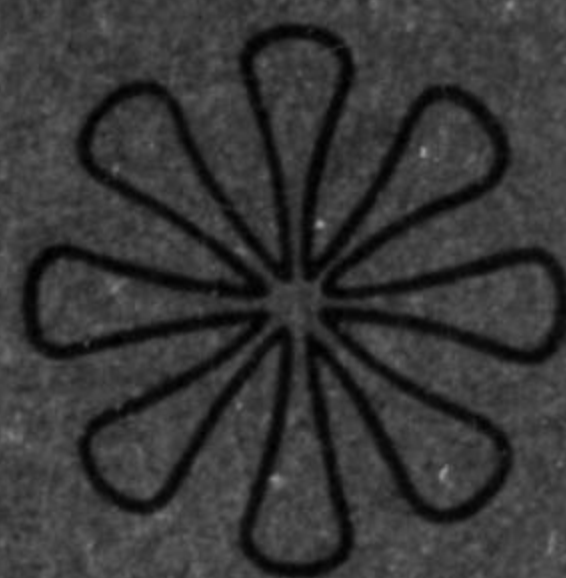


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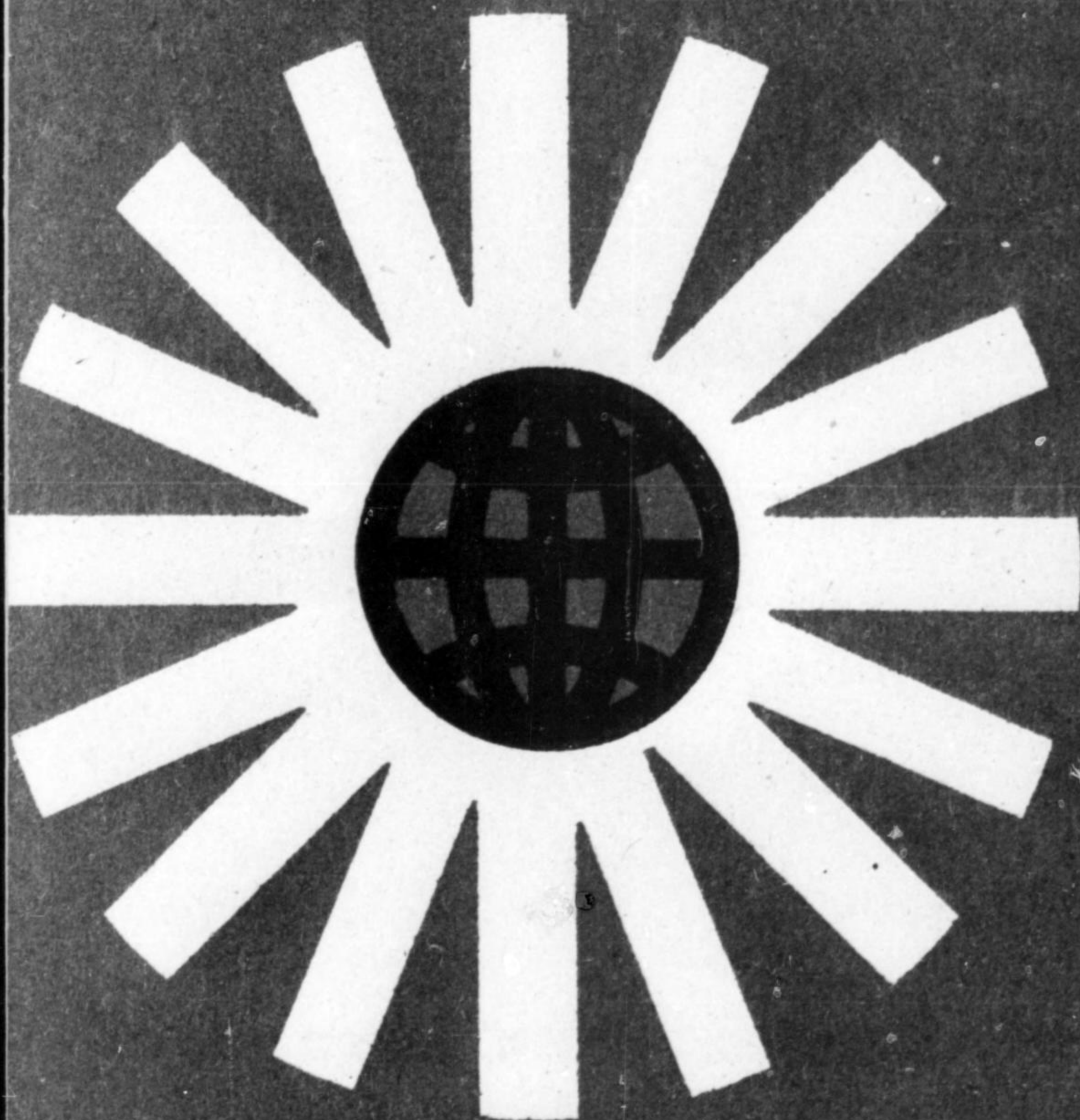


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BULLETIN

Issued by

**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**



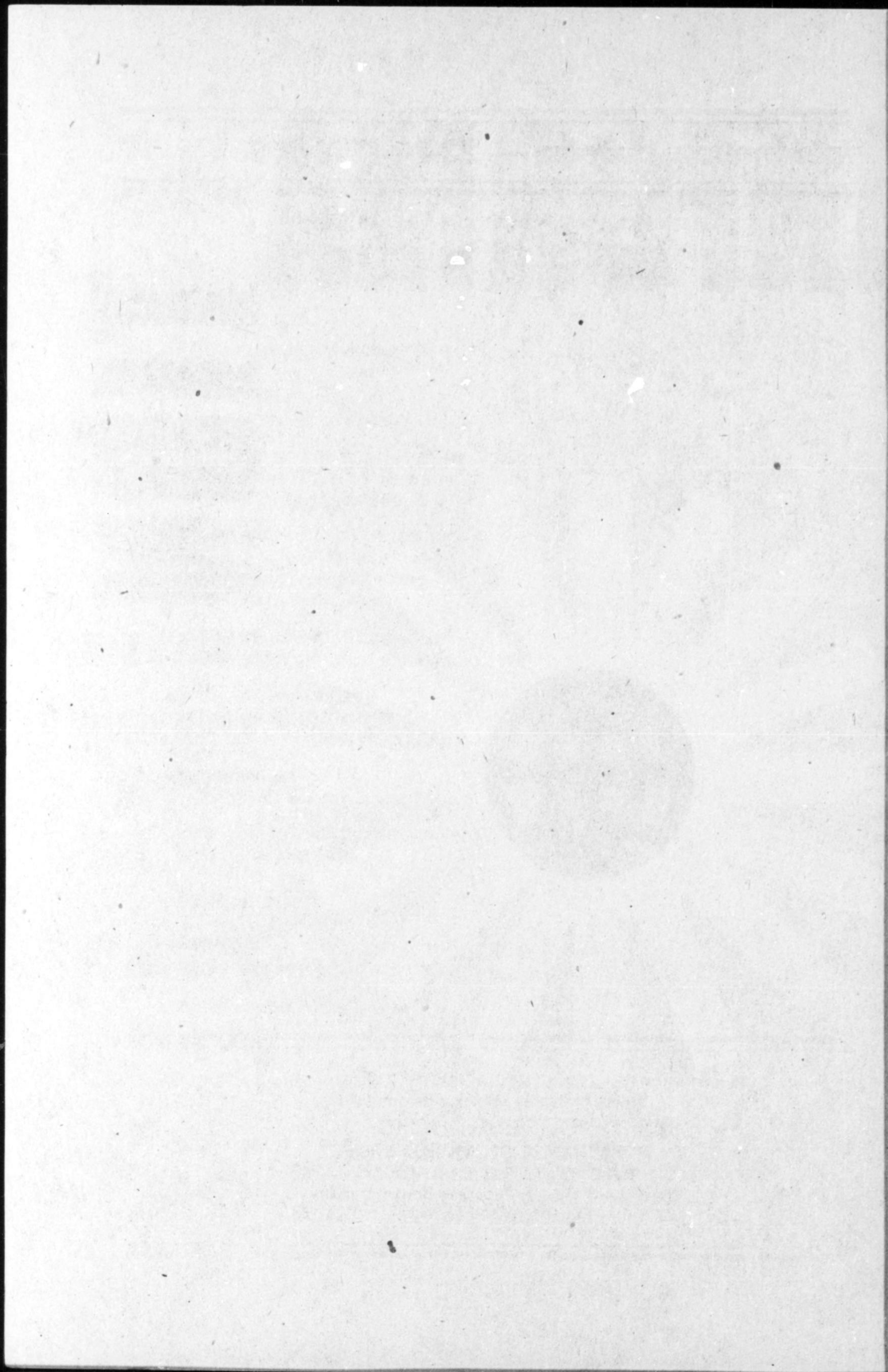
**30TH
ANNIVERSARY
OF THE GDR**

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INDIA

23-24

(299-400) • 1979



information bulletin — 23-24 (399-400) Vol. 17

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published by PEACE AND SOCIALISM PUBLISHERS—Prague
North American edition published by

PROGRESS BOOKS

71 BATHURST ST., THIRD FLOOR,
TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA M5V 2P6
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PRINTED IN CANADA
DECEMBER 31, 1979

PRICE: 10 CENTS



30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GDR

A meeting devoted to the 30th anniversary of the formation of the German Democratic Republic was held in Berlin on October 6. Below we print an abridged version of the speeches made there by Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev.

THIRTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Speech by Erich Honecker

Thirty years have passed since the formation of the German Democratic Republic. The founding of the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil was a major event in the tremendous revolutionary transformations of postwar development.

The 30 years of the German Democratic Republic have been 30 years of struggle for peace and socialism providing a salient proof of the victorious advance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The very fact of our republic's existence in the homeland of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, its indissoluble ties with the great community of socialist states clearly shows that we are living at a time when a growing number of peoples are opting for the socialist road of development.

The 30 years of the German Democratic Republic have been 30 years of realization of the historic mission of the working class on German soil. Under the leadership of the working class and its party — the Socialist Unity Party of Germany — our people have traversed a road of deep-going revolutionary changes in all spheres of life over these decades. Our state has literally risen up from the ashes. It has been a road of hard work, equally hard losses, and sustained fierce anti-imperialist class battles. On the ruins left behind by World War II, so outrageously unleashed by Hitler's gang on German monopoly capital's orders, a state has been built up which has learned from the lessons of the past. It has once and for all joined the family of free peoples and belongs to the world of socialism.

The formation and steadfast development of the German Democra-

tic Republic rest on a stable and unshakable foundation. By its victory over fascism on the decisive front of the anti-Hitler coalition during World War II, by its undying liberation feat the Soviet Union opened the way to a happy future for our people as well. We will always revere the memory of the 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet Union, who gave their lives for this. The behest of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War has been fulfilled in our country and the historic opportunity for liberation was not missed. The German Democratic Republic is the embodiment of what the anti-fascist resistance fighters gave all their strength and very life for in clandestinity, in the prisons and concentration camps of the Hitler regime, and in emigration. The three decades have shown that their heritage is in true hands, and we are happy that our youth is worthily continuing the cause of their fathers.

A major achievement is that after liberation from fascism we were able to unite on a revolutionary basis the CPG and the SDPG in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, thereby healing the split in the working class. This made it possible for the working class to fulfill its lofty historic responsibility. It concluded a close alliance with all other classes and population strata, and was able to unite the working people. Otherwise our country would not have been able to rise up from the chaos of the first postwar years or to eliminate the material and ideological debacle, nor to achieve successes in construction. A socialist society that meets the requirements of our time was built.

Our state is the embodiment of a new socialist Germany. It is a Germany of great revolutionary traditions. We are translating into life what Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring, Ernst Thaelmann and Rudolf Breitscheid aspired to. We are continuing what Wilhelm Pieck, and Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht and Max Fechner began together in 1945.

Leaning on the indissoluble alliance with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, we have advanced steadfastly from decade to decade. The German Democratic Republic is a politically stable, economically healthy state that is internationally recognized and respected.

When the German Democratic was formed, the deep-going revolutionary transformations in our country laid the groundwork for its socialist development. Public ownership of the means of production was established and justified itself. The land reform put an end to the domination of the Junkers and realized the age-old dream of the

peasants. It was at this time that such concepts as the two-year plan, the movement of the activists, machine-hiring stations in the rural communities, worker-peasant faculties and state trade enterprises (HO) gained currency among the people.

These were only the initial steps on the road to socialist planned economy. The war wounds still negatively affected production. Productivity of labor in industry was still way below the prewar level. As a result of the splitting of Germany through the fault of imperialism, the historically formed economic proportions were disrupted. Today the GDR ranks among the world's ten highly developed industrial powers. Socialist production relations, which have long been the sole basis of production, are being continuously improved and have reached an even higher level. A powerful material and technical base has been set up whose structure is determined by traditional industries, as well as hitherto non-existent branches. After taking over the means of production, the working class and the whole people have created by their labor a completely new material base for production, demonstrating thereby that they are the creators of new productive forces and spiritual values.

Nowhere on earth has capitalism ever ensured the social well-being of the working people; on the contrary, it maintains the exploitation of man by man, and though its forms have changed, its essence and brutality have not changed in the least. In a society based on profit there are recurrent crises, and a growing army of unemployed even where the productive forces have reached a high level. Though the state of affairs may look brighter at times, it is not long before the deep shadow of insecurity once again hovers over the lives of the working people. The 30 years of the GDR prove yet again: only socialism is capable of putting the fruits of labor and the achievements of science and technology fully at the service of man.

The activists of the first years were firmly convinced that things would be better without capitalism. Life has confirmed a thousand times how right they were. Under the leadership of the working class and the Socialist Unity Party we are advancing successfully along the road which began with the anti-fascist democratic transformations and along which we have covered a good distance in creating a mature socialist society. In the process the working class has enhanced its influence in all areas of life and simultaneously strengthened its alliance with the peasants, intelligentsia and other working people. This in itself attests to our party's scientific policy, to the fact that at all stages of the 30-year endeavor, during all battles and trials this al-

liance was not only maintained, but has been strengthened and enriched. The National Front of the GDR is a striking example of comradely cooperation of the working-class party with the Democratic Peasants' Party, the Christian-Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party and the mass organizations, which are demonstrating their viability now as well as in the past.

The 30 years of the German Democratic Republic have been simultaneously three decades of growing friendship with the Soviet Union. From the outset the country of Lenin has both defended and aided us. We had access to the colossal treasure-store of experience of the victorious socialist revolution and of socialist construction accumulated by the CPSU and the USSR since the triumph of the Great October Revolution. Soviet communists in khaki helped their class brothers both with word and deed. For countless people in our country this friendly solidarity is linked with the most vivid, unforgettable memories.

A program of specialization and cooperation of production up to 1990 was signed on the occasion of the jubilee of our socialist German state. For us this is an event of tremendous importance. All our plans rest on friendship with the Soviet Union. Strictly in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of October 7, 1975, the new program envisages further fruitful expansion of our fraternal relations. The objectives facing us are colossal. Take for instance the scientific and technological revolution, its demands and its potentialities, or the far from simple task of developing our countries' energy resources. Only together with the Soviet Union, together with the other fraternal socialist countries can we implement such long-term plans, and only together with them can we successfully cope with them.

Each year of the GDR's history was a year of consistent struggle for the great goal of ensuring peace and energetic efforts to ensure that the threat of a new war will never again spring from German soil. This is a most important lesson of the past, which our state, in accordance with its socialist character, is constantly guided by in its policy. Thanks to the liquidation of the imperialist system of domination and its reactionary aggressive ideology, the roots of war have been eliminated for all time in our country. Together with our Warsaw Treaty allies we are working vigorously to turn Europe from a continent of tension and wars into a region of stable peace, good-neighborliness and cooperation. The results of these efforts contri-

buted to the process which has led to political détente and brought with it substantial progress in realizing the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

We have always known that the solution of the vitally important question for humanity — the ensurance of peace — can only be achieved through unrelenting and persistent struggle. This is due to the fact that imperialism remains essentially aggressive and can be expected to resort to all kinds of provocation. Every passing day confirms Lenin's thesis to the effect that only a revolution which can defend itself is worth something.

In accordance with the fundamental foreign policy line endorsed by the Ninth Party Congress, the GDR, together with the fraternal countries is endeavoring to ensure the most favorable external conditions for socialist and communist construction in our countries. First of all, it is essential to further step up efforts to strengthen détente, facilitate the adoption of real disarmament measures and on this basis to remove every danger of a world war. It is necessary to put a stop to the arms race creating thereby the most favorable conditions for further progress in ensuring peace. The very existence of the peoples depends on this.

Therefore we also carefully note every step made by the Federal Republic that serves to promote further normalization of relations between the two German states, to limit armaments and achieve disarmament. Many questions of the present and the future depend on this further normalization. Federal Chancellor Schmidt recently recalled that, if, as he put it, our will for peace is to be effective, there should be a readiness to accept realities. Since the GDR's readiness is quite obvious, we believe that it is fully possible to clear up a number of questions which will lead to further progress in ensuring peace and disarmament. Neither the citizens of the Democratic Republic nor of the Federal Republic need the deployment of medium-range missiles in the west European NATO states. What they both need is cooperation between the two German states on disarmament issues in the spirit of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Dear comrades and friends, I cannot but once again pay tribute to the tireless and constructive efforts of the CPSU and the USSR, in the spirit of Lenin's behests, in upholding the cause of peace throughout the world. The working people of the GDR value above all the outstanding personal contribution by our friend and comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to the cause of peace, which is a vital issue for all humankind. You, dear Comrade Brezhnev, as a result of your Vienna

meeting with President Carter of the USA rendered an invaluable service to the cause of peace. SALT-2 represents an agreement whose realization pursues the aim of effectively curtailing the arms race with respect to the most dangerous types of weapons. This is an important step in resolving the disarmament problem.

SALT-2 is one of the numerous indubitable proofs of the total falsity of imperialism's well-worn insinuations about a threat allegedly emanating from the East, of the myth with the aid of which NATO is seeking to justify stepping up its armaments and to deceive the broad public of its countries. From the East, from the Soviet Union, ever since 1917, ever since the victory of the Great October Revolution constant appeals for peace have been made to all and everyone.

Peace is vital to all the peoples of the world. It is absolutely essential if they are to lead a happy life and achieve national liberation and social emancipation. It is from these positions that the German Democratic Republic has always considered and fulfilled its special responsibility as a state situated on the frontier between two social systems — socialism and imperialism, between two alliances — the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. We will continue to act with this in mind. The logic of socialist foreign policy demands that we combine our peaceful course with effective solidarity with the fighters of the anti-imperialist front — whether in Africa, Asia or in Latin America. We feel a close community with our friends throughout the world who along with us are these days celebrating the GDR's 30th anniversary. This cohesion and solidarity have a firm place in the thoughts and deeds of our citizenry. We see it as vivid proof of the revolutionary changes that have taken place over these 30 years.

CONCRETE MANIFESTATION OF THE PEACEFUL INTENT OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES

Speech by Leonid Brezhnev

The Soviet Union and other countries of the great socialist community have been with you through every year of the past three decades. We have been marching ahead together, drawing faith and courage from our mutual support and fraternal solidarity.

The Warsaw Treaty, whose 25th anniversary we shall soon ob-

serve, has become a dependable instrument of our common security and our joint struggle for peace. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has become a good forum for large-scale and equal economic cooperation.

The experience of our interaction in all fields offers a convincing example of the invincible strength of socialist solidarity, and it is our common desire that this shall continue to be so.

A new major document of our cooperation — the Program on Specialization and Cooperation of Production between the USSR and the GDR through 1990 — was signed yesterday. Putting it briefly, its essence is as follows: wherever possible and useful, we shall pool our resources and production potentials in order to solve the most complicated problems of economic development more successfully.

Constant creative contacts have become customary, and I would even say a vital need of our parties, state and public organizations, enterprises and research centers. Thousands upon thousands of working people in the Soviet Union and your republic are directly acquainted with each other and millions maintain close ties through various organizations. This is very good, comrades, for the friendship of the nations is a treasure which should be guarded and multiplied.

In the jubilee days, it seems appropriate to review the path traversed. In the autumn of 1949, when the German Democratic Republic was established, the political situation in Europe, and not only in Europe, was especially tense. The gales of the cold war were sweeping the continent. The NATO bloc, the main military instrument of imperialism, had already been established. Certain politicians in the West threatened to turn the cold war into a "hot" war. Balancing on the brink of war was proclaimed to be all but the main principle of foreign policy of the imperialist camp.

But the dawn of socialism which rose over many countries in the second half of the 40s was growing brighter and brighter. The emergence and assertion of the GDR was a new and great victory for socialism and peace, an event of truly historic significance.

The year 1945, when the last act of the most sanguinary war in the history of mankind was concluded here, in Berlin, is receding farther and farther into the past. Now, as the capital of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin is in good repute. The people of the world cannot but be grateful to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to the government and working people of the GDR for giving a categorical "no" to fascism and militarism and for justifying the hopes of the fighters of the anti-Hitler front.

It is easier to understand the content of the policy of any state by answering such simple questions as: What is it giving its citizens and what is it bringing to its neighbors and the world as a whole?

In the German Democratic Republic, just as in other socialist states, profound concern is shown for the welfare of the working people, so that every member of society can look to the future with confidence. The best traditions of the German working class movement are maintained and developed here, and the ideals of a brilliant galaxy of German revolutionaries, humanists and thinkers are being brought to life.

Toward its neighbors, the Republic is friendly and ready to cooperate and reach mutual understanding with them. Together with other countries of the socialist community it is doing everything to prevent mankind from being plunged again into the holocaust of war.

All this deserves profound respect. Therein lies the root of the GDR's ever-growing prestige in the world.

The legal recognition of the GDR became in effect a turning point in strengthening security in Europe. As you know, this was not achieved easily. The countries of the socialist community had to struggle for decades for this recognition, for the conclusion of the well-known treaties of the seventies, for the postwar realities to be taken into account, for the holding of the European Conference.

The European Conference adopted the Final Act — a kind of charter of security for the peoples of Europe, a charter of a peaceful life and of peaceful relations between states. It is our earnest wish that this charter be carried out in full.

Judging by words, the Western statesmen want the same. Regrettably, our partners' actions only too often take a different direction. We cannot fail to see facts: the supporters of the arms race use any pretexts, even non-existing, far-fetched ones, to heat up the situation and accelerate military preparations. As for Europe, it is planned to plant a mine under the very foundation of the edifice of peace.

The dangerous plans for the deployment of new types of American missile nuclear weapons in Western Europe (which Western propaganda is already heralding) give cause for serious concern. Frankly, implementation of these designs would essentially change the strategic situation on the continent. Their aim is to upset the balance of forces that has taken shape in Europe and to try to ensure the military superiority of the NATO bloc.

As far as military superiority is concerned, that's an imaginative exercise. The socialist countries would not, of course, watch the

efforts of the NATO militarists indifferently. In such a case we would have to take the necessary steps to strengthen our security. There would be no other way left for us. One thing is absolutely clear: realization of NATO's plans would inevitably aggravate the situation in Europe and poison in many respects the international atmosphere in general.

It is no secret that the Federal Republic of Germany, alongside the USA, is assigned anything but a small part in the preparation of these dangerous plans.

Frankly speaking, those who shape the policy of that country today face a very serious choice. They will have to decide which is best for the FRG: whether to help strengthen peace in Europe and develop peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation among European states in the spirit of good-neighborliness and growing mutual confidence, or to contribute to a new aggravation of the situation in Europe and the world by deploying in its territory American nuclear missiles aimed at the USSR and its allies. It is clear that in this latter case the position of the FRG itself would considerably worsen. It is not hard to see what consequences West Germany would have in store for itself if these new weapons were put to use by their owners one day.

The above also applies, of course, to other European NATO countries which would be "lucky" enough to have American medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in their territories.

As for the Soviet Union, I repeat again and again that we do not seek military superiority. We have never intended and do not intend to threaten any state or group of states. Our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in nature. The assertions that the Soviet Union is building up its military might on the European continent above its defense needs have nothing to do with reality. This is deliberate deception of the public.

In Europe, just as in all other parts of the world, we want peace, a lasting peace. This is the fundamental basis of our foreign policy, its backbone. We are pursuing this policy consistently and undeviatingly.

As Chairman of the Defense Council of the USSR I can state most definitely that the number of medium-range carriers of nuclear arms in the European part of the Soviet Union has not increased by a single missile, nor by a single plane, during the past ten years. On the contrary, the number of launchers of medium-range missiles and also the yield of their nuclear warheads have even been decreased somewhat. The number of medium-range bombers, too, has diminished.

As to the territory of other states, the Soviet Union does not deploy such weapons there at all. For a number of years already we have not increased the number of our troops stationed in Central Europe either.

I will say more. We are prepared to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the west of the Soviet Union from their present level, but only, of course, in the event if no additional medium-range nuclear weapons are deployed in Western Europe.

I also want to solemnly confirm the pledge that the Soviet Union will never use nuclear arms against those states that renounce the production and acquisition of such arms and do not have them on their territory.

Motivated by a sincere desire to overcome the impasse in efforts of many years to achieve military détente in Europe, to set an example of going over from words to real deeds, we have decided, on agreement with the leadership of the GDR and after consultations with other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, *to unilaterally reduce the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe. Up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen, a thousand tanks and also a certain amount of other military hardware will be withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic in the course of the next 12 months.*

We are convinced that this new concrete manifestation of the peaceful intent and good will of the Soviet Union and its allies will be approved by the peoples of Europe and the whole world. We call on the governments of the NATO countries to properly assess the initiatives of socialist states and to follow our good example.

The Soviet Union supports further expansion of confidence-building measures in Europe. In particular, we are prepared to agree upon prior notification of large-scale military exercises of ground forces to be made earlier than provided for by the Helsinki Accords, and not starting at the level of 25,000 men, as is the case now, but at a lower one, for instance, at the level of 20,000 men. We are also prepared, on the basis of reciprocity, not to conduct military exercises involving more than 40-50 thousand men.

It goes without saying that the proposals by socialist countries concerning notification about large-scale air and naval exercises, conducted near the territorial waters of other participatory countries of the European Conference, remain in force.

We have yet another suggestion for the West: let us give timely notification not only of military exercises, but also of troop move-

ments involving more than 20,000 men, anywhere in the area defined by the Helsinki Accords.

Consideration also could be given to other ideas directed at strengthening trust between states, at lessening the danger of the outbreak of war in Europe. We continue to regard a European political conference as the most suitable place for discussing a broad complex of measures of military détente in Europe. It is pressing and, it can be said, timely, to prepare and convene such a conference now.

Lying ahead, as is known, are also important SALT-3 talks. We are for commencing them immediately after the entry into force of the SALT-2 Treaty. Within the framework of these talks we agree to discuss the possibilities of limiting not only intercontinental but also other types of armaments, but with due account, of course, of all related factors and a strict observance of the principle of the equal security of both sides.

The USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries of Europe are offering a clear perspective — to genuinely ensure to all European peoples a life in conditions of security and peace. Now it is up to the Western countries. Their answer will show whether they are prepared to take into consideration the will and vital interests of the peoples of the world. We hope that realism, statesmanship and, finally, simple common sense will prevail.

Dear comrades,

In this tempestuous world we of the socialist community have firm ground under our feet. We created it ourselves, pressing for the steady progress of our economies, developing socialist democracy, ensuring a constant growth of the well-being of our peoples and strengthening by common efforts our defense. Our ties are deep and diverse, and we are learning to cooperate still better and better.

Socialist internationalism is the political and moral force that enabled us to achieve many victories in the struggle for peace and social progress.

It is wonderful that this major holiday of the German Democratic Republic is passing in an atmosphere of true internationalism.

Pravda, October 7, 1979

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

On the Results of the Official Visit to the German Democratic Republic of the party and government Delegation of the USSR

A party and government delegation of the Soviet Union led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made an official friendly visit to the German Democratic Republic from October 4 to 8, 1979, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Republic, at the invitation of the SUPG Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

A Program of Specialization and Cooperation in Production between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 1990 determining the main directions of economic cooperation between the two countries for a long-term perspective was signed during the visit.

Leonid Brezhnev and members of the Soviet delegation had talks with Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, and members and alternate members of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee.

I

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, and on behalf of all Soviet people, Leonid Brezhnev warmly congratulated the SUPG Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and all people of the GDR on the 30th anniversary of the first German workers' and peasants' state.

The GDR is ushering in its 30th anniversary with major achievements in all fields of building a developed socialist society, and in carrying out the objectives posed by the Ninth Congress of the SUPG. A highly productive socialist economy has been established and continues to become increasingly effective. A solid socialist political system has been created and is being perfected. The extensive social reforms implemented in the republic are governed by the interests of the working people, and by their material and intellectual well-being.

The GDR is an inalienable component of the socialist community. The German socialist state is making a large contribution to the consolidation of the fraternal family of peoples, and to the development of their many-sided cooperation. For three decades the republic

has been consistently upholding the ideas of peace and friendship among nations. As a factor for stability in Europe, it enjoys great international prestige.

All the successes of the GDR are inseparably linked with the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which enjoys the well-earned prestige and confidence of the republic's working class, working peasantry and the intelligentsia, and is the recognized guiding force of society. The experience of the SUPG is a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of building socialism.

Expressing the unanimous opinion of the SUPG Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and of all the people of the GDR, Erich Honecker noted the fraternal Soviet people's great achievements in building communism, which evoke in the German Democratic Republic a feeling of profound appreciation and enthusiasm. As they successfully carry out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people are decisively facilitating the consolidation of real socialism and increasing its positive influence on world affairs. The CPSU's consistent internationalist policy plays an outstanding part in defending peace, and in strengthening the socialist community, and facilitates new successes in the struggle for national and social liberation.

Loyal to the behests of Ernst Thaelmann, the SUPG considers constant deepening of the fraternal alliance with the CPSU the fundamental requirement in its policy. The participants in the discussions stated with satisfaction that sincere friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the GDR over three decades has proved its vitality and is reliably serving the interests of both countries, the cause of socialism and peace. A permanent foundation for the fraternal relations between the USSR and the GDR and an important instrument in their constant deepening is the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of October 7, 1975.

Regular meetings between comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker and between other leaders of the USSR and the GDR play a tremendous role in ensuring the political and economic cooperation and the formulation of common positions on urgent topical questions.

After reviewing the state of contacts between the two countries at the party, state and public levels, the participants in the discussions pointed out that the jointly drafted program for the development of these contacts is being successfully fulfilled. The scope and standards of cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological coopera-

tion between the USSR and the GDR are growing and cultural exchanges are broadening with every passing year.

It was agreed to work toward the development of comprehensive cooperation which facilitates the attaining of the objectives of building socialism and communism in the two countries. In this connection the firm belief was expressed that the program of specialization and cooperation of production between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 1990, signed during the present visit, will be a new step in combining both countries' material resources and scientific and technical potentialities to jointly carry out major economic tasks.

The two sides expressed their determination to continue to facilitate in every way the strengthening of the power and cohesion of the socialist community, and to make the cooperation of the fraternal parties and states more effective. The USSR and the GDR will be active in implementing the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration and the long-term purpose-oriented programs of cooperation within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Along with other Warsaw Treaty countries, they will perfect this collective organization, which is an instrument for coordinating the foreign policy of the socialist countries, reliably defends socialism, and ensures peace and stability in international relations.

II

In the discussion on urgent international questions the participants in the talks pointed out that despite the complexity and the contradictory nature of the current situation, the dominating trend of world politics is détente. This largely is a result of the actions of the socialist countries and their consistent policy of improving the international climate.

In this connection, the leadership of the GDR highly appraised the purposeful work of the CPSU Central Committee, its Political Bureau and of Leonid Brezhnev personally in implementing the Program of Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples, adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress.

The USSR and the GDR will continue to persistently strive to deepen détente and extend it to all parts of the world, and to build up long-term mutually advantageous cooperation among countries with different social systems. This cooperation can be successful only on the basis of complete equality, rigid observance of the principles of

non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual respect for independence and sovereignty.

The two sides expressed their determination to continue giving a firm rebuff to the attempts by specific elements in the West to revive the spirit of the cold war in the international political arena behind the camouflage of the myth of the "threat from the East" and to intensify the material and propaganda preparations for war. They also condemned certain countries' aspirations for hegemony which are a serious obstacle on the road of détente. The importance was emphasized of the Soviet suggestion submitted to the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly "On the Impermissibility of the Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations".

The key question of the current international situation is limiting and ending the arms race, and making the move to real disarmament. Life insistently demands effective steps to supplement political détente with military détente.

In this connection Erich Honecker emphasized the importance of the documents signed during the Vienna meeting between Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President Carter of the USA. Both sides expressed the hope that the entry into force of the SALT-2 Treaty would open up the road to the further limitation and reduction of strategic arms, and would provide a strong impetus for progress in other directions of military détente.

A particularly important task today is to halt the production of all types of nuclear weapons and to gradually reduce their stocks until they are completely eliminated. Agreement on this question would be an important step toward the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war.

The two sides gave a great deal of attention to the situation in Europe. Positive changes in Europe in recent years create favorable conditions for new constructive steps to broaden cooperation and understanding among European states. There is growing insistence to put the necessity of easing military confrontation on the agenda of European politics.

An important contribution to the achievement of this objective could be the implementation of the suggestions contained in the Moscow Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries of November 1978, and in the Communiqué of the meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of that organization of May 1979.

The prospects of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe were considered in this context. The USSR and the GDR are confident that progress can be made at these talks provided that the Western participants approach them from a constructive position and refrain from attempts to alter the existing balance of forces in Europe in their favor.

In the current situation, a very acute question is that of NATO's plans to deploy new American medium-range nuclear-missile weapons in Western Europe targeted against the socialist countries. The USA and the FRG, which display particular insistence in advancing these plans, are playing a dangerous game. A new spiral in the arms race would mean a great blow against détente and in the final count would increase the risk of a nuclear war. Understandably, attempts to upset the existing military balance in Europe are bound to produce counter-measures from the other side.

The participants in the talks urge the NATO countries to abandon their plans. It is still not too late to halt the dangerous course of events. On the contrary, there is a real possibility of considerably lessening military confrontation on the European continent stemming from the important new Soviet peace initiative presented in Leonid Brezhnev's October 6 speech in Berlin, which was fully approved and strongly supported by the German Democratic Republic.

As a gesture of goodwill, the Soviet Union is prepared to unilaterally reduce the number of medium-range nuclear missiles stationed in the western part of the USSR, compared with the present level, provided there is no additional deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

The Soviet Union has decided to reduce its troop strength in Central Europe. Within 12 months, up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen, a thousand tanks and other types of military hardware will be withdrawn from the GDR.

In cooperation with other countries, the Soviet Union is prepared to implement additional measures for building confidence and reducing the risk of an outbreak of war.

The leaders of NATO countries bear a historic responsibility. The peoples are now waiting to see whether they will emulate the generous example of the Soviet Union with constructive steps or whether they prefer to plunge Europe into another dangerous stage of the arms race.

The two sides emphasized the importance of the treaties of the

Soviet Union, the PPR, the GDR and the CSSR with the FRG, and the quadripartite agreement of September 3, 1971 on West Berlin which in many ways helped improve the situation in Europe. Strict and unfailing observance of these treaties and agreements which are based on the recognition of territorial and political realities is an important condition for the further consolidation of détente and good-neighborly cooperation on the continent. The USSR and the GDR will continue to oppose any attempts to circumvent these arrangements, or failure to fulfill the commitments contained in them.

The USSR and the GDR strongly oppose the great-power hegemonist policy of the Chinese leaders, which is deeply hostile to the interests of socialism, the liberation struggle and peace. The two sides stressed the necessity of strongly rebuffing the expansionist policy of Peking. At the same time they reaffirmed their readiness to establish normal inter-state relations with the PRC on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

On behalf of their parties and states, the participants in the talks expressed staunch internationalist solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea in their struggle against hegemonist and imperialist pressure, for peace and security in Southeast Asia. Both sides strongly support the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

The USSR and the GDR firmly side with the Arab peoples who reject separate deals, and advocate a comprehensive just settlement and lasting peace in the Middle East. For this to be achieved, Israel must end the occupation of all Arab lands it captured in 1967, and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to establish their own state, the right of all Middle East states, including Israel, to an independent and peaceful existence must be effectively guaranteed.

The USSR and the GDR uphold the right of the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be masters of their destinies, to defend their independence and sovereignty against any outside encroachments; they support the demand of the developing countries to abolish all forms of neo-colonialist exploitation and discrimination, and to restructure international economic relations on just, equal and democratic principles. They express their solidarity with the socialist-oriented countries which are making a considerable contribution to the cause of peace and progress.

The two sides reaffirmed the importance they attach to the non-

aligned movement as an influential factor in the struggle for peace and international security, against imperialism, colonialism and racism. They expressed satisfaction with the successful results of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned Countries in Havana.

III

During the exchange of views on questions of the international communist and workers' movement, the participants in the discussions pointed out that its development is characterized by growing united action and ideological maturity. Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the CPSU and SUPG will in future as well consistently work to strengthen the unity of the communist movement. The deepening of the international solidarity of the communist parties is still a guarantee of new successes in the cause of peace, national independence and socialism.

The document of the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe fully retains its validity. In the spirit of that document, the two fraternal parties will work for united action with all democratic forces in the struggle for détente and social progress, against the arms race, against militarism, revanchism and neo-fascism.

The discussions, meetings and talks which the party and government delegation of the USSR had in the GDR were held in the traditionally cordial and fraternal atmosphere that characterizes the relations between the two parties and states. They reaffirmed their complete unanimity of views and political positions on all the questions discussed.

During the visit Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, as instructed by the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, presented Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with the Order of Karl Marx and the Gold Star of Hero of the GDR. Leonid Brezhnev was given this high award for his great services in developing and strengthening fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR, and in strengthening socialism and peace throughout the world.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of

the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Leonid Brezhnev invited a party and government delegation from the GDR to make an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Pravda, October 9, 1979

ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT OF THE USSR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the USSR express complete satisfaction with the results of the official friendly visit of the USSR Party and Government delegation to the German Democratic Republic (October 4-8, 1979) led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The visit of the Soviet delegation, which took part in the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the republic, became an event of exceptional importance both in promoting cooperation between the CPSU and the SUPG, the USSR and the GDR, as well as from the standpoint of the vital interests of peace and international security.

During the meetings and talks Leonid Brezhnev and members of the Soviet delegation had with Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the CC SUPG and Chairman of the GDR Council of State, and other party and state leaders of the GDR, views were exchanged on all major aspects of cooperation between the two countries, and the main lines were defined for its improvement and deepening over the long term. The combination of the economic, scientific and technological potentialities of both countries with the aim of jointly solving major economic objectives has already yielded important and fruitful results. The program for specialization and cooperation in production between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 1990, signed during the visit, will, beyond all doubt give a new impulse to this important endeavor.

The exceptionally warm welcome accorded the Soviet delegation in the German Democratic Republic developed into a demonstration of the inviolability of the fraternal ties linking the peoples of the USSR

and the GDR. For three decades now the close alliance of the two fraternal states has effectively served the goals of peace and construction. It is safe to say that it will continue serving these goals in future too.

The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the GDR became an impressive review of the German working people's achievements scored under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party in every area of the life of society — in promoting socialist democracy, boosting the economy, developing science and culture, and raising the well-being of the masses. In consistently following a policy of peace and defense of the people's right to a free and independent development, the GDR has won high international prestige and its voice carries increasing weight in European and world affairs.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the USSR attach fundamental importance to the fact that the new Soviet initiative on the problems of military détente and disarmament set out by Leonid Brezhnev in his Berlin speech has met with full support from the GDR and the other fraternal socialist-community countries. It has been met with great interest by influential circles in many countries, reinforcing the peoples' hopes for a stable peace.

At the same time it should be noted that, along with recognition of the positive character of the Soviet initiative, far-fetched arguments are, as before, being sought in the NATO countries so as to carry through the dangerous plans for deploying new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, that is, to disrupt the military equilibrium existing on the continent between the two groupings.

The Soviet initiative opened up the opportunities for averting a new round of the arms race, taking the road of actual disarmament, and safeguarding and multiplying the fruits of the détente and peaceful cooperation. It depends on the USA, FRG and other NATO countries whether this opportunity will be used. The leaders of the Western countries should display a feeling of responsibility and respond, in a spirit of good will, to the Soviet Union's example. This is what the peoples expect.

As for the Soviet Union, it will, as Leonid Brezhnev put it in Berlin, vigorously and perseveringly seek to free the 1980s from suspicion and fear, and most important, from the arms race.

The Political Bureau of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers of the USSR, having fully

approved the delegation's activity, have instructed the corresponding departments to ensure full realization of the agreements reached between the USSR and the GDR during the visit.

ENSURE A STABLE PEACE

Joint statement of the CC SUPG and GDR Council of Ministers

In the 1970s, the statement notes, substantial successes were achieved in restructuring international relations in the direction of détente and peace. These changes are most perceptible in Europe, where good-neighbor relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social systems are gaining in strength on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act. On the other hand, NATO's dangerous plans, which are aimed at disrupting the existing balance of forces in Europe and at achieving a new military superiority cannot but cause serious concern.

Together with the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty states the GDR calls for vigorous actions to strengthen détente, limit armed forces and armaments and to achieve real disarmament. That is why the CC SUPG Political Bureau and GDR Council of Ministers approved the Soviet Union's constructive proposals on reducing the present level of medium-range nuclear missiles deployed in its western regions, providing no new medium-range nuclear missiles targeted on the socialist countries are installed in Western Europe. The Soviet Union's renewed pledge never to use nuclear weapons against states which refrain from producing or acquiring such weapons, and which do not have them on their territories, graphically illustrates the USSR's genuine will for peace.

The Political Bureau and Council of Ministers also consider that the USSR's decision, on agreement with the GDR leadership and after consulting the other Warsaw Treaty states, to unilaterally reduce its troops in Central Europe over the next 12 months as well as proposals on promoting mutual confidence can bring nearer the solution of the issue of military détente in Europe.

These initiatives, which were announced in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, provide an opportunity for choosing the road of peace. All who bear responsibility for the fate of their peoples must decide whether to continue the arms race, seek military superiority or to choose the road of trust, gradual lessening of military confrontation,

without which prolonged détente is impossible. Whoever rejects this vitally important proposal must bear the responsibility before the peoples. At present the NATO countries, the FRG among them, must determine their attitude to real steps toward military détente.

Together with its Warsaw Treaty allies, the GDR has exerted much effort to turn Europe from a continent of tension and wars into a region of stable peace and mutually beneficial cooperation. It is in this spirit that the CC SUPG Political Bureau and GDR Council of Ministers reaffirm the GDR's preparedness to promote peace and disarmament.

The peoples expect that the attitude to these new, substantive and far-sighted proposals for disarmament and peace will be determined by a concern for peace.

The peoples of Europe and the whole world need neither long-term arms race programs nor new missiles. What they need is a guarantee that the fruits of their peaceful work will not be destroyed. The CC SUPG Political Bureau and GDR Council of Ministers once again urge the convocation of an all-European summit conference for a comprehensive discussion of measures in the sphere of military détente. Now is the time for all states that took part in the European Conference on Security and Cooperation to begin preparing for it in common.

The German Democratic Republic in close alliance and interaction with the Soviet Union and other socialist community states will in future, too, spare no effort to help avert the danger of a nuclear war and to ensure a stable peace.

Pravda, October 18, 1979



ALL-UNION MEETING OF IDEOLOGICAL WORKERS IN MOSCOW

An all-union meeting of ideological workers was held in Moscow on October 16-17, at which Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU CC delivered the report.

A TASK FOR THE ENTIRE PARTY

Report by Mikhail Suslov

Six months have passed since the CPSU Central Committee adopted the resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Education Work." In that period, party organizations of the republics, territories and regions, local and government bodies and ideological institutions have held party meetings, plenary sessions and meetings of activists at which the communists discussed thoroughly and with great interest the propositions and recommendations of this important party document.

The numerous letters addressed to the Central Committee by Soviet citizens show that the workers, collective farmers and office workers, economic executives, workers in literature and the arts, scholars and journalists — people from every walk of life regard this resolution as a direct appeal to them, an explicit answer to the questions posed by life in further improving educational work.

The CPSU CC resolution has become a major event in the ideological and political life of the party and the entire people. It sums up the ideological-education activity of the party, particularly in a period with milestones like the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. It gives a profound analysis of the problems linked with diverse aspects of ideological work at the present stage and points out both its strong points and substantial shortcomings. It should be emphasized that special importance attaches to the relevant directions given by Leonid Brezhnev at the November (1978) Central Committee meeting. The character of the resolution is determined by the vital requirements of the present stage in the development of the Soviet society, the specifics of the two opposite world systems, as well as the role objectively assigned to the party's ideological activity in present-day conditions.

Our meeting, which was convened under a decision of the CPSU

Central Committee, is intended to discuss fulfillment of the resolution and effective ways of realizing the tasks posed by it. This is all the more important owing to its long-term character and because it represents a comprehensive program of action in the ideological education work.

I

The main feature of the activity of the CPSU as a party of scientific communism is the organic blend of the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of the working class and the historic creativity of the masses. At every stage of the struggle to create a new society, our Leninist party has invariably followed the Marxist principles of not only *explaining* the world but also of *changing* it.

The party's leadership in the forward movement of our society toward a communist future is based on a deep-going scientific cognition of the laws of social development, a thorough analysis of the road we have traversed, the existing situation and the leading tendencies of socio-political life. Fifteen years have passed since the October (1964) CPSU Central Committee plenum, which was a historic milestone in the life of our party. The plenum was of great importance in strengthening the leading and guiding role of the CPSU, in asserting the Leninist norms and principles of party life and collective leadership, and in creating an atmosphere of respect and trust in the cadre and a truly creative style of work. The plenum decisions played an outstanding role in elaborating the party's political course in the conditions of mature socialism. The consistent implementation of this course was marked by signal achievements of the party and the people.

All-round consideration of the new social experience, a thorough analysis of the vital requirements of the material and spiritual progress of society is the basis of the great theoretical, ideological and practical work tirelessly conducted by the party and its Central Committee, led by Leonid Brezhnev, loyal continuer of the cause of the great Lenin and outstanding leader of our party and the Soviet state, prominent in the world communist and working-class movement, and tireless fighter for peace. The force of the party's collective wisdom, the scientific substantiation of its socio-economic and political strategy were vividly expressed in the historic decisions of the 23rd, 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, its theoretical strength, as well as its enormous experience give our party exceptional ability in scientific prevision.

This is borne out by the entire course of contemporary historical development.

The party sees Lenin's precept on the need to "strictly differentiate between essentially different stages, to soberly analyze the conditions of their passage" as the necessary methodological basis for defining the objectives which society must resolve at each new stage of social progress.

It is only on the basis of their profound scientific understanding that our Leninist party can resolve the fundamental problems of economic development, social relations, socialist democracy, culture and communist education. This stems from the fact that to our country, to our heroic people has fallen the historic mission of advancing along an unbeaten path, of resolving the fundamentally new and diverse tasks linked with the further development of a mature socialist society.

An outstanding achievement of theoretical thought is the doctrine of mature socialism as a prolonged, historically necessary stage in establishing the communist formation and transition to its highest stage. Many important directions of the theoretical and practical activity of the CPSU are directly linked with this concept, which has received all-round substantiation in the materials of party congresses, decisions of Central Committee plenums and other party documents.

At the stage of mature socialism, the creative potentialities of our system, its genuinely humane content are being increasingly revealed. This is reflected in the new USSR Constitution. Its adoption was not merely a historical act of strengthening the achievements of mature socialism and creative assimilation of the practice of communist construction, but also a powerful stimulus for the further improvement of the entire system of socio-political relations. The party's fruitful activity in guiding the socio-economic and political processes in the country, invigoration of the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the citizenry's ever broader and direct participation in the affairs of the state, all this is aimed at a further consistent development of socialist democracy and strengthening the Soviet state system.

The present level of development of economic and social relations and the moral and political unity of Soviet society create a firm basis for a new powerful upsurge of the country's material and spiritual forces. On this basis, the party is tackling complex large-scale tasks, above all in the economy and education. The successes in these two crucial spheres of social activity are organically interdependent. That is why the Central Committee adopted consecutively in April and July of this year two resolutions "On Further Improving Ideological and

Political-Education Work" and "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism, and the Tasks of the Party and State Bodies." The CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers also adopted a decision on improving planning and intensifying the influence of economic mechanisms in raising efficiency and quality.

A short while ago, the CPSU Central Committee adopted, on Leonid Brezhnev's initiative, new and important decisions on key questions of developing the country's productive forces. With the aim of steadily raising the effectiveness of production, it is deemed necessary to ensure pre-schedule development of energetics, to improve the performance of such vital economic areas as transport, the fuel industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, engineering and the chemical industry. The party's course toward the further upsurge of agriculture remains unaltered.

The solution of these problems, which are especially topical today, will help greatly in mobilizing all existing reserves and the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to ensure harmonious, all-round development of all sectors of the economy, and of all regions of the country, first of all on the basis of intensive, qualitative factors. This will make it possible to expand the output of consumer goods and to further improve the material well-being of the people.

Thus, the latest decisions of the party are interlinked and operate as a complex. Their fulfillment is bound to reveal more fully the Soviet people's creative forces, ensure the working people's ever broader participation and interest in the affairs of society, and substantially to raise the effectiveness of creative labor. It is of the utmost importance to give a profound, well-argued explanation of CPSU policy and the party decisions, to mobilize and inspire the masses for the successful completion of the tenth five-year plan and to create favorable conditions for the next, 11th, five-year plan.

The party takes account in its activity of the close interconnection between the home and foreign policy of the USSR. Life has borne out the correctness of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses' scientific analysis of the world revolutionary process and of international development as a whole. Relying on Marxist-Leninist theory, on its political experience, our party and its Central Committee closely follow developments and profoundly analyze the ongoing changes and are consistently implementing the party's principled course in a complex and contradictory foreign political situation.

Stronger cohesion of the *world socialist community* has been and remains a major objective of our foreign policy.

Fraternal friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries grows stronger with every year. The consolidation of their mutual ties and the growth of their overall economic might, which is steadily increasing on the basis of socialist economic integration, result in a flowering of the economy and culture of each people and strengthen the sovereignty of all the socialist states.

The 25th Congress's conclusion on the growing community of politics, economics and the spiritual life of the fraternal countries is being confirmed by the entire course of social development. This interconnection is also manifested in the similarity of the cardinal objectives of their ideological work. Proof of this comes from the warm interest in the Central Committee decision on ideological work among the parties of the socialist community countries. New useful steps in promoting ideological cooperation were made by the July meeting of Central Committee secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries in charge of international and ideological questions.

The historic superiority of socialism, its irrefutable successes increase the attractive power of our ideas and of the socialist states' concerted foreign policy. Today, all progressive humanity knows full well that the Soviet Union and all the socialist-community countries are the main bulwark of peace, staunch conductors of the course toward détente.

Essentially, détente implies assertion of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence in practical international relations. The recognition of these principles by everyone, including the governments of the major Western powers, as a basis for mutual relations between states with different social systems is a historic victory, attesting to the changed correlation of forces in the world. It is to the great credit of socialism, and a success for all the peace forces that for a fourth decade now humanity has been spared the ordeal of a world war.

An important step in eliminating the threat of nuclear war and stopping the arms race was the signing by Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. President Jimmy Carter of the Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation treaty. The entry into force of SALT-2, which is based on the principles of equality and equal security of the parties, will pave the way for working out new measures to limit and reduce strategic arms, and will promote success in limiting arms and effecting disarmament along other lines.

What Leonid Brezhnev said in Berlin in his speech on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR is of great significance in strengthening universal peace, and first of all the security of the European peoples. Reaffirming the firmness and consistency of the Leninist course of the CPSU and the Soviet state, he justly criticized the attempts of the NATO leaders to unwind a new spiral in the arms race and to achieve strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Treaty allies. NATO's sinister plans for deploying new U.S. medium-range missiles and turning Western Europe into a launching pad for nuclear weapons targeted at the Soviet Union have been exposed before the whole world.

In contrast to these plans, the Soviet Union has decided, as it was stated in Berlin, to reduce the numbers of its armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The new Soviet initiative is fresh and irrefutable proof of our country's sincere desire for world peace, and greater confidence between the European countries. Naturally, we have the right to expect that the West European states will draw the appropriate conclusions from the constructive actions of the USSR.

The unanimous support of progressive world opinion for the provisions contained in Leonid Brezhnev's speech bears out the justice and constructive character of the peace policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and the resolve of all honest men and women to promote détente and consolidate world peace.

Détente and the successes of the cause of peace and international security create more favorable conditions for the further development of the peoples' struggle for their national liberation and social progress. Many of them, having thrown off the yoke of colonialism and reactionary dictatorial regimes, have opted for a socialist orientation.

Understandably, the peoples' path of struggle is not an easy one, and it has to run in complicated and contradictory circumstances. Nor must we fail to reckon with the attempts of imperialist reaction to split the forces of national liberation and of the non-aligned movement, which has become an influential factor of world politics.

On the whole, the international situation is shaping up in a way that will require much effort on the part of the peoples of the socialist community countries, the national-liberation movement and all the other peace forces to surmount the fierce opposition of the opponents of peaceful development, including the military-industrial complex of the USA. These efforts are aimed at the further materialization of

détente, above all at stopping the arms race, and at extending it to new spheres of international life, to every part of the world.

A serious obstacle in the fight for these goals is the policy of Peking, which has teamed up with imperialist reaction and the militarist forces. We vigorously condemn the great-power hegemonistic ideology and policy of Maoism as deeply hostile to Marxism-Leninism, the interests of socialism, the cause of peace and the liberation of the peoples. At the same time, we are doing everything we can to normalize interstate relations with the PRC on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Here, everything depends on the readiness of the Chinese side to display a sober and constructive approach at the current negotiations.

Fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their creative application to the specific conditions of each country, to the elaboration of the strategy and tactics is a reliable earnest of successes in the activity of each genuinely revolutionary party and the world communist movement as a whole.

In our time, the authority of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, its ideological impact, the power of the example of existing socialism is greater than ever before. This frightens our class enemy. Hence the fierce attacks on Marxism-Leninism. Hence also the spate of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois falsifications of Marxism-Leninism, the appearance of new and more cunning revisionist and reformist interpretations of Marxism. Ultimately, they are all designed to discredit the experience and achievements of existing socialism, to erode and split the world communist movement.

Our party consistently calls for stronger cohesion of the world communist and working-class movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are gratified by the fraternal parties' successes in their struggle for the vital interests of the working class and the working people as a whole, against the absolute power of the monopolies and imperialist reaction.

The communists of all countries — the bearers of the most humane, life-asserting world view — see their duty in fighting, armed with the forward-looking revolutionary theory, against the class enemies, giving a resolute rebuff to anti-communism, in drawing ever more millions of people on all continents and in all parts of the world on the side of socialism, into the ranks of fighters for peace and social progress.

In our ideological work we must bear in mind, as Leonid Brezhnev noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, that "positive changes in world

affairs and détente go to create favorable opportunities for the broad spread of socialist ideas. But, on the other hand, the ideological contest between the two systems is becoming ever more acute, and imperialist propaganda ever more refined." Our ideological workers must step up their struggle against bourgeois ideology, against manifestations of right and "left" opportunism through a creative elaboration of present-day problems of social development.

The powerful creative force of Marxism-Leninism — the theoretical basis of the CPSU's entire revolutionary-transformative activity is ever more fully and clearly manifested in the persevering, consistent struggle for peace and social progress, as well as in the solution of colossal tasks of the economic and socio-political development of our society.

II

The CPSU has acted and continues to act on the premise that the *moulding of the new man* is the most important part of the whole endeavor of communist construction. Education of the new man as a creative, spiritually rich, harmoniously developed individual is our program aim.

Practice shows that great, strategic goals are never reached without fulfilling the current tasks leading to them. The formation of the new man is closely linked with the entire complex of economic, social and political problems. Without a high level of culture, education, public consciousness, ideological maturity of the people, says the party, communism is unattainable, just as it is unattainable without a corresponding material and technical basis. This means that the moulding of the new man is not only a result, but also an important condition in building the new society.

The party's approach is based on Lenin's well-known precept that the state is strong in the awareness of the masses, that it is strong when the masses know everything, can analyze everything and undertake everything consciously. Constant concern for steadily raising the consciousness and activity of the masses, as Lenin pointed out, remains the basis and main content of party work. Therefore further improvement of ideological and political-education work is considered in the CC decision as an important task for the entire party, an object of continuous concern of all the party, of the local, trade union and Komsomol organizations.

The main feature, the source of the effectiveness, vital force and efficiency of our entire ideological work is its *scientific character*. The

deep interest in theory, and all-round concern for its development is a splendid revolutionary tradition, an inalienable law of our party life.

Direct drawing on the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which contain the fundamentals of our revolutionary science, by the party cadre, all communists, and by ever broader circles of working people is more meaningful today than ever before. It is a matter of their deep, thorough study and popularization and not just of acquiring a cursory and superficial knowledge of individual provisions of Marxist-Leninist classics — and that is a point I should like to stress. It is essential to study thoroughly the history of the CPSU, the documents of party congresses and the works of Leonid Brezhnev, who has made a big personal contribution to the scientific elaboration of the problems of communist construction.

This is what ensures the mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of its dialectico-materialist method of cognition. It is in this way that one truly understands the creative character of Marxism-Leninism, and the scientific character of our party policy.

Marxism-Leninism is the supreme achievement of social science. A real mastery of it requires enormous, complex and intense effort, a constant enlargement and renewal of the store of knowledge. Lenin enjoined us to study, study and study once again, and warned that science should not remain a dead letter or a modish phrase (something that, let us admit it, is only too often the case) and that science should fully and in a very real sense become a part of life. These words of Lenin's remain fresh and meaningful for all communists, particularly for workers of the ideological front. A profound assimilation and creative application by the ideological cadre of the theory and methodology of Marxism-Leninism is a necessary condition for the further improvement of the whole of ideological work.

Marxism-Leninism is a constantly developing theory. This stems from the scientific comprehension of the complex processes of present-day social development and analysis of new phenomena. In its theoretical activity, the party constantly relies on research by Soviet social scientists.

Soviet social science has achieved definite successes in recent years. The problems of creating the material and technical basis of communism, of improving social relations, and moulding the working people's communist world view are being vigorously studied.

But life, social practice do not stand still. They make ever higher demands on Marxist-Leninist theory, and set new tasks before it. For their part, the social sciences should not lag behind life. The effec-

tiveness of research can and must be substantially raised. While establishing an atmosphere of bold, creative quest, in each scientific collective it is essential to deal firmly with such phenomena as speculative discourse, scholasticism, quotation-mongering, superficial commentary and formalistic exercise under the guise of innovation, which are alien to genuine science.

The chief way to raise the productivity of the social sciences is increasingly to concentrate the efforts of scholars on research into the cardinal problems arising at the present stage of social progress.

Materialist dialectics, as Lenin put it, is the living soul of Marxism. The role of dialectics, as a general theory of development, as the logic and theory of cognition, determines the special importance of its further elaboration. In particular, there is a need to study the ways of its concrete application to the cognition of the most complex phenomena and processes in every sphere of knowledge, and the materialistic comprehension of the latest achievements of the natural sciences.

In the field of historical materialism and scientific communism, such problems as the growing social homogeneity of our society, with the working class playing the leading role, the drawing together of nations and nationalities, strengthening of the new historical entity — the Soviet people, and the general laws and specific features of the formation and development of social consciousness in the present conditions are now coming to the fore.

There are numerous particular, but equally urgent and topical questions to which our science must provide answers. The 25th Congress pointed out that the growing material opportunities must constantly be attended by rising ideological, moral and cultural level of the people. Otherwise there could be a relapse of the philistine, petty-bourgeois mentality. In this connection, our philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and teachers face a number of tasks, particularly in elaborating the problem in the formation of rational requirements. Our party cadre and practitioners in the educational sphere expect the scholars to produce well thought-out recommendations on ways of solving this important social problem.

There is a growing need to promote an in-depth elaboration of the political economy of socialism as the basis of all the economic sciences, and the theoretical basis of the CPSU's economic policy.

Special importance attaches to the study of the entire complex of property relations in our economy, the structure of the economic mechanism and management, a more rational dovetailing of economic

interests and the operation of all the sectors of the economy, and of sectoral and territorial planning. Marxist social scientists should concentrate on a systematic study of the processes going on in present-day monopoly capitalism, and the problems of the world revolutionary movement.

The growing role of social science in ideological work is inseparably linked with raising the quality and comprehensive character of scientific research, particularly the basic research. Without basic research along every line of the social sciences, ideological, propaganda and educational work cannot fully attain its objectives. The USSR Academy of Sciences, its institutes, the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU CC, higher-education institutions, all our theoretical and scientific cadre have an important role to play in the organization and conduct of this research.

By striving in every way to raise the scientific character of ideological work and arming the cadre with Marxist-Leninist theory in its purest form, we shall be able to advance our common cause in such an important sector as *political education*.

It is a well-known fact that in our country millions of people are studying Marxism-Leninism. The forming of a communist world view begins at the school desk and continues in the secondary special and higher-education institutions.

The working people of our country study Marxism-Leninism in a ramified political education system. In the current academic year, more than 22 million people were enrolled in the party education system alone. That is a big achievement. But we would err if we went no further than to note this fact, without taking note of the objective problems arising in this connection.

The task, first of all, consists in achieving a more profound and all-round understanding by the broadest masses of the important questions of party theory and policy. The purpose of the study of the fundamental, basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism is to enlarge the working people's outlook and to raise their political culture. Moreover, we should proceed from the principle of unity of cognitive and practical activity. That is why the CC resolution demands that *knowledge* should turn into *conviction*, a guide to action, into an active life stance of Soviet man, who, while displaying a high consciousness and giving his energies for the common cause, uncompromisingly opposes any manifestations of every alien ideology and morality.

Needless to say, scientific ideas must be fully conveyed to the broad masses in an understandable language, resolutely weeding out

all clichés and pseudo-scientific presentation. In striving for maximum popularity in the propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory, it is important always to remember that there is a border line that cannot and should not be crossed. I have in mind the depth and content of thought. This is where, to use Lenin's words, the popularization of our great doctrine in the broadest masses is distinguished from cheap popularizing.

A mechanical repetition of truisms instead of creative discerning of vital problems and the formalism and tendency to use high-sounding words, the grey "trite" style of presentation which we still come across in our propaganda is particularly impermissible today. These and other shortcomings substantially lower, as the resolution notes, the impact of educational work on the consciousness and feelings of the people.

Not that too little has been said about these shortcomings earlier. The problem is a different one. It is that some functionaries find it impossible to go on from general discussion of shortcomings to concrete deeds to eliminate these shortcomings, vigorously to root them out of our practice. And this is what the party Central Committee resolution demands.

While orienting the party and other organizations upon ensuring a high scientific level of educational work, the CPSU CC resolution enjoins us to increase the *efficiency, concreteness and efficacy* of our propaganda and agitation, *its ties with life*, with the fulfillment of economic and political tasks. The CC resolution obliges us to "explain the socio-economic policy of the CPSU, which is aimed at raising the material well-being and cultural standards of the people, to develop in every way socialist emulation, the movement for a communist attitude to work; actively to promote the successful solution of the historic task of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, to sum up and widely popularize advanced experience and the successes of Soviet science and technology; to work perseveringly to strengthen labor and state discipline, to raise responsibility for one's job, for an economical and thrifty attitude to socialist property, against wastefulness, bureaucracy and parochialism. The Soviet man should be fully aware of the social significance of his personal participation in the fulfillment of economic plans, in stepping up scientific and technical progress as a decisive condition of increasing the might of the Motherland, for the victory of communism."

Thus, the CC resolution fully reveals the formula of the link bet-

ween propaganda and life. I would like to stress here that this demand is addressed not only to our entire propaganda as a whole, but also to each of its sectors, including oral agitation and propaganda. The CPSU has always used these as an important instrument of political education of the masses. Not even the most up-to-date technical means is a substitute for the direct, live contact of the agitator, speaker, lecturer with the masses. It is the propagandists, agitators and speakers who know well the local situation — at enterprises, on the shop floor, in the teams, on the collective and state farms — who are doing so much concretizing the general political propaganda objectives in application to the conditions in a given collective.

The CPSU CC resolution calls for the *development of a militant and vigorous character and an impassioned commitment of propaganda and agitation*. We must vigorously combat every alien influence and remnants of the past, everything that hampers our forward movement. Propaganda and agitation should mobilize public opinion against phenomena that are hostile to the Soviet way of life: drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism, an urge to grab as much as possible from society without giving anything in return, abuse of official position, money-grubbing and bribery, mismanagement and wastefulness, bureaucratism and a callous attitude to people.

We must combine this irreconcilable struggle with all-round support for everything that is new, forward-looking and promising, with the people's valuable initiatives, all the shoots of the communist future.

The ideological-political, labor and moral education of youth, our successors, is a special concern of the party. It was pointed out at the 25th CPSU Congress that the entire educational work among youth should be arranged so that their entry into a working life, and involvement in active and conscious participation in communist construction should strengthen the fervent enthusiasm and passionate belief in the communist ideals inherent in youth. It is necessary to help young people to gain a better understanding and evaluation of what has been achieved in the decades of heroic struggle of the party and the people and all that still remains to be done with their active participation; to inculcate diligence and a feeling of civic duty from childhood.

We must continue to pay constant attention to the physical education of Soviet people, particularly the younger generation. Strengthening the physical culture movement, improving the conditions for physical culture and sport, and using to this end the prop-

aganda potential of the 1980 Olympics is the duty of the party and all public organizations, the heads of enterprises and institutions.

Our youth must be tempered both physically and spiritually. A splendid school in this sense is service in the Soviet Army. The CC resolution poses in this connection a series of concrete tasks before the party and Komsomol committees, and the Soviet Armed Forces. The chief one is to inculcate in the young generation a sense of historical responsibility for the destiny of socialism, for the prosperity and security of the Motherland.

An important objective of ideological and political education is *shaping in all Soviet people of pride in our socialist Motherland, consolidation of the fraternal friendship among the peoples and proletarian internationalism*. This inviolable friendship, this great feeling of community and indivisibility of the historic destinies of the Soviet people are established in the common struggle waged by the working people of all nations and nationalities for new successes in communist construction.

Our propaganda should show the general laws of the development of socialist nations, the concrete, visible aspects of the gradual drawing together of nations in the course of communist construction, and the fraternal cooperation of all the peoples who have built up the powerful Soviet economy, the integrated economic complex.

The interconnection and unity of patriotic and internationalist education are manifested both in respect for national dignity, for the national cultures, and an irreconcilable attitude to relapses of nationalism and chauvinism.

It is essential vigorously to oppose any preaching of national exclusiveness, any attempts to reconsider from non-class, non-historical positions any phenomenon, personality, or concept of the past. We must combat manifestations of parochialism, which frequently dons the garb of some kind of local patriotism.

The questions of patriotic and internationalist education acquire special topicality as the ideological struggle grows more intense, with nationalism becoming one of the chief stakes of the imperialist intelligence services in their subversive activity against existing socialism.

There are no unimportant, minor tasks in the sphere of communist education. We must not lose sight of a single aspect of the formation of the personality of our contemporary so as not to prejudice the entire effort of education. That is why the CC resolution, fully in accord with the directives of the 25th CPSU Congress, concretizes the ways of realizing a complex approach to the whole issue of

education, of assuring close unity of ideological, political, labor and moral education with due account for the distinctive features of diverse groups of working people.

III

The report to the 25th Party Congress and the CC resolution drew attention to a vitally important Leninist principle of education: *unity of word and deed*. This is directly and organically linked with that which makes the Leninist party propaganda invincible: truthfulness, insistence on principle, and realism. If we are unafraid of stating even the bitter and grave truth openly, Lenin stressed, we will certainly and unfailingly learn to conquer any and all difficulties.

These precepts of Lenin's are well known to everyone. Regrettably, however, some violate them in practice, saying one thing and doing something quite different, those who readily make commitments, but do not fulfill them, those who seek to gloss over, to sidestep unresolved problems and sharp issues, and to cover up existing shortcomings and difficulties. Such an approach, a tendency toward window-dressing, the CC resolution notes, far from helping, in fact hampers the solution of our common tasks. Wherever criticism and self-criticism are not in favor, where information about public affairs is insufficient, it is the activity of the masses that suffers. But the fact is that this activity is an important source of the socialist system's power.

Unity of word and deed, agitation by deed are of decisive importance in effectively influencing the mentality and moods of man.

The sense and significance of the education will be seriously eroded wherever empty talk is substituted for painstaking and day-to-day work, where workmanlike measures are replaced by a flood of words, where after a lecture on economy people see rusting metal and abandoned machinery in the factory yard, where a lack of elementary order is covered up with expansive assertions and empty promises.

A concrete act, a real deed is not only the supreme result of educational work, but a mighty factor of education itself. That is why the party demands that the the main effort in the work of ideological education should be concentrated in the work collective, where, in Leonid Brezhnev's words, "the great concepts of politics and economics are translated into the language of practice, where the people's attitude to life, to society are largely formed."

The CPSU resolution is aimed at enhancing the leading cadre's responsibility for the educational potentialities of advanced experi-

ence, socialist competition and progressive forms of the organization of work. The practical activity of an enterprise should in itself stimulate the workers to strive for efficiency and quality, to strengthen discipline and responsibility for the job at hand, and for economics and a thrifty attitude to socialist property.

We must always bear in mind the enormous educational force of scientifically organized work, the fact that such features of Soviet man as a conscious, creative approach to work, public activity, and a high moral standard are formed in the course of resolving explicit production tasks which are reliably backed up with regard to their material, organizational and moral-political aspects. Responsibility for the moulding of these qualities devolves, together with the party and public organizations, also on the economic cadre.

The leaders of enterprises should directly participate in educational measures. The party attaches great importance to this. But most important of all is the educational effect of the organizational and economic work itself. As practice shows, wherever the managerial cadre fails to take account of the educational consequences of its activity, the creative initiative of the masses is not brought out fully, conscious discipline is replaced by a formal approach, the necessary moral and the necessary psychological climate in the collective is not built up, and ultimately the output also suffers.

Much depends on the leaders of collectives in creating an atmosphere that tends to reveal the abilities of the individual, to stimulate his activity at work and in public affairs. The leader himself should display a creative attitude to his work, competence and initiative, a high level of party responsibility, be unpretentious and accessible in his dealings with people, have a deep knowledge of their interests and requirements, honesty, insistence on principle and modesty. Such a leader is capable of leading the collective, of posing before the people complex objectives linked with the fulfillment and overfulfillment of state plans and socialist commitments. Regular businesslike reports by economic executives at party and trade union meetings have an enormous educational and mobilizing significance.

Production teams, farms and specific production sectors are an important area of educational work. Here everyone knows everyone else and it is easier to see the potentialities of each worker, to take account of his individual capacities. Much higher demands are made on leaders of primary labor collectives and primary party organizations and party groups in educating young people starting work in production. Therefore in selecting foremen, team leaders, heads of

party groups, trade union and Komsomol organizers it is essential to take account of their personal qualities, their authority, and ability to bring home to each the word of the party.

The influence exerted by socialist emulation and by the movement for a communist attitude to work on economic processes, on many phenomena of social life is increasingly in evidence at the present time. The CPSU CC emphasizes that the records set by innovators are not a goal in itself, but an important means of mobilizing the labor energy of the masses for accelerated labor-productivity growth, and a powerful reserve in raising efficiency and quality. Practice has shown that where competition is not a mere formality, where it is seen as an effective instrument for raising output, its educational role is manifested most clearly: not only does a well-regulated mechanism of socialist emulation assure high labor achievements, but it also engenders examples worthy of imitation.

Yet there still are instances when heads of enterprises, instead of organizing work efficiently, attempt to cover up their mismanagement, seek to lower plan targets and sometimes even doctor the records, thus deceiving the state. This spurious atmosphere of well-being directly harms the economy, and at the same time discredits the idea of socialist emulation and greatly damages the working people's education. Such an attitude is also prejudicial to treating the production plan as a law.

The potentialities at our disposal can be fully realized only if every collective and each worker uses them consciously, with a deep knowledge of the content and aims of the measures adopted by the party and the government, and if they have a clear idea of their role in the work of the vast economic mechanism. As Lenin put it, the point is that a conscious worker should feel himself to be not only the master at his factory, but also a representative of the country, that he should feel responsible. The Soviet people's high moral qualities and their political culture are manifested in their attitude to their work, to the job at hand, to their public duty.

We are all aware of the complex conditions in industry this year, and particularly in agricultural production. The harsh winter, followed by the drought in a number of regions, required tremendous effort by millions of working people. We are justly proud of the Soviet workers' high awareness of their duty, their selfless labor at factories, mines and power stations, in fields and on farms, at construction sites, in every part of our country to fulfill the plans for 1979 and their socialist commitments.

Today, just as yesterday, as during the previous five-year plans, purposeful ideological and mass-political work is one of the most important factors in resolving all our economic tasks. Lenin's far-sighted idea that agitation and propaganda have a growing role to play in economic construction under socialism, is being borne out again and again.

IV

Our mass media have an important role to play in fulfilling the CC resolution. The party and its Central Committee have always regarded *the press, television and the radio* as a powerful ideological weapon, a unique instrument in the communist education and organization of the masses, and an important factor in shaping public opinion. There is virtually no ideological function that the mass media do not exercise to this or that extent. The printed and broadcast word commands great authority among the people.

At the same time, the general level of our printed and radio and televised propaganda must be brought into accord with the growing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction, the Soviet people's rising educational and cultural standards, and the sharpening ideological struggle in the international arena.

Our mass media can fully do their duty to the party and the people only by making their material much more concrete, meaningful and operational, and much more infused with the vibrant party spirit, so making their statements much more effective. The emphasis here should be on the major and most important problems of our life.

Of course, the press and other mass media are made effective chiefly through the skillful propaganda of our achievements and the spread of the advanced experience and example of our best people. Positive experience should be presented in such a way as to show the substance of it, to make millions of men and women interested in it, and to help spread it most extensively in practice.

Party, state, trade union and, primarily, economic organs must give close attention to material in the press analyzing the results of socialist emulation, bringing out additional reserves, popularizing progressive methods of management, labor organization, extension of new technology, ways of enhancing the efficiency of production and the quality of workmanship. Inattention to material presenting advanced experience and methods of innovators amounts to bad management, to a failure to use reserves in production.

Party committees must display constant concern for the efficiency

of the press, television and radio. This concern is directly connected with the development of ideological maturity, of a principled and professionally bold approach on the part of journalists and their readiness actively to intervene in life for the benefit of society, to bring out the complicated problems in production, the economy and culture. This is concern for producing a truly party, creative atmosphere in the editorial offices, in developing social elements in their work. It is not right to accept a situation in which, as the saying goes, "the writer keeps writing, and the reader keeps reading," without anyone bothering anyone, and everyone being satisfied with all. Journalism is a militant endeavor calling for high moral, political and workmanlike qualities, moral forces and — most importantly — deep-seated conviction and serious knowledge.

Any manifestation of passivity on the part of the organs of the press are intolerable also because in our life there are still many outstanding problems, shortcomings and frequently even ugly phenomena cutting across the substance of the socialist way of life. The Soviet people face all this both in production and in everyday life. And if a printed organ wants to have authority among its readers, if journalists think about how they are to fulfill their professional mission, they cannot and must not forget about the need systematically to put before public opinion the problems with which it is concerned, targeting their fire on omissions and shortcomings, and asserting the new and the advanced. That is how the press can successfully act as a militant organizer and educator of the masses, enhancing the working people's energy in overcoming shortcomings and difficulties, and solving the diverse problems in communist construction.

Working for effective statements in the press means making the items published truthful, well-argued and topical, and consistently presenting every problem in the light of the party principles. Here, as the CPSU Central Committee's resolution stresses, the party committees have a big role to play. Much depends on whether the party committees educate the functionaries of state, economic and trade union organizations in a correct attitude to criticism in the press.

The Central Committee of the party and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev have set an example in supporting critical statements in the press and, whenever necessary, setting right economic executives and officials of ministries and departments, enjoining them to respond in a workmanlike manner to the criticism and to take corresponding measures to improve the state of things. Here, the CPSU Central Committee is guided by Lenin's

precepts, for he required a thorough verification and study of the facts and response without delay to critical signals from the press, to criticism generally; he insisted on a businesslike and reasonable response, instead of a formal reply.

But the journalists themselves should always bear in mind that the superficial worked-up, sensationalist approach as a rule reduces the significance of critical items. The main thing is the mobilizing effect of criticism, its constructive character and clear-cut orientation upon eliminating the shortcomings and difficulties which emerge because of bureaucratic practices, indifference, or laxity on the part of officials of any rank or — something that happens most frequently — because of their stand not for state but for departmental and local interests.

One has to be consistent in every endeavor, and especially in criticism. Party committees and their press organs have the duty in every instance to work for the correction of shortcomings and elimination of their causes. If, for instance, after a paper has made a statement but then fails to report on the measures taken, the reader begins to suspect that the paper has not found support, that it has been unable to translate into life that which it called for. This means a negative result in propaganda, ideological terms. This tends to dampen people's ardor and produce scepticism.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution spells out in detail the measures which need to be taken by mass media editorial offices to have the level of their work meet present-day demands. Party committees are quite right in working persistently and exactly to have such measures implemented in fact. Practice shows that by supporting and daily directing the activity of their newspapers, radio and television, party committees not only enhance the authority of the press but also increase their own ideological influence on the economic and cultural development of their district, region or republic.

One has to consider specifically the powerful educational impact of documentary, journalistic and fictional works on radio and television, which have a truly vast audience. It is important to work tirelessly along this important line, without reducing the standards, bearing in mind that broadcasts which are undemanding, low in aesthetic standards, and superficial in content not only spoil the citizens' taste but also accustom them, especially the young, to pass superficial judgment about phenomena in life, and to a light-hearted attitude to art.

A few words about the vital tasks in *the sphere of artistic creativity* in present-day conditions. The party has always regarded the ideo-

logical and aesthetic standard of works of our literature and art in close connection with each other, as a single criterion for evaluating them. This is doubly true today, when the aesthetic comprehension of living phenomena and of socialist reality are unimaginable without a deep comprehension of the economic, social and spiritual processes going on in society.

Workers in literature and the arts have been making a sizable contribution to the Soviet citizens' spiritual development, moral perfection and aesthetic education. We can note with satisfaction that the development of our literature and art has run along the line of ever deeper and more productive analysis of the moral fiber of the modern character, the builder of communism, and bold handling of the intricate and meaningful problems of our day.

But it is no secret that alongside the novels, plays and films which are works of talent and have a high ideological content, we still find some indifferent works. Here and there we find traces of the tendency to depart into the realm of petty topics, naturalistic kitchen-sink descriptions, and petty-philistine emotions. In some works we also find distorted notions of the past which have no relevance to history, an odd predilection for historical adventurers, and superficial judgments of our own day. These phenomena should not remain outside the field of vision of creative organizations and their press organs.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution establishes a direct interconnection between the development of the creative activity of writers, artists, composers, workers of screen and stage, and journalists, and inculcation in them of high ideological awareness and civic responsibility. This brings to the fore the tasks of further improving the ideological and political education and Marxist-Leninist training of the artistic intelligentsia. Creative unions have the task of promoting the utmost broadening of the artist's ideological horizon, enhancement of his craftsmanship and concentration of his attention on socially meaningful problems.

V

We are summing up the early results of the work by party organizations in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Educational Work." Only the initial phase has passed, but it is an important one because it entails an in-depth comprehension of the nature of the party's demands and the start of the effort to realize them.

We can note with satisfaction that the resolution has been dis-

cussed in a workmanlike manner by communists and working people. This should certainly be credited to our party committees. Much work in fulfilling the resolution is being carried on by party organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, a number of republics, territories and regions.

However, it is important clearly to realize that any resolution, however faultless, becomes a real force directing the course of developments only when it is consistently translated into life and exerts a concrete and positive influence on the state of affairs in the various organizations and labor collectives. That is the angle from which the CPSU Central Committee will evaluate the effectiveness of the work that is being done.

The communists, mapping out concrete measures to fulfill the resolution, have warned that this work should not become just another campaign. This approach is undoubtedly correct. There is good reason why special importance now attaches to questions in the practical organization of ideological and educational work and co-ordination of ideological activity. The point is that we must extend our ideological influence to the entire people, while reaching every individual personally. And this requires skillful use of all the instruments of ideological and educational influence. Success is, as a rule, achieved wherever party, trade union and YCL organizations, labor collectives, family and school, management and the public work in the same key, wherever the ideological propositions are being purposefully translated into practical acts in the sphere of labor, study and everyday life. In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize the role of the ideological commissions of the party committees, and also of a smoothly functioning system for extending the best experience in organizing educational work.

An analysis of the activity of party committees in implementing the present resolution shows that this work still frequently reveals the very shortcomings which, the resolution points out, markedly reduce the effectiveness of the ideological impact. These are points about which communists and non-party people have written to the Central Committee, and this is, as you are well aware, being reported in our party press.

In some organizations, talk about the importance of the resolution and about the need to fulfill it is not being backed up with real measures or a self-critical analysis of the state of affairs precisely at the given enterprise or establishment. Now and again, the whole thing is confined to abstract reasoning "about the existing shortcomings,"

with people remaining captive to general catchwords, and without any connection between words and deeds. Thus, as *Pravda* reported, that is the spirit in which the CPSU Central Committee resolution was discussed by the Collegium of the USSR State Building Committee.

While perseveringly working to improve in every way education and to spread advanced experience in ideological work, there is a need to avoid at all costs the stereotype approach which inevitably leads to formalism and dampens initiative. Serious harm is also done by attempts forcibly to fit the process of education into the framework of purely quantitative, formal criteria and evaluations. With such an oversimplified, bureaucratic approach only the number of measures put through remains in the field of vision. This kind of education system, which is rightly called the "points-scoring" system, and which is a combination, according to Lenin, of "the obsolete old and lifeless fad," does not in any way promote success in the work of ideological education.

Of course, the truly creative approach has nothing in common with a nihilistic attitude to the forms and methods of ideological work which the party has worked out and tested in practice. It is no secret, after all, that formalism in educational work — a great shortcoming — is perennial and has many faces. It frequently tends to appear as a result of application to this intricate and subtle sphere of diverse artificial innovations, of methods which are only outwardly effective, with noise and empty chatter, all of which is categorically counter-indicated to the very character and spirit of communist education.

It is important to find and broadly use new forms of work which make it possible more fully to take into account the specific features of educational activity in this or that region, involving this or that social group. For instance, allocating a special day for political education helps markedly to enhance the effectiveness of education. The experience of party committees in a number of cities and regions show that such days, where they are well organized, help to reach such groups of population which are frequently given inadequate attention, provide opportunities for gaining an insight into the problems which are of immediate interest to the working people, provide convincing answers and formulate relevant recommendations for ideological and other organizations.

Success in educational work largely depends on the extent to which it involves the activists and takes account of public opinion. Let us recall Lenin's refusal to tolerate any breaches of Soviet legality, especially crime, and his insistence on relentless struggle against

these, with ever more active involvement of broad masses of working people in the effort.

That is also the party's approach to the matter today. The CPSU Central Committee's recent resolution "On Improving the Maintenance of Law and Order and Intensifying the Struggle against Infringements of the Law" points to the need for more resolute eradication of crime and other anti-social phenomena.

The effort to strengthen socialist law and order is an organic component of the party's organizational and ideological work. There must be special concern for enhancing educational work and preventing delinquency among minors and for enhancing the role of families, schools and collectives in this effort.

One cannot tolerate the fact that some party, state, trade-union, YCL and economic organizations tend to underestimate the importance of the drive against crime and to take a formal attitude to such problems, making little use of the range of educational and preventive measures at their disposal. The militia and the procurator's office are not always as vigorous as they should be in combating offences. One should also point out that now and again there has been a blunting of the politico-class evaluation of manifestations of the philistine morality and the acquisitive mentality.

In short, we need to use all the means of influence, and to mobilize collective efforts to make an honest attitude to work and socialist property, to one's social duties — all the principles of the communist morality — an integral part of every person's convictions and behavior.

The fact that our mass media are giving a lead in the effort to propagandize and implement the resolution deserves approval. Items in the press, on television and radio have become deeper in content, more interesting, livelier and with a sharper edge, and — which is most important — closer to human concerns. There is now more information which is meaningful and more diverse. One notes the appearance of major controversial and critical items. There is better use of letters from readers.

One can note with satisfaction the substantial approach to and presentation of major socio-economic problems on the pages of *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Sovetskaya Rossia*, and some other newspapers, which have raised important problems in production and everyday life, and ethical and moral topics. The new broadcasts on Central Television and the All-Union Radio entitled "Problems, Quest, Solutions," "Meetings at Your Request," and others are addressed to the

broadest possible audience. As the CC resolution required, these broadcasts involve leading executives, prominent scientists, specialists, heads of ministries and departments. They answer the working people's questions, including the Soviet people's well-justified complaints and legitimate demands, describe how the shortcomings are to be corrected, and the prospects for enhancing the efficiency and quality of workmanship at enterprises and industries.

There are markedly fewer abstract calls in the presentation of socialist emulation. The press has quite rightly given preference to reports on emulation between collectives which have chosen well-tried and effective methods of work. The newspapers, television and radio are helping to broadly disseminate, for instance, the experience in the emulation among collectives making use of the Lvov system of regulation of product quality, those working on the Shchokino, Ipatov and Yampol methods, the method used by Nikolai Zlobin's team of builders, and also the experience of Leningrad and Krasnoyarsk enterprises in the comprehensive solution of problems arising from the erection of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydro-electric power plant.

There is certainly progress in this area, although the habit of making loud noises over flimsily grounded or purely formal innovations has yet to disappear.

On the whole, it is still too early to say that all the organs of the press and propaganda media have got down to the deep and all-round realization of the tasks put forward in the resolution. Their editorial offices are not yet exerting enough effort to improve the quality of their reports, to make them more timely and truly effective.

Nor can we say that the provisions of the resolution concerning the differentiated dissemination of information, the need for organs of the press to have their own "face," their own range of basic items, the need to diversify genres, and to display more concern for style and language have been fully implemented. Thus, one still frequently finds headlines with such formal calls as "to pull up," "to raise," "to redouble energy," and so on. Through frequent repetition such calls tend to be effaced and make no impact. In place of such declarations there should be a convincing presentation of the content and meaning of the labor initiatives and methods of shock-work. In this context, every grain of accumulated experience, every expression of the working people's patriotic initiatives is of interest to us.

In a relatively short period, the press, television and radio have done some work to extend and deepen *foreign-policy propaganda*. Every day, television presents new informative and topical programs

which include both the latest news and concrete political analysis. Moscow Radio's service in English now has round-the-clock broadcasts to all the continents of the world which have markedly enlarged Moscow's international audience.

Our mass media and ideological institutions must continue in every way to improve propaganda and counter-propaganda, and to show convincingly the achievements and advantages of the Soviet political and social system and the peaceable foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. There is a need to emphasize the right to work, to education, to free medical services, and to housing, the basic human rights which are not available in the United States or other capitalist countries, and which are guaranteed in the Soviet Union.

Our propaganda must promptly respond to the changes taking place in the world, and to give a well-argued and timely rebuff to any ideological machination and insinuation, and to expose the falsehood of hostile propaganda. Here one should bear in mind that our ideological adversaries and their special services ceaselessly carry on slanderous propaganda campaigns, which frequently develop into psychological warfare against the USSR and other socialist countries, and do not hesitate to resort to downright provocation. Imperialist reaction seeks to undermine the spirit of détente, and to return the world to the beginnings of the "cold war." It is for these dirty purposes that the problem of alleged violations of human rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union was "invented" in the first place. Now that this campaign of slander and falsehood is losing steam our adversaries are casting about for other pretexts, and using other ways — everything is being brought into play. We must know how to expose the adversaries' subtlest provocations.

Soviet people must be consistently educated in political vigilance, a keen class sense, ideological cohesion and steadfastness, awareness of the superiority of our system and our ideas, and readiness to defend the Motherland and the revolutionary gains of socialism. We must skillfully expose, in a convincing and well-argued manner, the defects of capitalism as a system of exploitation, oppression and violence, and give telling examples of the fate of real people to show the actual meaning of mass unemployment and the hopelessness of poverty, and the bloody crimes to which the imperialist bourgeoisie will resort in face of a real threat to its power.

There is a need systematically to show the successes of existing socialism and to strengthen international solidarity with the peoples of the socialist-community countries, the international working class

and the national-liberation movement. One constant task of the mass media is to report on life in the socialist countries in all its diversity, with special emphasis on the concrete positive experience of the fraternal parties in solving important social problems, on the political, ideological and economic cooperation of the fraternal countries, and the equitable and mutually advantageous nature of their relations. It is also important to show the selfless struggle of the fraternal communist and workers' parties against imperialism and the danger of another war, and for the ideals of communism, for the vital interests of the working class and all the other working people, and for social progress.

The sharpening of the ideological struggle in the international arena requires further improvement of our foreign-policy propaganda, together with a raising of the level of ideological education at home. This means a need to enhance the education of steadfast conviction in communist ideals, an irreconcilable attitude to bourgeois ideology, and an ability to give a resolute and well-argued rebuff to all the machinations of the ideological adversary.

The CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On Further Improving Ideological and Politico-Educational Work" lays down the main lines of the party's activity in this key sphere of social life. One of the most important conditions of success in this activity is the Leninist style of work, a creative style based on a profound Marxist-Leninist comprehension of the substance and nature of social phenomena, a style which is free from formalism and the system of working by spurts. For ideological cadres to adopt this style means to ensure not only good and efficient organization and coordination of all ideological and political work, and to make purposeful the acts of all the ideological organizations and means of education, but also constantly to be in the midst of this work, to keep track of its actual results and to respond to the working people's growing spiritual requirements.

All party committees have worked out, approved and started to implement long-term comprehensive plans for ideological activity. It is now necessary to arrange verification of performance, and not to allow any of these lines, any of the aspects of the whole sphere of communist education to be lost sight of by the party committees.

Similar systematic work with ideological cadres must become an organic component of this organizational activity. While combining confidence in these cadres with a high standard of demand for assignments, the Party believes it necessary considerably to improve

their studies and orientation on the important problems of domestic and international life.

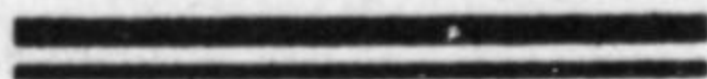
The multi-million strong army of ideological cadres enjoys high respect and affection in the party and among the people. These are men and women who give their energy, knowledge and capabilities to the political enlightenment of the masses and education among them of high moral qualities, and the raising of our people's spiritual and political culture.

Fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution is a difficult and truly creative endeavor. And we communists must not forget even for a moment this precept of Lenin's: "*Invariably to advance, to make sure to achieve even more, and always to go on from easier to more difficult tasks. Otherwise,*" Lenin emphasized, "no progress is possible at all, no progress in socialist construction is possible either." We are enjoined to do this by the letter and spirit of the CC resolution, which is imbued with the ideas of creative and constantly developing Marxism-Leninism; this is also promoted by the favorable political atmosphere existing in the country.

There is no task nobler than that of carrying to the masses the party's words, of educating millions and millions of men and women in the spirit of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and dedication to the immortal ideals of communism. We have every right to say: communist education is an important front in the struggle for communism. Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution, improvement of activity in educating the working people will help to enhance the whole of the organizational and political work in the masses aimed to score fresh successes in communist construction.

Allow me, dear comrades, whole-heartedly to wish you, and through you to all the workers on the ideological front, new and great successes!

Pravda, October 17, 1979



THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDONESIA CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE

Statement by the CPI Central Committee

In the recent period the positions of the reactionary military regime in Indonesia have sharply deteriorated. Both its domestic and foreign policy are unpopular. Mass dissatisfaction is reflected in the growing opposition of various groups and strata of society who demand better living standards and a democratic change.

To bolster its positions, the regime is resorting to ideological brainwashing of the population and attempting to revive anti-communism with the aid of slander and falsification of historical facts. This was the Kopkamtib's* intention in publishing the White Book on the 30 September Movement. In connection with this publication, the Communist Party of Indonesia has issued the following statement:

The Communist Party of Indonesia continues the struggle!

Its aim is clear — to create an independent democratic Indonesia and to build a society in which the people of Indonesia will be masters of their destiny, a society without exploitation of man by man.

The Communist Party knows the road it must follow to this goal: it is the road of uniting in one front all forces fighting for freedom, democracy and social progress, and against imperialism and reaction.

These aims excite the fierce hatred of the exploiting classes. Since 1965 Indonesia has been ruled by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the kabirs), who mercilessly exploit our people hand in glove with imperialists. The state apparatus is subordinated to their narrow egoistic class interests, and stamps out all resistance, all free thinking. In Indonesia today freedom exists only for foreign imperialists and their accomplices — the military and civilian capitalist bureaucrats. It is a freedom to plunder and exploit the working people, and to extract the maximum profits from their arduous toil.

The Communist Party directs its struggle chiefly against imperialism and its agents — the kabirs. This is why the kabirs and their

*Kopkamtib, Command of Operations for the Restoration of Security and Order, a repressive military organ with special powers. — Ed.

“political élite” see the CPI as their chief enemy. Hence their ceaseless military, police, political and ideological attacks on the CPI. The so-called new order tries to defame the CPI and to portray it as an anti-national force. It has been lying to the people of Indonesia for many years, trying to give the people and the rising generation a distorted idea of the image and aims of the Communist Party, and its methods of struggle. For their dirty ends, the menials of the “new order” make especially broad use of the events of 30 September 1965.

The party is convinced in the inevitable triumph of the noble cause that it is fighting for. The party is convinced that in this struggle it will increasingly have the support of the broad mass of Indonesians — the working class, the peasants, the intelligentsia, the youth, the national independent producers, the patriotic section of the army, and other strata. The CPI has no interests other than those of the Indonesian people, because the interests of the communists are indissolubly linked with the true interests of the people and nation. The communists are a great national force. They are fighters for full national and social emancipation. Even our enemies, who try to defame the great communist ideals, cannot conceal the fact that at all the stages of the people’s struggle in Indonesia the communists were one of the most militant and consistent detachments of the broad national movement for political and economic independence, democracy, peace and social justice. The internationalism inherent in communists is compounded with unshakable loyalty to the cause of our people’s freedom and happiness, and the wish to win for it a worthy place in the community of nations.

Recently the Kopkamtib published a White Book on the 30 September 1965 Movement. Its purpose is to try and wash away the blood that covers the “new order” from head to foot, to again falsify history and slanderously shift the blame for the 1965 events to the Communist Party. Also, it aims at concealing the true culprits, to clothe despotism and violence in a costume of law and order, and to portray changes in the forms of violence as a display of humanism. Lastly, in this book the Kopkamtib wishes to justify its own anti-constitutional existence and its reactionary activity under General Suharto in creating the so-called new order.

Time and again, we have rebuffed the slander cast on our party. This time, too, the CPI intends to reply to the charges made by the gentlemen of the Kopkamtib. But we do not address ourselves to the servants of the “new order” — the professional liars who produced this thoroughly false piece of writing. We address ourselves to the

people of Indonesia, to the progressive forces of Indonesia, to the honest nationalists, and to patriotic believers.

We will tell them what really happened in 1965 and later, and what tasks the participants and opponents of the movement had set themselves. The communists told the people the truth about these events the first time in 1967 in a statement entitled, "For the Correct Path of the Indonesian Revolution." Facts that have come to light since then again refute the chief contention of the propagandists of the reactionary ruling regime that the 30 September Movement was initiated, organized and set in motion by the Communist Party of Indonesia, which allegedly intended to perform a coup d'état, capture power, and overthrow the lawful government of President Sukarno. So, let us turn the weapon of truth against this falsehood. We have no secrets from our people. And let the outside world, too, know the truth. As we see from the content of the White Book, it is the anti-people "new order" and its appendage — the Kopkamtib — that is afraid of the truth.

WHAT PRECEDED THE EVENTS OF 1 OCTOBER 1965

It is common knowledge that the CPI supported the policy of President Sukarno, his regime of "guided democracy." Now, this is portrayed as a fault. Yes, we hold and have always held that positive aspects beneficial to the people of Indonesia had predominated in that regime. This is why the CPI was right in supporting the "guided democracy" headed by that great patriot, Sukarno. Certainly, the regime had weak sides too. Its economic programs suffered a serious setback. The reasons for this were many, and among them was the petty-bourgeois character of Sukarno's ideology. This resulted, above all, in negation of class struggle and a utopian striving to unite "all forces," to secure "universal" national unity, and win to the side of progressive social-economic reconstruction the compradores, kabirs, and rural semi-feudal elements, that is, the very forces whose interests it directly contradicted and whose sabotage brought about the collapse of Sukarno's programs. For this reason capitalist bureaucrats strengthened their positions within the "guided democracy," and later through their military grouping usurped all state power in Indonesia.

In a few instances, the Communist Party was not critical enough of the weaknesses of "guided democracy." This applies first of all to insufficient consistency in combating the enemies of Indonesia's pro-

gressive policy and in furthering its steady implementation. But when today the kabirs and their menials hypocritically blame the CPI for excessive praise of the President, we want to recall that at that time they attacked every critical word spoken by our party and speciously accused it of disloyalty to the "great leader of the revolution." They attacked the CPI for this not because they wanted to shield President Sukarno from criticism. That was only a false pretext. They attacked it because the CPI was still the reservoir of the people's revolutionary energy, militant anti-imperialism, and aspiration to socialist reconstruction.

"Guided democracy" proved incapable of eliminating the capitalist bureaucrats, who exploited it for their own ends. On the other hand, the military and civilian kabirs, too, were incapable of satiating their greed or seizing full control of the state apparatus and capturing all power over the nations' destiny. This was prevented primarily by the Communist Party of Indonesia, one of the most influential political forces in the country. This was prevented by the public organizations uniting millions of members that were ranged alongside the CPI. This was prevented by the concepts and the policy of Sukarno, the country's lawful president. Hence, "guided democracy" did not suit the capitalist bureaucrats and the strongest and most active faction among them, their shock brigade — the group of army generals.

The assault on "guided democracy" to replace it with the undisguised and complete domination of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie could be mounted only by unconstitutional means — by removing the lawful president from power and hitting the Communist Party, a legal and constitutional force. So, the clique of kabirs and army generals finally decided to organize a coup d'état and overthrow the lawful government and its head, President Sukarno.

By the summer of 1965 the top army echelon, uniting for joint struggle against "guided democracy" and the Communist Party, went on the offensive. The generals, who seized effective power in the provinces, began to disregard the orders of the President. That was how President Sukarno learned of the existence of the Council of Generals, an organization of plotters connected with imperialist secret services and bent on forcibly changing the state system in Indonesia. The "new order" and its propaganda machine maintain that there had been no such thing as a Council of Generals. The kabirs in military uniform possibly did call themselves differently at that time, though even the official proceedings of the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Untung confirmed the existence of the Council of Generals. Accord-

ing to the White Book, too, the existence of the Council of Generals was also confirmed by General A. Yani as long ago as 26 May 1965. But it does not matter what these people called themselves who were brought together by criminal anti-people interests to hatch a military coup and thus secure their aims. The group did exist, and its activity is an incontestable fact.

The Council of Generals knew that its designs were hard to achieve: Sukarno's prestige in the country and army was still very high. An outright attack against him would not be understood by the masses or the army rank and file. Besides, the President was the embodiment of the anti-imperialist spirit of the Indonesian people. But Sukarno's enemies knew perfectly well that the head of state saw the Communist Party of Indonesia as his political ally in the anti-imperialist struggle. In these circumstances, a blow struck at the CPI would also be a blow at the President, the great leader of the revolution and supreme commander of the armed forces. This is why the plans of the military kabirs were focussed on pitting the CPI and the President against one another, and then striking at the CPI on the false pretext of protecting the latter. Thereupon it was planned to develop the assault and hit the left wing of the nationalist movement, wrest power from the hands of the President, and radically alter the country's political course.

The President saw through these designs. Who could he rely upon in frustrating the criminal intents of the generals and, if necessary, restrain them by force? He could rely on the progressive political parties such as the CPI, the National Party and Partindo (Partai Indonesia), on progressive nationalists in the armed forces, and on the political groupings and individuals personally loyal to Bung Karno. The President counted on their support to repulse the traitors. The head of state had the law on his side, and good grounds to act in this way to save the state system, the constitution, and the ideology of the state from the menace of the generals' conspiracy. But here Bung Karno's chief weakness proved fatal: a captive to petty-bourgeois ideas, he did not appeal to the masses and chose the method of an "upper echelon purge," a counter-conspiracy.

Bung Karno could legitimately count on the assistance of the Communist Party. Such assistance was implicit in its political line, which provided for cooperation with President Sukarno, support of the progressive aspects of his policy, and consequently for defending him against the reactionaries. The leadership of the CPI, we hold, was

obliged to apply all its efforts to repulsing the rightist conspiracy. This was required by the interests of the Indonesian revolution.

But in that critical situation some leaders of the CPI chose a method that prevented them from fulfilling this task. Instead of appealing to the party and the mass of the working people, and rallying them in defense of the gains of the revolution, D.N. Aidit and some of his colleagues in the Executive Committee of the CC CPI Political Bureau confined themselves to merely supporting the actions planned by the President. In the early hours of 1 October D.N. Aidit was brought to Halim Air Base, where he was virtually isolated and had no contacts either with the President or with his own party apparatus. The CPI, more than three million strong, did not in substance take any part in the events as an organization. Neither did the CPI leadership address itself to the party in the wake of the 1 October events, merely calling on it "to entrust the political accommodation to President Sukarno."

By doing so, the leaders of the party failed to rise above the petty-bourgeois limitations of Bung Karno. And this was no accident. It was the effect of the pernicious influence of Maoist ideas, which had by then filtered into the CPI. The typically Maoist lack of faith in the masses, mistrust of the party ranks, and negation of its role as the working people's vanguard, were here brought to their logical culmination. Upper-echelon action was raised to an absolute and given support, leaving the solution of national problems to the palace guard. Having fallen under the influence of Mao's counter-revolutionary and anti-people ideas, the CPI leadership proved incapable of rallying the party and all working people against the reactionaries. Analyzing past events in a number of our documents, we have already said that at that crucial time our party was incapable of action because some of its leaders had blindly followed Maoist dogmas, with consequences that were just as harmful for the Indonesian people as they were for the people of China and of other countries. The intervening years have shown that Maoism causes the downfall or serious defeat of parties and movements that fall under its influence.

Some elements in the group on which Bung Karno relied in his attempt to forestall the generals' coup d'état had joined it merely to fish in troubled waters and further their selfish interests. These were the "military careerists," that is, the kabir generals one echelon lower than the conspirators of the Council of Generals. The "military careerists" shared the anti-communist views of the top generals and also their concern for the future of capitalism in Indonesia and the

future of the kabirs. But for the time being they preferred to abstain from open resistance to the President and were therefore accepted by him as "honest soldiers far removed from politics." These "military careerists" followed events very closely, poised to seize upon either outcome of the struggle for their own advancement, enrichment, and thereupon also for their political career. If the counter-conspiracy succeeded, their participation in it held promise of promotion to top army posts. The President, on the other hand, could not count on the loyalty of the army without their assistance. Especially in the case of the Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad) headed by General Suharto, and the units of the Jakarta military garrison. The "military careerists" held considerable power. They controlled the military counter-intelligence with its network of agents. It has been established for example, that shortly before the 30 September events at least 2,000 agents of the military secret service had managed to infiltrate the party. There were agents even in the so-called Special Bureau of the CC CPI, which was headed by a paid agent of the Jakarta garrison headquarters, Sham bin Kamaruzaman (whose immediate superior in the secret service was Major Suganda).

President Sukarno expected to change the balance of forces in his own favor: the dissolved government was to have been replaced by a new one, without any anti-presidential and reactionary elements. As was his wont, he had decided to secure this change without stepping into the limelight until the time was ripe, and reducing the risk to himself to the minimum. But the President's tactic made the position of his followers especially dangerous. By keeping his distance, the President unintentionally created conditions in which the conspirators could oppose him with his own loyal followers.

WHAT HAPPENED ON 1 OCTOBER 1965

Units of the Cakrabirava presidential guard regiment, the Kostrad and the Air Force, headed by their own officers, were ordered with the President's knowledge to arrest seven generals of the top military command in Jakarta. The arrested generals were to be tried by the head of state as traitors and conspirators. It was also planned to set up a new organ of power under the President, the Revolutionary Council.

This operation, which became known as the 30 September Movement, was to be carried out by the commander of one of the battalions of the Cakrabirava regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, and the

commander of the Kostrad strike forces in Kalimantan, Brigadier-General Supardjo.

But from the outset the events followed a different course. Contrary to the President's instructions, six out of the seven generals who were to be detained, were killed. Learning of their death and of the escape of his chief opponent in the army, General Nasution, the President realized that now the Movement would probably have to contend with the whole army, not only the reactionary generals. So, he decided to draw away from it. Bung Karno's name was not on the roster of the Revolutionary Council. In this way, the Movement seemed to have opposed itself to its leader.

This brings us to a legitimate question: why were the generals killed, and who stood to gain from it?

The elimination of the generals was wholly contrary to the plans of Bung Karno who had never in his political career resorted to terrorist actions or assassinations. The President meant to expose the plans of the Council of Generals conspirators before the country and to win a moral victory, thus buttressing his position. The Communist Party, too, had a stake in publicly condemning the criminal plans of the reactionary conspirators.

The only ones who stood to gain from the killing of the generals were the "military careerists," because this eliminated their superiors and rivals. Besides, for them it opened the way to power: after the slaying of the generals the President was compromised, which enabled those who had pretended to be his followers to mount an attack on him and, first of all, on the CPI.

It was the "military careerists" who gained from the killing of the generals inside Indonesia. But who gained abroad? There were two such forces.

First, the U.S. imperialists and the Central Intelligence Agency. The U.S. imperialists supported the generals' offensive against Sukarno in 1965. They were troubled by the role of the CPI in the system of "guided democracy" and had an immediate stake in crushing the Communist Party, eliminating Bung Karno's political system, and establishing a *kabir* dictatorship. The ties of the top generals of Indonesia with the imperialist powers are common knowledge. In a talk with the President on 26 May 1965, the Minister and Commander of the Army, A. Yani, admitted that these ties existed. He said they were maintained on his instructions. Though the killed generals had collaborated with the CIA, their death gave the "military careerists"

an opportunity to carry out so gigantic a provocation and launch reprisals against the Indonesian people on so great a scale that the CIA unhesitatingly sacrificed the generals. Besides, the CIA knew of the anti-communist views of the "military careerists" and of their also being kabirs; furthermore, some of them were its direct agents. It was even simpler to deal with them, for none of them was a politician of national stature, or had any dependable support in the army or country. This meant that they would not display "excessive" independence. It follows that the CIA lost nothing and gained considerably from the killing of the generals.

The other outside force to gain was the Maoist leadership of the People's Republic of China. The Maoists had been seeking to complicate the political situation in Indonesia and precipitate an internal crisis irrespective of the alignment of political forces. According to Mao, all reactionaries were paper tigers. Peking had managed to strain the CPI's relations with the world communist movement, and to impair Indonesia's cooperation with the socialist world and the national-liberation movement. Instead, a whole assortment of slogans and concepts appeared. Their sound was highly revolutionary, but they took us further away from our aims and our true friends, and thus weakened the revolutionary forces still more. Peking was directly interested in having the CPI come into physical collision with the army as quickly as possible, and wanted this collision to be as fierce and as uncompromising as possible. The Chinese did everything they could to speed up a political crisis in Indonesia. While flirting with Bung Karno and lavishing flattery on him, they kept undermining his positions by, among other things, spreading false rumours about his deteriorating health that originated from the team of doctors who had come from the PRC to treat the President. The outcome of the crisis did not worry Peking. It was not in the least concerned that the left forces might be defeated and that hundreds of thousands of communists, sympathizers, and other progressives might be killed, and hundreds of thousands more thrown into concentration camps. The killing of the generals was an answer to the Peking Maoists' hopes of causing a political crisis. Small wonder that at an official reception in Peking on 1 October 1965 the hosts gleefully informed members of an Indonesian delegation visiting the PRC that the generals had been killed.

In sum, the killing of the high-ranking plotters was a gigantic provocation with the gravest of consequences for the CPI and other progressive organizations, and for the whole Indonesian people. Out-

side the country it was welcomed by the imperialists and the Maoists, though for different reasons in each case.

It is also proper to note that army men alone were involved in the assassination of the generals and that not one of them was a member of the CPI. (*This fact is assiduously evaded by the Kopkamtib.*)

And take the reorientation of the Movement, which was now formally turned against Sukarno — could that have been of any advantage to the CPI? Certainly not. The misrepresentation of the true purpose and orientation of the Movement benefited none but the hostile forces, that is, the “military careerists” who had also gained from the assassination of the generals.

The course of events bears this out completely. Learning of the killings, the President immediately deprived the progressive officers in the Movement of his support. This gave the “military careerists” an opportunity to seize power, to carry out a coup. Furthermore, it conformed with the aims of the imperialists. The Peking Maoists, too, got what they wanted: an armed collision erupted in Indonesia. In fact, however, it was a crushing assault on the party, which was caught unawares and was weakened by Maoism. Hundreds of thousands of guiltless people were wiped out. Hundreds of thousands more were put behind bars. It was a staggering national tragedy. But the Maoists had never cared about the fate or suffering of nations. Recently, the lives of millions of Kampucheans were sacrificed to their ambitions. Then the Maoists launched an aggression against Vietnam, which also took a heavy toll in lives. The chauvinists and hegemonists that they are, the Maoists see and always saw the nations as mere pawns in their political game, their drive for great-power aims. What is for them the blood and death of Indonesians? Nothing at all. Their encouragement and prodding of events in Southern Blitar is added evidence of this. Their disdain for the blood and life of nations makes them twin brothers of the American imperialists.

In short, it was the “military careerists,” that is, the lower echelon of generals, who carried out the class-based task that had earlier been set by the Council of Generals. After this, the “military careerists” began camouflaging their crimes, blaming them on others and carefully concealing their own part in the events of 1 October 1965. That was how the version appeared that the CPI was the initiator and the leading force of the 30 September Movement. The reactionaries used it from the outset to assault the CPI and progressive mass organizations under the cover of President Sukarno's name. Eventually, they also turned it against Bung Karno himself. That is the origin of the big lie

without which the burgeoning "new order" could not have survived, and which is being drummed into the heads of Indonesians ever since October 1965.

HOW THE WHITE BOOK FALSIFIES THE 30 SEPTEMBER 1965 EVENTS

The contents of the White Book are geared to the tasks the leaders of the "new order" set the Kopkamtib. The central task, as we have already said, was to hammer home the idea that the CPI was the initiator and the leading force of the 30 September Movement. To support their case, the authors of the White Book used the testimony of Sham, a traitor and spy, fabricated by the Kopkamtib and the military intelligence. On the basis of this fabrication, the authors accuse the CPI of having organized the Movement and name D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the CC CPI, its supreme leader. All other facts and aspects of the 30 September events are either glossed over or misrepresented in order not to prejudice the main charge. By this primitive method the authors of the White Book are trying to push a falsified version that is completely contrary to the facts of history down the throats of the Indonesian people.

The authors of the White Book and all other kabir propaganda maintain that the leaders of the CPI had acted against President Sukarno with the aim of overthrowing him and seizing power in the country. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As we have already said, at that time the CPI leadership geared all its policy to cooperation with the President, and supported the positive aspects of his political line. If the CPI leaders had really controlled the course of events, how could they conceivably have, on their own, done the following:

- summoned to the capital picked Kostrad units of the anti-communist army, which were under the command of General Suharto;

- used the Cakrabirava regiment, boundlessly loyal to Bung Karno and obliged to him for all its privileges, against the President;

- coordinated the actions of these heterogeneous forces, making them carry out the orders of Brigadier-General Supardjo, the immediate subordinate of Major-General Suharto, and of Colonel Latif, the subordinate of Major-General Umaru Virahadikusum (Jakarta garrison).

Even the hired scribblers of the White Book could not invent any proofs that the Communist Party had influence over these troops.

From the outset the leaders of the CPI had qualified the Movement as the internal affair of the army.

Through the whole of the White Book there runs a deep-going contradiction: the communists, its authors maintain, issued orders to military men who had no party ties with them whatsoever. For example, on what grounds could the leaders of the local CPI special bureau (as it says in the White Book) have issued the order summoning the Kostrad 454th and 530th paratroop battalions to the capital?

The authors of the White Book attempted the impossible when they tried to invent a convincing version about the role of President Sukarno. To say that he had organized the Movement was tantamount to undermining their own basic claim that the CPI was guilty of attempting a coup d'état. And to say that the President had no hand in preparing the 30 September Movement was tantamount to condemning the generals who had acted on their own and had been guilty of insubordination to the head of state from the first day of the events.

Besides, the clique of generals who had overthrown and condemned the first president of independent Indonesia to a slow death must reckon with the fact that in the memory of our people he remains a major national figure, a great patriot and anti-imperialist who laid down his life in fighting against external and internal reaction. This is why the scribblers of the Kopkamtib are compelled to lie and maneuver.

The White Book portrays Bung Karno's role in the events in a most confusing way. He appears before us now as an all-powerful president who orders his guard "to take measures" against the generals and plotters, now as a confused, frightened and helpless man, and now as an obedient tool of the CPI. This latter point is especially emphasized by the authors of the White Book. They go so far as to say that even long before the events the President had completely adopted the positions of the communists and had acted in their interests. Do they really think that the image of the late Bung Karno as an outstanding nationalist has already faded from the memory of the Indonesians, and that this crude falsification will be accepted by them?

In fact, when organizing the rebuff to the plotters, the President held that this was in the interests of the Republic and in his own interests as head of state. He had acted independently and deliberately. It is common knowledge that President Sukarno had taken all responsible political decisions by himself, and then enlisted his allies to carry them out, including the communists who, as we have already pointed out, supported the progressive aspects of Bung Karno's

policy. But he failed to anticipate the betrayal of those whom he considered honest and loyal soldiers, the "military careerists" who brought about his downfall and are now in power.

The Kopkamtib goes out of its way to conceal the true role of these people. But that is impossible. This is why the White Book is unable to provide us with an answer to certain questions that incriminate the "military careerists":

— As is known, the only military force the Movement had were the 454th and 530th paratroop battalions of the army, which came to Jakarta from Central and Eastern Java respectively for subsequent deployment to Kalimantan. Who could have summoned them to Jakarta? Who had the right to issue orders to them when they arrived in the capital? The claim of the authors of the White Book that they were summoned to Jakarta by "persons from the provincial CPI special bureau" is ridiculous.

— Who could have ordered Supardjo to leave Kalimantan and range himself alongside Untung at the head of the Movement?

— On whose orders did elements of these battalions, together with the President's guard, take part in kidnapping and assassinating the top generals?

— If, as witnesses testified at the trials, this order had come from Colonel Latif, who was one of the leaders of the Movement and commander of an infantry brigade of the Jakarta garrison, why did the Kostrad people obey an outside officer and carry out an order whose consequences had been so dangerous for them?

The White Book does not give an answer to these questions. Its authors shy away from them. For, after all, the real culprits of the national tragedy, the real traitors to the Republic — the "military careerists" — have come to power and the Kopkamtib, in which the authors of the White Book are employed, operates under their immediate orders. If they were honest, they would admit that the *immediate guilt for the killing of the generals lies with the "military careerists."* They joined the movement on the side of the President, then hived off from it for selfish ends and tackled the class-based task so highly important for the kabirs — to hit the CPI, remove President Sukarno, and capture power.

To cover up their crimes, the reactionaries have killed many of those who knew the truth about the nature of the 30 September 1965 events. Without investigation or trial, they eliminated the Chairman of the CC CPI D.N. Aidit, his deputies Lukman and Njoto, and a member of the CC CPI Politbureau Sakirman. But, as was only to be

expected, they have not been able to conceal the truth. General Supardjo said at his trial on 6 March 1967 that he had not participated in any attempted coup d'etat, but had helped President Sukarno to restore law and order, acting against generals who had refused to obey the President. Supardjo pointed out that at the Halim Air Base, on 1 October 1965, Sukarno had not at all felt himself in a hostile environment. *"It was the Army Strategic Reserve Command that wanted to attack Halim Air Base. This shows who had been threatening the President."* This statement cost General Supardjo dearly. He was sentenced to death, and executed. Member of the CC CPI Political Bureau Sudisman stressed at his trial that the CPI leadership supported the 30 September 1965 Movement in order to save the Republic of Indonesia from the reactionaries. He, too, paid for this with his life.

It was a direct mutiny against the President for Kostrad troops to surround the building of the Republic of Indonesia Radio and to prevent the transmission of President Sukarno's address to the people at about 16.00 hours on 1 October. It was a direct mutiny against Bung Karno, too, that the commander of the Jakarta garrison General Umar Virahadikusuma and General Pranoto refused to come to Halim at the summons of the President and Supreme Commander on 1 October. This treachery was committed at a critical hour, and came as a complete surprise for the President. Its consequences were a heavy blow for him, for the country's progressive forces, and for the future of the nation.

General Nasution, the second man in the armed forces after the President, was also a victim of mutiny. He was completely removed from command by his subordinates. The reason is clear: he did not belong to the kabir group of the victorious "military careerists," though he was also an outspoken anti-communist.

What did the plotters in general's uniform count on when they instructed the mercenary Kopkamtib scribblers to produce the White Book? Perhaps they thought that over the years they had managed to eliminate all witnesses and participants in the 1965 events from among their opponents as well as followers? But the people of Indonesia will never forget or forgive them their bloody crime against the Motherland.

The authors of the White Book did not cope with the task that Admiral Sudomo had, as he himself admits, set before them: to show that the Communist Party of Indonesia was the initiator, executor and leader of the 30 September Movement with the purpose of seizing

state power. As can be seen from the above, it was no more possible to carry out Sudomo's instructions than to pass white off for black, or vice versa. This is still clearer today, when the headmen of the "new order" are compelled to release our comrades, the political prisoners whom they had kept in prisons and concentration camps for 14 years, failing to prove their complicity in any attempt at capturing state power for the simple reason that no such attempt had ever taken place.

Fear of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism impels reactionaries to slander the CPI in the vain hope of isolating it from the people. They say that communists profess the cult of violence. No, we have never fetishized force, a method that causes suffering and harm to the ordinary people. It was the "new order" clique of generals that has, on the pretext of stability, established a cult of violence, denying the working people of Indonesia any opportunity for upholding their basic interests by peaceful means.

This is why no answers are found in the Kopkamtib opus to the following questions:

Who killed at least half a million Indonesians at the end of 1965 and in the subsequent period?

Who threw another 600,000 into prisons and concentration camps to languish there for many years?

Who sends troops against workers, peasants, youth and students that come out in defense of their inalienable rights?

Who uses force to make electors cast their ballots for candidates handpicked by the government?

Admiral Sudomo may have approved the White Book without reading it, relying on his subordinates. But they have obviously let him down, along with the rest of the rightist clique of generals. Finally, not without the promptings of the CIA, the Kopkamtib realized that it had blundered. Hastily it began to withdraw the White Book from circulation. The broadly advertised political provocation fell through ignominiously.

Rejecting the generals' version of the role of the CPI in the 1965 events as an out-and-out falsification and slander, the Communist Party of Indonesia herewith solemnly declares:

The top army echelon began a mutiny against the President, the Supreme Commander of Armed Forces, in the summer of 1965 with the aim of seizing power. That was the beginning of the kabir coup d'etat which ended in March 1967, when Sukarno was stripped of the

presidency. The first of October 1965 was a crucial point of this coup. From that day on the kabir top echelon of generals was in open mutiny against the President as the bearer of supreme military and civilian power, and against his government. The coup, which was begun by one group of military kabirs (the Council of Generals) was completed under the leadership of another group (the "military careerists"). Both of them — the group that won and the group that perished — came from the same social class and had the same interests, opposite to those of the working people and the whole people of Indonesia. The anti-people caste of kabirs came to power.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONSPIRACY OF THE CLIQUE OF GENERALS

In 1965 the Communist Party of Indonesia, the progressive forces of our country, and the entire Indonesian nation fell victim to a conspiracy and provocation of a rightist group of army generals. The Indonesian revolution was set back by many years. The people of Indonesia and their political vanguard — the communist movement — suffered incalculable losses during the reign of terror unleashed by the armed counter-revolutionaries. The conspiracy and the subsequent reign of terror were the class-based revenge of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the other pro-imperialist exploiting classes, who had been mortally afraid of the development of the Indonesian revolution and its progress to the anti-capitalist stage.

The CPI is the first and so far the only political party in the country to have honestly and resolutely shown the people the mistakes made by the democratic forces that had weakened the revolutionary movement and thereby facilitated the victory of the reactionaries. Maoism, the counter-revolutionary theory and practice which Peking imposed on some of the leaders of the CPI, was a direct accomplice of the reactionaries.

But we declare just as resolutely that the CPI is and has always been the spokesman and defender of the interests of the working people of Indonesia.

The reactionaries had enough physical strength to smash the progressive movement and seize power through the kabir generals. But being an essentially anti-people and anti-national force, they have proved entirely incompetent when faced by the challenge of giving the country a positive development program and offering it an ideology and a political course acceptable to the majority of the nation.

They promised stability and order but gave rising prices and unemployment.

They promised economic growth and social justice but gave dependence on the West, enrichment of a handful of parasites, and unheard-of corruption.

Fearing inescapable bankruptcy, the leaders of the "new order" are trying to give fresh momentum to anti-communism. They are bearing down on the democratic movement, while trying to flirt with the followers of Sukarno. They declare speciously that they revere the memory of the country's first president, whom they had themselves deposed and whose doctrine is still outlawed in Indonesia.

Distorting the truth of history, our enemies speculate on the difficulties that beset Indonesia at the time of "guided democracy," blaming them on President Sukarno and the CPI. But the main burden of guilt for these difficulties lies with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which had been undermining the country's economic pillars and plundering the nation's wealth, and on the army generals who had then controlled the situation in the provinces and pursued their own interests. They deposed President Sukarno not for his true or imagined weaknesses and mistakes, but because, though not always consistently, he had worked for the unity of all the revolutionary forces of Indonesia in the fight for independence and social justice and against neo-colonialism and imperialism, and because he had been one of the Asian and African leaders most hated by the imperialists. Under his leadership Indonesia held a prominent place in the worldwide people's struggle for liberation. This was why the CPI supported President Sukarno and the progressive aspects of his policy. As for the mistakes of the late Bung Karno, the main one was that, under the spell of the idea of "universal unity," he was not firm and resolute enough in combating reactionaries. This predetermined his defeat.

Despite the persecution and the physical and political terror, our party continues to live and fight for the interests of the working people and the supreme interests of the Indonesian nation. For communists no goal is higher and more sacred. This is why the claims of our enemies that there is no room for communist ideas and for communists on our soil, and that they are hostile to the people of Indonesia, are completely false. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism live and triumph all over the world. They are proving their viability on Indonesian soil, as they are on the soil of any other country. The Communist Party of Indonesia is, and has always been, a committed unit of the country's liberation movement. The communist movement cannot be destroyed. It is immortal, just as the proletariat of our

country is immortal. And as long as there is a working class in Indonesia — eternal and unconquerable — there will be on its soil the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, and the party of the working class, the Communist Party of Indonesia, which is leading the workers to their end goal — the building of communism. The aims and slogans of the communists are already winning increasing support among the masses. The CPI sees its duty in telling the people the truth about the policy of the ruling elements and to offer a realistic alternative.

In its document, "For Democracy, Social Justice and the People's Well-being" (1975), the Communist Party pointed out that the course set by the ruling regime is leading the country into a profound political and economic crisis. That this forecast was right is borne out by the course of events in recent years.

The Communist Party again appeals to all patriotic forces in the country to unite on a platform of broad national democratic demands. Our country's salvation lies in urgent democratic and social transformations in the interests of freedom and the well-being of the majority of the nation, and in returning to a truly independent and active anti-imperialist policy.

Long live a free, democratic, and flourishing Indonesia!

*The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Indonesia
Jakarta, March 1979*

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DOCUMENTS

DEFENSE OF THE NEW NICARAGUA

*Statement of the Communist Parties of Mexico, countries of
Central America and Panama*

As a result of the Nicaraguan people's victory over the Somoza dictatorship, a democratic regime has been established in Nicaragua for the first time in its history. All the anti-dictatorial forces led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front — the staunch vanguard of this struggle — united to achieve this victory. They defeated the tyranny and did not permit the establishment of Somozaism without Somoza. Simultaneously the united Nicaraguan people dealt a blow at U.S. imperialism, which helped Somoza up to the very end, as well as the dictatorial regimes of Central America, which extended full-scale support to Somozaism.

The Nicaraguan people's heroic struggle gave rise to the broadest solidarity movement in the entire history of the continent. All the peoples expressed support for those who carried on the cause of Sandino. Various political forces of Latin America, from the leftist organizations to the social democratic tendencies and the church, supported the armed struggle of the Nicaraguans and many of their brothers from other countries who displayed a readiness to sacrifice their lives in the name of freedom and democracy.

Even the bourgeois states of Latin America which had earlier turned a blind eye on one of the oldest and bloodiest dictatorships of the continent, though from their own positions, also expressed solidarity with this just struggle.

For the first time in the history of the Organization of American States the U.S. was unable to impose its plans of intervention on this organization, which were designed to deny the Nicaraguan people the right to freely decide their fate. Moreover, the OAS adopted a resolution against foreign military intervention and against Somoza's remaining in power.

Somozaism left after it a country mourning those who had fallen in the final battle and those who had languished for decades or died in the tyranny's dungeons. The country's economy was on the verge of

collapse. The foreign debt was at an all-time high. The national wealth had been plundered by Somoza and his flunkies. The Nicaraguan people and their leading body — the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and other revolutionary and patriotic forces paid dearly for their liberty. By exerting tremendous efforts in rehabilitating their country, the Nicaraguan people have won the right to transform society in accordance with their interests and aspirations.

We are convinced that no counter-revolutionary threat, economic pressure, diplomatic blackmail, no attempt at ideological subversion can stop the Nicaraguan people from freely expressing their will.

Just as yesterday we defended their right to rebel against Somozaism, today, in the period of consolidating the victory and restoring the country, we communists of Central America, Panama and Mexico are fully resolved to defend the right of the Nicaraguan people, the Government of National Reconstruction and the Sandinista National Liberation Front to transform the country in accordance with their will. We demand respect for the Nicaraguan people's right to self-determination.

We communists of the region reaffirm our solidarity with the popular revolution of Nicaragua, its government and political leadership, and urge that all democratic and revolutionary forces of Latin America give every possible support to Nicaragua. At the same time we condemn those who under cover of slogans about democracy and pluralism seek to justify Somoza's crimes and to resurrect in Nicaragua the reactionary ideology of anti-communism, imperialism, the ideology of Somoza and all the tyrants of the continent.

We urge the peoples to redouble their solidarity, and the democratic governments to extend economic aid to the Government of National Reconstruction in reviving Nicaragua's economy and in surmounting the present difficulties of this fraternal people.

At the same time we appeal to all peoples, democratic and revolutionary political forces of Central America to see to it that no country of the region is turned into a base of counter-revolution, which Somozaists, Central American reaction and imperialism are dreaming of.

We urge all communist, workers' and democratic parties of the world to vigorously support the cause of Nicaragua and other Latin American countries which are waging an extremely difficult battle for political freedom, complete independence and social progress.

We on our part will continue to do everything we can to support the

Nicaraguan revolution, the biggest victory of a Latin American people in the past 20 years. Today this revolution inspires the peoples of the continent in their struggle for democracy and socialism.

Mexican Communist Party

Guatemalan Party of Labor

Communist Party of El Salvador

Communist Party of Honduras

Nicaraguan Socialist Party

People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

People's Party of Panama

September 17, 1979

THE KURDISTAN PROBLEM AND WAYS OF RESOLVING IT

Statement by the CC, People's Party of Iran

In connection with the events in Iranian Kurdistan, the statement says, various political and social circles are in quest of cardinal measures to resolve this problem, to put an end to the fratricidal war and to avoid aggravation of the situation in the province.

During a recent visit to Mekhabad, Prime Minister Bazargan said: "We expect assistance and advice from everyone to eliminate this 'black spot in history': the contradictions between the Sunnites and Shiites, the Arabs, Persians, Kurds and Azerbaijanians." Throughout the dozens of years of its existence, the People's Party has advocated a principled revolutionary approach to the problem of the national rights of the peoples of Iran. After the revolution, the party forewarned the people of what subsequently happened in Kurdistan. In response to the Prime Minister's appeal, the Tudeh Party expresses its readiness to assist the provisional government with advice on how to eliminate this "black spot in history."

First and foremost, it is essential to recognize the fact that there are oppressed peoples in Iran, including the Kurds. They have contributed their share to enriching the culture of Iran, taken part and made sacrifices in the struggle for the country's freedom and independence. Under the leadership of such men as Salah-al-Din Yusuf ibn-Ayyub, they have defended the independence and freedom of these peoples and their culture against the aggressor-crusaders, and

have done much to develop the national-liberation movement in this region of the world.

With the establishment of imperialist rule and dictatorship in our country, national oppression became part of the despotic puppet governments' policy, with the peoples of Iran, divested of all rights, finding themselves in double bondage. During the Pahlavi dynasty's rule the Kurdish people, like the other Iranian peoples, were denied the right to elect local organs of power. Officials, governors, department heads, etc., were appointed by the shah and his government and sent to Kurdistan. Members of the shah's court, flunkies of imperialism and colonialism, were appointed deputies of the Majlis from the Kurdish region. Civilian and military officials and SAVAK agents acted hand in glove with the Kurdish khans to plunder the oppressed people. Instead of developing the economy, culture and health care system, they sent tanks, guns and police units to Kurdistan. When the Kurds' patience gave out and they staged protests, they were suppressed on the pretext of combating "marauders," "extremists" and "separatists." The Kurds' cultural and national traditions were trampled on and insulted. As a result, Kurdistan became one of the most backward and impoverished regions of the country and the life of its inhabitants, a real hell.

The Kurdish people see in the present revolution the key to their liberation and happiness. Together with the other Iranian peoples, they fought a battle against the shah's regime, in which thousands of Kurdish men and women lost their lives.

After the victory of the revolution the Kurds, like the other long-suffering Iranian peoples, expected that the new, republican system would put an end to national oppression and humiliation, poverty, backwardness and privations, and would open the doors to freedom and justice. The Kurds consider Iran their natural homeland and are not seeking separation from it. They want to live in freedom in a friendly and fraternal family of Iranian peoples, to manage their local affairs in a framework commensurate with the general interests of the revolution and the people.

Only by taking account of these realities can a correct solution be found to the Kurdish problem. It did not appear yesterday, today, or even 30 years ago. Its roots go far back into history.

A big role in the recent bloody events in Kurdistan was, of course, played by counter-revolutionary instigation. These events developed, according to the plans of the imperialist states, above all of U.S. imperialism, Zionism and the remnants of the overthrown shah re-

gime. But the counter-revolutionary plot cannot and should not result in our losing sight of the oppression of the Kurdish people, of their aspirations and demands, or permit these legitimate, just aspirations and demands to be buried on the pretext of struggle against counter-revolution. We are now witnessing a fratricidal war that is poisoning the country's political atmosphere.

The CC PPI goes on to cite statements by a number of ranking officials to the effect that the Kurdish problem should be resolved without tanks and aircraft. The government, the statement says, must unconditionally accept the fact that the Kurdish problem cannot be settled by force, for it is political, economic, social and cultural in character. Hence, government policy in Kurdistan should be carried on along these four lines. Bloody repression can "pacify" the people, but it cannot resolve the national question either in Kurdistan or in any other region of the country.

The counter-revolution takes on various guises in Kurdistan. It must be quickly identified and liquidated. As a way out of the crisis, we propose the following:

(1) An immediate stop to hostilities in Kurdistan by both sides; declaration of a cease-fire;

(2) An end to the activity of Islamic revolutionary courts that are passing sentences without trial in Kurdistan;

(3) Negotiate a correct political solution to the Kurdish problem for the sake of ending the beggarly existence and the suppression of national rights of the Kurdish people.

We propose also that the realistic-minded Kurdish masses refrain from confrontation with government troops and "Guardians of the Islamic Revolution," so as to create a healthy atmosphere for negotiation with the government. The fate of the Kurdish people hinges on the fate of all Iranian peoples. The Kurds' liberation from national and social oppression is linked with the final and complete victory of the Iranian revolution. The search for freedom and justice outside this direct road is a waste of effort, leading only to disorientation, error and new tragedies.

Therefore we propose that both sides stop hostilities immediately and simultaneously and declare their readiness to negotiate a peaceful political solution to the problem. In our view, the aims of these negotiations could be: guarantee of the legitimate and just demands of the Kurdish people, elimination of national oppression, formation of an alliance of all sincere revolutionary forces to fight the agents of imperialism, Zionism, reaction and the shah's regime operating in

Kurdistan and the whole of Iran. The setting up of councils, as proposed by the late Ayatollah Taleghani and approved by Imam Khomeini, can provide a favorable groundwork for negotiation and achievement of the above goals.

In conclusion, the CC PPI declared its preparedness to facilitate in every way the solution of the Kurdish problem by peaceful means, thereby cutting the ground from under both internal and external reaction in hatching new plots against the Iranian revolution.

TOGETHER WITH THE PCP, WITH THE PORTUGAL OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION, TOWARD THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY

Statement by the Portuguese Communist Party

Great importance attaches to the December 2 mid-term elections to the Assembly of the Republic and the subsequent municipal elections on December 16.

Their results will have a considerable impact on the present political situation and the future of Portuguese democracy.

The PCP appeals to all democrats, to all Portuguese to take part in the election campaign and to vote for the development of the Portugal of the April Revolution.

It is imperative to defeat reaction and achieve victory of the democratic forces.

It is not enough, however, for the democratic forces to win a simple majority. Mutual understanding and unity must be reached. A numerical majority should be transformed into an effective political majority that will lay the ground for the formation of a democratic government.

For this, the PCP emphasizes, it is necessary to win more votes for the party, thereby expanding its representation in parliament.

To vote for the PCP means to vote for the Alliance of Popular Unity (APU). By voting for APU the elector will help defeat reaction and create opportunities for the formation of a democratic majority and a democratic government.

The PCP proclaims: in conditions of freedom reaction will be defeated and democracy will win.

THE ELECTIONS ARE AN OBSTACLE TO THE RIGHTISTS' PLOTS

The decision to hold mid-term elections to the Assembly of the Republic was adopted as a constitutional solution to the government crisis, which has persisted since 1977. The crisis was further aggravated as successive governments resigned as a result of the disastrous consequences for the people and the country of the policy of restoring the positions of capitalism, latifundism and imperialism, on the one hand, and on the other — as a result of the steadfast, heroic struggle waged by the working class and the popular masses.

In itself, the holding of the mid-term elections in the constitutional framework signifies a serious blow at the reactionaries' plotting.

The SDP and SDC, CPI and CPA* and all reactionary forces demanded the preservation of the pro-fascist Mota Pinto government. They urged a speedy liquidation of the agrarian reform and the return of the nationalized enterprises into private hands. These forces demanded that the government take over as quickly as possible the entire state apparatus and the mass media, and called for an unconstitutional revision of the Constitution (which would immediately result in the downfall of the democratic regime). In an attempt to give the coup a semblance of "legality" and "democracy" they called for the adoption of an anti-democratic election law and a referendum, which would turn the elections into a farce similar to that under fascism.

A stop was put to reaction's global offensive against the democratic regime thanks above all to the struggle waged by the workers, popular masses and democratic forces, which compelled the Mota Pinto government to resign. The Assembly of the Republic was dissolved and, in accordance with constitutional norms, mid-term elections were set.

PORTUGAL FACES A DILEMMA

The mid-term elections could result in the formation of a majority: — of the democratic forces, first of all the communists and socialists, with the PCP playing the decisive role. This would create

* SDP, Social Democratic Party; SDC, Social Democratic Center; CPI, Confederation of Portuguese Industrialists; CPA, Confederation of Portuguese Agrarians. — Ed.

conditions for mutual understanding between democrats on the formation of a democratic government that would follow a democratic policy directed at improving the people's living standards, at stability, progress and the country's development, consolidation of the revolutionary gains (nationalization, agrarian reform and control over management), a democratic regime and national independence;

— or of the reactionary SDP and SDC alliance (so-called "democratic alliance"), whose program, as evidenced by the activity of the Mota Pinto government-SDP-SDC and regional governments of the Azores and Madeira, signifies unbridled exploitation of the working people, dismissals and unemployment; a spiralling cost of living, a sharp deterioration of living standards for the majority; attempts at forcibly liquidating the agrarian reform and other April gains; ruin of the small and medium agricultural producers and the ousting of tenant farmers by rich landowners; deprivation for the middle strata in favor of the interests of big capital; barring the intelligentsia from political life; obscurantism and a monopoly in the cultural sphere; Portugal's passive submission to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, the Common Market and NATO; arbitrariness, violence and repression, that is, all that leads to the liquidation of freedoms and the democratic regime and the speedy establishment of a new dictatorship.

The PCP urges the voters to compare these two alternatives and to draw their conclusions.

PCP PROGRAM: A PROGRAM OF PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY

Unlike the plans of reaction, the PCP offers the voters a policy meeting the objective needs of contemporary Portugal, the needs and aspirations of the Portuguese people.

This policy consists of eight main points:

1. Respect of the Constitution, stability and consolidation of the democratic regime.
2. A guarantee of the citizens' freedoms and rights, legality, democratic order and public tranquility.
3. Curbing the growing cost of living and improving the living standards of the working people, middle classes and strata.
4. Invigoration of the Portuguese economy in the name of development and improved living standards on the basis of maintaining the existing economic structures (nationalized sector, collective production units and cooperatives in the area of agrarian reform,

self-management enterprises, cooperatives, small agricultural and industrial production, capitalist enterprises).

5. Abrogation and reconsideration of the unconstitutional, illegal decisions and actions of recent governments, particularly the attack on the agrarian reform, interference in the activity of enterprises in which the government participates in the interests of the former owners, and elimination of democrats from the state apparatus.

6. Education and culture to be put at the service of the people.

7. Unity of the armed forces and their stability.

8. Steadfast defense of independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, diversification of external ties on the basis of friendship and cooperation with all peoples of the world.

The policy proposed by the PCP is aimed at an independent and progressive future for our homeland. Our salvation will not come from abroad, but depends on ourselves. Foreign credits increase the country's debt, which amounts to tens of billions escudos annually. Portugal's entry into the EEC will have disastrous consequences for our agriculture and industry and increase the country's dependence on the multinationals and imperialism. Portugal's participation in NATO leads to additional expenditures, increases its interference and is fraught with numerous dangers. The PCP offers the Portuguese a Portuguese policy in the interests of Portugal. A democratic and independent Portugal will take the road leading to socialism.

APU: A STEP TOWARD VICTORY

The Alliance of Popular Unity, formed by the PCP, PDM and EDC* for the purpose of taking part in the elections to the Assembly of the Republic, represents an important step toward democratic victory.

The APU, which was set up to take part in the elections to the local bodies of power, will facilitate the conduct of the election campaign and help win more votes. The name "APU" and its symbol — three intertwined rings — will remain the same during the two elections.

The Alliance of Popular Unity will not only help the PDM and EDC to win more seats in Parliament but will increase the number of communist deputies and strengthen the PCP parliamentary group.

* PDM, Portuguese Democratic Movement; EDC, Electoral Democratic Center.
— Ed.

THREE GOALS MUST BE REACHED DURING THE ELECTIONS

The PCP considers it essential to reach three goals during the elections:

1. The defeat of reaction, leaving the SDP, SDC and their flunkies in a minority.
2. The election of a democratic majority, above all, a majority of communists and socialists.
3. A substantial increase in the number of deputies from the PCP, which is an imperative condition for the formation of a democratic alternative.

Hence it is a matter of three mutually complementary goals. Their achievement will provide opportunities to win a democratic majority and to form a democratic government:

NO TO REACTIONARY DESTABILIZATION

Reaction is frightened by the possibility of defeat at the elections and by the popular masses' firm belief in the victory of democracy. Therefore the forces of reaction are ready to do anything to win votes. They systematically resort to fabrications and slander, manipulate religious feeling, abuse their positions in the mass media, solicit outside aid to bring pressure on Portugal. All this is designed to obstruct the normal course of the elections.

Reaction — which is organizing shameless campaigns of slander, lies and provocation, violating democratic order, carrying out terroristic acts and blaming the communists for them, demanding the resignation of the government and attacking the president of the republic — has launched an operation aimed at political, social and military destabilization and at creating a situation that would distort the democratic character of the elections or make it impossible to hold them.

The PCP calls for vigilance, for immediate and vigorous exposure of any provocations and for combating them.

A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY SIGNIFIES A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

The chief political goals of the coming elections is to create a truly democratic majority and to form a democratic government on its basis.

If a majority of deputies from the democratic parties are elected, above all from the PCP and the Socialist Party, the most important

thing for the formation of a democratic government is achievement of mutual understanding between these parties.

The PCP solemnly proclaims that it is prepared, both before and after the elections, to study together with the Socialist Party and other democratic forces the possibility of reaching agreement on the formation of a democratic government on the basis of a democratic majority that will be won at the elections.

PCP PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT IS ESSENTIAL FOR DEMOCRACY

The political composition of a democratic government should be such as to guarantee the implementation of the program.

Portuguese reality and experience show that PCP participation in the government is essential for the elaboration, adoption and implementation of a democratic policy.

This participation is of crucial importance, for big national problems can only be solved together with the working people. It is necessary, because the PCP represents a rational solution and has already demonstrated its outstanding ability for organization, struggle and mobilization of the masses. This participation is of decisive significance also because the communist deputies have already proved in the Assembly of the Republic — like the communist ministers in the government — that they always consistently defend the people's interests and the April gains. Communist participation is essential, for the PCP is the sole political force which, relying on the people and serving the people, can resolve major national problems.

PCP participation in government should become a nationwide demand. The votes won by the APU will confirm this demand.

The PCP vigorously rejects any foreign interference regarding the political composition of the Portuguese government. It rejects as impermissible in an independent and sovereign nation any pressure designed to deny the communists participation in government. Only the Portuguese people can determine its policy and the composition of its government.

THE WAY TO THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY

The PCP appeals to all democrats, irrespective of ideology or religion to unite for a common struggle to defeat reaction and assure a democratic victory. For this mutual understanding, cooperation and united action are essential not only today, but in the future too.

By voting for the APU the Portuguese people will vote for the April

25 Revolution, for democracy, and will reaffirm its confidence in the party of truth, hope and the future — the PCP, and open the way to the formation of a democratic majority and a democratic government.

Forward to the victory of democracy!

National Conference of the PCP

October 14, 1979

Abridged from *Avante!*, October 18, 1979

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WORKING CLASS IN INDIA AND LEFT UNITY

S.G. Sardesai

Left unity is rapidly becoming the rallying slogan of the radical forces in the country. It has a vital role in the broader alliance of all left and democratic forces. It is significant that in recent times political elements who are raising their head against the threat of authoritarianism and communalism and who are by no means left have begun to recognize the role of the left forces in the struggle for democracy, secularism and economic progress.

What is leftism? Who are the lefts? What is the role of the working class in building left and democratic unity? These questions and their answers have become urgent not only in relation to the political alliances which are being forged for the coming parliamentary election but also for the acute problems which the progressive forces in the country will have to face during the coming few years.

The Indian situation today is characterized by certain outstanding features.

In their insatiable greed for profits the monopolists and black-market kings colluding with foreign private capital have ruined our economy to a point where they themselves have well-nigh lost control over it. The resultant economic chaos is at the root of the dangerous political instability prevailing in the country.

The forces of authoritarianism and communalism, both representing reactionary bourgeois and landlord interests are on the one hand helping to create anarchy and then making anarchic conditions the pretext for establishing dictatorial power in one form or another.

There is a third feature of the situation which, from a historical point of view, is the most significant of all. In fact, it is the one hopeful feature in our contemporary life. It can and should become the main weapon of the lefts for achieving their aims and objects.

The working class in India is rising in anger protesting against the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie and refusing to become an abject victim of its marauding proclivities.

In recent months, workers in the jute industry, the textile industry, public sector enterprises and innumerable other industries have fought glorious and dogged battles in defense of their living standards and against the bourgeois conspiracy to pass on the burdens of the crisis (its own creation) to the shoulders of the working class and other popular masses.

We now come to the broader question of the gravity of the new situation and the consequent new political responsibilities that devolve on the shoulders of the working class and the left trade union leadership.

The working class becomes the guide and leader of other popular sections and democratic forces by virtue of the fact that it cannot emancipate itself without fighting for the emancipation of all exploited and oppressed sections of society. In simple words, the working class fights not only for its own just class demands but gives generous fraternal assistance to all others struggling for justice, freedom and democracy.

Thereby, workers also help to forge the unity of all democratic forces without which the common struggle against bourgeois-landlord domination cannot succeed. "One for all, all for each," that has to be the spirit, not only within the working-class movement but in its relation with all toiling and oppressed people.

It may be restated that this has nothing in common with the hypocritical bourgeois concept of the "duty of workers to the nation." The bourgeoisie invariably equates their narrow class interest with national interest and patriotism. By "the workers' duty to the nation," what they mean is that a docile and slavish working class should toil away, accepting rationalization, automation, increased work load, wage cuts and what not, without a murmur, in the sacred cause of increasing capitalist profit. There you have the bourgeois meaning of national service. It is the workers who produce the wealth of the nation by their sweat and toil. They will always resist any and all attempts to squeeze them in the interest of parasitism masquerading as national interest.

What do we mean by the gravity of the new situation that confronts us today? Its essence lies in the fact that 32 years of bourgeois rule have brought the country to a state of economic and political anarchy from which the bourgeoisie have no way out except bringing in some form of reactionary, dictatorial bourgeois government. This is what the Indira Ghandi Congress and the Janata Party are heading toward

despite their bitter mutual conflict and despite their protestations to the contrary.

We, of the left, have to be crystal clear that in such a situation the bourgeoisie cannot suppress the working class and other democratic forces by repression alone. The experience of innumerable other countries in a similar situation has demonstrated that dividing and disrupting the unity of the working class, driving a wedge between the working class and other democratic forces become a key weapon of the bourgeoisie and all reactionary forces for suppressing the workers and other democratic forces. In this strategem, inciting the middle class against the workers also plays a very important role.

Under the circumstances, making supreme efforts to protect, defend, strengthen and broaden the unity of the working class and of the democratic forces becomes a key political task of the forces of the left. Unity itself is a political force, it heightens the political consciousness, confidence and power of the workers. Disunity means political dismemberment, helplessness, apathy and trailing behind one or another section of the bourgeoisie.

It has to be absolutely clear and burnt into the consciousness of all left trade unionists, communists not excepted, that workers' struggles for economic demands, however just and militant, *can never, by themselves*, forge all-in unity or political consciousness of the working class. The unity and political consciousness of workers forged by economic struggles will always remain weak, ephemeral and partial. The political consciousness of workers, in present-day Indian conditions, means, and must mean, the consciousness and activity of the working class as an independent social force, as the guide and unifier of the nationwide struggle for democracy and socialism. Nothing short of this can claim to be working-class political consciousness in the real full class sense of the term. Nothing short of this can guarantee a stable unity of the working class. This means that working-class unity brought about by the usual trade union struggles, not only cannot attain a genuine political level. It cannot even achieve stable working-class unity on the union level.

To reach such a level of consciousness and unity is a long, arduous process. Obviously, it cannot be reached in a leap, and there certainly is no magician's wand by waving which the workers can attain it. But the point is that unless left working-class leaders themselves grasp this truth, unless it is driven deep into their own consciousness, unless their routine mass activity is guided by it, the desired goal will never be reached. It is the historic role of the working class to lead all

revolutionary struggles. But Marx and Lenin who revealed this invaluable truth of modern society also emphasized, and very strongly, that the spontaneous economic, trade union struggles of the working class cannot enable the workers to play this role. Socialist consciousness has to be carried to the workers from outside by a revolutionary, political leadership imbued with the spirit of communism. Only then can the working class carry out its mission, which undoubtedly no other class but the workers can carry out.

The last decade has brought out very sharply that bourgeois and other reactionary forces (behind whom stands the guiding brain of imperialism, the CIA) are dead set to split our working-class movement by pumping into it the poison of religious, caste and regional chauvinism. The Shiv Senas, Amra Bengalis, chauvinistic movements which repeatedly raise their head in one state or another on the slogan of "sons of the soil" and attack workers coming from other states as "aliens and foreigners," communal incitement and violence organized by the RSS and Jamaat-e-Islami — these and similar sinister developments of recent years cannot be considered accidental or passing events. That would be an extremely complacent view of this danger and threat to working-class unity.

It has to be clear that precisely because of growing working-class unity and militancy and because of the profound crisis of capitalism, reaction is now determined to use the vicious and disruptive weapon of chauvinism in all its forms for dividing and attacking the workers. This problem has come to stay and the class enemy has every intention of making it more and more acute in the future.

That is why a running campaign against all forms of chauvinism, exposing it from all angles, especially as a deadly weapon of the class enemy, and constant efforts to build harmonious and fraternal relations between workers of all religions, languages, castes, etc. has now to become a regular part of trade union activity. In practice, though not in so many words, it has become a habit to treat it in a cursory manner in "normal" times.

Where such conflicts reach a stage of acute crisis and violence, we wake up at the last moment and rush to quench the fires of fratricidal carnage. How futile such efforts are has been demonstrated time and again, most recently in the ghastly tragedy of Jamshedpur. When are we going to wake up to this shocking state of affairs and get down to tackle the problem as a routine part of our activity among workers?

In conditions of an extreme economic crisis leading to a near collapse of the economy and grave political instability, there have been

occasions in other countries when reaction has provoked workers to go on strike for the purpose of inciting other popular sections against them and as a prelude to clamping down a reactionary dictatorship. This is an aspect of the situation which our working-class leadership will have to bear in mind in the period ahead. Unity and militancy will always remain the watchwords of the working-class movement. At the same time, vigilance, judgment and discretion are also necessary for defeating reactionary conspiracies to isolate the working class and then coming down on it with a heavy hand.

Everything for the maximum unity of the working class and of the workers and all other democratic forces, for isolating the forces of reaction and going on the offensive against them, this is the key to the working class shouldering its heavy responsibilities in the coming period.

The unity of workers also involves greater unity in action, brought about through negotiations and coordination between various trade unions, their federations and national trade union centers. Happily, this process has made very great strides during the last two years, not only as between trade unions under the leadership of left political parties but also the INTUC, and in certain instances, the BMS.¹

Growing consciousness of the dire need for united action by workers for defending and improving their living standards and trade union rights has been the main factor helping to override trade union rivalries and to forge joint action. Simultaneously, political factors which impeded joint action are also now receding into the background.

The time when the All-Indian Trade Union Congress (AITUC) soft-pedalled workers' actions against the Indira regime, or the Center of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) against the Janata regime, or the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) against the Congress regimes, are already a matter of history. The necessity of independent and united workers' action against any bourgeois regime, no matter what bourgeois party may be in power, is now recognized by all. This development is conducive not only to trade union unity but to the furtherance of the political unification of the working class.

In this connection, the demand for recognition of trade unions by secret ballot² has now to go beyond negotiations between various trade unions and between them and the government. Whatever the bourgeoisie and their government may say, they will never accept this demand in its genuine sense, except as a result of terrific mass pressure by the working class. The bourgeoisie thrive on trade union

disunity despite all the crocodile tears they shed bemoaning union rivalries. They and their government are the two most powerful forces that encourage the growth of multiplicity of trade unions and their internecine conflicts. Hence interminable negotiations at top level, labor commissions and what not, can never secure the workers' demand of trade union recognition by secret ballot.

What is called for is a united, powerful mass campaign for the acceptance of the demand. The breadth and militancy of the campaign have to be systematically stepped up, leading to strike actions in support of it. The sincerity of every trade union leadership which is committed to the demand in words will also be tested by such a campaign.

One of the biggest, if not the biggest, hurdle in the path of such unification today is the multiplicity of and rivalry between trade unions. Not that recognition by secret ballot is a panacea that will automatically cement the solidarity of all workers. United struggles, political education, and many other things are needed.

But it is no exaggeration to say that recognition to trade unions by secret ballot has become, in our given conditions, a key weapon of working-class unity. Its acceptance by the bourgeoisie and their government will raise the power of the working class for intervening in national politics to unprecedented heights. That is why it has become extremely urgent to make the demand a burning issue of mass agitation and action.

This essay deals with the question of left unity and the role of the working class in relation to it. That is because of the urgency and importance that the question has assumed in the task of forging left and democratic unity. It is an admitted fact that left unity is not something counterposed to broader democratic unity, nor is there any question of first building left unity and then advancing toward democratic unity.

The two tasks are interlaced and have to be carried out simultaneously. At the same time, it has to be recognized that left unity has a distinct and specific role to play in the broader context of building democratic unity. This calls for a serious examination of the problems of strengthening left unity and orienting it in the correct direction.

If the working class and the left, above all in the trade union movement, respond to the call of history in the ensuing testing period, there is every reason to hope that all the progressive forces in the country will rally in defense of democracy and for the defeat of reaction. The dark and threatening clouds of bourgeois anarchy,

disruption and authoritarianism will be scattered, the bright prospects of a people's way out of the menacing situation will be opened.

Abridged from *New Age*, October 21, 1979

¹ BMS is a trade union center associated with the Communist Party of India (Marxist). — *Ed.*

² As a rule there is more than one trade union organization in the industries and individual enterprises in India. So far it is the employers who decide which of them should represent the workers in their talks with the management. Hence the demand that the workers should decide by secret ballot who is going to represent them. — *Ed.*



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