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FM MOSCOW

TO DESKBY 131530Z FCO

TELNO 1638

OF 131440Z NOVEMBER 87

INFO PRIORITY NATO POSTS, E EUROPEAN POSTS, PEKING

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1608

MY TELNO 1430: FALL OF ELTSIN

1. TODAY'S SOVIET PRESS CARRIES A LENGTHY ACCOUNT (16 COLUMNS) IN PRAVDA OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE MOSCOW GORKOM MEETING ON 11 NOVEMBER. IT IS AN EXTRAORDINARY DOCUMENT, PROBABLY WITHOUT PRECEDENT. IT GIVES WHAT APPEARS TO BE A VIRTUALLY VERBATIM ACCOUNT OF GORBACHEV'S OPENING AND CLOSING STATEMENTS AND ALSO FULL SUMMARIES OF MORE THAN 20 SPEECHES FROM THE FLOOR, INCLUDING A REMARKABLE 'ME A CULPA' FROM ELTSIN HIMSELF. ALTOGETHER, IT PROVIDES THE MOST REVEALING INSIGHT INTO SOVIET POLITICS AND THE FRANKEST AND MOST DAMNING INDICTMENT OF A LIVING SOVIET LEADER TO HAVE APPEARED SINCE THE TIME OF KRUSHCHEV.

3. MY 3 IFTS CONTAIN A DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS. A CONSIDERED ASSESSMENT MUST WAIT UNTIL THE DUST HAS SETTLED BUT THE FOLLOWING ARE MY INITIAL THOUGHTS.

3. THE REPORT REVEALS THAT THE ELTSIN SAGA HAS A MUCH LONGER HISTORY THAN WE HAD REALIZED. IT EMERGES THAT ELTSIN HAS BEEN IN CONFLICT WITH KEY ELEMENTS OF THE LEADERSHIP FOR A YEAR AT LEAST. GORBACHEV REVEALS THAT AS LONG AGO AS JANUARY ELTSIN WAS CENSURED BY THE POLITBURO FOR HIS MANNER OF RUNNING MOSCOW AND THAT HE AGREED TO MEND HIS WAYS. GORBACHEV ALSO RELATES HOW ELTSIN WAS AGAIN SUBJECTED TO POLITBURO CRITICISM FOR HIS INSISTENCE ON PURGING MOSCOW PARTY PERSONNEL IN JUNE AND THAT HE OFFERED TO RESIGN IN A PERSONAL LETTER TO GORBACHEV WHILE THE LATTER WAS ON HOLIDAY IN AUGUST/SEPTEMBER. ALL THIS SUGGESTS THAT ELTSIN'S PERSONAL CONDUCT AND MANNER OF OPERATING WAS A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN HIS DOWNFALL THAN HAD BEEN EVIDENT HITHERTO. IT ALSO INDICATES THAT GORBACHEV HIMSELF, AS ELTSIN'S PATRON, MUST HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD FOR SOME TIME TO KEEP HIM IN THE LEADERSHIP.

4. GORBACHEV'S SPEECH IS REMARKABLE FOR ITS FRANKNESS AND DETAIL ABOUT ELTSIN'S SHORTCOMINGS. HOWEVER HE IS CAREFUL THROUGHOUT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THESE PERSONAL SHORTCOMINGS AND THE POLICIES OF PERESTROIKA. ELTSIN'S MAIN FAULTS, AS GORBACHEV REPEATEDLY

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STRESSED, WERE HIS AMBITION, HIS HIGH-HANDED MANNER AND HIS FAILURE TO TAKE HIS COLLEAGUES WITH HIM. ELTSIN'S CLAIMS THAT THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FAILED TO SUPPORT HIM WERE DESCRIBED AS ABSURD.

5. HAVING DECIDED, FOLLOWING THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 21 OCTOBER, THAT ELTSIN MUST GO, GORBACHEV'S AIM HAS CLEARLY BEEN TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM ELTSIN AND TO CONCENTRATE ON SAVING PERESTROIKA. BY ENSURING THAT HE IS PUBLICLY SEEN TO HAVE PRESIDED OVER THE ATTACK ON ELTSIN, AND BY STRESSING THROUGHOUT IN HIS SPEECH THE IMPORTANCE OF 'COLLEGIALITY' (IE WORKING BY CONSENSUS), HE HAS MANAGED TO CREATE A PICTURE OF A LEADERSHIP UNITED AROUND THE BASIC PROCESS OF PERESTROIKA WITH ELTSIN REVEALED AS AN INDIVIDUAL AND ABERRANT EXCEPTION. ALTHOUGH IT IS TOO EARLY FOR A FINAL JUDGEMENT, I BELIEVE THAT GORBACHEV'S SPEECH, TOGETHER WITH HIS BOLD AND UNPRECEDENTED DECISION TO PUBLISH THE GORKOM'S PROCEEDINGS, WILL SIGNIFICANTLY DIMINISH THE DAMAGE TO HIS OWN AUTHORITY AND TO PERESTROIKA WHICH ELTSIN'S FALL MAY HAVE CAUSED.

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1612

MY TELNO 1638: FALL OF ELTSIN:

PLENUM OF MOSCOW GORKOM: GORBACHEV'S OPENING SPEECH

SUMMARY

1. A COMPREHENSIVE AND DEVASTATING CONDEMNATION OF ELTSIN'S POLITICAL CONDUCT AND STYLE, DELIVERED BY GORBACHEV, EVIDENTLY ON BEHALF OF THE POLITBURO, AND PUBLISHED APPARENTLY IN FULL. REVELATION THAT ELTSIN HAD BEEN A PROBLEM FOR AT LEAST A YEAR AND HAD ALREADY BEEN REBUKED BY THE POLITBURO. CLAIM THAT (CONTRARY TO EARLIER REPORTS) NO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER HAD SPOKEN IN ELTSIN'S DEFENCE AT THE PEREDERZHKI PLENUM ON 21 OCTOBER.

DETAIL

2. GORBACHEV OUTLINED EVENTS AT THE OCTOBER 21 PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND EARLIER, WHICH LED TO ELTSIN'S RESIGNATION. GORBACHEV SAID THAT THE POLITBURO HAD CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY AT THIS PLENUM TO LOOK AT SOVIET HISTORY AND ALSO CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY "ONCE AGAIN TO EVALUATE THE PROGRESS OF PERESTROIKA." GORBACHEV WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THE SPEECH GIVEN BY ELTSIN AT THE PLENUM "SOUNDED A DISSONANT NOTE. ELTSIN HAD DECLARED THAT HE HAD NO COMMENTS ON THE TEXT OF GORBACHEV'S SPEECH FOR DELIVERY ON 2 NOVEMBER AND WAS FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF IT. HOWEVER, HE WISHED TO TOUCH ON A SERIES OF QUESTIONS WHICH HAD ACCUMULATED IN HIS MIND DURING THE TIME THAT HE HAD WORKED IN THE POLITBURO." IT MUST BE SAID, "GORBACHEV CONTINUED," THAT AS A WHOLE, ELTSIN'S SPEECH WAS POLITICALLY IMMATURE, WAS EXTREMELY CONFUSED AND CONTRADICTORY. THE SPEECH DID NOT CONTAIN A SINGLE CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION AND WAS FOUNDED NOT ON ANALYSIS OR FACTS, BUT ON EXCESSES (PEREDERZHKI) AND AS SUCH IT WAS IN ESSENCE CONSIDERED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, TO BE DEMAGOGIC IN ITS CONTENT AND CHARACTER."

3. GORBACHEV CONTINUED THAT IN ESSENCE ELTSIN "TRIED TO BRING

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INTO DOUBT THE WORK OF THE PARTY ON PERESTROIKA SINCE THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM ... AND WENT AS FAR AS TO SAY THAT PERESTROIKA GAVE PRACTICALLY NOTHING TO PEOPLE'' IN ELTSIN'S OPINION THE ASSESSMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT THE REALIZATION OF THE NEW PHASE OF PERESTROIKA IN THE NEXT 2 OR 3 YEARS WAS MISTAKEN AND DISORIENTATED THE PARTY AND THE MASSES. '' BY THIS HE DISPLAYED COMPLETE THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL INCAPACITY IN AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRESS OF PERESTROIKA, AND SHOWED HIMSELF UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND THAT IN THE HUGE WORK OF RENEWAL OF SOVIET SOCIETY THERE WERE BEFORE THE PARTY AND ALL WORKERS TASKS WHICH WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME, AND MEDIUM TERM TASKS AS WELL AS TASKS WHICH IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS WOULD ACHIEVE A NOTABLE IMPROVEMENT AND A SATISFACTION OF THE REAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE ... IN PARTICULAR IN HIS OPINION THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY LACKED ''REVOLUTIONARY ENERGY'' IN THE INTRODUCTION OF PERESTROIKA.''

4. ''ATTEMPTS BY ELTSIN TO SHOW IN A WRONG LIGHT THE WORK AND SITUATION WITHIN THE POLITBURO AND IN PARTICULAR ANY QUESTIONS RELATING TO PRINCIPLES OF COLLEGIALITY, DREW A PARTICULARLY HARSH REACTION FROM MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE''. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO NOTE THAT THERE WAS NOTHING UNUSUAL IN THE FACT THAT A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER CRITICISED HIGHER PARTY BODIES AND INDIVIDUALS AT A PLENUM. ''THIS IS A NORMAL THING''. BUT, ELTSIN'S OUTBURST WAS A TOTALLY DIFFERENT AFFAIR. ''WHEN THE ATTENTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS CENTRED ON QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE IN THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF OUR DEVELOPMENT, ELTSIN TRIED TO TAKE THE WORK OF THE PLENUM IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION BY STATING HIS PARTICULAR POSITION ON A SERIES OF QUESTIONS''. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT ELTSIN'S SPEECH DREW ''DISBELIEF AND INDIGNATION'' FROM MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE PLENUM UNANIMOUSLY CONSIDERED HIS SPEECH TO BE ''POLITICALLY MISTAKEN. NOT ONE OF THOSE WHO SPOKE SUPPORTED ELTSIN''. HAD ELTSIN NOT SEEN ANY SIGNS OF ENCOURAGEMENT IN THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY SINCE THE APRIL 1985 PLENUM ? GORBACHEV WENT ON TO REHEARSE SOME OF THE SUCCESSES SO FAR UNDER PERESTROIKA.

5. GORBACHEV THEN TURNED HIS ATTENTION BACK TO MISTAKES MADE BY ELTSIN AND QUOTED LENIN TO THE EFFECT THAT ''EVEN THE BEST PEOPLE IF THEY INSIST IN HOLDING TO A WRONG POSITION ARRIVE AT A POSITION WHICH IN FACT IS NOT DIFFERENT FROM UNPRINCIPLED DEMAGOGY''. THIS HAD HAPPENED WITH ELTSIN AND HE HAD ''PLACED PERSONAL MOTIVATION HIGHER THAN THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTY. IT WAS THE GENERAL OPINION OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THAT ELTSIN'S ACTION WHICH HAD BEEN IRRESPONSIBLE AND LACKING IN DISCIPLINE BROUGHT HARM TO WHAT WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO US NOW - THE UNIFICATION OF ALL FORCES,

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MOBILIZATION OF ALL THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE RESOLUTION OF HUGE TASKS OF PERESTROIKA''. AT THE END OF HIS SPEECH ELTSIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF HIS RELEASE FROM HIS DUTIES AS A CONDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO.

6. GORBACHEV NOTED THAT ELTSIN'S INTENTION TO RESIGN HAD BEEN KNOWN TO HIM EVEN BEFORE THE PLENUM. WHILST HE WAS STILL ON HOLIDAY, HE HAD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM ELTSIN IN WHICH ELTSIN HAD REQUESTED THAT THE QUESTION OF HIS REMAINING IN THE POLITBURO AND AS FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MOSCOW GORKOM SHOULD BE RESOLVED. ON RETURNING FROM HOLIDAY GORBACHEV HAD CONVERSATION WITH ELTSIN AND ''WE AGREED THACETHIS WAS NOT THE TIME TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION, THAT WE WOULD MEET AND WE WOULD DISCUSS ALL OF IT AFTER THE OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS. NEVERTHELESS ELTSIN, BREAKING THE RULES OF PARTY AND SIMPLE HUMAN ETIQUETTE, DECIDED TO BRING THIS QUESTION DIRECTLY BEFORE THE PLENUM, BY-PASSING THE POLITBURO.''

7. AS REGARDS ELTSIN'S REFERENCE TO LACK OF SUPPORT FROM THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ''THIS STATEMENT IS COMPLETELY ABSURD AND HAS NO CORRESPONDENCE WITH REALITY''. GORBACHEV WENT ON AT SOME LENGTH TO LIST THE EXTENSIVE HELP AND SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE POLITBURO TO CHANGES BEING MADE IN MOSCOW. GIVEN ALL THIS SUPPORT, GORBACHEV ASKED WHY ELTSIN HAD BEHAVED IN THIS WAY. THE POLITBURO HAD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE REASONS LAY PRIMARILY IN HOW ELTSIN ''UNDERSTOOD PERESTROIKA AND THE METHODS BY WHICH IT WAS TO BE BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE''.

8. ELTSIN'S ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME PROBLEMS WHICH HAD BUILT UP IN MOSCOW AND TO RID THE CITY OF NEGATIVE PHENOMENA HAD BEEN GREETED WITH PARTICULAR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FROM WORKERS. GORBACHEV NOTED SPECIFICALLY THAT ''AT A PRELIMINARY STAGE THIS HAD ALLOWED CERTAIN NOTABLE CHANGES FOR THE BETTER''. HE CONTINUED HOWEVER THAT CRITICISM IS LESS IMPORTANT THAN ACTUAL DEEDS AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE THE WORK OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS. BUT ''THE BURO OF THE GORKOM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ELTSIN HAD TRIED TO REACH NECESSARY CHANGES BY SUDDEN SWOOPS TAKING PEOPLE UNAWARES (NASKOKOM) THROUGH PRESSURE, SHOUTING, AND NAKED ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS. AND THESE ARE, AS IS KNOWN, METHODS FROM THE OLD ARSENAL AND COULD NOT GIVE REAL AND LASTING SUCCESS.''

9. ''IN ADDITION, HAVING BECOME ACCUSTOMED IN THE EARLY STAGES TO WIDELY BROADCAST DECLARATIONS AND PROMISES WHICH TO A

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SIGNIFICANT EXTENT FED HIS INORDINATE VANITY, AND HIS DESIRE TO BE ALWAYS ON VIEW, ELTSIN BECAME NEGLIGENT AND WEAKENED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CITY PARTY ORGANISATION, AND HIS PERSONNEL WORK''. AS IMPROVEMENTS BEGAN TO SLOW DOWN IN THE CAPITAL AND THINGS STARTED TO WORSEN ELTSIN ''TRIED TO OFF-LOAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS OWN SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN HIS WORK ON TO OTHERS AND FIRST AND FOREMOST ON TO SENIOR OFFICIALS''. THE PARTY GORKOM ON THE INITIATIVE OF ELTSIN AND WITH HIS ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT BEGAN A SECOND ROUND OF SHAKING UP OF STAFF WHICH THE POLITBURO HAD TOLD HIM PREVIOUSLY SHOULD NOT BE DONE. HE HAD BEEN WARNED, APPARENTLY BEFORE THE JANUARY PLENUM THIS YEAR, BY THE POLITBURO THAT IF HE DID THIS THEN HE WOULD RECEIVE NO SUPPORT. WHEN TOLD OF THIS HE HAD REACTED IN A PROPER WAY SAYING THAT HE HAD LEARNT AN IMPORTANT LESSON AND WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE EXPERIENCE. HOWEVER HE ''DID NOT DRAW THE NECESSARY CONCLUSIONS'' ACCORDING TO GORBACHEV. THIS LED TO FAILINGS IN MOSCOW.

10. GORBACHEV CONCLUDED HIS MAIN SPEECH: ''IN GENERAL, COMRADES, THE STYLE AND METHODS OF ELTSIN, CHARACTERISED BY PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY PHRASEOLOGY AND PSEUDO-DECISIVENESS, TURNED OUT TO BE UNSOUND.'' WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR REAL WORK AND NOT PHRASE-MONGERING, ''HELPLESSNESS, FUSSING AROUND AND A PANICKED ATMOSPHERE APPEARED.'' THIS WAS THE BACKGROUND TO THE CC PLENUM'S DECISION THAT ELTSIN'S STATEMENT WAS ''POLITICALLY MISTAKEN'' AND TO INSTRUCT THE MOSCOW PARTY TO CONSIDER HIS REQUEST TO RESIGN.

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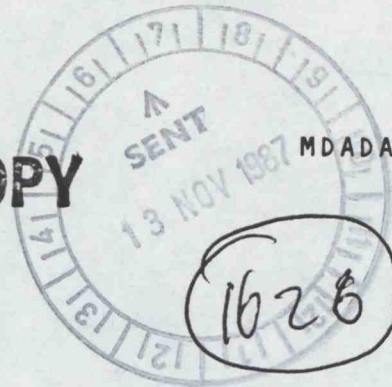
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TELNO 1640

OF 131440Z NOVEMBER 87

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MY TELNO 1638: THE FALL OF ELTSIN: MEETING OF THE MOSCOW
GORKOM: STATEMENT BY ELTSIN AND CLOSING STATEMENT BY GORBACHEV

SUMMARY

1. ELTSIN ACCEPTS THE CRITICISM LEVELLED AT HIM, REAFFIRMS HIS DEDICATION TO THE PARTY AND TO PERESTROIKA AND ACKNOWLEDGES HIS GUILT. GORBACHEV ENDORSES THE DECISION OF THE MEETING, STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INCIDENT AS A LESSON AND MAKES AN IMPASSIONED PLEA TO CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR PERESTROIKA.

2. ELTSIN MADE A BRIEF AND CONTRITE STATEMENT IN WHICH HE AGREED WITH THE CRITICISM WHICH HAD BEEN LEVELLED AGAINST HIM AT THE MEETING, AND PLEDGED HIS FIRM SUPPORT FOR, AND BELIEF IN, PERESTROIKA. SHOULD HIS BEHAVIOUR HAVE CONTRADICTED THIS, HE BELIEVED THAT HE SHOULD BE EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY. HE NOTED THAT THINGS HAD BEGUN TO GO BADLY FOR HIM FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. HE HAD FOUND IT EASIER TO MAKE PROMISES THAN TO ACT, AND HE SAID THAT HIS ROLE AS FIRST SECRETARY HAD BEEN DAMAGED BY HIS 'OWN PERSONAL AMBITION'. HE REGRETTED ANY DAMAGE DONE TO MOSCOW AND REAFFIRMED HIS LOVE FOR THE CITY. HE WAS UNABLE TO REFUTE THE CRITICISM HE HAD HEARD: AS ONE SPEAKER HAD ALREADY NOTED, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER IF IT HAD BEEN MADE EARLIER. ELTSIN CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSLY ACKNOWLEDGING HIS GUILT BEFORE THE MOSCOW GORKOM, BEFORE THOSE ASSEMBLED AND BEFORE GORBACHEV.

3. THE MEETING WAS CONCLUDED BY GORBACHEV, IN MORE PERSONAL TERMS THAN THOSE OF HIS OPENING SPEECH. HE NOTED THAT THE MEETING HAD BEEN AN 'OPEN PARTY DISCUSSION IN A HIGHLY EXACTING AND RESPONSIBLE SPIRIT'. THE RIGHT DECISIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN. GORBACHEV REASSURED HIS AUDIENCE THAT 'THE CONCERNS OF MOSCOW ARE THE FOREMOST CONCERNS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE' AND REITERATED THE COMMENTS HE MADE EARLIER ABOUT THE SUPPORT WHICH THE HIGHER PARTY ORGANS HAD GIVEN TO MOSCOW. THE ATMOSPHERE HAD TO CHANGE IN THE CITY SO THAT PEOPLE 'WORKED

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WITH INITIATIVE, AS THEY SAY, NOT FROM FEAR, BUT FROM CONSCIENCE.'" THE GORKOM PLENUM HAD BEEN A "DIFFICULT, BUT INSTRUCTIVE LESSON. AND DIFFICULT LESSONS ARE NOT EASILY MASTERED AND NOT BY EVERYBODY."

4. "THIS LESSON SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN ", GORBACHEV NOTED. "IT IS A LESSON FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU. I AM NOT GOINT TO JUSTIFY MYSELF HERE, OR LAY OUT IN DETAIL WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE IN ORDER NOT TO HAVE ALLOWED THE MISTAKES IN THE WORK OF THE GORKOM, WHICH WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING TODAY, TO HAPPEN. I, PERSONALLY, HAVE ENDURED MUCH FOR WHAT HAS HAPPENED. YOU SEE, I HAD CONVERSATIONS WITH BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH ELTSIN SEMICOLON HARSH, OPEN, AND ONE-TO-ONE. I MUST TELL YOU, BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH, THAT YOUR (TVOI) AMBITIONS GOT IN YOUR WAY, REALLY GOT IN YOUR WAY. ON THE EVE OF THE JANUARY PLENUM AND AT THE (OCTOBER) PLENUM ITSELF WE FUNADAMENTALLY SET YOU RIGHT. ON THE EVE OF THE JUNE PLENUM THERE WAS ANOTHER CONVERSATION. I WISH TO ADD MY SUPPORT TO THOSE WHO SPOKE ABOUT THE POSITIVE SIDES OF ELTSIN'S WORK. BUT ALL THE SAME HE TURNED OUT POLITICALLY NOT TO BE UP TO THE JOB, HE DID NOT HAVE THE STRENGTH TO HEAD A PARTY ORGANISATION LIKE THAT IN MOSCOW."

5. REFERRING TO ANALYSES MADE AT THE JANUARY PLENUM, GORBACHEV HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED FOR COLLEGIALITY: "COLLECTIVENESS AND COLLEGIALITY ARE A GREAT FORCE."

6. GORBACHEV WENT ON TO NOTE THAT (AFTER THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAD CENSORED ELTSIN), A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER, ZATVORNITSKII, HAD RISEN TO SPEAK AND HAD ASKED HOW IS TI THAT YOU (ELTSIN), SUCH AN IMPORTANT LEADER, CAN THINK NOT ABOUT THE COUNTRY, NOT ABOUT THE PARTY, BUT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT CAREERISM: YOU SETTLE ACCOUNTS, FORGETTING ABOUT THE DIFFICULT TASKS WHICH WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN. IS THIS PERMISSIBLE ? IT IS NOT PERMISSIBLE (EXCLAM) "THESE WORDS.. CUT ME TO THE QUICK", SAID GORBACHEV.

7. GORBACHEV CONCLUDED HIS SPEECH WITH AN IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR PERESTROIKA. "OUR ENEMIES CALL US UTOPIAN, AND FORECAST THAT WE WILL FAIL. THEY SAY THIS OUT OF FEAR BEFORE OUR PERESTROIKA." WITH THE PASSING OF THE JANUARY AND JUNE PLENUMS THEY REALISED THAT THE LEADERSHIP WAS SERIOUS "AND THEY PANICKED. NOW THEY ARE DOING ALL THEY CAN TO SOW DOUBT IN THE MINDS OF THE WORKING CLASS, DISBELIEF IN WORKERS, TO COMPROMISE PERESTROIKA. LET THEM TALK (EXCLAM) TO SLANDER US IS A COMMON THING FOR THEM ... A PATH IS DIFFICULT, BUT WE'VE GONE UP IN THE WORLD AND STAND NOW NOT IN

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QUICK-SAND BUT ON FIRM GROUND, AND BECAUSE OF THAT WE WILL REMAIN
STANDING (EXCLAM) ... I'M SURE THAT MUSCOVITES WILL BRING ABOUT
THAT CONTRIBUTION ON WHICH THE COUNTRY, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
THE LEADERSHIP DEPEND, AND WE WILL SUPPORT YOU.''

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