCUMB TO THE PRESSURE OF THE OVERLY ZEALOUS AND IMPATIENT -- THOSE WHO REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OBJECTIVE LOGIC OF PERESTROIKA, WHO VOICE THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH WHAT THEY REGARD AS A SLOW RATE OF CHANGE, WHO CLAIM THAT THIS CHANGE DOES NOT YIELD THE NECESSARY RESULTS FAST ENOUGH. TODAY IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO MASTER THE SKILL OF EXERCISING REVOLUTIONARY SELF-RESTRAINT.

- THE DIFFICULTY OF THE FORTHCOMING PERIOD ALSO LIES IN THE FACT THAT THE TRANSFORMATIONS WILL COME TO AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF EVER GREATER MASSES OF PEOPLE, SOCIAL GROUPS AND STRATA, AND OF ALL CADRES.

-PERESTROIKA WILL NOT SUCCEED WITHOUT A DRASTIC INVIGORATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF ALL PARTY ORGANISATIONS.

NATIONALITIES POLICY

- COMRADES, WE HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO SAY THAT THE NATIONAL QUESTION HAS BEEN SOLVED IN OUR COUNTRY. THE REVOLUTION PAVED THE WAY FOR THE EQUALITY OF OUR NATIONS NOT ONLY IN LEGAL BUT ALSO IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC TERMS, HAVING DONE A GREAT DEAL TO LEVEL UP THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALL OUR REPUBLICS, REGIONS AND PEOPLES.

- TODAY, PAYING TRIBUTE TO THE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF LENINIST NATIONALITIES POLICY, THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRY EXPRESS THEIR

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PROFOUND RESPECT AND GRATITUDE TO THE GREAT RUSSIAN PEOPLE FOR ITS SELFLESSNESS, ITS GENUINE INTERNATIONALISM AND INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CREATION, DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF FREE AND EQUAL REPUBLICS.

EDUCATION

- WE SEE THAT THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS IN MANY RESPECTS FALLEN SHORT OF TODAY'S REQUIREMENTS.

THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO EXAMINE TOPICAL ISSUES OF EDUCATION AT ONE OF ITS PLENARY MEETINGS.

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MY THREE IPTS: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, 2 NOVEMBER:
FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY

1. GORBACHEV DEVOTED 30% OF HIS SPEECH TO EXTERNAL RELATIONS, IN A SECTION ENTITLED 'THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TODAY'S WORLD'. HE SPOKE IN GENERALITIES AND IN CONCEPTUAL LANGUAGE, THE MAIN THRUST BEING A COMPLEX JUSTIFICATION OF THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING AND OF A POLICY OF COOPERATING WITH CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. HE BROKE LITTLE NEW GROUND, BUT ASSERTED THAT PERESTROIKA WOULD ENABLE THE USSR 'TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RESOURCES IN A WAY NEVER KNOWN BEFORE'. AFTER A SURPRISING EULOGY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, GORBACHEV TOOK A TOLERANT LINE ON RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

DETAIL

FROM PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TO INTERDEPENDENCE

2. GORBACHEV RECAPITULATED THE FORMULATION BY LENIN OF THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, UNDER WHICH THE FIRST STEPS WERE RECOGNITION BY NEIGHBOURING AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AND THE BUILDING OF EQUITABLE RELATIONS WITH CHINA, TURKEY, IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN. THIS HAD CONSTITUTED 'A BREAKTHROUGH INTO A FUNDAMENTALLY NEW QUALITY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS'.

3. HE PRESENTED SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY SINCE LENIN AS A BROAD CONTINUUM. HOWEVER THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT MADE FULL USE OF ALL THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE AND AFTER WORLD WAR II, HAD FAILED TO TRANSLATE ITS ENORMOUS MORAL PRESTIGE AFTER THE WAR INTO EFFECTIVE EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE PEACELOVING DEMOCRATIC FORCES,

AND 'DID NOT ALWAYS RESPOND ADEQUATELY TO IMPERIALIST PROVOCATIONS'. NEVERTHELESS, THE LENINIST POLICY HAD AVERTED NUCLEAR WAR AND PREVENTED IMPERIALISM FROM WINNING THE COLD WAR AND FROM ROLLING BACK SOCIALISM. IT HAD PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR 'FRESH APPROACHES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING'.

4. GORBACHEV TRACED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW THINKING FROM THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM THROUGH THE 27TH CONGRESS TO THE PRESENT DAY. HE PLAYED ON WELL-WORN THEMES: AN INTERDEPENDENT AND INTEGRAL WORLD, THE COMMON ENVIRONMENTAL DANGER, THE THREAT TO HUMAN SURVIVAL, AND THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. HE RECAPITULATED PROPOSALS MADE BY THE WARSAW PACT AND THE USSR FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES TO A LEVEL OF REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY, FOR COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ALLIANCES OF MILITARY DOCTRINES, FOR THE ELIMINATION OF CW, FOR EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION, AND FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS. THESE REFLECTED THE 'COMMITMENT TO DIALOGUE' WHICH PERMEATED THE NEW POLITICAL THINKING.

SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

5. IN A BRIEF PASSAGE, GORBACHEV REFERRED BACK TO REYKJAVIK AS A MEETING WHICH WOULD GO DOWN IN HISTORY, AND WHICH HAD GIVEN A PRACTICAL BOOST TO THE NEW THINKING. GAUGED AGAINST THE TASKS MANKIND WOULD HAVE TO TACKLE TO ENSURE ITS SURVIVAL, 'VERY LITTLE HAS SO FAR BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BUT A BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE'. EVIDENCE OF THIS WAS THE UNDERSTANDING WITH THE US TO CONCLUDE AN INF AGREEMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THIS AGREEMENT WAS VERY IMPORTANT IN ITSELF. BY ELIMINATING A WHOLE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IT WOULD BE THE FIRST TANGIBLE STEP ALONG THE PATH OF SCRAPPING NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AND 'WAS OBVIOUSLY A MAJOR SUCCESS OF THE NEW WAY OF THINKING'. THIS AGREEMENT HAD BEEN 'LARGELY SETTLED BACK IN REYKJAVIK'. THE WORLD EXPECTED 'THE THIRD AND FOURTH SOVIET/US SUMMITS TO PRODUCE MORE THAN MERELY AN OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE DECISIONS AGREED UPON A YEAR AGO, AND MORE THAN MERELY A CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION'. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD WORK UNREMITTINGLY AT THESE MEETINGS FOR 'A PALPABLE BREAKTHROUGH, FOR CONCRETE RESULTS IN REDUCING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS AND BARRING WEAPONS FROM OUTER SPACE - THE KEY TO REMOVING THE NUCLEAR THREAT'.

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR COOPERATION WITH CAPITALISM

6. AT SOME LENGTH, GORBACHEV JUSTIFIED IN ANALYTICAL MARXIST

TERMS THE BASIS FOR LOOKING FOR RESULTS FROM COOPERATION WITH CAPITALIST POWERS AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE. FIRST, HE ARGUED THAT THE CONTRADICTIONS THAT USED INVARIABLY TO LEAD TO WARS HAD BEEN MODIFIED SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THE LESSONS OF THE WAR AND THE FEAR OF SAPPING ITS OWN STRENGTH IN THE FACE OF SOCIALISM HAD PREVENTED CAPITALISM FROM ALLOWING ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS TO GO TO EXTREMES. 'SINCE AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY AND CAPITALIST STATES PROVED POSSIBLE IN THE PAST, WHEN THE THREAT OF FASCISM AROSE, DOES THIS NOT SUGGEST A LESSON FOR.....TODAY'S WORLD WHICH FACES THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE'.

7. SECOND, GORBACHEV SAID THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR CAPITALIST COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP WITHOUT MILITARISATION. CITING THE JAPANESE, WEST GERMAN AND ITALIAN ECONOMIC MIRACLES, HE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A PERIOD WHEN THE MODERN CAPITALIST ECONOMY DEVELOPED RAPIDLY IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES WHOSE ARMS SPENDING WAS MINIMAL. SINCE THE WAR, THE AMERICAN ECONOMY HAD BEEN DEPENDENT ON MILITARISM, BUT 'SUPER-MILITARISATION' HAD LED TO AN ASTRONOMICAL NATIONAL DEBT AND ECONOMIC UPSETS OF WHICH THE WALL STREET PANIC WAS A GRAVE SYMPTOM.

8. THIRD, EXPLOITATION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAD LED TO ACUTE PROBLEMS WITHIN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES THEMSELVES. ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE LATTER DAY CAPITALIST MODERNISATION DID NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM, AND WESTERN LEADERS WERE BEGINNING TO APPRECIATE THE POSSIBILITY THAT INEQUITABLE TRADE WOULD 'EVENTUALLY CULMINATE IN AN EXPLOSION'. IN THE FACE OF THE CHOICE BETWEEN A DISASTER OR A JOINT QUEST FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, THERE WAS DISCERNIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE LATTER THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT. THEREFORE, IN THIS AREA TOO, THE SITUATION DID NOT DEFY RESOLUTION AND CONTRADICTIONS'' COULD BE 'MODIFIED'.

9. FOURTH, GORBACHEV MENTIONED THAT SOCIALISM HAD MADE ITSELF A COMPONENT OF THIS INTER-CONNECTED WORLD AND HAD IN FACT DETERMINED THE CHARACTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY. THERE WERE 'VAST POTENTIALITIES FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE INHERENT IN JUST THE SOVIET UNION'S PERESTROIKA. BY MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO ATTAIN THE WORLD LEVEL IN ALL MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICATORS, PERESTROIKA WILL ENABLE OUR VAST AND WEALTHY COUNTRY TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE WORLD DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RESOURCES IN A WAY NEVER KNOWN BEFORE'. HE WENT ON TO REFUTE WESTERN THEORIES THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAD BECOME DISSOLVED IN THE MIDDLE CLASS,' AND CLAIMED THAT THE

WORKING CLASS ('A NUMERICALLY PREDOMINANT FORCE TODAY WITHIN ITS -- NEW SOCIAL BOUNDARIES') COULD PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE, FOR EXAMPLE THROUGH THE CONVERSION AND DEMILITARISATION OF THE ECONOMY.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE THIRD WORLD

10. IT WAS NATURAL THAT THE IMPULSE FOR LIBERATION SEEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE WAS WANING: BUT THE IMPULSE WAS TAKING DIFFERENT AND PARADOXICAL FORMS. SOME COUNTRIES, WHILE RETAINING FEATURES OF BACKWARDNESS, WERE ATTAINING A GREAT POWER LEVEL. THERE WAS THE WRATH BRED BY THE POLARISATION OF POVERTY AND WEALTH, AND THE URGE FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY FELT THROUGH THE REGIONAL AND COLLECTIVE ORGANISATIONS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THESE ORGANISATIONS (THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND OTHERS WHICH HE LISTED) HAD COLOSSAL POTENTIAL, AND IT WOULD NOT BE THE TRANSNATIONALS WHICH DETERMINED THE THIRD WORLD'S DEVELOPMENT.

PEACE MOVEMENTS ETC

11. MOVEMENTS CONCERNED WITH PEACE, THE ENVIRONMENT, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ETC INVOLVING MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND LED BY PROMINENT FIGURES OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE, AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND MASS ORGANISATIONS, WERE PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE. THE ASPIRATIONS OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAD TO BE HEEDED. THIS PLACED RESPONSIBILITY ON POLITICIANS: THE HUMAN FACTOR FIGURED ON THE POLITICAL PLANE AND 'DIRECTLY INVADES WORLD AFFAIRS'. GORBACHEV GAVE THIS AS A REASON FOR THE USSR'S OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE FUTURE AND AS THE LOGIC BEHIND ITS STANCE ON DEFENCE ISSUES: 'AS LONG AS THERE IS THE DANGER OF WAR AND AS LONG AS THE DRIVE FOR SOCIAL REVANCHE FORMS THE CORE OF WESTERN STRATEGIES AND MILITARIST PROGRAMMES, WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN OUR DEFENCE CAPABILITY AT A LEVEL RULING OUT IMPERIALISM'S MILITARY SUPERIORITY OVER SOCIALISM'.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

12. THE ANNIVERSARY WAS THE 'RIGHT OCCASION TO MENTION THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL', THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY OF WHICH HAD YET TO BE WRITTEN. FOR ALL THE ERRORS IN ITS ACTIVITIES AND FOR ALL THE BITTERNESS EVOKED BY CERTAIN CHAPTERS IN ITS HISTORY, 'THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS PART OF OUR MOVEMENT'S GREAT PAST'. IT HAD MADE INTERNATIONALISM AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT AND HAD PRODUCED 'TRUE KNIGHTS OF THE 20TH CENTURY'. HAVING PAID TRIBUTE IN GLOWING TERMS TO THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN THE RESISTANCE TO

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FASCISM, GORBACHEV DECLARED THAT 'THE TIME OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, THE INFORMATION BUREAU, EVEN THE TIME OF BINDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IS OVER. BUT THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT LIVES ON. ALL PARTIES ARE COMPLETELY AND IRREVOCABLY INDEPENDENT. WE DECLARED THAT AS EARLY AS THE 20TH CONGRESS. TRUE, THE OLD HABITS WERE NOT DISCARDED AT ONCE. BUT TODAY THIS HAS BECOME AN UNALTERABLE REALITY...THE 27 TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU WAS A FINAL AND IRREVOCABLE TURNING POINT. I THINK THIS HAS BEEN ACTUALLY PROVED BY OUR RELATIONS WITH FRATERNAL PARTIES IN THE COURSE OF PERESTROIKA'.

13. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO SAY THAT COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE LOOKING FOR THEIR NEW PLACE IN THE CHANGING WORLD. THEIR INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT WAS UNDERGOING A RENEWAL. HE LISTED THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, INCLUDING UNCONDITIONAL AND FULL EQUALITY AND CONCERN FOR THE COMMON CAUSE OF SOCIALISM. VARIETY WAS GOOD AND USEFUL. UNITY DID NOT MEAN IDENTITY AND UNIFORMITY. 'WE HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT THERE IS NO 'MODEL' OF SOCIALISM TO BE EMULATED BY EVERYONE'.

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MIPT: GORBACHEV'S 70TH ANNIVERSARY SPEECH: SOVIET HISTORY

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS OF GORBACHEV'S REVIEW OF SOVIET HISTORY SINCE THE REVOLUTION:

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP)

2. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT THE PARTY NOW TURNED MORE OFTEN TO LENIN'S LAST WORKS AND TO LENIN'S NEP, BUT THAT "IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO EQUATE THE NEP WITH WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW AT A FUNDAMENTALLY NEW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT". LENIN HAD NOT "MEANT TO DRAW THE PICTURE OF THE FUTURE SOCIETY IN EVERY DETAIL". HISTORY, IN GORBACHEV'S OPINION, DELIVERED THE NEW SYSTEM WITH A "RIGID ULTIMATUM": SOCIALISM WOULD HAVE TO DEVELOP IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME IF IT WERE TO SURVIVE.

THE 1920'S AND 30'S

3. GORBACHEV NOTED THE NEED TO ASSESS THE PAST WITH A "SENSE OF HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ON THE BASIS OF HISTORICAL TRUTH". THE 1920'S AND 30'S, WERE THE FOCUS OF "EVERLASTING DISCUSSIONS BOTH IN OUR COUNTRY AND ABROAD, WHERE, ALONG WITH A SEARCH FOR TRUTH, ATTEMPTS ARE OFTEN MADE TO DISCREDIT SOCIALISM". IN CONDITIONS OF PERESTROIKA IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PAY CREDIT TO THE PAST AND TO DRAW LESSONS FROM MISTAKES AND MISCALCULATIONS.

4. GORBACHEV NOTED THE LACK OF CONSENSUS AMONGST PARTY LEADERS IN THE EARLY YEARS OF SOVIET POWER. "THE CHARACTER OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WAS COMPLICATED BY PERSONAL RIVALRIES IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP". THESE DIVISIONS LED TO FACTIONALISM AND THE LEADERS IN QUESTION CONTINUED TO PROVOKE A SPLIT "EVEN AFTER THE VAST MAJORITY IN THE PARTY SAW THAT THEIR VIEWS WERE

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CONTRARY TO LENIN'S IDEAS AND PLANS AND THAT THEIR PROPOSALS WERE ERRONEOUS AND COULD PUSH THE COUNTRY OFF THE CORRECT COURSE ::
..... THIS APPLIES FIRST AND FOREMOST TO TROTSKY' WHO, IN LENIN'S OPINION, WAS 'AN EXCESSIVELY SELF-ASSURED POLITICIAN WHO ALWAYS VACILLATED AND CHEATED'. GORBACHEV CONTINUED THAT TROTSKYISM WAS 'A POLITICAL CURRENT WHOSE IDEOLOGISTS TOOK COVER BEHIND LEFTIST PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC', AND WAS 'AN ATTACK ON LENINISM IN ALL OF ITS ASPECTS'. IT WAS THEREFORE ESSENTIAL, 'TO DISAPPROVE TROTSKYISM ... AND TO LAY BARE ITS ANTI-SOCIALIST ESSENCE'. THE TROTSKYISTS ACTED WITH 'NEW OPPOSITION HEADED BY ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV', BUT THE 'PARTY'S LEADING NUCLEUS HEADED BY STALIN SAFEGUARDED LENINISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE'. THE POLITICAL COURSE WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY WORKED OUT WAS APPROVED BY 'MOST MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND MOST WORKING PEOPLE'. GORBACHEV NAMED BUKHARIN (AMONGST OTHERS) WHO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN DEFEATING TROTSKYISM.

BUKHARIN

5. BUKHARIN AND HIS FOLLOWERS RESTED ON 'DOGMATIC THINKING AND NON-DIALECTICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE CONCRETE SITUATION. BUKHARIN HIMSELF, AND HIS FOLLOWERS, SOON ADMITTED THEIR MISTAKES'. GORBACHEV QUOTED LENIN'S OPINION OF BUKHARIN: THAT HE WAS A MOST VALUABLE AND MAJOR THEORIST OF THE PARTY, THAT HE WAS CONSIDERED A FAVOURITE OF THE PARTY, AND THAT HIS THEORETICAL VIEWS COULD BE CLASSIFIED ONLY RESERVEDLY AS COMPLETELY MARXIST. 'THE FACTS AGAIN CONFIRMED THAT LENIN HAD BEEN RIGHT'.

INDUSTRIALISATION

6. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE CRASH INDUSTRIALISATION PROGRAMME OF THE LATE 20'S AND 30'S WAS 'THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD IN THOSE CONDITIONS, THOUGH IT WAS INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE'. HE SHOWERED PRAISE ON THE SELFLESS HEROISM SHOWN BY SOVIET CITIZENS DURING INDUSTRIALISATION AND NOTED THAT, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE GROWING THREAT OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION, 'THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO OTHER PATH FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION'. GORBACHEV SAID THAT, IN ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION COULD HAVE DEVELOPED DIFFERENTLY, 'IF WE WISH TO BE FAITHFUL TO HISTORY AND THE TRUTH OF LIFE THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE ANSWER: NO, ABSOLUTELY NOT.

COLLECTIVISATION

7. THIS PERIOD 'ALSO SAW SOME LOSSES'. THERE WAS A GROWING RELIANCE ON RIGID CENTRALISATION AND AN ADMINISTRATIVE COMMAND SYSTEM OF LEADERSHIP, WHICH EXTENDED TO COLLECTIVISATION. THERE WAS AN UNDERESTIMATION OF CHANGES IN RURAL SOCIETY SINCE THE REVOLUTION AND A FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE PEASANTRY HAD FOUGHT FOR THE REVOLUTION. DURING COLLECTIVISATION THERE WAS 'A DEPARTURE FROM LENIN'S POLICY TOWARDS THE PEASANTRY'. IN THE RUSH TO COLLECTIVISE, 'FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVISATION OCCURED EVERYWHERE'. THERE WERE ALSO EXCESSES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KULAKS. BUT COLLECTIVISATION WAS 'IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS A TRANSFORMATION OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE ... AND CREATED THE SOCIAL BASE FOR MODERNISING THE AGRARIAN SECTOR'.

STALINISM

8. GORBACHEV SAID THAT 'AN ATMOSPHERE OF INTOLERANCE, HOSTILITY AND SUSPICION WAS CREATED IN THE COUNTRY. MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ... WERE SUBJECTED TO WHOLESALE REPRESSIVE MEASURES. SUCH, COMRADES, IS THE BITTER TRUTH'. GORBACHEV NOTED STALIN'S 'EXTREMELY CONTRADICTIONARY PERSONALITY'. FAITHFULNESS TO HISTORICAL TRUTH REQUIRED APPRECIATION OF BOTH STALIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND HIS ERRORS, FOR WHICH SOCIETY PAID A HEAVY PRICE.' GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE PERSONALITY CULT WAS NOT INEVITABLE AND NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE 20TH AND 22ND CONGRESSES IN CONDEMNING STALINISM. THERE FOLLOWED A REHABILITATION OF THOSE REPRESSED AS 'A RESULT OF DELIBERATE FALSIFICATION', BUT THE PROCESS OF RESTORING JUSTICE WAS NOT SEEN THROUGH AND 'WAS ACTUALLY SUSPENDED IN THE MID-60'S.

9. GORBACHEV ANNOUNCED THAT THE POLITBURO HAD ESTABLISHED A COMMISSION TO EXAMINE NEW FACTS ON 'THESE MATTERS' AND THAT DECISIONS WOULD BE TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THE COMMISSION'S FINDING. ITS FINDINGS WILL ALSO BE REFLECTED IN A NEW HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. A TRUTHFUL APPRAISAL OF BOTH ACHIEVEMENTS AND MISFORTUNES 'WILL PROVIDE REAL MORAL GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE.' SOVIET HISTORY WAS 'REPLETE WITH CONTRADICTIONS AND COMPLEXITIES, BUT A BIG AND HEROIC ROAD.'

MOLOTOV/RIBBENTROP PACT

10. GORBACHEV DWELT AT LENGTH ON THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE

NON-AGGRESSION PACT OF AUGUST 1939. THROUGH THE LATE 1930'S THE 'HATRED OF SOCIALISM ... PREVENTED A SOBER ASSESSMENT OF THE REAL DANGERS', AND THAT 'FASCISM ... WAS OFFERED THE MISSION OF A STRIKE FORCE IN AN ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE.' WITH HINDSIGHT THE CONCLUSION OF A NON-AGGRESSION PACT WITH GERMANY WAS NOT THE BEST DECISION BUT THAT THIS 'MAY BE SO, IF ONE IS NOT GUIDED BY HARSH REALITY, BUT BY ABSTRACT CONJECTURES TORN OUT OF THEIR TIME FRAME.' THE ONLY WAY TO STOP FASCISM WOULD HAVE BEEN THE CONCLUSION OF AN ANGLO/FRANCO/SOVIET MILITARY ALLIANCE 'NOT LATER THAN AUGUST 1939.' THE SOVIET UNION WAS FACED BY A 'VERY REAL THREAT OF WAR ON TWO FRONTS'.

POST-WAR

11. GORBACHEV MENTIONED THE CONTINUATION OF ABUSES OF POWER IN THE EARLY 1950S, INCLUDING THE LENINGRAD AFFAIR AND THE DOCTORS' PLOT. HE NOTED THAT THERE WAS 'IN SHORT A LACK OF GENUINE RESPECT FOR THE PEOPLE.'

KHRUSHCHEV

12. THE 20TH CONGRESS IN 1956 SAW A CHANGE IN THE PEOPLE'S SPIRIT. IT TOOK NO SMALL COURAGE ON THE PART OF THE PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP BY KHRUSHCHEV TO CRITICISE THE PERSONALITY CULT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.' HOWEVER, THE CHANGES BEGUN IN THE 1950'S WERE HINDERED BY 'SUBJECTIVIST ERRORS'. 'NEW PROBLEMS OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AND OF PARTY DEVELOPMENT WERE TOO OFTEN SOLVED BY VOLUNTARISTIC METHODS', AND WERE NOT BACKED BY A 'BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS'.

BREZHNEV

13. MANY NEW ECONOMIC CHANGES BEGUN UNDER BREZHNEV IN 1965 'REMAINED ON PAPER AND WERE LEFT SUSPENDED IN MID-AIR. THE PACE OF OUR DEVELOPMENT WAS SUBSTANTIALLY RETARDED'. THE LATTER YEARS OF THE BREZHNEV PERIOD 'CREATED A PRE-CRISIS SITUATION AND THE GULF BETWEEN PRINCIPLES AND SOVIET REALITIES 'WAS BECOMING INTOLERABLE.' THE RESPONSE TO THESE PROBLEMS CAME WITH THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM AND 'ASSUMED FINAL SHAPE IN THE GENERAL POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY PERESTROIKA.' THE ROAD WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS FOLLOWING, GORBACHEV SAID, 'IS NOT FOR THE WEAK AND FAINT-HEARTED: IT IS A ROAD FOR THE STRONG AND THE BRAVE.'

CARTLEDGE

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