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TELNO 122

OF 301230Z JANUARY 87

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO, MOD

INFO ROUTINE EAST EUROPEAN POSTS, PEKING, HELSINKI, TOKYO

MY TELNO 101: CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: GORBACHEV'S CLOSING
SPEECH

1. PRAVDA TODAY, 30 JANUARY, PUBLISHES THE TEXT OF GORBACHEV'S
CLOSING REMARKS AT THE PLENUM. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN
POINTS:

A) THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE PLENUM WAS ONE OF UNITY ON ALL
QUESTIONS SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION. THERE WAS A BROAD
DEBATE IN WHICH 34 OF THE 77 COMRADES WHO INSCRIBED THEIR
NAMES TOOK PART.

B) THE PLENUM HAD SHOWN THAT THE PARTY AND ALL HEALTHY FORCES
IN SOCIETY WERE IN FAVOUR OF RESTRUCTURING. THAT BEING SO
THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE, AND THAT SHOULD PUT AN END TO ANY
DISCUSSION ABOUT WHETHER RESTRUCTURING WAS NECESSARY OR NOT.

C) IT WAS NOW CLEAR, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW BOTH OF INTERNAL
DEVELOPMENT AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THAT THERE HAD
TO BE ACCELERATION OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

D) THE THEME OF SERIOUS AND PROFOUND DEMOCRATISATION OF SOVIET
SOCIETY HAD RIGHTLY BEEN AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE POLITBURO'S
REPORT. 'WE NEED DEMOCRACY LIKE AIR. IF WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND
THAT AND NOT ONLY UNDERSTAND IT BUT TAKE REALLY SERIOUS STEPS
TO BROADEN IT AND TO DRAW THE WORKERS ON A BROAD SCALE INTO THE
PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING, THEN OUR POLICY WILL FAIL AND
RESTRUCTURING WILL COME TO A HALT'.

GORBACHEV EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THIS IMPORTANT FEATURE
OF PARTY POLICY RECEIVED FULL SUPPORT FROM THE PLENUM.

E) GLASNOST', CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM, CONTROL BY THE
MASSES WERE THE GUARANTEES OF THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET
SOCIETY. THEY WERE THE MEANS FOR PRESERVING THE PARTY FROM
MISTAKES IN POLICY. 'THE PRICE OF SUCH MISTAKES IS KNOWN TO
ALL OF US'.

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- F) 'NOW MORE THAN EVER WE NEED MORE LIGHT, SO THAT THE PARTY AND PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW EVERYTHING, SO THAT THERE ARE NO DARK CORNERS WHERE MOULD COULD AGAIN START TO GROW.'
- G) GORBACHEV DECLARED THAT THE PARTY AND PEOPLE COULD EASILY COPE WITH THOSE WHO TRIED TO EXPLOIT GLASNOST' AND THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS FOR SELFISH, ANTI-SOCIAL AND SLANDEROUS ENDS. 'GLASNOST', CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM ARE SIMPLY ESSENTIAL FOR US...AND IF ANYONE SUGGESTS THAT WE NEED THEM ONLY IN ORDER TO CRITICISE DEFECTS OF THE PAST, THEY ARE PROFOUNDLY WRONG. THE MAIN THING IS THAT GLASNOST', CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM AND DEMOCRACY ARE NECESSARY FOR OUR PROGRESS IN ORDER TO SOLVE ENORMOUS TASKS....IF ANYONE THINKS THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO WORK IN SUCH CONDITIONS THEN THEY SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT SIX MONTHS AGO I ADVISED THEM TO START LEARNING TO LIVE IN CONDITIONS OF GREATER DEMOCRACY. LET US ALL LEARN'.
- H) THE PRESS SHOULD SUPPORT GLASNOST' AND INFORM THE PEOPLE BUT IT SHOULD DO SO RESPONSIBLY AND NOT GIVE WAY TO SENSATIONALISM.
- I) GORBACHEV SAID THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF A PARTY CONFERENCE, WHICH THE POLITBURO HAD SUBMITTED AT THE PLENUM. HE ASSUMED THAT THOSE WHO DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE DEBATE ALSO SUPPORTED THE IDEA. AT A FORTHCOMING PLENUM A PROPOSAL WOULD BE PUT FORWARD ABOUT THE TIMING AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR ORGANISING THE CONFERENCE.

2. COMMENT

THIS UNEXPECTED POSTSCRIPT DOES NOT AFFECT THE CONCLUSIONS OF MY TELNO 116. A NOTABLE FEATURE OF GORBACHEV'S FINAL SPEECH WAS HIS REMARKABLY STRONG PLUG FOR DEMOCRATISATION AND GLASNOST'. ALTHOUGH HE REFERRED TO THE 'FULL SUPPORT' OF THE PLENUM FOR THIS POLICY HE APPEARED TO BE RESPONDING TO APPREHENSIONS IN THE PARTY, WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE BEEN VOICED AT THE MEETING, WHEN HE INSISTED THAT THE PARTY COULD COPE WITH DEMAGOGUES AND EMPHASISED THE NEED FOR THE PRESS TO BE RESPONSIBLE AND TO AVOID SENSATIONALISM. ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT THEME OF THE SPEECH WAS HIS APPEAL, IMPLICITLY ALMOST OVER THE HEADS OF THE PARTY, FOR THE SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING. (IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT AMONG THE DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED FOR PRIOR STUDY BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WAS A 'REVIEW OF LETTERS FROM WORKERS ABOUT RESTRUCTURING AND CADRE POLICY'). THE TONE OF GORBACHEV'S CONCLUDING REMARKS WAS AGAIN VERY CONFIDENT. NATURALLY ENOUGH, THIS SHORT CONCLUDING SPEECH CARRIED A MUCH MORE

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PERSONAL IMPRINT THAN HIS FORMAL REPORT TO THE PLENUM: AND IT
GAVE NOT HINT THAT HIS AUTHORITY HAS BEEN IN ANY WAY WEAKENED.

CARTLEDGE

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