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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER <sup>632</sup> OF 16 JUNE

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, BONN, PARIS, UKDEL NATO AND WARSAW

INFO SAVING OTHER NATO POSTS, SOFIA, BELGRADE, BUCHAREST,  
BUDAPEST, EAST BERLIN, WARSAW, PRAGUE, PEKING AND ULAN BATOR

MY TELNO 630 : CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM : ANDROPOV'S SPEECH  
OF 15 JUNE.

1. FOLLOWING ARE THE SALIENT POINTS ( FROM THE TASS ENGLISH TEXT OF THE SPEECH, A FULL RUSSIAN TEXT NOT YET BEING AVAILABLE ).

#### IDEOLOGY AND THE NEW CPSU PROGRAMME.

1. ALL LEVELS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY MUST UNDERSTAND THE INCREASING PRIORITY TO BE ACCORDED TO IDEOLOGICAL WORK. ALL MEANS OF PROPOGANDA SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THIS AND A NEW STYLE , FREE FROM MECHANICAL FORMALISM , INTRODUCED. IN THIS WORK IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT PERIOD OF HISTORY WHICH IS '' MARKED BY A CONFRONTATION, UNPRECEDENTED IN THE ENTIRE POST-WAR PERIOD IN ITS INTENSITY AND SHARPNESS , BETWEEN THE TWO DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED WORLD OUTLOOKS'', SOCIALISM AND IMPERIALISM. IT IS IMPORTANT TO PROCLAIM THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND CONVERSELY TO EXPOSE SUBVERSIVE IMPERIALIST PROPOGANDA. '' WHAT WE NEED IS A WELL-CONSIDERED SINGLE SYSTEM OF COUNTER PROPOGANDA''.
3. THE CPSU PROGRAMME , NOW IN PREPARATION, WILL PLAY AN EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT ROLE. IT SHOULD CONTAIN BOTH A REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF PRESENT PROBLEMS AND A CLEAR GUIDE TO THE FUTURE. SOME PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT PARTY PROGRAMME HAVE NOT WITHSTOOD THE TEST OF TIME BECAUSE THEY CONTAINED ELEMENTS DIVORCED FROM REALITY ..... THE NEW PROGRAMME '' SHOULD CONTAIN A DETAILED CHARACTERISATION OF THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM ''.
4. IN OUR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WE HAVE NOW REACHED AN HISTORIC STAGE WHEN PROFOUND QUALITATIVE CHANGES AND A CORRESPONDING PERFECT-ION OF PRODUCTION RELATIONS ... HAVE BECOME INEVITABLE.

5. THE KEY TASK IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE IS TO RAISE LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY TO THE HIGHEST WORLD LEVELS. FIRST OF ALL IT IS NECESSARY TO BRING TO ORDER WHAT WE HAVE , TO ENSURE THE MOST REASONABLE UTILISATION OF THE COUNTRY'S PRODUCTION, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POTENTIAL, INCLUDING OVERCOMING THE LAG IN SUCH BRANCHES AS AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORT AND THE SERVICE INDUSTRY.

6. IN THE FUTURE WE SEE THE MERGING OF STATE PROPERTY AND COLLECTIVE FARM PROPERTY INTO A SINGLE FORM OF OWNERSHIP, OWNERSHIP BY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE , NOT BY WAY OF THE MECHANICAL TRANSFORMATION OF COLLECTIVE FARMS INTO STATE FARMS BUT , FOR INSTANCE, BY AGRO-INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION , THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTER-COLLECTIVE FARMS, AND COLLECTIVE FARM-STATE FARM AMALGAMATIONS. THIS ENTIRE PROBLEM SHOULD BE ELUCIDATED IN THE PARTY PROGRAMME.

7. IN DISCUSSING THE NEW PARTY PROGRAMME ANDROPOV ALSO REFERRED TO THE TASK OF " REDUCING AND SIMPLIFYING THE MANAGERIAL APPARATUS" REMARKING THAT THE STAFFS OF MANY INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS COULD BE CONSIDERABLY REDUCED WITHOUT ANY HARM TO THEIR WORK. HE ALSO CALLED FOR ELIMINATION OF THE USE OF STATE AND PUBLIC PROPERTY FOR PURPOSES OF PERSONAL ENRICHMENT.

8. IN THE LONGER PERSPECTIVE , HE PREDICTED THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET STATEHOOD INTO PUBLIC SELF-GOVERNMENT INVOLVING A BROADER INVOLVEMENT OF THE MASSES IN MANAGING THE AFFAIRS OF SOCIETY.

9. THE PARTY CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TO THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT OF ART..... IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF ADMINISTRATION BY INJUNCTION BUT OF MARXIST -LENINIST CRITICISM, ACTIVE, CONSIDERATE, ATTENTIVE AND AT THE SAME TIME UNCOMPROMISING TOWARDS IDEOLOGICALLY ALIEN AND PROFESSIONALLY POOR WORKS , AS THE MAIN MEANS TO INFLUENCING ARTISTIC CREATIVITY.

#### PARTY AND STATE RELATIONS.

10. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO ENSURE IN PRACTICE A CORRECT DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTION BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE STATE. IT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY SAID THAT PARTY BODIES SHOULD NOT DUPLICATE STATE BODIES, BUT IT IS NOT ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO AVOID THIS. THIS DUPLICATION OFTEN REDUCES THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HEADS OF STATE ORGANISATIONS AND MAKES THEM SEEK TO SHIFT IT ON TO PARTY ORGANISATIONS, WHILE THE LATTER INVOLUNTARILY DEVELOP ELEMENTS OF A DEPARTMENTAL ATTITUDE TO WORK.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES.

11. THE PAST TWO DECADES HAVE ENRICHED OUR CONCEPT OF THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM , AND HAVE SHOWN MORE VIVIDLY HOW DIVERSE AND COMPLEX IT IS. BETWEEN DIFFERENT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THERE ARE BIG DISTINCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THEIR ECONOMIES, THEIR CULTURE AND THEIR WAYS AND METHODS OF SOLVING THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT. THIS IS ONLY NATURAL, EVEN IF IT SEEMED TO US AT ONE TIME THAT IT WOULD BE MORE UNIFORM.

12. IN POLITICS ONE HAS TO PAY FOR ONES'S ERRORS. WHEN THE GUIDING ROLE OF A COMMUNIST PARTY WEAKENS, THERE IS A DANGER OF SLIPPING DOWN TO A BOURGEOIS-REFORMIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT. IF A PARTY LOSES TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE, SELF-PROCLAIMED CONTENDERS FOR THE ROLE OF THOSE WHO EXPRESS THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE EMERGE IN THE ENSUING VACUUM. IF NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENTS ARE NOT CHECKED, THERE ARISE INTER-STATE CONFLICTS FOR WHICH, SEEMINGLY THERE IS NO BASIS IN THE SOCIALIST WORLD.

13. IN RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ANDROPOV CALLED FOR :

(A) A FURTHER PERFECTION OF POLITICAL INTERACTION , '' OF WHICH THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANISATION IS THE MAJOR INSTRUMENT ''

(B) A QUALITATIVELY NEW LEVEL OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. '' INTEGRATION WILL BECOME MORE AND DEEPER , AND MORE ALL - EMBRACING AND EFFECTIVE ''.

(C) THE FURTHER IDEOLOGICAL DRAWING-TOGETHER OF THE FRATERNAL PEOPLES .

14. DISCUSSING POLICY TOWARDS COUNTRIES'' WHICH HAVE CHOSEN SOCIALIST ORIENTATION '' ANDROPOV STATED THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH SUCH PROGRESSIVE STATES, RENDER ASSISTANCE TO THEM IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICS AND CULTURE, AND PROMOTE THE STRENGTHENING OF THEIR DEFENCE. '' WE RENDER HELP SO FAR AS WE CAN TO THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS WELL . BUT , IN THE MAIN , THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, LIKE THE ENTIRE SOCIALIST PROGRESS IN THOSE COUNTRIES , CAN BE, OF COURSE, ONLY THE RESULT OF THE WORK OF THEIR PEOPLES , AND OF A CORRECT POLICY ON THE PART OF THEIR LEADERSHIP ''.

THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES.

15. AS TO THE WORLD OF CAPITALISM , WE A WITNESSING A SUBSTANTIAL DEEPENING OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF THAT SOCIAL SYSTEM ... IMPERIALISM IS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION ... WHEN MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE ARE DOOMED TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND MISERY.

16. THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF ULTRA-REACTIONARY FORCES LED BY U S IMPERIALISM HAS SHARPLY INCREASED ... IN THE PRESENT-DAY CAPITALIST WORLD, HOWEVER, THERE ARE ALSO OTHER TRENDS AND OTHER POLITICIANS WHO TAKE A MORE REALISTIC ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. THEY REALISE THAT PROCESSES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE WORLD ARE NOW IRREVERSIBLE, THEY REALISE THE NECESSITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT OF LONG-TERM PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE.

17. COMMUNISTS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIALISM. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE GOING TO ENGAGE IN THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION AND INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION IS ALTOGETHER IMPOSSIBLE SEMICOLON SOCIALISM GROWS ONLY IN THE SOIL OF THE OBJECTIVE REQUIREMENTS FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY.

18. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE IS OBJECTIVELY FACILITATED BY MILITARY-STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND IMPERIALISM. THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS BALANCE IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE LAST DECADES. IT REQUIRED FROM OUR PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLES OF OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY NO SMALL EFFORTS AND RESOURCES, AND WE SHALL NOT ALLOW IT TO BE DISRUPTED. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENSURE TH SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY AND OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES , AND WILL ENHANCE THE COMBAT POWER OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES - A MIGHTY FACTOR CONTAINING THE AGGRESSIVE ASPIRATIONS OF IMPERIALIST REACTION.

19. F C O PLEASE PASS TO SAVING ADDRESSEES.

SUTHERLAND

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