



DOCUMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS

The 26th Congress
of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union

Moscow
February 23-March 3, 1981

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Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy

Delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the
CPSU Central Committee

February 23, 1981

Comrades Delegates,
Esteemed Guests,

The statutory Twenty-Sixth Congress of our Party has begun. It is called upon, as usual, to sum up the results and to determine tasks for the future.

Appraising the traversed path, we can say with assurance that the 25th Congress correctly defined the basic trends and lines of social development. The Party's Leninist general line is being steadily put into effect; the tasks set at the previous congress have, on the whole, been successfully fulfilled.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan period saw a considerable increase in the country's national wealth. Its productive, scientific and technical potential has grown. The defence capability of the Soviet state has become greater. The well-being and the cultural level of the Soviet people have risen.

The family of Soviet peoples has become still more closely united, its bonds of friendship are still stronger.

The adoption of the new Constitution of the USSR was a major event. It ushered in a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy. Soviet people participate more and more actively in running the affairs of society and state.

The indissoluble unity of the Party and the people has

grown still stronger in the past five years. As before, it is the source of our society's gigantic strength.

On the international plane, the period under review has been rough and complicated. It has been marked above all by an intensive struggle of two lines in world affairs: the line of bridling the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedom of nations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the line of disrupting detente, escalating the arms race, of threats and interference in other countries' affairs, and of suppressing the liberation struggle.

These years have seen a further growth of the power, activity and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The revolutionary struggle of the peoples has seen new victories. Among these are the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the anti-popular monarchic regime in Iran. In effect, the seventies witnessed the final collapse of the colonial empires.

The sphere of imperialist domination has narrowed. The internal contradictions in capitalist countries and the rivalry between them have grown more acute. The aggressiveness of imperialist policy, notably that of US imperialism, has sharply increased.

When thunderclouds gathered on the international horizon by the beginning of the eighties, the Soviet Union continued to persevere in its efforts to remove the threat of war and to preserve and deepen detente, and developed mutually beneficial cooperation with most countries of the world.

Jointly with other peace-loving countries and with realistic circles in the West we continued the struggle against the arms race throughout the period under review.

If you ask any Soviet person—whether a member of the Communist Party or not—what has highlighted our Party's path in recent years, the answer will be: it was highlighted above all by the fact that we are managing to preserve peace. And for this people of different age and occupation thank the Party from the bottom of their hearts.

It is absolutely obvious that today the Soviet Union and its allies are more than ever the chief buttress of world peace.

On the whole, comrades, the period since the 25th Congress has not been a simple one. There have been no few difficulties in the country's economic development and in international affairs.

Still, the aims we set have been achieved. This is fresh evidence of the tremendous potentialities of the socialist system, the dedication of the Soviet people, and the correctness of the principled class policy of our Leninist Party.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF THE CPSU

Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen detente is, above all, the struggle to secure the requisite external conditions for the Soviet people to carry out their constructive tasks. Thereby we are also solving a problem of a truly global nature. For at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being—the right to life.

I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE COOPERATION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Comrades, all these years the Party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau have devoted unremitting attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Hand in hand with them we are building a new, socialist world, and a type of truly just, equal, and fraternal relations between states never seen in history before.

This, indeed, is the spirit in which our relations are shaping with the other countries of the socialist community—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

A fundamental unity of views has taken root among us on all major aspects of social and economic development, and international affairs. This is a result of the continuous cooperation of fraternal communist parties, and our common achievement.

The fact that deep mutual understanding, trust, and accord exist between the leaderships of our parties is of great importance.

There have been thirty-seven friendly meetings at

summit level in the Crimea during these years. Discarding the formalities of protocol, in a friendly atmosphere, we discussed the prospects of development of our relations and the key problems of world politics, and charted our future tasks. Each meeting yielded something new and useful. For this good cooperation we should like to express our heartfelt gratitude to the leaders of the fraternal countries and parties.

There was a systematic exchange of party and government delegations. Conferences of Central Committee secretaries on questions of international relations, and ideological and organisational Party work have become a regular fixture.

The Party organisations of the Soviet Union and those of the other countries of the socialist community are linked by many threads. They are linked at all levels—from republics, territories and regions, down to districts and large enterprises. The cooperation between state bodies, public organisations, and production collectives has grown lively and fruitful.

Spiritual contacts, close links in the fields of ideology and culture have become standard practice.

Relations between states have been called international since olden days. But it is only in our time, in the socialist world that they have truly become relations between nations. Millions upon millions of people take an immediate part in them. That, comrades, is a fundamental gain of socialism. and its great service to humanity.

The range of our cooperation extends to more and more spheres. One example is the Intercosmos programme. Cosmonauts of the fraternal countries are not working for science and the national economy alone. They are also performing a tremendously important political mission.

So allow me, from this rostrum, to extend cordial greetings to the space heroes, those brave sons of the socialist countries.

The constitutions of most fraternal countries emphasise the ideas of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This is a token of deep confidence in our country, and we reciprocate in kind. The new Constitution of the USSR declares friendship, coopera-

tion, and mutual assistance with other socialist countries the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy.

The period under review has convincingly shown the highly influential and beneficial effect of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, notably its Political Consultative Committee, on European affairs and, for that matter, on world affairs as a whole. Having earlier paved the way to the European Conference, the highest political body of our Treaty has at its sittings in Bucharest, Moscow, and Warsaw come forward with a number of new initiatives which attracted wide attention all over the world. Their main purpose is to defend detente, to give it an energetic rhythm or, as they say, its second wind.

A new body, the Committee of Foreign Ministers, has been set up in these years to further our cooperation. And it is already safe to say that this was completely justified: the coordination of foreign policy actions has become more prompt.

The development of the Joint Armed Forces has proceeded without a hitch. Here, as always, good work was done by the Committee of Defence Ministers.

The Central Committee reports to the Congress that the defensive political and military alliance of the socialist countries is faithfully serving the cause of peace. It has all the requisites reliably to defend the socialist gains of our peoples. And we will do everything for this to be so in the future.

Far be it from us, comrades, to paint the picture of the present-day socialist world in exclusively radiant colours. Complications, too, occur in the development of our countries. The passage to intensive economic development and large-scale social programmes, and the moulding of the communist consciousness—all this cannot be achieved overnight. It takes time and tireless creative search. And, of course, it is essential to learn from each other.

During the years of building socialism the fraternal countries gained diverse positive experience in organising production and management and in resolving economic problems.

For example, we know how skilfully the work of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises is organised in

Hungary, and what valuable experience the GDR has gained in rationalising production and saving energy and raw and other materials. There are many interesting and valuable points in the social security system of Czechoslovakia, while Bulgaria and some other European socialist countries have found useful forms of agro-industrial cooperation.

So, comrades, let us study the experience of the fraternal countries more closely and utilise it more broadly.

As we know, the decisive sector of the competition with capitalism is the economy and economic policy. At our past congress, we, like the other fraternal parties, set the task of further extending socialist integration on the basis of long-term special-purpose programmes as a top priority. These programmes are to help us resolve the most acute, vitally important economic problems.

At present, they are being translated into concrete deeds. Integration is gathering momentum. The fruits of specialisation in production are visible in practically all branches of economy, science, and technology. We now have some 120 multilateral and more than 1,000 bilateral agreements to this effect. Coordination of the economic plans of the CMEA countries for 1981-1985 is nearing completion.

Speaking of the success of joint work, we mention with legitimate pride such large-scale projects as the nearly 3,000-kilometre-long Soyuz gas pipeline, the Mir power grid, to which new transmission lines have been added, the Ust-Ilimsk pulp and paper plant, the Erdenet ore dressing works in Mongolia, the nickel plants in Cuba, and many other newly completed projects. And before us are still greater undertakings for the good of all our community.

What the socialist countries have accomplished in economic development and in raising the living standard of people amounts to a whole era.

The past few years have not been among the most favourable for the national economies of some socialist states. Still, in the past ten years the economic growth rates of the CMEA countries have been twice those of the developed capitalist countries. The CMEA members continued to be the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties are setting their course on making the coming two five-year periods a time of intensive cooperation among the socialist countries in production, science and technology.

Life is setting us the task of supplementing coordination of our plans with coordination of economic policy as a whole. Also being put on the order of the day are such issues as aligning the structures of economic mechanisms, further extending direct ties between ministries, amalgamations, and enterprises participating in cooperation, and establishing joint firms. Other ways of combining our efforts and resources are also possible.

As you see, comrades, there are many new major problems. Perhaps it would be useful for the leaders of the fraternal countries to discuss them collectively in the near future.

It stands to reason that, like our socialist partners, the Soviet Union wants our ties to be mutually beneficial in all respects.

The Soviet Union receives many types of machinery and equipment, transport vehicles, consumer goods, and certain raw materials from the fraternal countries. For its part, it supplies the socialist market with oil, gas, ore, cotton, timber, and, of course, a variety of industrial products. In the past five years we received 90,000 million roubles' worth of goods from the CMEA countries, while our deliveries totalled 98,000 million.

Nowadays, the steady development of any socialist country, and successful solution by it of such problems as, say, the provision of energy and raw materials and utilisation of the latest scientific and technical achievements, are inconceivable without ties with other fraternal countries.

The problems that arise in the process of our cooperation are being solved jointly, and we jointly seek the most correct ways of harmonising the interests of each fraternal country with the common interest. This applies, among other things, to fixing reduced prices for oil, gas, and other primary and manufactured goods supplied to each other by the countries of CMEA.

There are special cases, too, when friends need urgent aid. This was the case with Vietnam, which became the target of a barbarian aggression by Peking in 1979. The

Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community promptly sent it shipments of food, medical supplies, building materials, and arms. This was also the case with Kampuchea, which had been devastated by the Pol Pot clique of Peking henchmen.

That, comrades, is socialist internationalism in action. Soviet people understand and approve of such a stand.

All of us have a stake in the socialist market being able to meet the rising needs of the countries of our community. And the benefit of augmenting each other's economic potential is certainly not confined to the purely commercial field. This task calls for a responsible approach by economic executives and Party workers, and for a profound understanding of the fraternal countries' indissoluble community of interests.

We are also in favour of expanding commercial and economic relations with the West. That, by the way, is a factor that stabilises international relations. But here we are compelled to take account of the policy of the capitalist states. Not infrequently they try to use economic ties with us as a means of political pressure. Is this not made clear by all sorts of bans and discriminatory restrictions on trade with various socialist countries.

It should be noted in general that in recent years our countries have had to deal with their constructive tasks in more complicated conditions. The deterioration of the world economic situation and spiralling prices have played their part. The slowing down of the process of detente and the arms race imposed by the imperialist powers are no small a burden for us as well.

Another thing is the visible sharpening of the ideological struggle. For the West it is not confined to the battle of ideas. It employs a whole system of means designed to subvert or soften up the socialist world.

The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They malign and distort everything that goes on in them. For them the main thing is to turn people against socialism.

Recent events have shown again and again that our class opponents are learning from their defeats. Their actions against the socialist countries are increasingly refined and treacherous.

And wherever in addition to imperialist subversive activity there are mistakes and miscalculations in home policy, there arise conditions that stimulate elements hostile to socialism. This is what has happened in fraternal Poland, where opponents of socialism supported by outside forces are, by stirring up anarchy, seeking to channel events into a counter-revolutionary course. As was noted at the latest plenary meeting of the Polish Workers' Party Central Committee, the pillars of the socialist state in Poland are in jeopardy.

At present, the Polish comrades are engaged in redressing the critical situation. They are striving to enhance the Party's capacity for action and to tighten links with the working class and other working people, and are preparing a concrete programme to restore a sound Polish economy.

Last December's meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Moscow has rendered Poland important political support. It showed clearly that the Polish Communists, the Polish working class, and the working people of that country can firmly rely on their friends and allies; we will not abandon fraternal, socialist Poland in its hour of need, we will stand by it.

The events in Poland show once again how important it is for the Party, for the strengthening of its leading role, to pay close heed to the voice of the masses, resolutely to combat all signs of bureaucracy and voluntarism, actively to develop socialist democracy, and to conduct a well-considered and realistic policy in foreign economic relations.

The history of world socialism has seen all sorts of trials. There were difficult times and critical situations. But Communists have always courageously faced the attacks of the adversary, and have invariably won. That's how it was, and that's how it will be. And let no one doubt our common determination to secure our interests and to defend the socialist gains of the peoples.

We are fighting for the just cause of peace and the security of nations, and for the interests of the working people. We have on our side the truth of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. Our strength is in unity and cohesion.

It was said at the past congress that a process of convergence of the socialist states was taking place. That

process is continuing. But it does not obliterate the specific national features or the historical distinctions of the socialist countries. We should see the variety of forms in their social life and economic organisation for what it really is—a wealth of ways and methods of establishing the socialist way of life.

Our relations with the socialist countries that are not in the Warsaw Treaty or CMEA are also developing.

Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is going ahead in many fields. Agreed principles and accords are a good basis for its further expansion. Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has deep roots, and we have no doubts about its future.

The Soviet Union supports the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its struggle for the country's peaceful democratic unification without outside interference, and strives to extend and enrich ties with it.

Special mention must be made of China. The experience of the social and economic development of the PRC over the past twenty years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism in home and foreign policy leads to.

The present Chinese leaders themselves describe what happened in the period of the so-called cultural revolution in their country as "a most cruel feudal-fascist dictatorship". We have nothing to add to this assessment.

At present, changes are under way in China's internal policy. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will manage to overcome the Maoist legacy. But, unfortunately, there are no grounds yet to speak of any changes for the better in Peking's foreign policy. As before, it is aimed at aggravating the international situation, and is aligned with the policy of the imperialist powers. That, of course, will not bring China back to the sound road of development. Imperialists will never be friends of socialism.

The simple reason behind the readiness of the United States, Japan, and a number of NATO countries to expand their military and political ties with China is to use its hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist community in their own, imperialist interests. That is a hazardous game.

As far as the people of China are concerned, we are

deeply convinced that their true interests would be best served by a policy of peace and nothing but a policy of peace and normal relations with other countries.

If Soviet-Chinese relations are still frozen, the reason for this has nothing to do with our position. The Soviet Union has never sought, nor does it now seek any confrontation with the People's Republic of China. We follow the course set by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and would like to build our ties with that country on a good-neighbour basis. Our proposals for normalising relations with China remain open, and our feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people have not changed.

Comrades, as you see, on the whole the Central Committee has been doing a tremendous amount of work in order to develop and deepen our relations with the socialist countries. In economic and cultural development, and in improving social relations and socialist democracy—in literally all fields—world socialism is advancing steadily. **And we Soviet Communists are proud of the role played in this by the Party of Lenin, by the country of the Great October Revolution.**

2. DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE NEWLY-FREE COUNTRIES

Comrades, among the important results of the Party's international activity in the period under review we can list the visible expansion of cooperation with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression.

These countries are very different. After liberation, some of them have been following the revolutionary-democratic path. In others capitalist relations have taken root. Some of them are following a truly independent policy, while others are today taking their lead from imperialist policy. In a nutshell, the picture is a fairly motley one.

Let me first deal with the socialist-oriented states, that is, states that have opted for socialist development. Their number has increased. Development along the progressive road is not, of course, the same from country to country, and proceeds in difficult conditions. But the main lines are **similar**. These include gradual elimination of the positions of imperialist monopoly, of the local big

bourgeoisie and the feudal elements, and restriction of foreign capital. They include the securing by the people's state of commanding heights in the economy and transition to planned development of the productive forces, and encouragement of the cooperative movement in the countryside. They include enhancing the role of the working masses in social life, and gradually reinforcing the state apparatus with national personnel faithful to the people. They include anti-imperialist foreign policy. Revolutionary parties expressing the interests of the broad mass of the working people are growing stronger there.

In the period under review, the Soviet Union has concluded treaties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Recently, a treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed with Syria. I am sure that it will serve well to further the Soviet-Syrian friendship and the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East.

We are developing wide-ranging mutually beneficial economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with the newly-free countries. The building of large projects in these countries with some form of Soviet participation figures prominently in our relations with them.

Among the projects completed in recent years are many large ones, some even vital for the economy of the country concerned. These include the Al-Thawrah hydro-power complex in Syria, which accounts for more than 70 per cent of the electricity generated in that country; the second stage of a steel mill in Algeria, which has raised its capacity to two million tons; and a plant in Guinea producing 2.5 million tons of bauxite a year.

Our country does everything it can to help many of the newly-free countries in training personnel—engineers, technicians, skilled workers, doctors, and teachers.

Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are doing dedicated work on building sites in Asian and African countries, in industry and agriculture, and in hospitals and educational institutions. They are worthy representatives of their great socialist Motherland. We are proud of them, and send them heartfelt wishes of success.

Together with the other socialist countries, we are also helping to strengthen the defence capability of newly-free

states if they request such aid. This was the case with, say, Angola and Ethiopia. Attempts were made to crush the people's revolutions in these countries by encouraging domestic counter-revolution or by outside aggression. We are against the export of revolution, and we cannot agree to any export of counter-revolution either.

Imperialism launched a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This also created a direct threat to the security of our southern frontier. In the circumstances, we were compelled to render the military aid asked for by that friendly country.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies have collapsed. The well-considered policy of the People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which is in keeping with the national interests, has strengthened the people's power.

As for the Soviet military contingent, we will be prepared to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. Before this is done, the infiltration of counter-revolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be secured in accords between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no new intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union, and we adhere to it firmly.

The revolution in Iran, which was a major event on the international scene in recent years, is of a specific nature. However complex and contradictory, it is essentially an anti-imperialist revolution, though reaction at home and abroad is seeking to change this feature.

The people of Iran are looking for their own road to freedom and prosperity. We sincerely wish them success in this, and are prepared to develop good relations with Iran on the principles of equality and, of course, reciprocity.

Of late, Islamic slogans are being actively promoted in some countries of the East. We Communists have every respect for the religious convictions of people professing Islam or any other religion. The main thing is what aims are pursued by the forces proclaiming various slogans. The banner of Islam may lead into struggle for liberation. This is borne out by history, including very recent history. But it also shows that reaction, too, manipulates with

Islamic slogans to incite counter-revolutionary mutinies. Consequently, the whole thing hinges on the actual content of any movement.

Comrades, a prominent place in the Soviet Union's relations with the newly-free countries is, of course, held by our cooperation with India. We welcome the increasing role played by that state in international affairs. Our ties with it are continuing to expand. In both our countries, Soviet-Indian friendship has become a deep-rooted popular tradition.

As a result of the recent negotiations in Delhi with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian leaders, the entire range of Soviet-Indian relations has advanced substantially further.

Joint action with peaceful and independent India will continue to be one of the important areas of Soviet foreign policy.

We see no obstacles to friendly cooperation with Indonesia and, for that matter, with other ASEAN member countries.

In Africa, the Caribbean, and Oceania ten new states gained independence in the past five years, and were instantly recognised by the Soviet Union. The birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the mounting intensity of the liberation struggle in Namibia, and now also in the Republic of South Africa, are graphic evidence that the rule of "classic" colonialists and racists is approaching its end.

The imperialists are displeased with the fact that the newly-free countries are consolidating their independence. In a thousand ways they are trying to bind these countries to themselves in order to deal more freely with their natural riches, and to use their territory for their strategic designs. In so doing, they make extensive use of the old colonialist method of divide and rule.

Indeed, that is also the Western approach to the Irano-Iraqi war, which has been going on for five months—an absolutely senseless war from the viewpoint of the two countries' interests. But it is of great advantage to imperialism, which is anxious and eager in some way or other to restore its positions in that region. We would like to hope that both Iraq and Iran draw the due conclusions from this.

The Soviet Union resolutely calls for an early end to that fratricidal war, and a political settlement of the conflict. In practice, too, we are striving to facilitate this.

Now about the Middle East problem. In its bid for dominance in the Middle East, the United States has taken the path of the Camp David policy, dividing the Arab world and organising a separate deal between Israel and Egypt. US diplomacy has failed to turn this separate anti-Arab deal into a broader agreement of a capitulationist type. But it has succeeded in another way: a new deterioration of the situation has occurred in the region. A Middle East settlement was cast back.

What now? As we see it, it is high time to get matters off the ground. It is time to go back to honest collective search of an all-embracing just and realistic settlement. In the circumstances, this could be done, say, in the framework of a specially convened international conference.

The Soviet Union is prepared to participate in such work in a constructive spirit and with good will. We are prepared to do so jointly with the other interested parties—the Arabs (naturally including the Palestine Liberation Organisation) and Israel. We are prepared for such search jointly with the United States—and I may remind you that we had some experience in this regard some years ago. We are prepared to cooperate with the European countries and with all those who are showing a sincere striving to secure a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

The UN, too, could evidently continue to play a useful role in all this.

As for the substance of the matter, we are still convinced that if there is to be real peace in the Middle East, the Israeli occupation of all Arab territories captured in 1967 must be ended. The inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be secured, up to and including the establishment of their own state. It is essential to ensure the security and sovereignty of all the states of the region, including those of Israel. Those are the basic principles. As for the details, they could naturally be considered at the negotiations.

The non-aligned movement, which will have its twentieth anniversary this year, has been and remains an important factor in international relations. Its strength

stems from the stand it takes against imperialism and colonialism, and against war and aggression. We are convinced that the key to any further heightening of its role in world politics—and this we would welcome—is its dedication to these basic principles.

In the mid-seventies the former colonial countries raised the question of a new international economic order. Restructuring international economic relations on a democratic foundation, along lines of equality, is natural from the point of view of history. Much can and must be done in this respect. And, certainly, the issue must not be reduced, as this is sometimes done, simply to distinctions between “rich North” and “poor South”. We are prepared to contribute, and are indeed contributing, to the establishment of equitable international economic relations.

No one should have any doubts, comrades, that the CPSU will consistently continue the policy of promoting cooperation between the USSR and the newly-free countries, and consolidating the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement.

3. THE CPSU AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Now about the line of the CPSU in the world communist and working-class movement.

The international working class and its political vanguard—the Communist and Workers’ parties—approached the eighties with confidence. They approached them as active fighters for the rights of the working people, and for peace and the security of nations.

The communist movement continued to expand its ranks, and to win increasing influence among the masses. Today, Communist parties are active in 94 countries. In Western Europe alone, some 800,000 new fighters have joined their ranks in the past ten years. Is this not evidence of the indomitable force of attraction of communist ideas?

Our Party and its Central Committee have worked actively for the further expansion and deepening of all-round cooperation with the fraternal parties. During the period under review, members and alternate members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central

Committee alone have received several hundred delegations from other parties. In their turn, representatives of the CPSU participated in the work of Communist party congresses and other party functions abroad.

We have regularly briefed fraternal parties on our internal developments and our actions in the field of foreign policy. Comrades from abroad have had extensive opportunities to acquaint themselves with the practical activity of the CPSU at local level—in the republics and regions of the Soviet Union, and at enterprises. All this, as our friends attest, is helping them in their work.

Contacts with foreign Communists enable our Party, too, to get a better idea of the situation in individual countries.

As the influence of the Communist parties grows, the tasks facing them are becoming more and more complex and diverse. And sometimes that gives rise to divergent appraisals and differences in approach to concrete issues of the class struggle, and to discussions between parties.

As we see it, this is completely natural. Communist parties have had dissimilar opinions on some issues in the past as well. The facts have proved convincingly that even in the presence of differences of opinion it is possible and necessary to cooperate politically in the fight against the common class enemy. The supreme arbiter in resolving problems is time and practice. Lenin was absolutely right when he said that many differences “can, and unfailingly will, vanish; this will result from the logic of the joint struggle against the really formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie...” (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 89).

Some time ago the leaderships of a few Communist parties began to vigorously defend the right to specifically national ways and forms of struggle for socialism and of building socialism. But if you look at this without prejudice, you will see that no one is imposing any stereotypes or patterns that ignore the distinctions of any country.

Lenin's attitude on this score is well known. “All nations,” he wrote, “will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transforma-

tions in the different aspects of social life" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70).

Our Party has never departed from Lenin's principle, which has by now been thoroughly corroborated by the facts of history. Consider this, comrades. In none of the now existing socialist countries have the forms, methods, and ways of the socialist revolution been a mechanical repetition of outside experience. Take the GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia—all the socialist countries, in fact, carried out the revolution in their own way, using forms that were dictated by the correlation of class forces in each of these countries, by the national distinctions and the external situation.

There had been armed struggle and peaceful forms of passage to the new social system; there had been rapid coming to power of the labouring classes and processes that had dragged out in time. In some countries the revolution had to defend itself against foreign intervention, others had been spared any outside invasions.

The establishment and consolidation of socialist foundations and the building of socialist society, as I have already said, also had and still have distinctive features in different countries.

So, as I see it, unless one ignores the actual facts, one cannot speak of any "uniformity" or contrast Communist parties according to the criterion of recognising or not recognising the ways they choose to reconstruct society.

Critical judgements of separate concrete aspects of development in our country are sometimes voiced in some Communist parties. Far be it from us to think that everything we had was ideal. In the USSR, socialism was built in incredibly difficult conditions. The Party hewed its way through virgin land. And nobody knows better than we do what difficulties and shortcomings occurred along the way, and which of them have still to be overcome.

We pay close heed to comradely, constructive criticism. But we are categorically opposed to "criticism" which distorts the socialist reality and, wittingly or unwittingly, does a good turn thereby to imperialist propaganda, to our class opponent.

As our Party sees it, differences of opinion between

Communists can be overcome, unless, of course, they are fundamental differences between revolutionaries and reformists, between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism or ultra-Left adventurism. In that case, of course, there can be no compromises—today just as in Lenin's lifetime. But when Communists fight for the common revolutionary cause, we believe that patient comradely discussion of differing views and positions serves their common aims best of all.

The great unifying principle, a powerful factor furthering cohesion and enhancing the prestige of the world communist movement, is the Communists' unremitting struggle for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policy, and the arms race that carries with it the danger of a nuclear disaster.

The main thing is that Communists, armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, see the essence and perspective of the processes in the world more profoundly and more correctly than anybody else, and draw the right conclusions from them for their struggle for the interests of the working class, the working people of their countries, and for democracy, peace and socialism.

That is the foundation on which the CPSU builds its relations with the fraternal parties. We have good friendly relations with the vast majority of Communist parties—the French, Portuguese, German, Greek, Finnish, Danish, Austrian, and other Communist parties of Europe. The CPSU has the same good relations with fraternal parties in the countries of America, Asia, and Africa, and in Australia. And we will continue to strengthen these relations in the name of our common cause—the cause of peace and socialism.

The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe in 1976 was a big event in the life of the world communist movement. It set dependable guidelines for the working class and the broad mass of working people in the fight against the arms race, and for consolidating detente, for social progress.

The 1980 Paris Meeting of European Communist and Workers' Parties gave new impetus to the struggle against the danger of war. It helped to invigorate the battle of the mass of the people of this continent to avert the grave

danger to Europe implicit in the NATO decision to deploy new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

CPSU cooperation with other democratic forces has grown closer during the period under review. Further advances were registered, in particular, in our ties with the socialist and social-democratic parties of Finland, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, Spain, and a number of other countries—and this chiefly on questions of struggle against the war danger. Of high importance here were our contacts with the leadership of the Socialist International, our participation in the Socialist International's conference on disarmament, the contacts we had with its study group on disarmament, and the reception of its delegation at the CPSU Central Committee.

Present-day social democracy has considerable political weight. It could do more for the defence of the vital interests of the peoples and, above all, for the consolidation of peace, for improving the international situation, repulsing fascism and racism, and the offensive of reactionary forces on the political rights of the working people. In practice, however, the social-democratic leaders do not always act along these lines.

Many of them are afflicted with the virus of anti-communism. Some allow themselves to be drawn into campaigns organised by imperialism against the socialist countries, and refer to the so-called Atlantic solidarity to justify the arms race. Understandably, this policy is contrary to the interests of the working people. We disapprove of it most strongly.

But we will actively support all steps that are beneficial to peace and democracy. In view of the present complication of the international situation, we attach importance to cooperation with Social Democrats, trade unions, religious circles, and all democratic and peaceloving forces in the matter of preventing war and strengthening peace. Last year's World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia was a good example of such cooperation.

Soviet Communists welcome the achievements of the Communist parties in expanding their ranks, tightening their links with the masses, defending the interests and democratic rights and freedoms of the working class and all the working people, and in the struggle to curb the omnipotence of monopoly, to check the spread of

militarism, and for the socialist perspective in their countries.

Comrades, despite terror and persecution, despite prison and the barbed wire of concentration camps, in selfless and often very difficult everyday work for the good of the peoples, Communists in the capitalist countries remain loyal to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We express our deep-felt solidarity with our Communist brothers languishing in the dungeons of fascist dictatorships, with those persecuted by the police or fighting their hard battles underground. We express our solidarity with those subjected to discrimination and deprived of civil and political rights merely for their convictions, for belonging to the party of the working class.

Honour and glory to Communists, courageous fighters for the people's cause!

4. RELATIONS WITH THE CAPITALIST STATES. COUNTERING THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION. THE POLICY OF PEACE AND COOPERATION

Comrades, in the period under review the USSR continued to pursue Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation with capitalist states, while firmly repulsing the aggressive designs of imperialism.

A further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism was witnessed during these years. To be sure, capitalism has not stopped developing. But it is immersed in what is already the third economic recession in the past ten years.

Inflation has grown to unheard-of dimensions. Since 1970 prices in the developed capitalist countries have risen on average by 130 per cent, and since 1975 by 50 per cent. The inflation curve is getting steeper. Not for nothing did the new President of the United States admit in his inaugural address that the United States is suffering from "one of the worst sustained inflations in . . . national history", and that "it threatens to shatter the lives of millions" of Americans.

It is more than obvious that state regulation of the capitalist economy is ineffective. The measures that bourgeois governments take against inflation foster stagnation of production and growth of unemployment, what they do to contain the critical drop in production lends still greater momentum to inflation.

The social contradictions have grown visibly more acute. In capitalist society use of the latest scientific and technical achievements in production turns against the working people, and throws millions of factory workers into the streets. In the past ten years the army of unemployed in the developed capitalist states has doubled. In 1980 it totalled 19 million.

Attempts to dampen the intensity of the class struggle by social reforms of some kind are having no success either. The number of strikers has risen by more than one-third in these ten years, and is even officially admitted to have reached the quarter-billion mark.

The inter-imperialist contradictions are growing more acute, the scramble for markets and for sources of raw materials and energy is more frantic. Japanese and West European monopolies compete ever more successfully with US capital, and in the US domestic market too. In the seventies, the share of the United States in world exports has declined by nearly 20 per cent.

The difficulties experienced by capitalism also affect its policy, including foreign policy. The struggle over basic issues of the capitalist countries' foreign-policy course has grown more bitter. Visibly more active of late are the opponents of detente, of limiting armaments, and of improving relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Adventurism and a readiness to gamble with the vital interests of humanity for narrow and selfish ends—this is what has emerged in a particularly bare-faced form in the policy of the more aggressive imperialist circles. With utter contempt for the rights and aspirations of nations, they are trying to portray the liberation struggle of the masses as "terrorism". Indeed, they have set out to achieve the unachievable—to set up a barrier to progressive changes in the world, and to again become the rulers of the peoples' destiny.

Military expenditures are rising unprecedentedly. In

the United States they have climbed to an annual 150,000 million dollars. But even these astronomical figures are not high enough for the US military-industrial complex. It is clamouring for more. The NATO allies of the United States, too, yielding to Washington's demands, have undertaken—though some with great reluctance—to increase military allocations automatically until almost the end of the present century.

A considerable portion of these tremendous sums is being spent on crash development of new types of strategic nuclear arms. Their appearance is accompanied by the advancing of military doctrines dangerous to peace, like the notorious Carter directive. They want people to believe that nuclear war can be limited, they want to reconcile them with the idea that such war is permissible.

But that is sheer deception of the peoples! A "limited" nuclear war as conceived by the Americans in, say, Europe would from the outset mean the certain destruction of European civilisation. And of course the United States, too, would not be able to escape the flames of war. Clearly, such plans and "doctrines" are a grave threat to all nations, including the people of the USA. They are being condemned all over the world. The peoples say an emphatic "No" to them.

Imperialist circles think in terms of domination and compulsion in relation to other states and peoples.

The monopolies need the oil, uranium and non-ferrous metals of other countries, and so the Middle East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are proclaimed spheres of US "vital interests". The US military machine is actively thrusting into these regions, and intends to entrench itself there for a long time to come. Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Egypt—where next?

To split the expenses with others and at the same time to tie its NATO partners closer to itself, the United States is seeking to extend the functions of NATO. Washington strategists are obviously eager to involve dozens of other countries in their military preparations, and to enmesh the world in a web of US bases, airfields, and arms depots.

To justify this, Washington is spreading the story of a "Soviet threat" to the oil wealth of the Middle East or the oil supply lines. That is a deliberate falsehood, because its

authors know perfectly well that the Soviet Union has no intention of impinging on either the one or the other. And in general, it is absurd to think that the oil interests of the West can be "defended" by turning that region into a powder keg.

No, we have completely different views on how peace can really be secured in and around the Persian Gulf. Instead of deploying more and more naval and air armadas, troops and arms there, we propose that the military threat should be removed by concluding an international agreement. A state of stability and calm can be created in that region by joint effort, with due account for the legitimate interests of all sides. The sovereign rights of the countries there, and the security of maritime and other communications connecting the region with the rest of the world, can be guaranteed. That is the meaning of the proposals made recently by the Soviet Union.

This initiative gained broad support in the world, including a number of Persian Gulf countries. To be sure, there were also opponents of the Soviet proposal, and it is easy to guess in what camp. We would like to express our hope that the governments of the United States and other NATO countries will consider the whole issue calmly and without prejudice, so that we could jointly look for a solution acceptable to all.

Reaching an agreement on this issue could, moreover, give a start to the very important process of reducing the military presence in various regions of the World Ocean.

In our relations with the United States during all these years we have, as before, followed a principled and constructive line. It is only to be regretted that the former administration in Washington put its stakes on something other than developing relations or on mutual understanding. Trying to exert pressure on us, it set to destroying the positive achievements that had been made with no small effort in Soviet-American relations over the preceding years. As a result, our bilateral ties suffered a setback in a number of fields. The entry into force of the SALT-2 treaty was deferred. And negotiations with us on a number of arms limitation issues, such as reducing arms deliveries to third countries, were broken off unilaterally by the United States.

Unfortunately, also since the change of leadership in

the White House openly bellicose calls and statements have resounded from Washington, as if specially designed to poison the atmosphere of relations between our countries. We would like to hope, however, that those who shape United States policy today will ultimately manage to see things in a more realistic light. The military and strategic equilibrium prevailing between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, objectively serves to safeguard world peace. We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit the building up of any such superiority over us. Attempts of that kind and talking to us from a position of strength are absolutely futile.

Not to try and upset the existing balance and not to impose a new, still more costly and dangerous round of the arms race—that would be to display truly wise statesmanship. And for this it is really high time to throw the threadbare scarecrow of a “Soviet threat” out of the door of serious politics.

Let's look at the true state of affairs.

Whether we take strategic nuclear arms or medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, in both instances there is approximate parity between the sides. In respect of some weapons the West has a certain advantage, and we have an advantage in respect of others. This parity could be more stable if pertinent treaties and agreements were concluded.

There is also talk about tanks. It is true that the Soviet Union has more of them. But the NATO countries, too, have a large number. Besides, they have considerably more anti-tank weapons.

The tale of Soviet superiority in troops strength does not match the facts either. Combined with the other NATO countries, the United States has even slightly more troops than the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries.

So, what talk can there be of any Soviet military superiority?

A war danger does exist for the United States, as it does for all the other countries of the world. But the source of the danger is not the Soviet Union, nor any mythical Soviet superiority, but is the arms race and the

tension that still prevails in the world. We are prepared to combat this true, and not imaginary, danger hand in hand with the United States, with the countries of Europe, with all countries in the world. To try and outstrip each other in the arms race or to expect to win a nuclear war, is dangerous madness.

It is universally recognised that in many ways the international situation depends on the policy of both the USSR and the USA. As we see it, the state of relations between them at present and the acuteness of the international problems requiring a solution necessitate a dialogue, and an active dialogue, at all levels. We are prepared to have such a dialogue.

Experience shows that the crucial factor here is meetings at summit level. This was true yesterday, and is still true today.

The USSR wants normal relations with the USA. There is simply no other sensible way from the point of view of the interests of our two nations, and of humanity as a whole.

Comrades, for our Party and the Soviet state the past five years have been years of purposeful struggle for European peace and security.

Despite the efforts of enemies of detente, peaceful cooperation between countries of the two systems is, by and large, making good headway on the European continent. Political contacts have become broader and more meaningful. Frequently, we manage to find a common language on some major problems of foreign policy. Economic, scientific, technical and cultural ties are expanding, and are taking on new qualities. Multilateral conferences have been held on various aspects of European cooperation.

An extensive system of ties has taken shape between the Soviet Union and France. A practically uninterrupted political dialogue is being maintained at various levels, first of all with President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Soviet-French trade has tripled. Our cooperation in science, technology, and culture covers more than 300 projects. And though we do not agree with all that France is doing on the international scene, our relations remain a major factor of detente, and we are for their further dynamic development.

Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, based on the 1970 treaty and later agreements, have on the whole developed favourably. The meetings with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in 1978 and 1980, like the earlier ones with Willy Brandt, have made a useful contribution to European detente, and have extended the horizons of mutually advantageous Soviet-West German ties. Our trade with the FRG has nearly doubled over the past five years. Large-scale projects hold a prominent place in our economic relations, such as the shipments of equipment to **Atomash**, to the Oskol electro-metallurgical works, and to chemical enterprises, and of pipes and equipment for gas pipelines, and so on.

But there are fields, and important ones, where the positions of the USSR and the FRG diverge substantially. Suffice it to mention Bonn's occasional attempts to circumvent the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin or in certain matters to disregard the sovereignty of the GDR. We are for rigorous and complete observance of the accords reached in the seventies. This is important for the mutual understanding and cooperation of our two countries, and for European peace.

Definite progress has been achieved in our relations with Italy. There are political contacts, economic cooperation is expanding, and so are the cultural exchanges between our nations.

Soviet-Finnish relations are making good headway on a firm basis of friendship and good-neighbourliness. We give due credit to the contribution made by Finland and President Kekkonen personally to the consolidation of European security. We are also pleased that our economic ties are steadily expanding, and that joint building of large industrial projects is making good progress.

We are prepared to continue developing good relations with our neighbour Turkey, and our traditional ties with Greece. We welcome the successful development of relations with Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Cyprus, and a number of other European countries. After a break of 40 years, our relations with Spain have entered a normal course.

As for Soviet-British relations, we regret to say that here there is stagnation, but not through any fault of ours.

I think that this is contrary to the interests of both the Soviet Union and Britain.

Speaking of European affairs, we must not ignore the new and serious dangers that have arisen to European peace. This refers first of all to the NATO decision of deploying new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This decision is no "response" to any imagined Soviet challenge. Neither is it an ordinary "modernisation" of the arsenal, as the West would have us believe. It speaks of an obvious intention to tilt the existing military balance in Europe in NATO's favour.

It must be clearly understood: the deployment in the FRG, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands or Belgium of new US missiles, targeted against the USSR and its allies, is bound to affect our relations with these countries, to say nothing of how this will prejudice their own security. So, their governments and parliaments have reason to weigh the whole thing again and again.

The vital interests of the European nations require that Europe should follow a different path—the path blazed in Helsinki.

We believe that the process begun by the European Conference should be a continuous one. All forms of negotiation—multilateral and bilateral—should be used to settle the problems that are troubling Europe.

About our relations with Japan. Gaining prominence in its foreign policy are negative elements—playing up to the dangerous plans of Washington and Peking, and the trend towards militarisation. We do not think, however, that this is, so to speak, Tokyo's last word, and we hope that far-sightedness and an understanding of its own interests will prevail there. As before, the Soviet Union is in favour of lasting and truly good-neighbourly relations with Japan.

The role in world affairs of Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Peru, has grown considerably. We are pleased to note the expansion of the Soviet Union's mutually beneficial ties with countries of Latin America and are prepared to continue expanding them.

There are also good potentialities for developing our relations with Canada. And the door to further expansion of cooperation with it will remain open, as it will remain

open for other capitalist states. The door to the broadest cooperation—with governments, parliaments, business circles, cultural workers and with public organisations.

In sum, comrades, the policy of peaceful coexistence charted years ago by Lenin is exercising an increasingly decisive influence on present-day international relations. The seventies have shown this convincingly.

Life requires fruitful cooperation of all countries for solving the peaceful, constructive tasks facing every nation and all humanity.

And this cooperation is no futile utopia. Its first signs—be they ever so small so far—are already in evidence in our time. They should be noted, cherished and developed.

Useful cooperation is now under way, also within the framework of international organisations, between a considerable number of states in such fields as peaceful uses of atomic energy, the battle against epidemic diseases, elimination of illiteracy, protection of historical and cultural monuments and weather forecasting. Our country is taking an active part in all this.

In short, there already exists a valid basis for the further extension of practical peaceful cooperation among states. And the need for it is increasingly apparent. It is enough to mention such problems, for example, as discovery and use of new sources of energy, provision of food for the world's growing population, preservation of all the riches of Nature on Earth and exploration of outer space and the depths of the World Ocean.

5. TO STRENGTHEN PEACE, DEEPEN DETENTE, AND CURB THE ARMS RACE

Comrades, the central direction in the foreign policy of our Party and Government is, as it has always been, to lessen the danger of war and to curb the arms race. At the present time this objective has become one of special importance and urgency because rapid and profound changes are under way in the development of military technology. Qualitatively new types of weapons, above all weapons of mass destruction, are being developed. These are weapons of a type that may make control over them,

and therefore also their agreed limitation, extremely difficult if not impossible. A new round of the arms race will upset international stability, and greatly increase the danger of another war.

The situation is made graver still by the fact that the policy of the aggressive imperialist forces has already considerably heightened international tensions with all the dangerous consequences that this entails.

There is probably no other country that has in recent years put forward before the world such a wide spectrum of concrete and realistic initiatives on the most crucial problems of international relations, as the Soviet Union has done.

Let me begin with the problem of limiting nuclear armaments, which are the most dangerous to humanity.

All these years, the Soviet Union has worked perseveringly to put an end to the race in such armaments, and to stop their further spread across the world. A tremendous amount of work was done, as you know, in preparing a treaty with the United States on limiting strategic arms. Much was done during the negotiations with the United States and Britain on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. We made an important move by declaring and reaffirming that we will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries that do not permit the deployment of such weapons on their territory. But we have also gone further in our proposals: that the manufacture of nuclear weapons be stopped and a start be made in reducing their stockpiles until they are completely eliminated.

The Soviet Union has also actively sought the prohibition of all other types of mass destruction weapons. And we have achieved something in this field during the period under review. Already operative is a convention banning modification of the environment for military purposes. The basic provisions of a treaty prohibiting radiological weapons have been tentatively agreed upon. Negotiations on removing chemical weapons from the arsenals of states are under way, though at an intolerably slow pace. Actions by the peace forces have brought about the suspension of plans for deploying the neutron weapon in Western Europe. All the greater is the outrage of nations over the new Pentagon attempts to hold the

neutron Sword of Damocles over the countries of Europe. For our part, we declare once more that we will not begin manufacturing this weapon if it does not appear in other countries, and that we are prepared to conclude an agreement banning it once and for all.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries have come forward with a number of concrete proposals on military detente in Europe. In particular, we would like that the participants in the European Conference should undertake not to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other first, that the existing military blocs in Europe and on other continents should not admit new members, and that no new blocs should be set up.

The Soviet Union and its allies have proposed convening a European conference to discuss and settle questions of military detente and disarmament in Europe. This matter is in the centre of attention at the Madrid conference.

Neither have we slackened our efforts to secure progress at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Here the socialist countries have gone more than halfway to meet their Western partners. But we've got to say bluntly that if the Western countries continue to drag out these talks while increasing their military potential in Europe, we will have to take this fact into account.

Many of the important initiatives that the Soviet Union and its allies advanced during the past five years were backed up by resolutions of the UN, including the General Assembly's special session on disarmament.

The Soviet proposals for consolidating international security and limiting the arms race remain in force. Soviet diplomats and all other officials in the foreign relations sector are continuing, under the guidance of the Party's Central Committee, to press for their implementation.

Our actions are consonant with the aspirations of other countries and peoples. Suffice it to recall that many countries on various continents have advanced proposals that won broad international support—to make Africa and the Middle East non-nuclear zones like Latin America, to set up peace zones in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean. And the resolu-

tions of the European Conference are, in effect, aimed at making all Europe a zone of that kind as well.

Comrades, we are carrying on the fight for a radical improvement of the international situation. The trustworthy compass here is, as it has been, the Peace Programme of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU.

Today the state of world affairs requires new, additional efforts to remove the threat of war, and buttress international security. Permit me to put before the Congress a number of ideas directed to this end.

In recent years, as you know, flashpoints of military conflict, often threatening to grow into a major conflagration, have flared up now in one and now in another region of the world. Experience has shown that it is not easy to extinguish them. It would be far better to take preventive measures, to forestall their emergence.

In Europe, for example, this purpose is to some extent served—and fairly well on the whole—by the confidence-building measures carried out in the military field by decision of the European Conference. They include advance notification of military exercises of ground troops, and invitation to them of observers from other countries. At present, these measures apply to the territory of the European states, including the Western regions of the USSR. We have already said that we are prepared to go further and to give notice of naval and air exercises. We have proposed—and propose again—that there should also be advance notifications of large-scale troop movements.

And now we want to propose that the zone for these measures should be substantially extended. **We are prepared to apply them to the entire European part of the USSR, provided the Western states, too, extend the confidence zone accordingly.**

There is a region where elaboration and use of confidence-building measures—naturally, with due consideration for its specific features—could not only defuse the situation locally, but also make a very useful contribution to strengthening the foundations of universal peace. That region is the Far East, where such powers as the Soviet Union, China, and Japan border on each other. There are also US military bases there. **The Soviet Union**

would be prepared to hold concrete negotiations on confidence-building measures in the Far East with all interested countries.

We make these far-reaching proposals for confidence building in the belief that their implementation will facilitate progress in the field of disarmament.

Further. It is sometimes said about our Persian Gulf proposals that they should not be divorced from the question of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. What could be said on this score? The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss the Persian Gulf as an independent problem. It is also prepared, of course, as I have already said, to participate in a separate settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. **But we do not object to the questions connected with Afghanistan being discussed together with the questions of Persian Gulf security.** Naturally, this applies only to the international aspects of the Afghan problem, and not to internal Afghan affairs. Afghanistan's sovereignty, like its non-aligned status, must be fully protected.

Once again, we insistently call for restraint in the field of strategic armaments. It should not be tolerated that the nations of the world live in the shadow of a nuclear war threat.

Limitation and reduction of strategic armaments is a paramount problem. **For our part, we are prepared to continue the relevant negotiations with the United States without delay, preserving all the positive elements that have so far been achieved in this area.** It goes without saying that the negotiations can be conducted only on the basis of equality and equal security. We will not consent to any agreement that gives a unilateral advantage to the USA. There must be no illusions on this score. In our opinion, all the other nuclear powers should join these negotiations at the appropriate time.

The USSR is prepared to negotiate limitation of weapons of all types. At one time we offered to ban the development of the naval Trident missile system in the United States and of a corresponding system in our country. The proposal was not accepted. As a result, the United States has built the new Ohio submarine armed with Trident-1 missiles, while an analogous system, the Typhoon, was built in our country. So, who has stood to gain?

We are prepared to come to terms on limiting the deployment of the new submarines—the Ohio type by the USA, and similar ones by the USSR. We could also agree to banning modernisation of existing and development of new ballistic missiles for these submarines.

Now about the nuclear-missile weapons in Europe. An ever more dangerous stockpiling of them is in train. A kind of vicious circle has appeared, with the actions of one side precipitating counter-measures by the other. How to break this chain?

We suggest coming to terms that already now a moratorium should be set on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear-missile weapons of the NATO countries and the Soviet Union, that is, to freeze the existing quantitative and qualitative level of these weapons, naturally including the US forward-based nuclear weapons in this region. The moratorium could enter into force at once, the moment negotiations begin on this score, and could remain in force until a permanent treaty is concluded on limiting or, still better, reducing such nuclear weapons in Europe. In making this proposal, we expect the two sides to stop all preparations for the deployment of respective additional weapons, including US Pershing-2 missiles and land-based strategic cruise missiles.

The peoples must know the truth about the destructive consequences which a nuclear war could have for mankind. **We suggest that a competent international committee should be set up, which would demonstrate the vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe.** The committee could be composed of the most eminent scientists of different countries. The whole world should be informed of the conclusions they draw.

There are, of course, many other pressing international problems in the world today. Their sensible solution would enable us to slacken the intensity of the international situation, and allow the nations to breathe more freely. But what is needed here is a far-sighted approach, political will and courage, prestige and influence. That is why it seems to us that it would be **useful to call a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the top leaders of its member-states in order to look for keys to improving the international situation, and preventing war.** If they so wish, leaders of other states

could evidently also take part in the session. Certainly, thorough preparations would be needed for such a session to achieve positive results.

In sum, comrades, the new measures we are proposing embrace a wide range of issues. They concern conventional as well as nuclear-missile armaments, land forces, and naval and air forces. They touch on the situation in Europe, in the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. They deal with measures of a military as well as a political nature. All of them pursue a single aim, our one common aspiration—to do everything possible to relieve the peoples of the danger of a nuclear war, to preserve world peace.

This, if you like, is an organic continuation and development of our Peace Programme in reference to the most burning, topical problems of present-day international life.

To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world.

By safeguarding peace we are working not only for people who are living today, and not only for our children and grandchildren; we are working for the happiness of dozens of future generations.

If there is peace, the creative energy of the peoples backed by the achievements of science and technology is certain to solve the problems that are now troubling people. To be sure, new, still loftier tasks will then arise before our descendants. But that is the dialectics of progress, the dialectics of life.

Not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their material and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace—that is the clue to the future.

II. THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE CPSU IN THE PERIOD OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Comrades, let me now turn to matters concerning the economic policy of the CPSU. Guiding the national economy constitutes the core of all Party and government activity. For it is in the economic field that the foundation is being laid for accomplishing social tasks and strengthening the country's defence potential, the foundation for a vigorous foreign policy. It is here that the necessary prerequisites are being created for the successful advance of Soviet society to communism.

1. BASIC RESULTS OF THE USSR'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTIES AND IN THE TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

On the threshold of the seventies, the Party carried out a comprehensive analysis of the state of the national economy and defined the principal ways of solving the socio-economic problems of developed socialism. The Party approach, the political approach to the economy has invariably been based on the programmatic requirement—everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.

From this followed the course charted by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses towards a more profound reorganizing of the national economy to deal with the diverse problems connected with improving the people's well-being. From this followed the principle formulated at the congresses requiring a determined swing to primarily intensive factors of economic growth, the principle of enhancing the efficiency and quality of all work.

Such is the long-term orientation of the economic policy of the CPSU. An important role in creatively developing that policy, and in mobilising the Communists and all working people to put that policy into practice,

was played by the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to economic development. These meetings provided a realistic analysis of the state of affairs in the national economy, concentrated the Party's attention on unresolved problems, and helped to shape up-to-date economic thinking. Each of them was, in effect, a school of socialist economic management, and taught our cadres and the entire Party the science and art of guiding the economy.

The country's development in 1971-1980 is evidenced by the following figures:

Basic Indices of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the Seventies
(in thous. mln. roubles in comparable prices)

| | 1970 | 1980 | 1980 in % of 1970 |
|--|-------|-------|----------------------|
| Gross social product | 637 | 1,061 | 167 |
| National income used for consumption and accumulation | 282 | 437 | 155 |
| National income resources allocated to consumption and non-productive construction | 219 | 354 | 162 |
| Industrial production | 352 | 627 | 178 |
| Agricultural production (average annual output) | 100.4 | 123.7 | 123 |
| Capital investments | 80.6 | 133.5 | 166 |
| Basic production assets (at the end of the year) | 531 | 1,149 | 216 |
| Goods carried by all types of transport (thous. mln. ton-km) | 3,829 | 6,165 | 161 |
| Retail trade turnover | 158.1 | 268.5 | 170 |
| Social consumption funds | 63.9 | 116.5 | 182 |

The national economy balance sheet furnishes convincing proof that the Party's economic strategy is correct. The country has made substantial progress in all the areas of building the material and technical basis of communism. The productive forces of Soviet society have attained a qualitatively new level. The scientific and technical revolution is developing in scope and depth, changing the very appearance of many lines of production and whole industries. Soviet scientific research occupies a position of leadership in vitally important areas of knowledge. The country's economic might is a reliable

guarantee of further progress on the road of communist construction.

Soviet men and women have worked hard, in "shock-work" style. Rallied closely around Lenin's Party and treating its master plans as a matter of vital concern to them personally, the working people in town and country have spared no efforts in building up the country's economic potential. Honour and glory to Soviet men and women—to the working people! They are the main, invaluable asset of our society.

Throughout the past decade there were persistent efforts to enhance the efficiency of the national economy. The most meaningful indicator here is the productivity of labour. It rose during this period by nearly 50 per cent. Scientific advances served as a basis for the further development or establishment of the most advanced industries, such as nuclear engineering, space technology, electronics and microelectronics, microbe synthesis, laser technology, the production of artificial diamonds and other new synthetic materials.

Characteristic of the seventies were big changes in the location of productive forces. In pursuance of decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU, territorial-industrial complexes are being formed in the European part of the Russian Federation, in the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan.

In the years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan these complexes accounted for the entire growth in the country's total production of oil, gas, and coal. In the north-west of Siberia the production of oil (including gas condensate) in 1970 amounted to 31 million tons; in 1980 it exceeded 312 million tons. The production of gas during that period rose from 9,500 million to 156,000 million cubic metres. More than 48,000 million cubic metres of gas is being produced by the Orenburg gas workers. The miners of the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz complex in 1980 produced about 67 million tons of coal—nearly three times the amount mined in 1970. A mounting role in the economy of the country's Asian part is being played by the Sayan, Bratsk-Ust-Ilimsk, South Yakutian, Karatau-Jambul, Mangyshlak, and South Tajikistan territorial-industrial complexes. Big opportunities for advancing

east and north are being opened up by the Baikal-Amur Railway.

The industrial development of new regions is important both socially and politically. The work collectives arising there bring with them high standards of work and everyday life, and a new, contemporary rhythm of life. Another vivid chapter is being added to the annals of the Soviet people's heroic achievements.

All this is a result of the Party's far-sighted policy. All this is a result of the fortitude and enthusiasm of the workers, engineers, technicians, and scientists who—working in difficult, at times incredibly difficult conditions—have put extremely rich natural resources at the service of the national economy. What they have accomplished is a real exploit, an exploit for the sake of the people and for the good of the people.

The seventies were a period of steady growth for heavy industry. The output of the means of production increased as much as in the previous 20 years. Electric power generation doubled compared with the sixties. The country's single power grid was augmented by the addition to it of the combined power grid of Siberia.

Unique hydropower units were commissioned at the Sayan-Shushenskoye, Ust-Ilimsk, Nurek, Inguri, Dnieper, Nizhnekamsk, and other hydroelectric stations. Giant thermal power stations were completed at Zaporozhye and Uglegorsk. The nuclear power industry is expanding at a fast rate. New power reactors have been put into operation at the Leningrad, Chernobyl, Kursk, Beloyarsk, Armenian, and Bilibino nuclear power stations. The nuclear power industry is getting powerful up-to-date machinery: **Atommash**, the main supplier of nuclear steam-generating installations, has started production.

The country's metallurgy has been further reinforced. In the past ten years the national economy received 460 million tons of steel more than in the previous decade. A vast development programme has been carried out in the engineering industry. Its output in 1980 was 2.7 times greater than in 1970; instrument-making had increased 3.3-fold, and the output of computer facilities, 10-fold.

There have been appreciable quantitative and qualitative changes in the chemical and petrochemical industries.

The output of these industries in 1971-1980 more than doubled. The rise in the production of chemical fertilisers was especially pronounced. At the same time the whole spectrum of chemical production is developing. The giant **Nitron** and **Polymer** amalgamations, the Tomsk Chemical Works, the Prikumsk, Omsk, and Shevchenko plastics plants, and several other new establishments form the core of the modern chemical industry.

The past two five-year plans notably strengthened the technical base of agricultural production. There were advances in the chemicalisation, overall mechanisation, and industrialisation of crop and livestock farming. Land improvement is being conducted on a large scale. To accomplish these by no means simple tasks, capital investments in the agrarian sector of the economy have been increased. In ten years they exceeded 300,000 million roubles. This is 2.3 times as much as in the previous decade.

More intensive farming techniques have made it possible—even with fewer personnel—to achieve a steady rise in production. In the past ten years production per hectare was 1.3 times greater than in the previous decade.

Another effect of more intensive methods has been a greater stability of farm production. Although three of the past five years were unfavourable, the grain harvest has averaged 205 million tons per year. The cotton crop in 1980 amounted to almost 10 million tons. The total agricultural production in the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plan periods was 272,000 million roubles greater than in the previous two five-year plan periods.

All this means, comrades, that the diverse and purposeful work of the Party and all the working people in the countryside, and the industries associated with it—work directed at advancing agriculture—is yielding tangible results.

The growth of Soviet economic might made it possible to accomplish a sweeping programme of improving the people's well-being in the seventies. The sum of 32,000 million roubles was allocated for state measures to increase wages and salaries, pensions, allowances, and so forth. Each such measure is a real and tangible step forward on the road most important to us—that of improving the Soviet people's life.

There have been increases in the minimum pay, and in the wages and salaries of the medium-income industrial and office workers in all branches of the national economy. In 1980 the average monthly wage exceeded 168 roubles and was nearly 1.4 times the 1970 figure. The remuneration of the collective-farm members rose at an even faster rate. Payments and benefits financed out of the social consumption funds nearly doubled.

The minimum pensions of industrial and office workers, professionals and collective farmers were increased in the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plan periods. The material and living conditions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War were improved. Child allowances were introduced for low-income families. The stipends of students of colleges and universities, and specialised secondary and vocational schools, were increased. Schoolchildren in the first five forms began to receive their textbooks free of charge.

Directly related to living standards is the production of consumer goods. In the seventies it increased almost two-fold over the previous decade. Nevertheless in this, as in food supplies to the population, there are problems and shortcomings, of which I will speak in greater detail later.

More housing was built in the seventies than the entire stock of urban housing that existed at the beginning of the sixties. The scale of housing construction is, comrades, a great social achievement of ours.

In sum, the main objective of the Party's economic strategy is being consistently implemented. Complex though the problems arising here are, the course charted by the Party is steadily being put into effect.

On the whole, the seventies may be summed up as a major step in developing the national economy of the country, of all the Union and autonomous republics.

The successes of the past decade were largely determined by the results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. A general picture of what was accomplished is furnished by the following table:

Basic Indices of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR
under the Tenth Five-Year Plan Compared to the Ninth
(average annual levels, thous. mln. roubles in comparable prices)

| | Ninth Five-Year Plan | Tenth Five-Year Plan | Tenth Five-Year Plan in % of Ninth |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Gross social product | 769 | 989 | 129 |
| National income used for consumption and accumulation | 329 | 409 | 124 |
| National income resources allocated to consumption and non-productive construction | 258 | 325 | 126 |
| Industrial production | 438 | 581 | 133 |
| Agricultural production | 113.7 | 123.7 | 109 |
| Capital investments | 98.6 | 126.8 | 129 |
| Goods carried by all types of transport (thous. mln. ton-km) | 4,625 | 5,833 | 126 |
| Retail trade turnover | 191.4 | 246.1 | 129 |
| Social consumption funds | 78.6 | 105.4 | 134 |

The socio-political meaning of these results is seen by the CPSU Central Committee in that steady economic progress served as a basis for the continued improvement of the entire system of social relations, of our socialist way of life. What has been accomplished is the result of the dedicated work of tens of millions of people, of the vigorous activities of Party organisations, the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions and the Young Communist League, and of the scale of the socialist emulation movement. Today, as we look back on the past years, we have every reason to say that a gigantic job has been accomplished. Our great country has become stronger, richer, and more beautiful.

While paying tribute to the Soviet people's truly historic achievements, the CPSU Central Committee at the same time clearly discerns the difficulties, the shortcomings, and the unsolved problems. Not all of the targets set were achieved. Not all of the ministries and enterprises fulfilled their plans. There are still bottlenecks and disproportions in the national economy.

The reasons for this vary. They include the operation of objective factors, of circumstances beyond our control. They also include shortcomings in planning and management. And they include, too, an insufficiently exacting

attitude on the part of a number of Party bodies and economic managers, breaches of discipline, and instances of mismanagement. But probably the most important reason is that the force of inertia, conventions, and habits from the period when the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspect of the work loomed the largest have still not been fully overcome.

All this was discussed in detail at the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. Specific decisions were taken to give a boost to the lagging branches and units of the economy. What is needed now is to use the experience gained for a still more determined drive to eliminate the obstacles impeding economic growth. There is only one way of achieving this: being more exacting, learning to work and to run things more efficiently. Learning this does not come easily. But we Communists are persistent and purposeful people. We have taken this path, and we shall not swerve from it.

2. THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE EIGHTIES AND OF THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, the objectives fixed for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and the eighties are set forth in detail in the CPSU Central Committee's draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990. Upwards of 121 million people took part in discussing it. The draft received the wholehearted approval and support of the working class, the collective farmers, and the intelligentsia.

A large number of useful proposals, additions, and clarifications were put forward, and these will undoubtedly enrich the contents of the document. Allow me, from the platform of the Congress, to thank all the comrades—Communists and non-Party people alike—who took part in discussing the Guidelines.

The proprietary interest taken by millions of working people in the Party's socio-economic plans and their concern for affairs of the state are an expression of the genuinely democratic nature of the Soviet system. This is an important guarantee of the successful fulfilment of our plans.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE EIGHTIES AND THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The country has entered the new decade with a powerful economic and scientific-technological potential, and with a multi-million army of well-trained and dedicated personnel. This determines our potentialities. At the same time requirements and the scale of investments necessary both for the national economy to function normally and for the Soviet people's mounting needs to be satisfied are also growing. And we will have to meet these production and consumer requirements in complex conditions.

A number of factors that tend to make economic development more complicated will, as you know, operate in the eighties. One of them is a decline in the growth of manpower resources. Another is the growth of expenditures due to developing the East and the North, and also the inevitable increase in spending on environmental protection. To this it must be added that there are quite a few old enterprises in need of cardinal reconstruction. Then, too, roads, transport, and communications are lagging behind the growing needs of the economy. Consequently, here too earnest efforts and big outlays are needed.

Built into the draft Guidelines is the continuity of the Party's economic strategy, and they likewise take account of the specific conditions in which our country will be developing. It is from this viewpoint that the aims of economic growth and the principal ways of achieving them have been defined.

"The central objective of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan," it is said in the draft, **"is to ensure the further improvement of the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of the steady and constructive development of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the transition of the economy to the road of intensive development, the more rational utilisation of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all types of resources, and an improvement in the quality of work."**

In accordance with the available estimates, the national income used for consumption and accumulation is to be increased by at least 40 per cent by 1990. Capital

investments are to increase by just about as much. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the national income is to increase by 18-20 per cent; industrial production, by 26-28 per cent, and agricultural production, by 12-14 per cent. The total capital investments under the Five-Year Plan are estimated at 711-730 thousand million roubles.

An express condition for accomplishing all the economic tasks—in production and the social sphere—is the development of heavy industry. This applies in particular to its basic branches and, first and foremost, to **fuel and power**. I shall not cite figures—you know them. I would merely like to emphasise that the task of improving the structure of the fuel and power budget is becoming ever more urgent. It is necessary to reduce the share of oil as fuel, to replace it with gas and coal, and to expand the nuclear power industry, including fast-neutron reactors, more rapidly. And, of course, the march of events calls for a continued quest for fundamentally new energy sources, and this includes laying the foundation of a nuclear fusion power industry.

I consider it necessary to single out a rapid increase in the production of Siberian gas as a task of prime economic and political importance. The deposits of the West Siberian region are unique. The biggest of them—at Urengoi—contains such gigantic resources that it can for many years meet the country's domestic and export needs, including exports to capitalist countries. The production of gas and oil in West Siberia, and their transportation to the European part of the country, have to be made most important elements of the energy programme in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and also in the Twelfth. Such is the view of the Party's Central Committee, and, I trust, it will be supported by the Congress.

We expect the other interested socialist countries to participate in this project, and, for that matter, in developing the nuclear power industry. This would be of substantial importance to our entire community.

If we take a long-term view, the question of synthetic liquid fuel production on the basis of coal from the Kansk-Achinsk coalfield should also be carefully studied.

The new five-year plan provides for big allocations to the development of **metallurgy**, ferrous and nonferrous.

We will, of course, put into operation new metallurgical capacities. But there is also another way of overcoming the shortage of metal—the more competent and fuller utilisation of what is produced.

Just halving losses and waste in metal-working would be equivalent to a 10 per cent increase in making rolled iron and steel products. A sizeable saving can be achieved by reducing losses in the metallurgical industry itself and also losses of metal through corrosion. Then too, just think of the effect that would be achieved on a countrywide scale by reducing the weight of machine tools and equipment, or improving the quality of the metal and fabricated metal products, or, say, expanding the production of metal substitutes. There is ample scope here for our scientists, designers, and innovators. Of course, all this also requires investments, efforts, and some time. But much less than endlessly increasing the production of metal.

The new five-year plan will be a serious test for our **builders**. A characteristic feature of the plan is the maximum concentration of efforts on the speedy completion and commissioning of the enterprises that can assure the biggest increase in production and eliminate bottlenecks. We have already taken this course, and it has to be followed unswervingly.

I feel I must dwell specially on the performance of **transport**. In view of the serious character and scale of the problems that had accumulated in transport, we concluded that they could be solved only on the basis of a long-term comprehensive programme. The framing of such a programme is envisaged in the Guidelines.

More than half of the entire goods traffic is handled by the railways. The allocations for their development in the five-year period that has begun are being increased by more than 30 per cent. This will make it possible to modernise rolling stock and improve track facilities. It is important to concentrate on expanding station track facilities—this is an economical and quick way of increasing the traffic capacity of the railways.

The programme has to provide for the greater integration of all types of transport—railway, road and air, sea and river, and pipeline. The relocation of the power industry and raw materials base to the East necessitates

expediting the development of roads, pipelines, and airports in Siberia and the Far East.

Like many other problems, the transport problem cannot be solved in isolation. Reducing transport costs is a big national problem. The road to its solution runs through the rational location of productive forces, optimal patterns of freight traffic and the exclusion of backhaul.

And, of course, there is a need for the serious improvement of passenger traffic by cutting timetable disruptions to a minimum, making railway stations and airports more comfortable, and raising the general standard of services.

The CPSU Central Committee calls on all the workers of the power industry, metallurgy, and other branches of the heavy industry, builders, and transport workers to mark the new five-year plan with innovative, shockstyle work, work for the good of the country.

Comrades, every area of the economy faces its current tasks and specific problems. But there are problems that extend to all the spheres of the national economy, and the most important of them is to complete the switchover to primarily intensive development.

Making the economy more intensive and efficient—if translated into the language of practical deeds—consists above all in having the production output grow faster than the input, in achieving more while employing relatively fewer resources in production. The planning, the scientific and technological and the structural policy have to be subordinated to solving this problem. Economic methods and management policy likewise have to contribute to efficiency. Allow me to express confidence that this presentation of the problem will be fully approved by our Party Congress.

The Congress delegates will listen to and discuss the report of Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, concerning the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period up to 1990. For my part, I would like to voice some considerations of principle relevant to our economic policy both in the coming five years and throughout the entire decade that has begun.

TO MAKE FULLER AND MORE EFFICIENT USE OF THE PRODUCTION POTENTIAL

Truly enormous resources have been involved in the national economy. It has been noted repeatedly that the Soviet Union has advanced to first place in the world in the output of many important products, which include oil and steel, cement and chemical fertilisers, wheat and cotton, main-line electric and diesel locomotives. We have the largest inventory of machine tools in the world. We have a greater number of engineers than other countries have. All this, comrades, is cause for pride.

But along with pride there must always be a deep sense of responsibility. Responsibility for having this vast potential, built up by the Soviet people, utilised in the most rational way, with maximum results.

Compared with the best indicators in the world, we use more raw materials and energy per unit of the national income. This being so, the end product from the already available resources can be boosted considerably.

I have already spoken of what can be achieved by a more rational and thrifty use of metal. This fully applies to practically all types of resources—whether they be ores, timber, or building materials. Or take oil. There are enormous possibilities in increasing the rate of its extraction from oil fields. Very much can be achieved by improving engines, and switching road transport to diesel and gaseous fuel.

A new approach is evidently needed in the extracting industries in general. They already absorb the lion's share of capital investments, yet the demand for raw materials and energy agents will increase. Consequently, the successes of the national economy as a whole will depend in a large measure on making the extracting industries more efficient. The road to this runs through accelerating scientific and technological progress, through the comprehensive, thorough-going processing of mineral resources, and through the broader re-utilisation of resources.

These tasks are topical because they concern non-renewable resources. We are responsible for their proper and thrifty utilisation not only to the present, but also to future generations. And no one has the right to forget this.

Big potentialities are inherent in making better use of production plant—machinery, equipment, and transport facilities. Our efforts should be concentrated on reducing idle time, raising the shift index, and developing energy- and material-saving technological processes.

A thrifty, economical attitude to labour resources is particularly important in the conditions of the eighties. This is a complicated matter, which calls for solving many problems of an economic, technical, social, and educational nature.

A concern for saving, for the fuller and more rational utilisation of what the country possesses, requires a new approach to many aspects of economic activity. Specifically, this requires perfecting and reinforcing the “top tiers” of corresponding industries: what is known as the fourth process stage in steel making, finishing work in construction, and the final operations in the light industry. They largely determine the quality—and, at times, the quantity—of products.

It was emphasised at several plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee that our further forward movement will increasingly depend on the skilful and efficient utilisation of all the available resources—labour, fixed assets, fuel and raw materials, and the produce of the fields and livestock farms.

It is within our powers now, comrades, to cope with the biggest and most complex tasks. But economic policy is coming to hinge on a matter that would seem simple and quite routine—a thrifty attitude to social property, and an ability to make full and rational use of everything we have. It is on this that the initiative of work collectives and the Party’s mass activities should be concentrated. It is on this that technological policy, investment policy, and the system of planning and accounting indicators should be concentrated.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on the Congress delegates to approve this conclusion as a most important principle in the economic strategy of the CPSU for the coming period.

An economy must be economical—that is dictated by the times.

TO BRING ALL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY
TO THE FOREMOST FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

The conditions in which the national economy will be developing in the eighties make the acceleration of scientific and technological progress ever more pressing. There is no need to persuade anyone of the great importance of science. The Communist Party proceeds from the premise that building up a new society without science is simply inconceivable.

The CPSU Central Committee urges that the role and responsibility of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR be further enhanced, and that the organisation of the entire research system be improved. The system must be much more flexible and mobile, intolerant of any inefficient laboratories and institutes. More consideration should be given, also, to the needs of science, to providing scientific institutions with equipment and instruments, and to expanding pilot-plant production.

The country is badly in need of having "big science"—in addition to working on fundamental problems—concentrate its efforts in a larger measure on solving key economic problems and on discoveries that could bring about truly revolutionary changes in production.

Clearly formulating the practical problems requiring the maximum attention of scientists is, above all, the job of the central planning and economic bodies, and of the State Committee for Science and Technology. At the same time science itself should be a constant "trouble-maker", pointing to the areas where there are signs of stagnation and backwardness, where the present level of knowledge could secure faster and more successful advancement. Thought should be given to ways of turning this work into an integral part of the management mechanism.

A crucial, most vital area today is the application of scientific discoveries and inventions. Research and designing has to be integrated more closely with production—economically and organisationally. We have fine examples of this: the Likhachov Automobile Plant in Moscow, the Leningrad Optical and Mechanical Amalgamation and the **Elektrosila** electrical engineering

plant in Leningrad, the Paton Institute in Kiev, and many others.

But one still often encounters intolerable delays in introducing promising innovations into production, be it continuous steel casting or powder metallurgy, unique direct-current transmission lines or the production of highly durable artificial fibres. It is essential to find out the reasons why we at times forfeit our priority and spend a great deal of money for the purchase abroad of machines and technologies that we can well produce ourselves, and often of a higher quality at that.

The personal responsibility of the heads of government departments, enterprises, and institutes for manufacturing new types of products and introducing new, advanced technologies has to be enhanced. Everything that tends to make the process of introducing novelties difficult, slow, and painful, has to be removed. Workers in production must be vitally interested in making quicker and better use of the fruits of the thought and work of scientists and designers. Solving this problem is, of course, not a simple matter—it requires discarding outdated habits and indicators. But it is absolutely essential for the country, for the people, for our future.

Another point is the level of requirements with regard to the quality of products. These ought to be the highest requirements, it seems to me. We cannot and must not accept anything less than the highest world and domestic standards. We must get ourselves accustomed to this and work for this, firmly brushing aside everything that is outdated, obsolescent, everything that life itself has cast aside.

And one thing more. In dealing with the tasks we have set ourselves, we can no longer tolerate any lagging behind of the research or design facilities of several industries—the light, food, and medical industries—and of agricultural and certain other types of engineering. It would probably be worthwhile for the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and the ministries to carry out an assessment of the research and design facilities of various industries, and to submit proposals for a certain regrouping of scientific forces. Here we are also justified in counting on assistance from industries having especially

powerful research facilities, including the defence industries.

In short, comrades, the close integration of science and production is an imperative of the contemporary epoch. The CPSU Central Committee is convinced that workers in science and technology, engineers and designers, the heads of industries and production units will do everything to meet this demand.

The cornerstone of scientific and technological progress is the advancement of science. But it is **engineering** above all that can open the doors to the new. Everything novel created by scientific and technological thought should be assimilated without delay by engineering and embodied by it in highly efficient and reliable machines, instruments, and production lines. Truly revolutionary opportunities have been opened up by the development and application of miniaturised control computers and industrial robots. They must be employed on the broadest possible scale.

Today, as we look five or ten years ahead, we must not forget that it is in those years that the economic structure the country will have in the 21st century will be established. It should embody the basic features and ideals of the new society, be in the forefront of progress, and symbolise the integration of science and production, the unbreakable unity of creative thought and creative work.

THE MAIN TRENDS IN IMPROVING THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

Comrades, the Party is putting forward a sweeping programme of further improving the people's well-being in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period and the eighties in general. This programme calls for improving all aspects of the Soviet people's life—consumption and housing, cultural and recreational facilities, working and living conditions.

The share of the consumption fund in the national income is to be increased in 1985 to 77.3 per cent. Let me remind you that in 1980 it was 75.3 per cent. The social consumption funds are to grow substantially. Upwards of 16,000 million roubles are to be set aside in the five-year plan for centralised measures to increase wages and

salaries, and other payments and benefits to the population. There are to be increases in the minimum retirement and disability pensions of industrial and office workers, professionals and collective farmers, and other measures to bring about a further improvement in the social services. State assistance to families with children is to be extended.

It is planned to begin so important a measure as raising minimum pay to 80 roubles a month, and other wages and salaries. The average monthly pay is to increase in 1981-1985 by 13-16 per cent to reach 190-195 roubles. The incomes of collective farmers from the collective farm are to rise by 20-22 per cent. It is proposed to extend several wage benefits—length-of-service increments in some eastern areas and regional premium rates.

Needless to say, improving the standard of living does not boil down to simply increasing money incomes. Today, in the view of the CPSU Central Committee, the task moving to the foreground is that of improving supplies of food and manufactured consumer goods to the population.

Production of foodstuffs has been growing throughout the past few five-year periods. At the same time the Party's Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, being well aware of the situation in each republic and each region, see that difficulties in supplying the population with food still exist. Steps were and are being taken in this connection along the lines both of internal resources and of foreign trade.

For a radical solution of this problem it has been found necessary to work out a special **food programme**. It should assure a considerable increase in the output of farm produce. It should integrate agriculture more closely with the industries concerned with storing and processing farm produce and, of course, with trade. In other words, its purpose is to solve the problem of assuring uninterrupted food supplies to the population in the shortest possible time. The work on this programme has just begun, and there are all the more reasons therefore to focus attention on the issues involved.

The food programme is based on the **further advance-**

ment of agriculture. The main trends of the work to be accomplished in the agricultural field were outlined in the decisions of the July (1978) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. They retain their validity.

The first objective is to increase the output of those agricultural products whose shortages are causing particularly disturbing interruptions in supplies. I refer above all to meat and other animal products.

Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan it is proposed to increase meat production by more than three million tons to reach 18.2 million tons in 1985. But that is the minimum. The message of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Party organisations in the republics, territories, and regions, to the district Party organisations, and to all the working people in the villages is this: livestock farming is today the main front in agriculture. It is necessary, comrades, to display the maximum persistence, the maximum enterprise and flexibility, to make use of all reserves and potentialities so as not only to fulfil but to substantially overfulfil the plans drawn up.

The main difficulty is the shortage of feed. The draft Guidelines provide for increasing the average yearly grain production in the eleventh five-year period to 238-243 million tons. Since the need for food grains is being fully satisfied, the emphasis must be on growing forage crops. Their share in the overall grain harvest has to be considerably increased.

More specifically, it is expedient to extend the planting of maize for grain, and also soya beans, in Moldavia, the southern regions of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Central Asia, and Transcaucasia. Many areas of the country have good conditions for growing peas, barley, and oats. In general, the time has come to begin switching over in a systematic and vigorous manner—with due consideration for physical and economic conditions—to a more rational grain crop structure. Science and the specialists have the biggest say in this matter.

Along with grain, it is, of course, necessary to increase the production of coarse and succulent fodder, and of protein additives. At the same time it is necessary to improve the breed and raise the productivity of livestock, and expand industrial poultry farming.

Comrades, as far as agriculture as a whole is con-

cerned, the main problem facing it is the same as that facing other branches of the national economy—increasing efficiency and improving quality. We will continue allocating large financial and material resources to the countryside, and systematically regearing this branch along industrial lines. But the emphasis now—and this is a distinctive feature of the agrarian policy in the eighties—is being shifted to returns on capital investments, to making agriculture more productive, to deepening and improving its links with all branches of the agro-industrial complex.

It is a question of making much more efficient use of land, especially of reclaimed land, of machinery, fertiliser, and fodder, and also of increasing the yield of all crops. This calls for still greater attention to raising the skill of personnel, to scientific recommendations, to studying and utilising world and domestic expertise. It is also a question of supplying still more machinery to the farms, increasing the efficiency, service life, and reliability of the machines and equipment provided to the villages, improving the quality of crop protection, chemicals and fertilisers, and raising the standards of rural construction.

Finally, it is difficult to visualise an efficient agro-industrial complex and modern countryside without a developed road network, dependable transportation, without grain elevators, storehouses, storage sheds, refrigerators, and packing and crating facilities. If any one of these links is not working well or lags behind, this inevitably affects the quantity and quality of the finished product.

Even today the volume of agricultural production makes possible an appreciable improvement in the supplies of many types of food products to the population. In the past five-year period, for instance, the average annual consumption of fruit and vegetables per capita rose much more slowly than their production. This was mainly due to losses. Therefore, while continuing to increase the production of fruit and vegetables, it is necessary to improve their transportation, storage, and processing. Tackling this is the direct job of the collective and state farms, and the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Growing. The Party and the government bodies in the republics, territories, and regions, and the appropriate central

departments, must give the new ministry maximum support.

Another job on the agenda is that of extending the variety and increasing the output of the most nutritious food products, and of improving their quality. This calls for extending the capacity of the processing industry and providing it with modern, highly-efficient equipment. It is necessary, I feel, to provide for a more appreciable growth of investments in these branches in the five-year plan. I am sure this will meet with the wholehearted approval of the Party and the people.

And, of course, an essential component of efficiency is the further improvement of the economic conditions in which the collective and state farms function. The success of all plans and all programmes depends on the attitude to the job, on the conscientious work of people engaged in agriculture, and, therefore, on the system of moral and material incentives.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently took a comprehensive decision on this matter. It censures the practice of unwarranted interference in the economic activities of the collective and state farms by certain Party and government officials. It is stated quite definitely in the decision that a unified plan of agricultural produce purchases for five years, broken down by the years, should be fixed for the republics, territories, regions, and districts, for the collective and state farms. At the same time a system of incentives is being introduced for farms that will increase their sales of produce to the state above the average annual level of the previous five-year period. This should link the material incentives more closely to ultimate results and, especially, to improved quality indicators.

It is very important that the measures listed be consistently put into effect.

The collective and state farms were and continue to be the mainstay of socialist agriculture. But this certainly does not mean that the potentialities of subsidiary individual holdings may be neglected. Experience shows that such holdings can be an important additional source in the supply of meat, milk, and some other produce. Individually-owned vegetable and fruit gardens, poultry and cattle are part of our common wealth.

The CPSU Central Committee has deemed it necessary to take a decision on supplementary measures to develop subsidiary individual holdings. It provides for establishing conditions — both material and moral— that would make citizens more interested in subsidiary farming, and above all in raising livestock and poultry. Collective farmers and state-farm workers should be helped with regard to young stock and fodder. This applies both to those who own livestock and to those who are prepared to raise livestock belonging to collective or state farms. There is experience of this in a number of republics and regions, and it deserves to be spread.

Maximum support should also be given to farms run by industrial enterprises to supply their personnel.

Allow me, on behalf of the Congress, to express the deep conviction that in growing and processing farm produce, the working people of the countryside and industrial workers will redouble their efforts and reach new, advanced frontiers.

Prime significance in the Party's efforts to raise the standard of living should be attached to **expanding the production and improving the quality of consumer goods, and extending public services.**

We have achieved successes in this, and they are substantial. But at a Party congress it is important to concentrate on something else. For it is a fact that year after year plans for the production of many consumer goods have remained unfulfilled, especially in textiles, knitwear, leather footwear, furniture, and television sets. And the quality, finish, and assortment are not improved as they ought to be. In all these matters things must be put right without delay.

It is necessary to provide for equipping light industry with modern plant, for improving the supply of raw and other materials to it, and for perfecting the industry's planning and management. The working and living conditions of light industry personnel have to be improved. Trade must have a bigger say in determining the variety and quality of goods. It is also necessary to improve the technical equipment of communal services and public utility facilities, to distribute them throughout the country more evenly, and to train skilled personnel for them.

The programme for expanding consumer goods production and services outlined in the Guidelines assigns a big role to the heavy industries. They produce more than half of the consumer goods other than food.

Not so long ago there was a change in the management structure of the chemical industry. This has a direct bearing on the matter I am speaking about. We look to the new Ministry of the Chemical Industry for substantial advances in the production of synthetic fabrics and fibres, plastics, dyestuffs and other materials needed to increase the quantity and—most important of all—improve the quality of consumer goods.

And, finally, local initiative is tremendously important. In no other sphere of the national economy do local potentialities and local reserves appear to play as large a role as in satisfying everyday consumer demand and in providing the population with services. It is necessary for the Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels to take concrete measures to improve the production and sale of manufactured goods, and to extend public services.

As you know, comrades, the draft Guidelines for the next five-year plan envisage a certain acceleration of group "B" production—its growth rate will somewhat exceed that of group "A". That is a good thing. What is needed is to create truly modern production of consumer goods and services, meeting the people's needs.

To conclude this topic, I would like to step beyond the boundaries of economic problems as such and to put the matter in a broader perspective. What we are discussing—food products, other consumer goods, and services—are part of the everyday life of millions upon millions of people. People go to shops, canteens, laundries, and cleaners every day. What can they buy? How are they welcomed? How are they spoken to? How much time do they spend on all sorts of household chores? It is on the strength of how these problems are solved that people largely judge our work. They judge it strictly, exactly. And this should be remembered, comrades.

Concrete concern for the concrete person, for his needs and requirements is the alpha and omega of the Party's economic policy. I am reminding you of this to re-emphasise a simple but very important point: the production of goods for the population and the expansion of

consumer services are a prime Party concern. And that is how they should be treated.

TO PERFECT THE METHODS OF GUIDING THE ECONOMY

Comrades, solving the problems facing us and utilising the potentialities at our disposal depend to a large extent on the standards of guidance of the national economy, the standards of planning and management. This, no doubt, is keenly appreciated by every economic manager and every Party functionary.

The importance of discipline, the importance of personal responsibility have increased many times over in present-day conditions. This is especially true of the responsibility of the leading economic, government, and Party personnel. The interests of the state as a whole must always come before the interests of individual ministries and enterprises. Powers—and big powers at that—are vested in leaders so that they could make full use of them. But, in so doing, every leader must always remember his lofty responsibility as well—his responsibility to the men and women he has been entrusted with leading, his responsibility to the Party and the people.

The first point I want to speak about is responsibility for state plan fulfilment. The Party has always regarded the plan as law. And not just because it is approved by the Supreme Soviet. The plan is law because only its observance assures the harmonious functioning of the national economy. Let us speak frankly: this axiomatic truth has begun to be forgotten. The practice of downward plan revision has become widespread. Such a practice disorganises the economy, demoralises personnel, and accustoms them to irresponsibility.

I am least of all inclined to adopt a formal posture. There may be rare occasions, and we do have them, when plan amendment is necessary. But they have to be precisely rare occasions, exceptions. When, however, exceptions crop up more and more often, this gives rise to understandable concern. Is it not too often that we follow the lead of those who would like to make their lives easier—be listed as leading workers and receive bonuses without actually fulfilling plans.

The time has, evidently, come to make requirements stricter both as regards plan fulfilment and the quality of the plans themselves. A plan must, unquestionably, be realistic and balanced. But it must just as unquestionably be fulfilled.

Another pressing task is to overcome the lack of coordination in the activities of various departments. At the 25th Congress of the CPSU we spoke of the need to set up a system for the management of groups of related and interconnected industries. With this purpose in view, integrated inter-industry units have been set up at the State Planning Committee of the USSR. A commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the development of the West Siberian oil and gas complex, and also a Tyumen-based inter-departmental territorial commission under the State Planning Committee of the USSR, were formed recently. These are steps in the right direction. They help better to manage territorial-industrial complexes and to assess and harmonise regional and sectoral interests. Such work should be continued.

I would like to speak especially about management at the amalgamation and enterprise level. Different variants and different schemes have, as you know, been tried out. A great deal of diversified experience has been accumulated. This experience makes it clear that the quest has to be continued. The overall trend of this quest, it seems, is towards greater independence of the amalgamations and enterprises, and greater powers and responsibility of economic managers.

It goes without saying that a proper economic situation and organisational and managerial relations have to be created at the same time. This is envisaged in the decisions taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in 1979 on further improving the economic mechanism and the planning system. They have to be consistently put into effect. And at the same time it is necessary to proceed further, solving the problems that have accumulated.

It should be said in general that improving the organisation of management structures is a matter that does not tolerate routine. The living, developing organism of economic management cannot be adapted to established, customary forms. On the contrary, forms

have to be made to fit the changing economic tasks. That is the only way the matter should be approached.

The problems arising in our life dictate the need to advance theory, the science of economics, and to bring it closer to the requirements of economic practice. The creative potential of the whole of our society should be mobilised. Centrally and locally, in all the links and in all the cells of the national economy, there has to be a growing understanding of current problems and available resources have to be identified and utilised more effectively.

What is meant here is the evolution of a style of work that would organically combine efficiency and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise; a practical and businesslike approach with dedication to lofty goals; a critical attitude to shortcomings, with implicit faith in the historical advantages of the path we have chosen.

Comrades, the problems of economic management are not just economic, but political, Party problems. It has long been known that Party slogans and programmes materialise in mass activities. "The more profound the change we wish to bring about," Lenin said, "the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498). The economic policy the Party is proposing for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and the eighties reflects the Soviet people's fundamental, vital interests. Combined and merged with the creative initiative and energy of the masses, it assures the steady progress of our society on the road of raising the standard of living and building the material and technical basis of communism.

III. SOVIET SOCIETY'S SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades, the interrelation of economic progress with socio-political and cultural progress grows ever closer under the conditions of mature socialism. With this as its point of departure, the Central Committee of the CPSU has kept questions related to the development of Soviet society's socio-class and national structure and to the improvement of the socialist way of life, our statehood and democracy constantly within the orbit of its attention.

I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIO-CLASS STRUCTURE AND OF THE RELATIONS AMONG THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR

The coming closer together of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued in the 1970s. This is an objective but by no means a spontaneous process. Here a significant role is played by the social policy pursued by the Party and the Government. Our aim is to create a society in which people will not be divided into classes. And it may be said quite definitely that we are gradually and surely advancing towards that great objective.

What gives us grounds for this conclusion?

The working class plays an ever larger role in the life of society. It is growing numerically. Today nearly 80 million people, or two-thirds of the employed population, are workers. This means that in our country the working class is not only the largest class numerically but constitutes the majority of the working people. The proportion of workers is steadily growing in Party, trade union, and YCL committees and in higher and local government bodies. This is how it should be, comrades, and we welcome it.

Unquestionably, the consolidation of the leading role played by the working class is linked to the rise of its ideological, political, educational, and professional level. Ten years ago only a little more than half of the workers had a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education. Today three-fourths have such an education. It is gratifying that the vocational training of the young people replenishing the working class is improving. In the 1960s only one-third of our young men and women learned a trade at vocational schools, but within just the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan trades were learned by 12,500,000 persons, that is to say, by two-thirds of the workers who entered production. The very character of the labour of the modern worker is changing—it is increasingly acquiring an intellectual content.

With the industrialisation of agriculture far-reaching changes are taking place in the life of the **collective-farm peasantry**. Step by step their labour is drawing closer to that of factory workers. The number of machine operators and other workers servicing advanced technology is growing in the countryside. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proportion of collective farmers with a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education has grown from 39 to over 60 per cent within ten years.

The social structure of the countryside is greatly influenced by the drawing together of the two forms of socialist property and by the development of mixed economic organisations involving collective farms and state enterprises. The changes in the forms of organising and paying for the labour of collective farmers and the fact that they now enjoy the same social insurance as factory and office workers are of no little importance. All this, comrades, leads to what Lenin termed the erasure of the distinctions in the social status of the worker and the peasant.

Of course, we still have many backward farms and many villages that have to be reconstructed, modernised, and provided with new services. Without this there can be no stable work collectives and we cannot make effective use of the countryside's present production potential for the successful fulfilment of the food programme. In short, much effort, time, and resources are still needed in order to improve the everyday services and cultural facilities in

rural communities and overcome the essential differences between town and countryside.

But already today it is a pleasure to visit many collective and state farms. It is a pleasure to enter spacious, bright houses, where town amenities are adapted to the conditions and needs of rural life. The new character of work and the modern life and appearance of such villages are precisely, comrades, the beneficial fruits of our social policy.

In the period under review our **intelligentsia** has grown the quickest numerically. Today one in every four working persons in our country is linked basically to work by brain. The intelligentsia is playing an ever bigger role not only in science, education, and culture, but also in material production, in the life of society as a whole.

In turn, labour by hand and labour by brain are fusing ever more closely in the production activity of millions of workers and collective farmers. Many of them are innovators and inventors, authors of articles and books, statesmen and public figures. They are highly cultured intellectuals in the true sense of the word.

In evaluating the experience of our society's development over the past few decades, I think we can assume that a classless structure of society will take shape mainly within the historical framework of mature socialism.

The modern working class has been and remains the motive force of this process, its "social intellect and social heart", to quote Marx. Its revolutionary ideology and ethics, its collectivist psychology, and its interests and ideals are now being adopted by all the strata of Soviet society.

Naturally, the erasure of the distinctions between classes sets social policy new tasks. That policy is concentrating more and more on overcoming difficulties that range beyond individual classes, on problems requiring the closest attention to the features and interests of each group of our society.

In this context I should like to underscore the need to **even out social distinctions on, so to speak, the territorial plane**. The cultural amenities and everyday life of people differ in the various regions of our huge country. These are the distinctions that, more often than not, complicate the manpower problem in a number of places. Implemen-

tation of the programmes for the development of Western Siberia, the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway, and other areas in the Asiatic part of the country has stepped up the flow of people to these places. Nonetheless, to this day many people prefer to move from north to south and from east to west, although the rational location of productive forces requires movement in the opposite directions.

It is sometimes argued that higher wage and salary increments in Siberia, the Soviet Far East, and the northern regions should stop people from moving out of these regions. Increments must be made, of course. But this alone will not solve the problem. More often than not a person leaves Siberia not because the climate is not suitable or the pay is small, but because it is harder to get housing there and to put a child in kindergarten, and cultural centres are few and far between. That is why in the next five years we plan a faster rate in building housing and the entire socio-cultural complex in these areas and a larger supply of goods for which there is a mass demand. You will all agree that the situation there must be changed, and that this must be done as quickly as possible.

In Central Asia and some parts of the Caucasus there is, on the contrary, a surplus of manpower, particularly in the countryside. This means that more inducements must be given to attract people living in these places to move to the territories now being developed. And it goes without saying that here the industries needed by the national economy must be enlarged and more facilities opened to train skilled workers of the indigenous nationality, chiefly from among rural youth.

Acting on the instructions of the 25th Congress, the Central Committee gave serious attention to charting and implementing an effective **demographic policy**, to population problems that have lately grown acute. The principal way to resolve these problems is to show more concern for the family, for newlyweds and, chiefly, for women. Everyone will agree that in many cases it is not easy to combine the duties of a mother with work in production and active participation in public life.

In the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan steps were taken to improve working conditions for women, the facilities for family leisure, and everyday and cultural

services. However, it must be said bluntly that so far there has been no perceptible change. What is needed is wider and more effective measures. These, as you all know, are charted in the Guidelines. I am speaking of the introduction of a partially paid leave of up to one year to look after a baby, a shorter working day for mothers of small children, an extension and improvement of the network of children's pre-school institutions, schools with extended-day groups, and all the everyday services. It is planned to increase the allowances for children, especially for the second and third child. Understandably, however much we would like to, we cannot do everything overnight. But we shall perseveringly look for ways of resolving all these problems. At the same time, of course, close attention must be given to the specific situation in the different republics and regions.

A few words about yet another group of the population—pensioners. In the 1970s, their number rose from 40 to 49 million. The Party and the Government are showing constant concern for the health and wellbeing of labour and war veterans. Pensions and allowances alone now amount to over 43,000 million roubles annually. Moreover, we have lately increased the size of pensions. However, these increases did not extend to persons who had retired earlier. Beginning with the next five years this situation will be corrected gradually.

But there is something else that must be done—our veterans must be drawn more widely into work, particularly in the services industry. Needless to say, this should be done to the extent of their capabilities and with account taken of the needs of the national economy. In the present situation this is a very important task.

Comrades, the fraternal friendship among all the peoples of our multinational country is growing steadily stronger. It is our policy to increase the material and cultural potential of each republic and, at the same time, make the maximum use of this potential for the balanced development of the country as a whole. On this path our achievements have been truly historic.

Ever since Soviet power was established our economic and social policy has been framed in such a way as to bring the outlying regions of old Russia inhabited by national minorities up to the development level of the

central regions as quickly as possible. This task has been successfully accomplished. Here a key role was played by close cooperation among all the nations of the country and chiefly, by the disinterested assistance of the Russian people. Comrades, there are no backward ethnic outskirts today.

Take Kazakhstan. Its economy and culture are blossoming. More than 250 modern industrial enterprises, large workshops, and other production facilities were built there in the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan alone. It is becoming customary for Kazakhstan to grow 16 million tons of cereals annually. Together with the cereal output of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine this forms the basis of the nation's food stock.

You all know of the striking socio-economic changes that have taken place in the Central Asian republics. I shall give you just one fact. Prior to the October Revolution the tiller of the soil knew nothing save exhausting manual labour, but today the energy supply per 100 hectares of arable land is double the nation's average.

The scale of the changes that took place in huge areas of the Russian Federation in the 1970s is impressive. A tangible contribution to the nation's economy is being made by the people of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The economy of the Transcaucasian republics is developing rapidly. Noteworthy advances have been made in boosting the efficiency and quality of work in the Baltic republics and Moldavia.

On the whole, comrades, even a simple listing of the resolutions that have been passed in the period under review and of the measures mapped out in these resolutions clearly shows the scope and diversity of the questions handled by the CPSU Central Committee and the Government in resolving pressing problems of the development of all the republics and consolidating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These include the new law on autonomous areas in the Russian Federation, the enlargement of the irrigation network in Central Asia, the development of reindeer-breeding in the Far North and of sheep-breeding in Kirghizia, the conservation of the resources of Lake Sevan, and many other important matters. The CPSU Central Committee's resolutions on

the economic and cultural development of Abkhazia, Tuva, and Buryatia, and of the regions inhabited by the peoples of the North are being put into effect consistently.

I should like specifically to mention the non-chernozem belt of the Russian Federation. For a number of reasons this region found itself in more difficult conditions than some others. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have charted and set in motion sweeping measures to develop the non-chernozem belt. This task is so complex and urgent that it should be tackled jointly by all the republics and within the shortest possible span of time. We have experience of this sort of work, and it is an extensive experience. Let us recall, say, the Turkestan-Siberia Railway and the Urals-Kuzbas projects, the development of virgin lands, and the reconstruction of Tashkent. The development of the non-chernozem belt must proceed in the same spirit of teamwork and with similar vigour.

The Soviet nations are now more closely united than ever. Naturally, this does not imply that all the problems of the relations between nationalities have been resolved. The dynamics of the development of a large multinational state like ours gives rise to many problems requiring the Party's tactful attention.

The population of the Soviet republics is multinational. All nations, of course, have the right to be adequately represented in their Party and Government organs. Needless to say, the competence and ideological and moral make-up of each candidate must be carefully scrutinised.

In recent years there has been a considerable growth in some republics of the number of citizens of non-indigenous nationalities. These have their own specific needs in terms of language, culture, and everyday life. The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the republics and the territorial and regional Party committees should go deeper into these matters and opportunely suggest ways of meeting these needs.

The national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always resolutely fight against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration, be it,

say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against tendencies aimed at an artificial obliteration of national identities. And, to a similar extent, we consider their artificial inflation inadmissible. It is the Party's sacrosanct duty to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to foster a sense of pride in belonging to the great integral Soviet Union.

Experience shows that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics speeds up the process of their coming closer together in every field. National cultures are thriving and enriching one another, and we are witnessing the moulding of the culture of the whole Soviet people—a new social and international community. In our country this process is taking place as it should take place under socialism—on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation, and free will. The Party makes sure that these Leninist principles of its nationalities policy are observed. We will never depart from them.

2. STRENGTHENING THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE AND THE MOULDING OF THE NEW MAN

Comrades, the restructuring of all social relations along the collectivist lines implicit in the new system is consummated in the period of developed socialism. This restructuring encompasses the material and intellectual spheres, the entire way of our life.

Soviet society is a society of **working** people. Now, as before, the Party and the Government are doing much to make the work of people not only more productive but also more meaningful, interesting, and creative. To a great extent this will be fostered by the eradication of manual, unskilled, and arduous physical labour. Millions of people in our country are still engaged in such labour. This is not only an economic but a serious social problem. To resolve it means to remove the substantial barriers to the conversion of labour into the prime vital need of every person.

Socialism gives rise to a new attitude to work. Socialist emulation has been and remains one of the most vivid

manifestations of this attitude. There is not a single factory, collective farm, or construction project that does not feel its life-giving breath. The magnitude of this patriotic movement is impressive: today it involves more than a hundred million people. It gives shape to exemplary understanding of social duty, heroism and dedication in work. Many of the front-ranking working people who have distinguished themselves in this movement and are known throughout the country are in this hall today.

Socialist emulation spells out innovation by the people. Underlying it are the people's high level of consciousness and initiative. It is this initiative that helps to reveal and tap the potentialities of production, and enhance efficiency and quality. But in practice—there's no hiding it—socialist commitments are sometimes not worked out from below but handed down from above, from higher bodies. This is prejudicial to the very spirit of labour emulation. In it the emphasis should be on upwardly revised plans and other similar initiatives going from below to the top: worker-team-factory-industry. Only then should these initiatives be dovetailed with the state plan. This accords with the nature of socialist emulation and with the planned character of our economy.

Everybody appreciates that people work better and with more pleasure where they sense constant efforts to improve the conditions of their work and life. A factory or a farm is a home where a person spends at least one-third of his life. There everything should be convenient and modern—from the workplace to lockers and canteens.

Regretfully, we still have economic executives who feel that these are minor matters. This attitude is fundamentally wrong and harmful. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee has time and again taken such executives, including ministers, to task. There must be rigid control to make sure that the resources allocated for the social development of industrial enterprises, towns and villages are used exactly for what they are designated, in full, and within the established timetable. Reports from the localities on the commissioning of new industrial projects usually do not indicate what has been done for those who will work there, how many houses, kindergar-

tens, libraries, and medical facilities have been built. Let us agree that such reports will be considered valid only if the programme for housing and amenities envisaged in the plan for the given project has been fulfilled. I think the Congress will support this formulation of the question.

Comrades, **distribution** has been and remains a sphere to which the Party accords special attention. The orientation and depth of the changes taking place in this sphere are illustrated, for example, by the following facts. During the 1970s the number of families of factory and office workers, professionals, and collective farmers in which the income exceeded 100 roubles per month (in terms of per member of the family) almost trebled. The number of families in which the income (in the same terms) is less than 50 roubles per month has diminished in approximately the same proportion. In other words, we are seeing not only a rise but also a drawing closer together of the living standards of all groups of working people. This tendency will gather momentum—and the more efficiently everybody works the faster it will do so.

Under socialism the main criterion of distribution can only be work—its quantity and quality. Regretfully, this is not always the case in practice. All sorts of levelling and instances of paying wages solely for appearing at work and not for its results, and the granting of undeserved bonuses—all this adversely affects production and the psychology of people.

Our system of material and moral incentives should always and everywhere ensure a just and objective evaluation of the labour contribution of each and every person. People who work conscientiously should be given every encouragement, while idlers and slackers should be left no loophole for living high on slipshod work. Those who want to live better should work more and better. I think this is clear to all.

We have no unemployment. The right to work is recorded in our Constitution and ensured in real terms. However, on the recommendation of many people the Constitution also records that shirking socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This implies that all organisational, fiscal, and juridical levers should be used to close once and for all every opening for

parasitism, bribery, profiteering, unearned incomes, and infringements upon socialist property.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have recently passed a decision on improving the work of the distributive industry and public catering, on raising the efficiency of their personnel and enlarging their material resources, and on straightening out the rules governing trade, the distribution of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. Moreover, concrete steps have been mapped out to put an end to machinations with scarce commodities, reinforce the efforts made by the relevant state agencies to stamp out all forms of abuse in this sphere, and tighten workers' control. I am sure that the people will wholeheartedly approve these steps.

One of the most noteworthy features of the Soviet way of life is the growth of the benefits that people get from **social consumption funds**. During the past five years they have increased by nearly one-third and this year alone they will amount to 121,500 million roubles. This is an enormous sum of money. It is spent on improving the living conditions of the people, on protecting their health, and on education, the upbringing of children, social security, and culture. It should be spent effectively, with the greatest benefit for the people.

Housing, as you know, is a major item of our social programme. As I have already noted, during the past five years housing construction has been proceeding on a huge scale; this scale will be maintained nationwide. At the same time, we know that many families still share flats with scant conveniences, and that many newly-weds wait for housing for years. And since this is still not a simple problem, it means that special attentiveness, fairness, and decency, if you like, are needed in the distribution of housing. Everywhere this distribution should involve public organisations and it should be supervised rigidly by them. Also, the building of cooperative housing should proceed on a larger scale and its forms should be improved. At the same time, stricter demands should be made of people who take an irresponsible attitude to the use and maintenance of housing. I think the Fundamentals of Housing Legislation, the draft of which

is now being discussed nationwide, will help to put things in order here.

In the period under review, the instructions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU concerning the **development of public education** have, on the whole, been successfully carried out.

A major goal has been achieved—the transition to compulsory universal secondary education has been consummated. Today the main thing is to improve the quality of instruction and of work-oriented and moral upbringing in schools, to do away with formalism in assessing the results of the work of teachers and pupils, strengthen the link of education with life in practical terms, and prepare schoolchildren better for socially useful work. Here, the decisive role is played by the teacher, of course. We should not stint concern for his work and everyday life, and for improving his qualifications. But then more demands are being made of his work.

Besides, the quality of school curricula and textbooks has to be improved. It has been correctly pointed out that they are much too complicated. This impedes instruction and places an excessive load on children. The Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences should waste no time correcting this situation.

The achievements of the Soviet system of higher and specialised secondary education are well known. During the past five years alone it has trained 10 million specialists for our national economy.

However, much in this system can and should be improved. I am referring mainly to the quality of instruction and to the strengthening of its link with production. Fuller use should be made of the scientific potential of institutions of higher learning in which nearly half of all our doctors and candidates of science are concentrated. Economic development is accompanied by changes in the demand for people specialising in one profession or another. This means that the system of planning the training of specialists at institutions of higher learning should respond quickly to these changes.

The 25th Congress called concern for the **health of Soviet people** one of the most important social tasks. In 1977 the CPSU Central Committee and the Government

adopted a detailed decision on measures aimed at further improving the public health system. Its implementation is yielding results. Today, in the course of a single shift, our polyclinics can serve half a million more people than five years ago. Specialised medical care and the cardiological service have been considerably enlarged. Disease-prevention has grown more effective.

However, there are still many shortcomings. The work of polyclinics, prophylactic centres, and outpatient clinics, which serve 80 per cent of all sick people, should be substantially improved. Regretfully, in some places they have lagged behind the potentialities of medicine, there is a shortage of personnel, especially of middle and junior level, the equipment is obsolete, and modern medicines are in short supply. Plans for the construction of hospitals and health-building centres fall behind schedule.

We highly value the honest and selfless work of our doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel. This makes our disappointment all the greater when letters come in about instances of medical personnel abusing their duties, of lack of consideration for people. The Ministry of Public Health, Party committees, the YCL, and the trade unions are obliged to take an implacable stand against such instances and extirpate them completely. Everything must be done to enable Soviet people to receive timely, skilled, and considerate medical care always and everywhere.

Concern for people's health is inseparable from the development of **physical culture and sport**. The Moscow Olympics strikingly showed the remarkable achievements of Soviet athletes. However, we have always been interested not only in athletic achievements but also, and above all, in giving physical culture and sport a mass character. The advances in this sphere are self-evident. Nonetheless, for most people sport is still only a spectacle. This situation should be corrected. Physical culture should be part of the everyday life of large segments of the population, particularly of children.

Comrades, the fact that the cultural life of Soviet society is becoming more diversified and richer is an unquestionable achievement of our workers in culture, of our **literature and art**.

It is the business of literary and art critics to state their professional judgements. But it seems to me that all readers, theatre and TV audiences, and radio fans feel that a new tide is rising in Soviet art. Many talented works have been produced in recent years—in all our republics. This concerns literature, the theatre, cinematography, music, painting and sculpture.

Stirring revolutionary themes continue to be heard in the work of our cultural workers. The images of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and many other dedicated revolutionaries and the heroic history of our country inspire them to create new interesting works in the most diverse genres of art. The works of authors devoted to the military theme foster love of country and staunchness in hardship.

Creative workers have been unquestionably successful in producing vivid images of our contemporaries. These move people, prompt debates, and make people think of the present and the future. The Party welcomes the civic passion and irreconcilability to shortcomings implicit in the finest works, art's active intervention in the solution of our society's problems. Remember what Mayakovsky wrote: "I want the State Planning Committee to sweat in debates, setting yearly assignments for me." It is gratifying that in recent years literature, cinematography, and the theatre have been raising serious problems over which it would not be out of order for the State Planning Committee to do some sweating. And not only that committee.

The heroes of these works are people from different walks of life: a building team leader, a collective-farm chairman, a railway worker, an army officer, a pilot, or an eminent scientist. But in each of them the reader or the viewer sees his own thoughts and feelings, and the embodiment of the finest qualities of the Soviet character.

Soviet art could not fail to respond to the growing attention that our society is giving to questions of ethics. The relations among people at work and in everyday life, the complex inner world of the individual, and the latter's place on our restless planet are an inexhaustible field for artistic quests. Here it is important, of course, that the topicality of themes should not be used as a cover for drabness and mediocrity in art. The heroes of works of art should not withdraw into trivial affairs but live with the

concerns of their country at heart, a life filled with endeavour and a persevering struggle for the triumph of justice and kindness.

On the contrary, ideological poverty, philosophical indiscrimination, and a departure from a clear-cut class assessment of individual historical events and personalities may harm the creative work of even talented people. Our critics, literary journals, unions of workers in the arts and, above all, their Party organisations should be able to correct those who are carried away in one direction or another. And, it goes without saying, they should take an active, principled stand in cases when works appear that discredit our Soviet reality. On this point we should be firm. The Party was not and can never be indifferent to the ideological orientation of our art.

And one more point. One hardly needs to say how important it is that everything around us should bear the stamp of beauty and good taste. We are proud of the Olympic projects and some residential neighbourhoods in Moscow, the rejuvenated gems of the past and new architectural ensembles in Leningrad, and the new building projects of Alma-Ata, Vilnius, Navoi, and other towns. Nevertheless, as a whole urban development stands in need of greater artistic expressiveness and diversity. We should avoid cases such as that of the film character, who, by irony of fate, found himself in another town and was unable to distinguish either the house or the flat he got into from his own.

Soviet people have an immense craving for art. Everybody knows how difficult it is sometimes to get a ticket to a good play, buy an interesting book, or visit an exhibition. But this respect, this love for art places a great responsibility on the artist to his people. To live with the interests of the people, to share their joy and grief, to assert the truth of life and our humanist ideals, to be active in the building of communism—this is precisely what spells out the genuine national character and the genuine Party commitment in art.

True to the Leninist policy in culture, our Party takes a solicitous and respectful attitude to the artistic intelligentsia and orients it on the fulfilment of lofty creative tasks. This contributes to the further consolidation of the

body of artistic workers and to the advancement of society's intellectual life. There is no doubt that Soviet workers in culture will gratify us with new artistic discoveries.

Comrades, the Soviet citizen is a conscientious worker, a person with a high level of political culture, a patriot, and an internationalist. He has been brought up by the Party, by the country's heroic history, by our entire system. He lives the full-blooded life of a builder of a new world.

Naturally, this does not mean we have resolved all the problems of **moulding the new man**. Here we are faced with quite a few problems. Upbringing is successful only when it rests on the solid foundation of socio-economic policy.

We have large material and intellectual potentialities for the ever fuller development of the individual, and we shall continue to increase these potentialities. However, it is important that each person should be able to utilise them intelligently. In the long run this depends on the interests and needs of the individual. For that reason our Party sees the active, meaningful shaping of these interests and needs as a major aim of its social policy.

Most Soviet people work honestly, with heart and soul. By right they enjoy—and do so reasonably—the many benefits that society gives them and look after and multiply our national wealth. But there are people who seek to give less to the state and take as much as they can from it. This is the sort of mentality that gives rise to egoism and philistinism, to avarice, and to indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people. Drinking inflicts considerable damage on society and painfully hurts the family, and, speaking frankly, it is still a serious problem. All work collectives, all public organisations, and all Communists should do everything to combat this ugly phenomenon.

As you can see, comrades, much remains to be done to perfect the socialist way of life, to extirpate all that hinders the moulding of the new man. This is an inalienable part of the social policy of the Party, whose aim is to promote the wellbeing and happiness of Soviet people.

3. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

Comrades, the most significant changes in the economic, public, and intellectual life of Soviet society and the profoundly democratic character of the state of the whole people are telescoped in the new Constitution of the USSR. We all remember the tremendous upsurge of the people's creative effort and civic activity generated in the course of the discussion of the draft Fundamental Law.

A new phase commenced in the work of the **Soviets of People's Deputies** with the adoption of the Constitution of the USSR and then of the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics.

There has been a perceptible invigoration of the work of the highest bodies of state authority—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the republics. By coupling legislation, administration, and supervision, the Supreme Soviets actively guide the work of the Councils of Ministers, the ministries and the departments. This helps to identify and eliminate shortcomings in good time and enhances the general vitality of state life.

An immensely useful effect is produced by the present renewal of Soviet legislation on the basis of the Constitution. New laws are making it possible to regulate various aspects of social relations with greater precision and accuracy. The work of perfecting legislation will continue. Here there are three priority areas: management of the national economy, the exercise by citizens and public organisations of their Constitutional rights, and completion of the publication of the Code of Laws of the USSR.

Comrades, we have enacted quite a few good laws. Now it is chiefly a matter of their precise and steadfast implementation. Any law lives only when everybody everywhere complies with it.

There is much of interest and new in the work of the local Soviets. Without slackening attention to the local economy and services for the population, they are making a growing contribution to ensuring comprehensive economic and social development. They are more active

in coordinating and controlling the work of the enterprises and organisations on their territory. This, comrades, is very important. The CPSU Central Committee supports precisely this orientation in the work of the local Soviets.

We have almost a million Communist deputies. They should use their prestige and experience to turn every session of the Soviet and every sitting of its standing commission into a council of the people in the true sense of the word, into a collective quest for the most correct solutions.

The essence of Soviet democracy, of democracy in action lies in concern for the common work, for the development of production, in comparing notes, in frank and principled criticism and self-criticism, and in promoting the socio-political activity of every citizen.

All-embracing **people's control** of the work of administrative bodies and officials is an essential component of Soviet democracy. Not a single violation, not a single case of abuse, wastage, or indiscipline should be overlooked by the people's control inspectors. The CPSU Central Committee orients them on more energetic and resolute action.

In strengthening socialist legality and law and order a great responsibility devolves on the **organs of justice, the courts, the procurator's office, and the Soviet militia**. The professional knowledge of the officials of these organs should combine with civic courage, incorruptibility, and a sense of justice. Only people of this calibre can worthily discharge the important duties consigned to them. The Soviet people quite rightly expect that they should work with maximum efficiency, that each crime is properly investigated and those guilty of it punished according to their deserts. In this matter the organs maintaining law and order will have the total support of the Party and, I have no doubt, of all our people.

The intensity of the class struggle on the international scene makes high demands on the work of the **state security agencies** and on the Party staunchness, knowledge, and style of work of their personnel. The State Security Committee of the USSR operates efficiently, on a high professional level, and abides strictly by the provisions of the Constitution and the norms of Soviet

legislation. It keeps a sharp and vigilant eye on the intrigues of imperialist intelligence services. It resolutely cuts short the activities of those who engage in anti-government, hostile actions and encroach upon the rights of Soviet people, upon the interests of Soviet society. The work that it is doing merits the deep gratitude of the Party, of all our people.

In the period under review the Party and the Government did not for a single day lose sight of questions related to **strengthening the nation's defence potential, its Armed Forces**. The international situation obliges us to do this.

The combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces is a durable alloy of high technology, military skill, and indomitable morale. Sons and grandsons of heroes of the Great Patriotic War are now in the ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Union. They have not gone through the grim trials that fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers. But they are devoted to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. Whenever the interests of the nation's security and the defence of peace require it, and when victims of aggression have to be helped, the Soviet soldier appears before the world as a disinterested and courageous patriot and an internationalist prepared to face any hardship.

It so happens that the opening of our Congress coincides with Soviet Army and Navy Day. Permit me to extend warm congratulations to our country's glorious defenders on behalf of all the delegates. The Party's Central Committee is confident that they will continue dependably to guard the peaceful, constructive work of the Soviet people.

Comrades, the Constitution of the USSR has greatly enhanced the role of public organisations in the development of our democracy. The largest of these are the **trade unions**. Now that they have enrolled the millions of collective farmers, the trade unions embrace practically all the working people. They have exceedingly broad tasks and rights. They protect the interests of working people, take part in resolving economic, social, and cultural problems, and do much to foster socialist emulation, invention, and innovation.

Still, I think I'll be making no mistake if I say that our

trade unions sometimes lack initiative in exercising their broad rights. They do not always act with perseverance in questions concerning the fulfilment of collective agreements and the rules on labour safety, and still poorly react to cases of violations of labour legislation, to bureaucratic practices, and red tape.

This means that the trade unions and work collectives should tighten their control of decision-making concerning all questions of the work and life of people and take a larger part in planning and managing production, selecting and placing personnel, and effectively utilising the funds at the disposal of enterprises and organisations.

The Party regards the trade unions as a pillar of support among the masses, as a powerful means of promoting democracy and drawing people into the building of communism. One of Lenin's precepts was: "Contact with the masses, i.e., with the overwhelming majority of the workers (and eventually of all the working people), is the most important and most fundamental condition for the success of all trade union activity." He insisted that trade unionists should be in the thick of the workers' life, know it inside out, be able unerringly to assess the mood, the level of political awareness, and the actual needs of the masses without the slightest false idealisation, and have the ability to win the complete confidence of the masses by a comradely attitude to them and solicitous satisfaction of their needs. I hope every trade unionist will always and in everything check his actions with this behest of Lenin's.

There are more than 40 million young men and women in the **Leninist Young Communist League**. We often say that the YCL is our replacement and the assistant of the Party. This is correct, absolutely correct. Young people who are between the ages of 18 and 25 today will tomorrow form the backbone of our society. The most important, the central task of the YCL is to help form the rising generation into politically active, knowledgeable people, who like and know how to work and are always prepared to defend their country.

On the whole, the YCL is coping with this task. It has to its credit hundreds of projects in the most diverse parts of the country. It is taking a larger share in the administ-

ration of the state, of all public life. That is the course that should be maintained.

But it is not in our tradition to confine ourselves to praise. It is no secret that some educated and well-informed young people are at the same time politically naive, and their professional training goes along with an insufficiently responsible attitude to work. Much of this is a result of omissions by the YCL.

Consequently, more emphasis should be placed on educational work. I have in mind labour training, moral upbringing, and ideological and political education. This by no means implies that there should be more "activities" of all sorts. There should be a live, creative atmosphere in every YCL organisation. Everybody knows that a truth is assimilated properly when it is experienced and not merely taught. The YCL should organise the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in such a way as to fuse it organically with the practical affairs, with the life of its members.

Here much depends on the Communists, on us, comrades. We have the experience, and our conviction that Marxism-Leninism is right has stood the test of decades. This wealth must be passed on to young people. In this lies the sure guarantee that Soviet young people will always hold high the banner of communism.

IV. THE PARTY — VANGUARD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, at the 25th Congress the conclusion was drawn that under developed socialism the role of the Party grows in society. The past five years have borne this out. Today Lenin's well-known words that the Party is the intelligence, honour, and conscience of our times are more clearly appreciated and carry more weight than ever in the light of the Soviet people's impressive achievements.

The Communist Party grows, gathers strength, and matures together with our society's development, with the changes in its socio-political and cultural make-up.

In the period under review the membership of the CPSU grew by 1,800,000. Today it has 17,480,000 members. Of these 43.4 per cent are factory workers, 12.8 per cent are collective farmers, and 43.8 per cent are members of the technical, scientific, and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, medicine, and culture, people working in the administrative apparatus, and members of the Armed Forces.

During the past five years the CPSU has been joined by more than 1,500,000 of the finest members of the working class: this comprises 59 per cent of the newly admitted members. Of the new members over 10 per cent are collective farmers. The influx of members of the Soviet intelligentsia continued. Almost three in four of those who joined the CPSU during these years were members of the Leninist YCL.

The number of people wishing to join the Party is growing. The approach to admitting new members has become more exacting. Better use is made of the probation period to test the political, professional, and moral qualities of aspiring members. Not all pass this test. In the past five years 91,000 probationers were not admitted to full membership. This is a more or less normal sifting out.

As I have already said, the finest, most advanced people join the Party. However, stray and unworthy

people sometimes get into the CPSU. Let me give you one figure. Since the 25th Congress nearly 300,000 people have been expelled from the Party for deeds incompatible with the calling of Communist.

It must be stated categorically that our attitude to people who comport themselves unworthily and violate the Party Rules and the norms of Party ethics was, is, and will be irreconcilable. Nobody can expect indulgence where it is a matter of the honour and prestige of our Party, of the purity of its ranks.

This strict approach is what ensures the monolithic unity of the CPSU, its ability to head Soviet society, and confidently lead the Soviet people along the road to communism.

1. IMPROVEMENT OF THE METHODS OF PARTY LEADERSHIP

Comrades, Party congresses, which blaze the high-road, as it were, of Soviet society's onward advance, are the highest expression of the CPSU's leading role. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee also have a large role to play.

In the period under review there were 11 plenary meetings of the Central Committee. They were convened regularly and the discussions were conducted in a businesslike manner and in a spirit of self-criticism. In short, we have abided by Leninist norms and traditions.

As I have already said, the basic directions of economic development were analysed annually at plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. Other problems of a long-term character were also considered.

In 1977, in connection with the draft Constitution of the USSR, there was a substantive examination of the questions related to the development of socialist statehood, of our entire social system in the conditions of mature socialism. The Central Committee plenary meeting in July 1978 was devoted to the further elaboration of the Party's agrarian policy. The plenary meeting in June 1980 specified the Soviet Union's stand on fundamental foreign policy issues and the tasks of the struggle for

detente in an international situation that had deteriorated.

In the period under review there were 236 meetings of the **Political Bureau**. Its work was concentrated on key issues linked to the practical fulfilment of the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and plenary meetings of the Central Committee, to new developments in home and foreign policy.

The questions considered by the Political Bureau were carefully prepared beforehand. The range of these questions was extraordinarily wide and many-faceted. Many of them are steadily growing increasingly complex. In some cases the Political Bureau set up special commissions to study developments comprehensively and generalise them, and also to take the needed practical steps quickly.

Quite naturally, various opinions were stated and many comments and recommendations were made in the course of the preparations for meetings and during the discussions. However, all decisions were adopted in a spirit of complete unanimity. This unity underlies the strength of collective leadership.

The Political Bureau may be described as the militant headquarters of our many-million-strong Party. It accumulates the collective wisdom of the Party and gives shape to Party policy expressing the interests of the whole of Soviet society, of all Communists and non-Party people.

The selection of personnel, organisation and inspection, and practically all the current questions of Party life comprised the round of work of the **Central Committee Secretariat**. During the period under review it held 250 meetings.

By and large, comrades, the proceedings of the plenary meetings, the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat were purposeful and well-organised. This work rests on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

The Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee showed constant concern for **enhancing the role and responsibility of the republican, territorial, regional, district, town, and urban-district Party organisations**. The state of affairs in the localities was studied in detail and the reports of many Party committees were

examined. Conclusions binding on the entire Party were drawn on the basis of thorough, comprehensive discussion.

There is much that is valuable and instructive in the work of each Party organisation. I shall remind you of only a few interesting facts.

The Party organisations of Moscow and Leningrad achieved good results in promoting innovatory work by production collectives and in the communist education of the people. This was the wellspring of many patriotic initiatives which were supported and adopted throughout the country.

The magnificent achievements of the wheat-growers of Kazakhstan and the cotton-growers of Uzbekistan are linked to the improved work of Party organisations in introducing a scientific system of land cultivation and advanced practices into agriculture. The work of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan in mobilising the people for the pre-schedule fulfilment of tenth five-year plan assignments merits a positive assessment.

The Communist Party of Georgia secured a considerable enhancement of the rate of that republic's economic and social development.

There is much of interest in the experience of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in the matter of selecting and training personnel and in conferring a greater responsibility on executives for concrete areas of work. The Party organisations of Armenia and Latvia have been able to set the sights of work collectives and of all management and planning bodies on improving the quality of industrial output. The Communists of Estonia have given a boost to the intensification of production. The Novosibirsk and Sverdlovsk regional committees of the CPSU have done much to broaden the links of science with production.

The Central Committee gave its support to the emulation movement begun by the people of the Don area to bring projects up to their rated capacities ahead of schedule, the initiative of the Party organisations of the Kuban and Dnepropetrovsk regions to improve the quality of farm output, and the experience of the work collectives of the Urals and the Kuznetsk Basin in economising on metal, fuel, and energy.

The creative initiatives of many Party organisations merit special mention at this Party forum. The richer and more diversified local experience is, the more productive becomes the work of the Party as a whole.

During the period under review the CPSU Central Committee had to subject the work of some Party committees to blunt criticism and correct their leaders. When this did not help they were disciplined.

Of course, the results of the work of a regional or district Party organisation are the sum of many and very diverse components. Nonetheless, energetic and competent Party leadership is decisive. If in its sector every Party organisation uses all potentials and brings order into everything, the whole country will make bigger progress. For that reason enhancing the role of regional and district Party committees is an important, serious and, I would say, constant task.

Primary Party organisations play a role of paramount importance in fulfilling big and varied tasks of communist construction.

Today the CPSU has 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop organisations, and more than 618,000 groups. The Central Committee sought to invigorate these organisations to the maximum, demanding that local Party bodies give them their constant attention.

Primary Party organisations are vested with the right to control the work of managements. It is important that they exercise this right to a larger extent and in the best way possible. Whether it is a matter of personnel, the fulfilment of economic plans, or the improvement of people's working and living conditions, the Party organisations should adopt a principled stand and not take their cue from the management when the latter is wrong. In short, they should firmly implement the Party line.

In many cases departmental or bureaucratic barriers are still an impediment to the fulfilment of economic, and not only economic, tasks. Who, if not the Party committees of ministries and departments, should be in the forefront in breaking down these barriers? They should guard state interests more resolutely and uncompromisingly.

From the rostrum of this Congress I should like to

wish them to display more initiative and take a more principled stand.

Comrades, as Lenin said time and again, the essence of Party leadership lies in the selection of personnel and in the verification of performance.

In the period under review considerable work has been accomplished to secure a further **improvement of the qualitative composition and placing of executives**, to enhance their qualifications.

In accordance with the instructions of the 25th Congress, many specialists working in the economy were assigned to Party work. At present three out of every four secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and of territorial and regional committees and two out of every three secretaries of city and district Party committees have a technical, economic, or agricultural education. This is gratifying. But it must be taken into account that a segment of the specialists who have come into the Party apparatus from industry do not have sufficient political experience and, in some cases, bring economic management methods into Party organs.

It is necessary to improve the political training of these comrades and help them to acquire the necessary experience of Party work. On the other hand, to become a Party leader in the real sense of the word it is not enough to study in a Party school. The comrades appointed to Party executive work should, as people say, have had their seasoning in the thick of the working masses so that they should know what is in the minds of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of our country and what their life, needs, and interests are, not from documents but from personal experience. We should make it a rule that all the Communists considered as a reserve for promotion should go through precisely that school, the school of life, the school of practical work among the masses.

The formation of a dependable reserve of cadres has been and remains an important task. Of great significance from this angle has been the restructuring of the work of higher Party schools and of educational institutions training managerial personnel for the national economy, in particular, the setting up of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Academy of the National Economy.

During the past period 32,000 persons have finished Party educational institutions. More than 240,000 Party, government, and ideological cadres have received training at courses.

I feel that special mention must be made of the participation of women in executive work—Party, local government, economic, and other work. It has to be acknowledged that so far not all the possibilities are being used to promote women to executive posts. This must be corrected.

In the period under review the Central Committee gave more attention to **checking the fulfilment of adopted decisions**. We began to hear reports from more executives of different levels who are personally responsible for specific areas of work. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, the ministries and departments, and the Party and local government bodies in the republics, territories, and regions were oriented on working along these lines. More was done by the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee and by the commissions of local Party bodies to combat violations of Party and state discipline. On the whole, quite a lot is being done. However, verification of fulfilment is still a weak spot in the work of a large number of Party organisations.

For example, the CPSU Central Committee's examination of the work of Communists in a number of USSR ministries showed that many shortcomings in economic activity are due to a lack of a smooth-working system of control and to armchair leadership.

Regretfully, to this day not everybody has understood the simple fact that the art of leadership does not consist in producing and circulating directives on every occasion. Once a decision is adopted steps must be taken to have it carried out strictly within the set time limits. This is the purpose of reinforcing verification. For its part this verification should be systematic and quick both from above and from below.

The style and methods of leadership are a question of importance to the entire Party, to the whole people. It is the direct duty of every Party leader to remember this and to be guided every day and in everything by Leninist norms.

2. QUESTIONS OF INNER-PARTY LIFE

Comrades, when the preparations for the 26th Congress were started, the Central Committee called upon all Communists to hold **election meetings**, to discuss the Central Committee draft for the Congress creatively and self-critically, as far as possible in relation to realities, to the specific questions uppermost in the minds of Communists.

The work of Party organisations cannot be really effective if members attend meetings solely in order to sit them out and hear the speakers listed beforehand. As at the plenary meeting of any Party committee, at a Party meeting all urgent matters must be discussed in depth and seriously. It was of the utmost importance, of course, that the preparations for the Congress were conducted in precisely that way.

The election meetings showed that members of our Party heard and responded to the call of the Central Committee. In most cases they were highly productive. The meetings of primary and shop Party organisations and of Party groups were attended by 96 per cent of the membership. Nearly 10,000,000 people took the floor.

The content of what was said is indicative of the Communists' sense of responsibility for their work, for everything that is being done in the Party and in the country. The meetings, conferences, and congresses exactly assessed the work of elected Party organs. They criticised omissions and shortcomings and made many valuable suggestions.

This, comrades, is the Party's collective mind. This is the Party's single will, an expression of the Communists' unity around the Central Committee.

Democratic centralism is an immutable norm of the life of the Communist Party. And this presupposes, in particular, the closest possible link between the centre and the localities, between the Party's leading organs and its rank and file. Moreover, it is a two-way link.

Letters and suggestions from citizens are an immensely important channel of the Party's living bond with the masses. The people have unbounded confidence in the Party, speak candidly to it of the most pressing issues of public life, work, and everyday life, frankly state their

views and concerns, and criticise existing shortcomings. The Central Committee attaches great significance to work with letters and to prompt response to them. In the period under review this work was considerably improved, owing, in large part, to the formation of a Letters Department in the Central Committee apparatus.

Speaking of letters, of which the CPSU Central Committee receives about 1,500 every day, I must say the following. Many of them are, regretfully, indications of serious omissions in the localities. Many of the questions raised by the people can and should be settled by the heads of industrial enterprises and district and town authorities. It is the duty of every Party functionary, of every leader to the people and the Party to examine letters, requests, and complaints from citizens with tact and consideration.

I emphasise that this concerns letters that are sincere and honest. As regards all sorts of anonymous vilifications, the Party stand is well known: there should be no room for them in our life. Those who come forward with well-founded, businesslike criticism do not have to hide their faces.

Inner-Party briefing is an inalienable element of the Party's democratic life. The CPSU Central Committee kept local Party organs, the Communists broadly and promptly briefed on questions of home and foreign policy and on organisational and ideological work. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and all Party committees began to make more use of information from primary Party organisations. This helps to take public opinion into account and form a clearer idea of the state of affairs in the localities.

A very important matter is to keep all Soviet citizens informed of Party affairs. Publicity in the work of Party organisations is an effective means of strengthening the Party's ties with the masses. We are doing much in this respect, but there are certain things that could probably be improved.

The instructions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU stimulated the extension of **criticism and self-criticism** in the Party. Everything should be done to continue fostering this positive trend, to assert in all Party organisations

a spirit of self-criticism and irreconcilability to shortcomings.

Any attempt at persecution for criticism must be resolutely cut short. Our stand on this question is clearly recorded in the Party Rules. It is also reflected in the Constitution of the USSR. There must be no condoning of those who muzzle criticism—such is the demand of both the Party and the state law.

3. THE PARTY'S WORK IN IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

Comrades, the conditions in which all of us live and work have lately undergone significant changes. The Soviet citizen has changed. He is more knowledgeable and informed, and his intellectual requirements have grown considerably.

At the same time, the resources available to our ideological workers have grown. The newspapers and journals, which have a circulation of 380 million copies, are a dependable channel of day-to-day information. The screens of 75 million TV sets light up daily in our country. And this means that tens of millions of families can get the necessary explanations of the Party's policy and new information, and enrich themselves intellectually and culturally.

On the other hand, the class enemy's propaganda media have become more active and he is stepping up his attempts to exercise a demoralising influence on Soviet people.

Are all these new developments and circumstances being taken fully into account? Are the huge potentialities of our propaganda used to the hilt? There is only one answer to this and it is: Not yet.

In view of this the Party's Central Committee has formulated the **tasks to improve ideological work and political education**. These are spelled out in the CPSU Central Committee's decision of April 26, 1979. This is a long-term document.

In fact, it is a question of restructuring—yes, this was not a slip of the tongue, I said restructuring—many sectors and areas of ideological work. Its content should be more topical and its forms should fall in line with the present-day requirements and needs of Soviet people.

It is very important that propaganda should not shun sensitive issues and should not be afraid to deal with what are termed difficult questions. Our Party's policy is clear. We are prepared to answer any questions that Soviet people want to ask. This must be done with greater courage, bearing in mind that if we do not answer them the enemies of our country will try to take advantage of this to smear socialism.

And another thing. Ideological education must be conducted in a vivid and interesting manner, without stereotype phrases and a standard set of ready-made formulas. The Soviet citizen is an educated and intelligent person. When he is spoken to in a thoughtless, bureaucratic language, when general verbiage is invoked instead of concrete living reality and actual facts, he simply turns off his TV or radio, or sets aside his newspaper.

Our Party has great confidence in the many-thousand-strong contingent of Soviet journalists and highly values their difficult work. Naturally, all of us want our media always to be a true voice of Party and public opinion. Every article in a newspaper or journal and every TV or radio programme should be regarded as an earnest talk with people, who want not only a truthful and prompt exposition of facts but also an in-depth analysis of these facts and serious generalisations. We hope that together with the many millions of contributors to our press, Soviet journalists will always display a high degree of social involvement and sense of responsibility, being guided by the Leninist principles and traditions of Party journalism.

A word of gratitude is also due to the huge number of Communists and non-Party people who carry the Party's thoughts to the people and explain its policies. These are lecturers, propagandists, and agitators. As a rule, they work voluntarily, in their free time. They are doing something that is useful and needed by the people. Heartfelt thanks to them.

At the same time, there is also food for thought here. Have not forms of our mass political work become too fossilised? After all, it was one thing to address people who were inadequately trained and had little education, and another—to speak to the present-day Soviet citizen. Obviously, this should be given thought, and serious

thought at that. If anybody, ideological workers are the ones who should have a high sense for the new.

In the period under review much attention was given to **Party education**.

Nearly 23 million people are studying in the Party education system. A set day for political education has been introduced practically everywhere. The science-and-practice conferences held in recent years in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi, and Chelyabinsk were devoted to exchanges of advanced expertise and to creative quests in the sphere of education. A further impetus to this activity was given in October 1979 by the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers.

We have examples of Party education organised imaginatively in a number of production collectives, for example, in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and the Donets Basin. The experience of conducting seminars on methodological problems of social and natural sciences at the Novosibirsk scientific centre has won wide recognition.

In Party education the main criterion is, I would say, the results it yields. What do we want to achieve? We want Party policy to fuse with the activity of the masses. We want Party education to teach people, to use Lenin's words, "to act in the way communism really demands" (**Collected Works**, Vol. 31, p. 285). In other words, we want actual unity between the Party's ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organisational, and economic work. This is our aim. But this is not always the situation everywhere.

To this day theoretical training at many Party schools and seminars is not adequately tied in with the pressing social and production problems worrying people. Formalism and scholasticism, which reduce people's interest in theoretical study, have not been entirely extirpated.

Evidently, we should, without being carried away by an urge to go on endlessly increasing the number of people attending seminars, resolutely move towards an improvement of the quality of study, of that of the Communists in the first place. This cannot be achieved without a more considered approach to the selection, training, and prompt briefing of our propagandists.

The propagandist is, after all, the principal figure in the system of Party education. It is on him that what seminars, political schools, and universities will be like depends in many ways: whether they will be a place where, more often than not, boredom reigns and people merely sit out the hours designated for them or, on the contrary, they will everywhere become effective centres of live Party thought and word. The attitude of people to Party education depends primarily on the Party's ideological and propaganda activists. People should be eager to attend Party classes to discuss pressing problems of theory and Party policy collectively, get answers to their questions, and widen their theoretical-ideological knowledge.

The Party's ideological and propaganda activists play the paramount role in further developing Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, their creative initiative in carrying out the tasks of communist construction.

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist Party cannot fulfil its role if it does not give due attention to putting into proper perspective all that is taking place, to generalising new phenomena, to **creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory**. We have always regarded this as a task of supreme importance and have given it considerable attention in the period under review as well.

Since the 25th Congress the Party's theoretical armoury has been augmented with a number of significant generalisations and conclusions. Of what has been accomplished in the field of theory, mention must be made, in the first place, of the elaboration of the conception of developed socialism. On the basis of this conception, the Party has spelled out and specified the ways and time limits for the attainment of our programme aims, and defined long-term strategy and tactics.

Party documents and scientific studies of recent years deal with various aspects of mature socialism. Works have been written that analyse the experience of world socialism and show the laws governing the world revolutionary process. Good studies have been written of the history of the international working-class movement, the present stage of capitalism's general crisis, and the development of state-monopoly capitalism. There have

been major advances in the study of present-day international relations.

In short, extensive work has been accomplished and it merits acknowledgement. But far from everything in the sphere of social science is satisfactory. The inclination towards scholastic theorising, mentioned also at the 25th Congress, has not been entirely surmounted. Instead of trying to get to the bottom of new developments quite a few philosophers seek to prove what has already been proved. Many unresolved problems have accumulated in the political economy of socialism. More attention should be given to the social effects of the scientific and technological revolution. Developments in society's political life must be analysed more profoundly and with greater courage. Little is still being done to study public opinion.

These are only some of the questions that have to be tackled.

Comrades, the Central Committee believes there is one more major question of significance to the whole Party that must be brought up for discussion.

In the period under review all the changes in our country and all our actions on the world scene were put into effect in accordance with the Party's programme provisions. On the whole, the present Programme of the CPSU correctly mirrors the laws of social development. But 20 years have passed since it was adopted.

In that time extensive experience has been accumulated of socialist and communist construction in the USSR. This experience incontrovertibly demonstrates that our advance to communism is being accomplished through the stage of a developed socialist society. This, as it has already been noted, is a necessary, natural, and historically long period of the formation of the communist system. This conclusion was drawn and elaborated by the Party in recent years and, unquestionably, it should be duly recorded in the Party Programme.

Evidently, the Programme should clearly identify the changes that have taken place in the structure of our economy and underscore and specify long-term aims.

Needless to say, our point of departure here should be Lenin's precept that the programme establishes only basic

principles, that it is impossible and inappropriate to foretell particulars in it.

New and fundamentally important phenomena and processes have appeared also on the international scene.

In the socialist world these are the steady drawing together of fraternal countries and the development of economic integration. Obviously, lessons should be drawn also from the difficulties encountered in the development of socialist countries.

Moreover, the Party Programme should record such fundamentally important phenomena of international life as the abolition of imperialism's colonial system and the enhanced political role played in the world by dozens of new states, many of which are setting their sights on development in the direction of socialism.

It is evident that some new phenomena in the capitalist world, specifically the features of the present stage of capitalism's general crisis and the rapidly growing role played by the military-industrial complex and the transnational corporations, require study.

Our Party has accumulated vast experience of struggle for peace, for detente. As a result, the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence have been enriched.

In view of what I have said we apparently **should introduce the necessary amendments and additions into the present Programme. If this proposal is approved by the delegates to the Congress, the Central Committee could be instructed to redraft the Programme of the CPSU.**

* * *

Comrades, time flies. At this Congress we shall have to consider the plans of the Party, the plans of the country for the eleventh five-year period and look farther—up to the year 1990. In fact, the make-up of our country at the close of the twentieth century, on the threshold of the third millennium, will depend to a large extent on what we decide during these days.

The twentieth century has brought with it more changes than any previous century. And no country has made a more tangible contribution to these changes than the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the homeland of the Great October Revolution, the first country of triumphant socialism. This is the seventh decade that its invincible Leninist banner has been held aloft.

There is no country or group of countries and no ideological or political school that has not felt the influence of socialism to one extent or another. This is a reality of the closing years of the twentieth century.

New life is not born easily. The road of social progress is hard and sometimes painful. This makes the achievements of socialist society all the more significant and vivid, and the deeds of its builders and defenders all the more impressive.

To our Communist Party, to us Soviet Communists has fallen the enviable role of being at the fountainhead of the socialist transformation of life. To our lot has fallen the honourable mission of safeguarding and upholding peace.

Our aim is communism and it is a majestic aim. Every labour achievement, every year of heroic accomplishment, and every five-year plan brings us nearer to that aim. This is the standpoint from which the Party assesses the coming five-year period. Much will have to be done. The tasks that will have to be fulfilled are big and complex. But we will most definitely carry them out.

Soviet people look to the future with confidence. But their optimism is not the self-confidence of favourites of destiny. Our people know that everything they have has been created by their own labour and protected by their own blood. Also, we are optimists because we have faith in the power of labour, because we have faith in our country, in our people. We are optimists because we have faith in our Party and know that the road it is indicating is the only sure one.

Honour and glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a party of builders of communism!

May our great country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, continue to grow stronger and flourish!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

(L. I. Brezhnev's report was heard with great attention and repeatedly punctuated with prolonged applause).

**RESOLUTION OF THE 26th CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU ON THE REPORT OF
L. I. BREZHNEV—THE REPORT OF THE
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE
26th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND
THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE
PARTY IN HOME AND FOREIGN
POLICY**

*Adopted
on February 26, 1981*

Having heard and discussed the report of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev—the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

1. Wholly and fully to approve the Leninist course and practical activities of the Party Central Committee.
2. To approve the report of the CPSU Central Committee and instruct all Party organisations to be guided in their work by the provisions and tasks in the field of home and foreign policy which were put forward in the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

RESOLUTION OF THE 26th CPSU CONGRESS ON REDRAFTING THE CPSU PROGRAMME

Adopted on February 26, 1981

In view of the fact that 20 years have passed since the present Programme of the CPSU was adopted and that in this period extensive experience of socialist and communist construction has been accumulated and there have been new changes and developments on the international scene, the 26th CPSU Congress decrees:

That the CPSU Central Committee be instructed to make the necessary amendments and additions to the present Party Programme, which, on the whole, correctly defines the laws of world social development and the aims and fundamental tasks of the struggle of the Party and the Soviet people for communism, and to prepare a new draft of the CPSU Programme for the next Party congress.

In this connection the very important changes in the life of Soviet society and in world social development, and the major tasks of communist construction must find profound and scientific expression in the Programme.

GUIDELINES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1981-1985 AND FOR THE PERIOD ENDING IN 1990

Report by N. A. Tikhonov, Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the USSR

February 27, 1981

Comrades Delegates,

The atmosphere at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is one of creativity, efficiency and unity. The delegates to the Congress, our Party, and the entire Soviet people see the Central Committee Report delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as a document of immense historic significance.

Comrade Brezhnev profoundly examined the many-sided activity of the Central Committee and the titanic work being done by the Party and the people to strengthen our country's economic might and security, improve the life of Soviet people, and safeguard and consolidate peace.

The Report is an outstanding creative contribution to the development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and to the scientific substantiation of the general line being pursued by the Party in the period of developed socialism. It vividly shows the lofty aims and noble ideals to which the Communist Party, founded by Lenin, has pledged itself.

The Report embodies our Party's wisdom and high sense of responsibility for the country's destiny, and the united will of the more than 17 million Communists and all Soviet people. Unanimously approved by the Congress as a guide to action, it mobilises the Party and the people for the fulfilment of new tasks and shows the inspiring prospects of communist construction.

Our Party's time-tested home and foreign policy has been confirmed by life. We have every reason, comrades, to say that this is the only true, Leninist policy.

An outstanding part in elaborating and implementing this policy is played by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. The Party and the people see in Comrade Brezhnev a wise and tried leader confidently heading our mighty country's advance towards communism.

With every five-year plan our tasks grow bigger and more complex. Evidence of this is the draft of the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, submitted to the 26th Congress by the Party's Central Committee.

This draft was drawn up on the basis of the decisions of the 24th and 25th Congresses and of plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Guidelines generalise the practice of building communism in the USSR, take into account the experience of other socialist countries, sum up the results of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, set the targets for economic and social development in the next five years and in the period up to 1990, and work out a set of measures for their attainment.

The draft is permeated with concern for the well-being of Soviet people, for the further prospering and strengthening of our socialist homeland. This purpose is served by the development of material production, the growth of its efficiency, progress in science and technology, the expansion of foreign economic relations, and the improvement of management of the national economy.

The keen and businesslike discussion of the draft in the media, in work collectives, at Party meetings and conferences, and at congresses of the communist parties of the Union republics strikingly demonstrated the vitality of socialist democracy and the unbreakable unity between the Party and the people.

Valuable suggestions, additions and amendments enriching this important document were made in the course of the nationwide discussion.

There has been a considerable response to the draft of the Guidelines abroad. Our friends see it as further

convincing proof of the triumph of the ideals and practice of real socialism. They share our joy in our labour achievements and cordially wish Soviet people new successes.

It is indicative that many realistically-minded politicians and businessmen in the West note the peaceful tenor of our plans, the constant striving of the Party and the Soviet people for lasting peace in the world.

As regards the attacks on the socialist economic system, the slanderous inventions of those hostile to us that the Soviet economy is in a state of "crisis", they are refuted by life.

In contrast to capitalist society with its acute social contradictions, unemployment and inflation, crises and recessions, and the escalating arms race, socialism presents society's socio-political and ideological unity, concern for working people, the advantages of the socialist system of economy, economic planning, and a policy of curbing the arms race.

In this confrontation of two worlds—the socialist and the capitalist—socialism has the advantage of a stable economic growth, steadily rising living and cultural standards, the correctness of Marxist-Leninist ideas, social justice, lofty humanism, genuine democracy, and our socialist way of life whose motto is: All for the sake of man, all for the good of man. The future belongs to socialism.

I. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE GROWTH OF THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING IN THE PERIOD OF THE TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, the direction of the country's economic and social development during the Tenth Five-Year Plan was entirely in accord with the line charted by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU. As a result all areas and aspects of Soviet society's life developed dynamically.

The people's well-being rose and there was a growth of the country's production, scientific and technological potential. The socio-political and ideological unity of the people was further consolidated, the alliance of the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia and the inviolable friendship among all the nations and ethnic groups grew stronger, and socialist democracy was deepened.

The great achievements of the society of developed socialism are inscribed in the new Constitution of the USSR.

The USSR's cooperation with fraternal socialist countries has expanded and acquired a richer content.

The international prestige of the Soviet state is exceptionally high and it is exerting great influence on world developments.

We can say with a sense of deep gratification that the Tenth Five-Year Plan period was one of great achievements by our Party and people. A further stride was taken along the road of communist construction. We can be proud of this, comrades.

Turning to specific indicators characterising the country's development, it should be noted, above all, that during the past five years there has been a dramatic growth in the scale of our economy and large absolute increments in production. Compared with the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the national income grew by 400,000 million roubles and industrial output by 717,000 million roubles.

The chemical, petrochemical, electronics, production of automation facilities and control systems, instrument making and automobile industries developed at priority rates. The output of up-to-date equipment was increased.

Fixed assets totalling 588,000 million roubles were put in operation. Over 1,200 large industrial enterprises were built.

The fuel and energy complex continued to expand. Having a good raw-material basis and a modern engineering industry, we made considerable advances in nuclear-power production. Work continued on building the Integrated Power Grid of the USSR, which now covers a territory with a population of over 220 million. There is now a nationwide Integrated Gas Supply System; the length of its trunk pipelines has grown by 64,000 kilometres, or doubled, in the past two five-year plan periods.

From the rostrum of the 25th Congress Comrade Brezhnev spoke with great warmth of the splendid people who accomplished a great feat of labour in the harsh conditions of Western Siberia—they built and developed the nation's largest fuel and energy base. Inspired by the Party's high assessment of their work the Siberians more than doubled the output of oil (including gas condensate) and increased the output of gas by 330 per cent in the period between the 25th and 26th Congresses. This is yet another heroic feat for the good of the country and a worthy gift to the 26th Congress.

Large-scale measures were implemented in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period to secure a further growth of agriculture. Over 170,000 million roubles was allocated for the development of this branch. Our industry has begun to satisfy agriculture's need for machines and chemical fertilizers to a fuller extent. Industries specialising in rural construction, land reclamation and water engineering, in manufacturing machinery for livestock breeding and feed production, and agricultural microbiology continued to develop.

The consolidation of agriculture's material basis and the implementation of important socio-economic measures create a good foundation for the further growth of farm output.

Despite the unfavourable weather during three of the five years farm output went up by an average 9 per cent

annually. The mean annual grain output over the five years reached 205 million tons for the first time, increasing by over 23 million tons compared with the average in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The mean annual cotton output rose by more than a million tons. In 1980 the cotton crop amounted to nearly 10 million tons. The output of other agricultural produce likewise increased.

The Party consistently pursued a policy of achieving higher living and cultural standards. Per capita real incomes rose. Towards the close of the past five-year period nearly half of the population had a monthly income of over 100 roubles per member of the family; in 1970 such an income was earned by only 18 per cent of the population.

Average wages and salaries rose by almost 16 per cent and the incomes of the collective farmers from collective farming grew by 26 per cent. There were pay rises for certain categories of workers in such key industries as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal, textiles, construction, agriculture, and the railways. Wage and salary rates were increased for all workers in non-production industries.

Housing construction proceeded on a large scale. During the tenth five-year period over 50 million people received better housing.

More money was spent from the social consumption funds for education, health, material security for labour veterans, and other social needs. Pensions for collective farmers, workers of a number of industries and for disabled persons were increased. A number of additional benefits were introduced for veterans of the Great Patriotic War. All this shows that in our country working people and war heroes are honoured, universally respected and are constantly cared for by the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

All our achievements are the result of the immense work by the people, of the selfless efforts of the working people of all the fraternal republics, who in their day-to-day life are accomplishing truly historic deeds and raising the country to new levels of progress.

We Communists are very proud of our heroic working class, of our glorious collective farmers, of our talented people's intelligentsia.

We are proud that the cause of the Party of Lenin, the cause of communism, has become the cause of our entire people. This is the source of our strength and invincibility. Led by the Leninist Party the Soviet people are confidently advancing along the road of communist construction.

While assessing at its true worth what has been achieved in the period of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, the Party sees difficulties and shortcomings. I am referring first of all to the fact that we did not succeed in solving, as required, the tasks of boosting labour productivity, accelerated development of certain branches of the national economy, and of putting an end to the scattering of capital investments. Resources were not always used efficiently. This was very forcefully stated in the CPSU Central Committee Report and in the speeches of delegates.

The main reason for the difficulties and shortcomings, for the bottlenecks in the economy is, as was noted in the Central Committee Report, that we have not entirely done away with the force of inertia, the traditions and habits left over from the period when the emphasis was not so much on quality as on quantity.

What the Party demands today is basically that maximum use should be made of the advantages of the socialist economic system, of the enormous economic potentials and resources, that there should be a transition to intensification, higher efficiency and better quality of production. On the basis of what has been achieved in economic construction, this will allow the overcoming of difficulties and the ensuring of a further growth of the economy in the next five and subsequent years, and the successful achievement of the targets that will be set by the Congress.

II. MAIN TARGETS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ELEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PERIOD

Comrades, as it enters the 1980s, the Party puts forward a scientifically-based programme for the country's further economic and social development. It has been comprehensively substantiated theoretically and politically in the Central Committee Report to the 26th Party Congress and is given specific embodiment in the draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990.

The targets for the new five-year period are defined in the context of the prospects for a ten-year period. This makes it possible to ensure continuity in the implementation of the economic policy, correctly to chart the immediate and longer-term targets, and to define the ways and means of resolving the economy's key problems. This is an important step in the further improvement of our planning.

The cardinal aim that the Party is setting for the eleventh five-year period is to ensure a further rise of the Soviet people's living standards through steady, continuing economic development, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the economy's transition to intensive development, a more rational utilisation of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all kinds of resources, and an improvement of the quality of work.

The following figures characterise the development of the key sectors of the national economy in the eleventh five-year period:

| | Growth in 1976-1980 (per cent) | Growth for 1981-1985 planned in draft Guidelines (per cent) |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| Industrial output of which: | 24 | 26-28 |
| Group A | 26 | 26-28 |
| Group B | 21 | 27-29 |
| Agricultural produce (average annual)* | 9 | 12-14 |
| Freight carried by rail | 6 | 14-15 |
| Capital investments* | 29 | 12-15 |
| State and cooperative retail trade | 24 | 22-25 |

* Increment over preceding five-year period.

In assessing these figures it may be noted with gratification that stable economic growth rates have been planned for the next five years. This will allow increasing the national income increment used for consumption and accumulation by 18-20 per cent.

PROGRAMME FOR RAISING THE PEOPLE'S LIVING AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

Concern for the well-being of the people has always been and will remain the supreme goal of the Communist Party's policy and all its practical activities.

In the eleventh five-year period the Party plans to put into effect a broad range of measures aimed at consistently boosting the people's well-being, creating ever more favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual, for highly productive work, for building up the health of Soviet people and providing them with better facilities for rest and leisure, and promoting education, science and culture, in fact, everything that comprises our socialist way of life.

The proportion of the consumption fund in the national income is to be increased. Real per capita incomes will rise by 16-18 per cent.

In raising the people's living standards, one of the key measures will be to ensure fuller satisfaction of the population's effective demand for various goods and services. The turnover of state and cooperative trade will increase by 22-25 per cent.

A food programme and a programme for the development of consumer goods production are being drawn up and will be implemented. This will help to increase the supply of meat, milk, fruit and other products to the population. Larger quantities of various kinds of cotton, woollen, silk and flax fabrics and articles made of them, knitted underwear and garments, goods for children, recreational and household goods, and other articles of everyday use will be sold. It is planned to extend and renew the range of consumer goods, improve their quality, and increase the sale of new and fashionable as well as inexpensive good-quality products. Moreover, the policy of ensuring stability of state retail prices on basic food and non-food products is to be pursued consistently. Much is to be done to develop and improve the work of the distributive, catering, and public service industries, in fact, of the entire range of services.

The cash incomes of the population will also continue to grow. Average wages and salaries are to rise by 13-16 per cent. The size of pay must be made more dependent on the end result of the work of collectives and each person. With the creation of the necessary conditions and the accumulation of resources there is to be a gradual rise of the minimum monthly pay to 80 roubles, and of other wages and salaries, mainly in the production branches of the national economy.

Other centralised measures will include regional increments to wages and salaries in the Urals and in some areas of Kazakhstan for categories of factory and office workers for whom such increments have not been established; long-service increments in the southern areas of the Soviet Far East and Eastern Siberia; larger increments for night work in some industries.

In 1985 pay rises are to amount to roughly 10,000 million roubles.

The incomes of collective farmers are to grow by 20-22 per cent. Taking into account the incomes from personal

subsidiary holdings, this will bring their incomes closer to those of factory and office workers.

As you all know, a wide range of measures of great practical significance for each Soviet family are financed by our state through social consumption funds. In 1985 these funds will amount to 138,000 million roubles, or approximately 2,000 roubles per family of four on average.

The Party's Central Committee and the Government have worked out and consider it expedient to put into effect in the next five and subsequent years a new set of measures to improve the life of mothers and the rising generation and to this end to increase state aid to families with children and to newly-weds. These measures provide for raising the incomes of families with children, improving their housing, particularly of young families, further enlarging the network of preschool institutions so that every family can avail itself of their services, increasing the amount of free time mothers have and creating better conditions for the upbringing of children.

At the first stage—in the coming five-year period—more than 9,000 million roubles are to be allocated to implement the measures to provide more state aid for families with children; these measures will be put into effect gradually, by regions. These funds are to be used to introduce, in 1981-1983, a partially paid leave for mothers for the care of a baby until it reaches the age of one. Subsequently this leave is to be extended to one and a half years.

It is planned to introduce state allowances of 50 roubles on the birth of the first child and 100 roubles on the birth of the second and third child, and also to lengthen by three days the annual leave of working women who have two or more children under the age of 12. In 1981 there is to be an increase in the monthly allowance to unmarried mothers.

Mother and child care in our country is truly a matter of state importance. The new decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR is further convincing evidence that our Party and state are steadfastly abiding by Lenin's behest that the best should be given to children.

In the next five years there is to be an improvement of the living conditions of labour veterans on retirement, an increase of the minimum retirement and disability pen-

sions for factory and office workers and collective farmers, loss-of-breadwinner pensions, and some pensions granted earlier. New measures are to be implemented to improve the material and living conditions of veterans of the Great Patriotic War.

Within the next five years the state is to allocate an additional sum of nearly 6,000 million roubles to improve the social security of the population.

It is estimated that increased state aid to families with children and larger pensions will raise the incomes of approximately 50 million Soviet citizens.

Concern for people's health is a distinctive feature of our society. The next five years will see the building of new polyclinics and hospitals and better supply of technology, instruments, and equipment for medical institutions. More attention is to be given to prevention of disease and to regular preventive medical check-ups, of children in the first place.

Priority is now given to improving the quality of the medical services. Their standard will improve due to the use of scientific and technological achievements, modern methods of diagnostics and treatment, and of effective medicines in medical practice. To be sure, the standard of the medical services depends largely on the professional skill, knowledge, tact, and kindness of doctors, nurses, and other staff to everybody in need of assistance. The health agencies and the personnel of medical institutions should give unflagging attention to improving qualifications and to instilling high moral qualities, without which the medical profession is inconceivable.

The organisation of rest and leisure, tourism, and excursion services will continue to be developed and improved. Better facilities are being made available for parents to spend their leave together with their children at health and holiday homes.

Physical culture and sport will figure more prominently in the day-to-day life of Soviet people. The best possible use should be made of the existing sports facilities, regardless of what organisation they belong to. This should be attended to by the Soviets of People's Deputies, ministries and departments, economic agencies, trade unions, the YCL, and sports organisations.

As in previous years, housing construction is to

continue on a large scale in the next five years. During that time it is planned to build 530,000,000-540,000,000 sq. m of housing. Here priority must be given to areas under development and to rural localities. We plan to complete the transition to the building of houses according to standard designs with an improved lay-out and finish of flats. In the next five years new state-built housing is to be distributed mainly on the principle of providing families with separate flats.

The draft provides for a system of steps to promote education and enhance the role played by socialist culture and art in enriching the intellectual life of Soviet people.

Considerable significance is attached to improving the training of personnel and to training more specialists in new areas of science and technology. The task of institutions of higher learning, of secondary and vocational schools is constantly to improve the educational process and actively to instil a sense of civic duty and the communist outlook in the rising generation.

The steps to develop television, radio and publishing and improve the work of cultural and educational institutions will also contribute to the fuller and all-round satisfaction of cultural needs.

In speaking of the programme for social development for the coming years it must be emphasised that this programme attaches special significance to improving working conditions, and to doing everything to reduce the amount of manual, unskilled, and arduous work and make it easier. Increasing the degree of mechanisation in freight handling and storage will allow a saving of the labour of from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 people in 1985.

Work is the main sphere of human activity and it is important to go on enriching its content and making it more creative.

Concrete concern for concrete people, their needs and requirements is, as Comrade Brezhnev noted, the alpha and omega of our economic policy. The great significance of what the Party of Lenin is doing lies in the fact that it has always fought and worked in the name of a better life and the happiness of working people. Soviet people are confident that this line will continue to be followed.

UTMOST ENHANCEMENT OF EFFICIENCY IN PRODUCTION—ONE OF THE CARDINAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TASKS

Comrades, we can put into effect the vast and multi-faceted programme for improving the people's well-being only by expanding material production and making it more effective.

Maximising in every way the efficiency of production is a basic principle of contemporary economic development, a most important economic and political task at the present stage of communist construction.

In terms of historical scale, significance and implications, the regearing of our national economy along the lines of intensive development may rightly be placed alongside such a very profound change as socialist industrialisation which radically altered the face of the country.

As Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, everything—accelerating scientific and technological progress, perfecting the structure of social production, improving planning and management, and raising the standards of economic activity—must be subordinated to the aim of making the economy more intensive and achieving higher production output with smaller input and less resources. Such an approach to the matter by the Party's Central Committee has met with the wholehearted approval of our Congress. It has the support of the entire Party and the entire Soviet people.

In the 1980s we should complete the switchover of the economy to intensification, implement new measures to further improve the efficiency of socialist production, and the Eleventh Five-Year Plan can and must take a big stride forward in this respect.

The draft Guidelines submitted to the Congress for consideration were drawn up in the belief that the tremendous production potential built up by many generations of Soviet men and women has to be utilised more fully.

A distinctive feature of the plan for the next five years is that it provides for the priority growth of ultimate economic results compared with the increase of manpower and material expenditure, including capital invest-

ment. Steps are envisaged to ensure the most rational utilisation of all the available resources.

The principal factor in economic growth is increasing labour productivity. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan the productivity of social labour must be increased by 17-20 per cent. This is to account for no less than 85-90 per cent of the growth of the national income. It is necessary to ensure much higher growth rates of labour productivity in industry, agriculture, construction and railway transport than those of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY INCREMENT (per cent)

| | 1976-1980 | 1981-1985 as planned in draft Guidelines |
|--|-----------|---|
| In industry | 17 | 23-25 |
| In agriculture (collective farming; annual average as compared with previous five years) | 15 | 22-24 |
| In construction | 11 | 15-17 |
| On the railways | 0.5 | 10-12 |

In all branches of the economy it is essential in every way to create proper conditions for highly productive work, to accelerate integrated mechanisation and automation in every way, persistently introduce team-based organisation of work, improve rate-setting and enhance the incentive role of pay. Steps should be taken to increase production at existing enterprises with the same or fewer personnel. Attention should also be given to making more rational use of manpower in the non-productive sphere.

In the coming period, as it was pointed out in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee, it will become particularly important in our economic development to reduce the consumption of materials per unit of output, and to make economical use of raw materials, fuel, energy, metal, cement, chemical fertilizers and other materials. It must be borne in mind that maintaining and even increasing the volume of production of raw materials, fuel and power resources is costing more and more. To meet these requirements we have to move to the less settled and more remote areas of the north and the

east. The saving of every ton of oil, coal and metal is having an ever greater effect, and the damage caused by their irrational use is becoming more tangible. Yet we are not always able, for the present, to handle material values thriftily and we incur big losses.

In the coming five years radical improvements have to be made here. There are to be tight restrictions on the use of all resources. Every ministry, Union republics and enterprises will be assigned targets for the economical use of these resources. The next five years should see a saving of 160-170 million tons of fuel and energy (in equivalent units) in the national economy. In engineering and metal-working per unit consumption of rolled steel is to be reduced by at least 18-20 per cent, of steel pipes by 10-12 per cent, and of rolled non-ferrous metals by 9-11 per cent. Targets are being set for the saving of timber, cement, and other materials.

It is particularly important to expedite the solution of problems linked with improving the utilisation of scrap metal. In this connection it is planned for districts where metal scrap accumulates to have small metallurgical works using metal waste.

The targets for economising fuel, raw materials and other materials, manpower and financial resources should be regarded by ministries and departments, by enterprises and organisations as minimal and mandatory. At all levels of the economy and in all its branches a set of measures should be worked out and implemented for saving resources, including the use of advanced equipment, technology that produces little or no waste, and for broad dissemination of foremost experience. The scale of our production being what it is, this is not only a major source of saving social labour and natural wealth, but an express condition for balancing production, material resources and the demand for them.

One of the key tasks of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is the fuller and more effective use of fixed production assets. They are growing rapidly, but the proper returns on them in many cases elude us. The plant in use often operates at less than full capacity. In the engineering industry the shift index of metal-working equipment is 1.35. The fixed assets at operating enterprises are being modernised slowly. Moreover, the newly-introduced

equipment, while being more expensive, in some cases differs little in technical and economic parameters from the old equipment.

The fixed assets at many collective and state farms are not being used rationally enough. Because of poor operation, maintenance and storage machinery at times quickly becomes unserviceable and is written off before its rated service life has expired.

The rate of return on investment and other economic indicators are adversely affected by delays in bringing new production plant to full capacity.

We have to make appreciable headway in increasing capital investment productivity. The planned growth of the national income in the five-year period should be ensured with a lower growth of capital investment, in both absolute and relative terms, than in the previous five years. More vigorous action is needed to put into effect the directives of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Brezhnev's instructions on determined steps against the scattering of capital investment, on concentrating it in the most important sectors of industrial and agricultural production and in start-up projects, and on cutting the duration of new project construction.

Special mention should be made of capital investment in the reconstruction and technical modernisation of existing enterprises. Funds allocated for these purposes are, on average, repaid three times faster than when creating similar production capacities through new construction, and manpower requirements are also reduced. The proportion of funds for reconstruction in the sum-total of capital investment should be increased considerably. The State Planning Committee of the USSR, ministries and departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics should carefully consider these matters again and again in fixing the targets of the five-year plan.

An efficient economy also means high-quality products, and improved consumer and technical-and-economic standards. Recent years have seen definite advances in this direction, but they cannot satisfy us. The quality of all types of industrial and agricultural products should be improved, and the range of goods has to be

continually expanded and renewed in keeping with the requirements of scientific and technological progress, and also with the mounting demands of the population. An important role should be played by the introduction of integrated systems of controlling the quality of output, and by the improvement of the standards and technical specifications of finished products, components, raw materials and other materials.

The switchover to efficiency and quality is linked organically by the Party with work to improve production on the basis of modern science and technology. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan sets the task of speeding the technological modernisation of production and of striving for the fastest possible development and universal introduction of fundamentally new machinery and materials and for the large-scale use of highly efficient and energy-and-material-saving technology.

The rate of machinery renewal is to be increased by about 50 per cent, and enterprises must not be allowed to manufacture products of obsolescent design, whose use yields no tangible gain in labour productivity. The system of evaluating the technical standards of machinery and plant has to be tightened. To assure the timely phasing out of obsolete plant from production it may, perhaps, be expedient to fix time limits for the manufacture of such equipment and introduce heavier penalties for the production of outdated models.

The role of science in the development of present-day production is continuing to grow. The draft Guidelines formulate the task of making scientific research more effective, substantially reducing the time needed to introduce the achievements of science and technology, and strengthening the links of basic and applied research with production. It is the duty of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology and all ministries and departments to make rational use of the funds allocated for science, to concentrate them in priority directions, and more effectively to coordinate the activities of scientific institutions with a view to the speedier adoption of the results of scientific research. It is necessary to extend the drafting and implementation of comprehensive special-purpose programmes. Such an approach will make it possible to

rally the efforts of scientists, industrial specialists and the staff of planning bodies and ministries to cope with major scientific and technological problems. Research-and-production associations which have proved so effective a form of combining science and production are to be further promoted. Each of these associations should become a major centre for developing and manufacturing new high-grade products, and for improving production technology and organisation.

The tasks facing us in improving efficiency and quality are of great scale and complexity, but we are convinced that persistent and purposeful work by economic agencies, Party organisations, Soviets of People's Deputies, trade unions, the YCL, and work collectives will bring about their successful fulfilment.

KEY ASPECTS IN DEVELOPING BRANCHES OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION

Comrades, the draft Guidelines indicate the ways of developing branches of material production, of improving the structure of the national economy and the location of the productive forces. I shall consider some of them.

A fundamental distinction of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is a higher growth rate of the "B" group industries compared with that of the "A" group industries.

In the eleventh five-year period it is planned to increase output of consumer goods as follows:

| | Unit of measurement | 1980 | 1985 | Increase in 1981-1985 (per cent) |
|---|-----------------------|------|---------|----------------------------------|
| Output of food industries | 1,000 million roubles | 100 | 123-126 | 23-26 |
| including: | | | | |
| meat (with byproducts of 1st quality) | | | | |
| made of raw materials from state stocks | million tons | 8.3 | 11.1 | 34 |

| | Unit of measurement | 1980 | 1985 | Increase in 1981-1985 (per cent) |
|--|--|-------|---------|----------------------------------|
| whole milk products made of raw materials from state stocks in terms of milk | million tons | 24.87 | 28.3 | 14 |
| Output of light industry including: | 1,000 million roubles | 100 | 118-120 | 18-20 |
| fabrics | 1,000 million sq.m | 10.7 | 12.7 | 19 |
| knitted goods | million pieces | 1,622 | 2,060 | 27 |
| leather footwear | million pairs | 744.3 | 830 | 11.5 |
| Recreational and household goods | 1,000 million roubles at retail prices | 43.5 | 61.0 | at least 40 |

The accelerated growth of the "B" group is a matter of great importance. Party and government agencies, ministries and departments, managers and personnel of enterprises should bend every effort to expanding the production of goods for the population and substantially improving their quality. What is particularly important here is to display initiative and perseverance and to make fuller use of all the available potentialities and reserves both in the light and food industries and in the heavy industry. Local resources should also be put to better use to increase the production of consumer goods. It is a matter of the honour and professional pride of all those who produce goods for the population to manufacture good-quality and attractive products which bring joy and contentment to people's homes.

A decisive role in advancing the national economy and securing good end results is played by the basic industries: the electric-power, metallurgical, chemical, and engineering industries.

The growth of output of the key items in the basic industries provided for in the eleventh five-year period is shown by the following figures:

| | Unit of measurement | 1980 | 1985 | Increase in 1981-1985 (per cent) |
|---|-----------------------|-------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| Electric power | 1,000 million kwh | 1,295 | 1,550-1,600 | 20-24 |
| Oil (incl. gas condensate) | million tons | 603 | 620-645 | 3-7 |
| Gas | 1,000 million cu.m | 435 | 600-640 | 38-47 |
| Coal | million tons | 716.4 | 770-800 | 7-12 |
| Rolled steel | million tons | 103 | 117-120 | 14-17 |
| Products of engineering and metal-working | 1,000 million roubles | 179 | 250 | at least 40 |
| Mineral fertilizer: in equivalent units | million tons | 104 | 150-155 | 44-49 |
| in terms of 100% nutrients | million tons | 24.8 | 36-37 | 45-49 |
| Synthetic resins and plastics | million tons | 3.64 | 6-6.25 | 65-72 |
| Chemical fibre and thread | thousand tons | 1,176 | 1,600 | 36 |
| Cement (excl. output of inter-sectoral organisations) | million tons | 124 | 140-142 | 13-15 |

The growth of the country's economic potential depends to a large extent on its mineral and raw material resources situation. Under the new five-year plan, geological exploration is to be conducted still more persistently and on a wider scale. It is our duty—no matter how great our natural resources may be—to conduct a constant search for the most rational ways of extracting them and utilising them economically.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will mark the first stage in implementing the energy programme of the USSR, which is being worked out at Comrade Brezhnev's initiative. Prime significance is attached in it to the rapid development, above all in Western Siberia, of the gas industry, which has assured reserves of raw material. Under the new five-year plan Western Siberia is to account for the entire increase in gas production.

Big and complex tasks will have to be accomplished in the eleventh five-year period by the workers in the oil industry.

Electric power production is to be increased chiefly by using nuclear fuel, hydropower resources, and coal in the eastern parts of the country. It is planned that in 1981-1985 nuclear and hydropower plants will account for more than 70 per cent of the rise in electric power generation, and in the European part of the country they will account for almost the entire production increase. Big thermal power projects are to be based on the cheap coal extracted by open-cast mining in the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz coalfields.

In the coming years it is proposed to initiate a fundamentally new trend in the centralised heat supply of big cities by building several big nuclear heat plants, each capable of providing an assured heat supply to a city with a population of many thousands without polluting the environment.

As a matter of national economic importance the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the State Committee of the USSR for Science and Technology, the Ministry of the Coal Industry, and other ministries and departments should take a timely and comprehensive decision on all the matters connected with the task formulated by Comrade Brezhnev—organising the production of liquid fuel from Kansk-Achinsk coal. We must conduct a more vigorous search for new and effective energy sources and strive to make rational use of them.

The further growth of fuel and power production and the improvement of the fuel-and-power budget will make possible a substantial advance in the electrification of all branches of the national economy and of everyday life.

In developing metallurgy, along with the rise in the output of metal, still more determined steps will be taken to improve the quality of metal and boost the output of more effective types of metal product. One of the most important tasks is to reduce the consumption of rolled steel per unit of end product in industry and construction. This will be accomplished by improving the quality and extending the range of rolled stock and increasing the output of sections requiring minimal further machining.

There is to be a considerable increase in the production of powder metals, whose use is proving highly effective in the national economy.

These measures, and also the improvement of machine design and metal-working technology, together with the more extensive use of chemical and other structural materials, will make it possible to save eight million tons of rolled steel in the engineering industry and another two million in construction in 1985.

To ensure an improvement in the quality of metal products, it is necessary to continue the substantial technical modernisation of metallurgical enterprises and the introduction of advanced technological processes.

Improving the quality of metal products is part of the more general problem of securing cardinal advances in the field of structural materials where the proportion of aluminium, other non-ferrous metals and precision alloys is to grow. The production of semi-conductor, extra-pure, and other materials with better characteristics is to be expanded. There are to be increases in the manufacture of plastics, bonded wooden structures, hardboard, cardboard, and other products of the chemical, woodworking, and pulp-and-paper industries.

The technical modernisation of the national economy and its intensification place extremely challenging problems before engineering. The draft Guidelines call for at least a 40 per cent increase in the output of that industry in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan period. There are to be increases in the output of power engineering, the heavy industry, transport, chemical, oil, and agricultural engineering industries, tool-making, instrument-making, electrical engineering, and machine-building for the light and food industries.

The engineering industry is itself to be made more efficient by improvements in its technology, greater specialisation, and a better complement of metal-working equipment. More attention should be given to expanding and concentrating the manufacture of general engineering products.

But what is most important, of course, is improving the quality and renewing the engineering industry's output. The need for machines and plant for the mechani-

sation and automation of production in all areas of the national economy must be satisfied more fully.

There is to be a considerable expansion of the production of control mini-computers as components of basic technological equipment, instruments, and various control and monitoring systems and facilities. Unit power of assemblies and installations is to be increased, their working life extended and their reliability and efficiency enhanced. More automatic manipulators (industrial robots) are to be built.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan calls for a big step forward in the technical modernisation of the oil, gas, light, food and other industries. Work is to be completed, in the main, on developing machine systems for the integrated mechanisation of building and land-improvement work. The range of mechanisms for agricultural machine systems is being enlarged.

It is proposed to speed up the development and manufacture of more efficient machines which make it possible to achieve the maximum saving of raw materials, fuel and energy resources. For reusable energy sources in metal manufacturing, chemical and other industries to be utilised more effectively it is envisaged to enlarge the production of recovery boilers by 60 per cent. There is to be a 90 per cent rise in the production of diesel trucks with a resulting substantial saving of fuel.

While on the subject of engineering, I would like to mention another matter. This industry has a duty not just to produce up-to-date machinery, but also vigorously help to ensure its efficient performance in the hands of the consumer. This requires the broad participation of engineering enterprises in assembling sophisticated equipment during the construction process, and measures for radically improving its maintenance and centralised repair by the manufacturer as well as for more fully meeting the demand of industrial enterprises and collective and state farms for spare parts.

Work is to be continued in the new five-year period to ensure the interrelated and balanced development of the branches of economy that form the integrated agro-industrial complex. Nearly one-third of the total capital investment in the national economy is to be used for its development and improvement, much of this directly to

boost farm production. This is dictated by the immense importance of this sector of the economy in solving the food problem.

In the eleventh five-year period the following growth of produce is planned for in agriculture:

| | Unit of measurement | Average annual output in 1976-1980 | Average annual output in 1981-1985 | Average annual increase in 1981-1985 (per cent) |
|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| Grain | million tons | 205.0 | 238-243 | 16-19 |
| Sugar beet | million tons | 88.4 | 100-103 | 13-16 |
| Sunflower seed | million tons | 5.32 | 6.8 | 28 |
| Raw cotton | million tons | 8.9 | 9.2-9.3 | 3-4 |
| Meat (slaughter weight) | million tons | 14.8 | 17-17.5 | 15-18 |
| Milk | million tons | 92.6 | 97-99 | 5-7 |
| Eggs | 1,000 million | 63.1 | 72 | 14 |
| Vegetables | million tons | 26.0 | 29.4 | 13 |
| Fruit and berries | million tons | 9.4 | 11.5 | 22 |
| Wool | thousand tons | 460 | 470-480 | 2-4 |

The targets for increasing agricultural produce are very high. Achieving them will require considerably improving the utilisation of the allocated resources, and further increasing farm production and making it more efficient.

The most important tasks are those of increasing grain production, radically improving fodder production and expanding livestock farming on this basis, and taking steps to reduce losses of farm produce and to improve its quality.

Per capita increase of agricultural production is to be twice that of the previous five years. To secure this requires better use of land, further promoting the specialisation and concentration of farm production, further strengthening the material and technical basis of agriculture, and continuing its transition to industrial lines and advanced technologies. It is envisaged to raise the level of mechanisation of agricultural work, first and foremost, at livestock farms. The power per worker ratio

on the collective and state farms will go up in the five-year period by 50 per cent, and the assets per worker ratio, by 40 per cent. The supply of new machinery is to increase. Collective and state farms are to receive many more powerful tractors and trucks. In the new five-year period it is necessary to remedy the situation with regard to the quality of farm machinery, which at present gives rise to quite a number of complaints and which must be made to meet the most stringent requirements.

Our industry is steadily increasing the production and supply of collective and state farms with chemical fertilizers and crop-protection chemicals. The eleventh five-year period is to see a nearly 50 per cent rise in the production of chemical fertilizers. The chemical industry workers must see to it that more ballast-free and compound fertilizers are produced. At the same time it is necessary to improve the manner in which chemical fertilizers are used and distributed. The most important thing here is to achieve the maximum effect, to make sure that the farms getting greater supplies of chemical fertilizers increase the production and sale of agricultural produce accordingly. The State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics must study this problem and find a correct solution to it from the standpoint of the national interest.

A similar approach would also be correct in utilising land improvement funds.

In speaking of fodder supply for livestock farming it is necessary to stress the great importance of utilising the resources of feed grain more effectively. In the eleventh five-year period it is proposed to make cattle feed more balanced in terms of protein and other nutrients. This is to be achieved through a quicker expansion of the cultivation of feed grain, pulses, and other high-protein crops, of the output of microbiological synthesis products, through eliminating nutrient losses in feed and developing the feed industry.

I would like to dwell specifically on the problems of farm produce preservation. Up to now there have been losses of grain, potatoes and other vegetables, meat and milk all along the line from production to consumption. No small amounts of chemical fertilizers and feed are also

lost. To improve the conditions of produce storage and to reduce losses it is proposed to set aside, in the new five-year plan, 15,000 million roubles in capital investment, or 60 per cent more than in the previous one. This money is to be used to build granaries, refrigerators, vegetable and feed storages, and other facilities. But success in cutting losses depends to an enormous extent on the organisation of work and a conscientious, thrifty attitude to its fruits, and this must be uppermost in our minds.

An important role in advancing agriculture is assigned to science. The efforts of scientists must be directed at achieving the maximum rise in soil fertility and crop yields and at improving seed farming. New heavy productive varieties of grain crops, cotton, sugar beet and sunflower should be evolved and introduced into farming more quickly, and there should be advances in breeding work to improve the pedigree and productiveness of animals.

The productive potential of our agriculture has vastly increased. It is now especially important to exercise good husbandry and to secure the maximum return on the funds we are investing in the agro-industrial complex. This can be achieved primarily by good organisation, initiative, and a responsible attitude to this task by all the rural working people and also the workers of the related industries concerned with the storage, transportation and processing of farm produce and its delivery to the consumer. And, of course, a great deal here depends on our engineering workers whose job it is to supply all the sectors of the agro-industrial complex with highly efficient machinery.

Nor must we forget such an additional source of increasing the production of meat, milk, potatoes, and other farm produce as the subsidiary individual holdings of citizens and subsidiary farms run by enterprises and institutions to supply their personnel.

The eleventh five-year period will see further development of the various branches of the industrial infrastructure. It is a matter of utmost importance that the present situation when railway transport lags behind the requirements of the national economy be overcome. The draft Guidelines call for substantially reinforcing the material and technical basis of railway transport. Capital investment for this purpose is being increased by more than 30

per cent. The fleet of electrically-powered and diesel locomotives will expand. Container and packaged carriage of goods in the 1980s is to be trebled.

The State Planning Committee of the USSR, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the Ministry of Railway Transport, and other ministries and departments should substantially improve the management of the transportation process, reducing the average length of haul and eliminating irrational freight traffic.

The Ministry of Railway Transport must take resolute steps to raise the organisational standards of operation, persistently introduce integrated mechanisation of cargo handling and repair operations, increase the speed of traffic on the railways, and ensure the uninterrupted delivery of freight to consumers.

A number of new passenger and freight routes are to be added to all modes of transport. It is proposed to build nearly 12,000 kilometres of pipelines for oil products, or five times the length commissioned under the Tenth Five-Year Plan. All-season navigation is to be introduced in the western part of the Arctic Ocean as far as Vilkitsky Strait.

The importance of road and river transport in cargo and passenger traffic is to increase. Work is to be continued on building a network of hard-surface roads, first and foremost in Siberia and the Soviet Far East, and also in the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation. In Siberia and the Soviet Far East it is planned to uprate river port facilities. These areas will get nearly half of all the capital investment for that purpose, so that areas of intensive development will have good transportation links via the Arctic seas, the completed sections of the Baikal-Amur Railway and Siberian rivers.

Air transport will be reinforced with new economical and comfortable air liners. The network of airports on long-distance and local lines will be extended, and they will be better equipped with facilities for the mechanisation and automation of transportation processes and aircraft servicing.

Measures will be taken to improve the coordination of all types of transport and their interaction with other branches of the national economy.

Big targets are being set in extending the communication services and better satisfying the needs of the population in such services. The number of telephones servicing the population is to increase by 40 per cent.

The growth of the country's economic potential depends to a decisive extent on the state of capital construction. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government devote particularly great attention to improving matters in this branch of the economy. Much is expected of the builders and designers in the next five years. Their duty is to ensure quality, efficiency and speed in designing and building, and to see to it that each project is commissioned on schedule, and that it is up-to-date in every respect.

It is essential to show still greater persistence in combatting any sidetracking of material resources and manpower from the key projects, dragging out building schedules, and to continue the policy of limiting the number of projects being built simultaneously.

In 1980 we managed to hold down growth in the number of uncompleted projects, and are determined to reduce their volume to the permissible level by 1983. The State Planning Committee of the USSR, ministries and departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics must be more firm and keep state interests uppermost when considering every new project. We must resolutely put an end to the practice of allocating funds and material resources to any region just because established building organisations exist there. What is more, the network of these organisations and the bases of the building industry must be geared to the expanding geography of our building projects.

The ministries must concern themselves with increasing the capacities of territorial building and assembly organisations in areas where construction is concentrated, expanding and making better use of mobile building units, and introducing progressive methods of building everywhere. The efforts to raise the level of industrialisation in the building industry must not be slackened.

Party and government agencies and people's control committees must exercise constant control over building

and resolutely stop all parochialism, departmentalism and the scattering of funds, while raising the responsibility of economic managers for on-schedule completion of projects and for their quality.

In the new five-year period and later, we will continue our efforts to improve the location of productive forces in both the developed and the new regions. It is planned to emphasise their integrated development and specialisation and to take steps to rationalise economic links between them. The natural wealth of the country's eastern and northern regions is to be developed according to plan and at a faster rate. As already noted, these regions are gaining ever greater importance as national suppliers of fuel, energy and mineral raw materials.

Territorial-industrial complexes such as the West-Siberian, Sayany, Angara-Yenisei, Timano-Pechora, South-Yakutian, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, South-Tajikistan, will go on developing. Their development is entering a new stage, marked by the emergence and growth of a whole complex of industries, and ancillary enterprises. The commissioning of the initial capacities at the Tobolsk and Tomsk plants in Western Siberia, for example, is to give a start to the formation of the country's largest petrochemical centre. In this region we are planning the construction of plants making equipment for the oil, gas and chemical industries, and of other projects. Enterprises that will be built here to assure the fuller use of casing-head gas will enable us to reduce gas losses by approximately two and a half times in five years.

Completion of the Baikal-Amur Railway will be a turning point in the economic fortunes of a vast region. Combatting no small hardships, the builders have performed a great and noble deed — they exceeded the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and have built hundreds of kilometres of roads, new towns and settlements, and dozens of production facilities. This provides a good basis for coping with the next task — the opening to traffic of the entire length of the Baikal-Amur trunk line in the new five-year plan period.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government, to express our heartfelt gratitude to the builders, the railwaymen, the personnel of

enterprises, to our Komsomol, and to all those taking part in this gigantic project.

It will certainly take many a year to draw into economic use the natural resources of the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway. But the State Planning Committee of the USSR, jointly with ministries and departments, and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation must already now give more attention to the drawing up of a comprehensive programme for the development of its rich deposits of coking coal, ferrous and non-ferrous ore, rare metals, and other minerals, including the unique Udokan copper deposit and the timber resources in the Trans-Baikal area, South Yakutia and the Soviet Far East. The programme must, among other things, consider, give reasons for and determine the order in which the natural wealth of the Baikal-Amur Railway zone is to be drawn into the national economy, and to provide for the rational management of the development of that large region. In short, we must have a well-considered and clear-cut programme of action that will allow us to obtain in the minimum time the maximum return on the large funds the state has put into the construction of the railway.

The economy and culture of all the fraternal republics will see further growth in the new five-year period. The relevant assignments for each republic are stated in a special section of the draft Guidelines. Without repeating them I will only note that they are based on the principle of combining comprehensive and balanced economic development of the Union republics with the advantages of the division of labour throughout the USSR. Fulfilment of these assignments will speed up the all-round development and the drawing closer together of the economies of the Union republics within the framework of the single national-economic complex. This approach is in complete conformity with the principles of the Party's Leninist nationalities policy.

In the new five-year period, therefore, we will have to do a great deal further to develop all branches of the national economy and the economic regions. The Party Central Committee and the Government are confident that by their creative and selfless work the mining,

metallurgical, oil and gas workers, workers in the engineering industry, the light and food industry, and in agriculture, builders, scientists, engineers and technicians — the working people in all the republics, territories and regions — will successfully accomplish the new constructive tasks.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Comrades.

Expanding economic, scientific and technical ties with other countries, using the opportunities of mutually beneficial international division of labour, is an important aspect of the activities of the Soviet state.

It is only natural that now, as before, cooperation with socialist countries is at centre of our attention. Economic, scientific and technical ties between the fraternal countries rest on the enduring foundation of common interest; they are of a profound and all-embracing nature. Large-scale integrated projects, such as the *Druzhba* oil pipeline, the *Mir* power grid, and the *Bratstvo* and *Soyuz* gas pipelines are in service and doing good work. Their very names — Friendship, Peace, Fraternity and Alliance—reflect the essence of the new type of economic relations which are relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance. We will continue to improve the coordination of our national economic plans with those of other CMEA member countries and to deepen socialist economic integration. We see this as an important means of strengthening socialism's positions in the world economy and of shielding the socialist countries from the harmful tendencies witnessed in the world capitalist economy. The volume of Soviet trade with our CMEA partners is to increase substantially.

Our economic cooperation with them is focused on resolving such crucial problems as the development of the power industry, the supply and rational use of fuel and raw materials, raising the technical level and the quality of products of the engineering industry, extending cooperation in the manufacture of advanced types of machines and equipment, and extending the range and improving the quality of consumer goods. That is the purpose of the jointly elaborated special-purpose long-term cooperation programmes of the CMEA countries for the period up to 1990.

For the coming five-year period agreements have been concluded for specialisation and cooperation in manufacturing equipment for atomic power plants, heavy and special-purpose machine-tools, machining centres and programmed numerical-control machines, tractors, farm machines, and mining and other equipment. Such major projects as the Khmel'nitsky atomic power plant, ore-dressing plants, and ferro-alloy works are to go up in the framework of integration on Soviet territory. At the same time the Soviet Union will participate in the construction of a number of important industrial projects in the fraternal countries.

Our cooperation with developing countries is being built on a fair and equitable foundation. It is promoted by trade and by the economic assistance we give them in building industrial and agricultural projects, and in training national personnel, and by the implementation of agreements based on long-term industrial cooperation.

As before, the Soviet Union is for stable, mutually beneficial ties with the capitalist countries, and their expansion based on strict observance of mutual commitments. We give due credit to many of the capitalist countries and their business circles for their constructive approach to questions of international economic cooperation and will develop our trade first of all with these countries. It is not our fault, for example, that trade with the USA is declining or stagnating. That is a result of the US policy to use trade for unseemly political ends foreign to the interests of equitable international cooperation. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned we are prepared to develop economic relations with the United States as well on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Our economic relations with other countries must, to a still greater degree, help meet the needs of the national economy for equipment, technologies, and raw materials and other materials, and the population's demand for consumer goods. Planning and economic agencies are called upon to work continuously for more effective foreign economic ties in order to save manpower and material resources, to speed up technical progress, and get a gain in time.

The Soviet Union's line of promoting the extensive development of international economic cooperation re-

mains unchanged, because that is our fundamental course reflecting in foreign economic relations the purposeful orientation of Soviet foreign policy towards safeguarding peace, deepening detente and furthering mutual understanding among nations.

IV. STEADILY IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT

Comrades,

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th Congress, much has been done in recent years to improve the economic mechanism and the forms and methods of management in industry, agriculture and construction. We are going over to double- and three-tiered systems of management based on industrial and other production amalgamations. The powers and functions of ministries have been extended. Some of them have been reorganised. New ministries have been set up to meet the needs of the national economy. The Party sees further improvement of management and the economic mechanism as an essential condition for the growth and increased effectiveness of social production. The Party Central Committee and the Government have drawn up a set of measures to improve the economic mechanism and enhance its impact on efficiency and quality. It is envisaged to improve planning, enhance management accounting and strengthen the effectiveness of material and moral incentives.

Ministries and departments and economic executives must work energetically to make sure that the measures envisaged are fully implemented and the amalgamations and enterprises successfully go over to the new pattern of management. This calls for much work at all levels—by the State Planning Committee of the USSR and the other central economic agencies, by ministries and departments, and by the amalgamations and enterprises themselves. There can be no excuse here for procrastination or passiveness.

Practice shows that not all branches of the economy have exhausted the opportunities for heightening efficiency of production through improvements in the system of management. We must make a close analysis of the principles on which amalgamations are organised and of the mechanism of their functioning and see whether or

not the required concentration and specialisation of production are being carried into effect. Are the powers and duties apportioned rationally enough between the amalgamations and the producer divisions of which they are composed? Clearly, restricting the powers of some and overburdening others with powers does not make for successful operation. Yet, this is sometimes seen in practice. Falling back on available experience, we must make the existing master plans precisely fit the tasks of the eleventh five-year period. Anything that holds up growth, that interferes with our advance, must be put out of the way, while the best experience that has stood the test of time must be given broad scope.

In pursuance of the policy of setting up the most effective organisational structures we must persistently carry out measures to eliminate departmentalism, secure a more flexible combination of sectoral and territorial management and promote furthering the fulfilment of special-purpose programmes. The initial measures instituting management of the West-Siberian oil and gas complex as one whole have been drawn up and are being carried out. That is the path we should, evidently, follow when elaborating and implementing other inter-sectoral and regional programmes. The aim of securing the right combination of the sectoral and territorial principles in resolving questions of effective management and of the further improvement of the working and living conditions of Soviet people is served by the measures heightening the role of the Soviets in economic development. The executive bodies of the Soviets should make the most of the powers that have been vested in them.

National economic planning is the supreme principle of management. It is the dictate of life to raise all planning to a qualitatively new level; this applies above all to the State Planning Committee of the USSR. Now more than ever before it is required to concentrate attention on resolving the key, long-term issues, and on determining the optimum inter-sectoral and territorial proportions. Recently the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a decision on improving the work of the State Planning Committee of the USSR. It is designed to strengthen the integrated approach to planning the related branches of the national economy

and regions of the country, and to resolving large-scale economic and social problems. On this basis it is necessary to enhance the role of the central planning agency in securing rational use of manpower, material and financial resources, in setting priorities in the development of economic sectors and regions, in improving economic proportions and speeding up the implementation of scientific and technical discoveries and projects.

Very soon, the course of the country's social and economic development charted by the Congress will be translated into detailed and concrete assignments of the five-year plan. When doing this work, the State Planning Committee of the USSR, ministries and departments, and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics must ensure that the targets set in the plan strictly and unconditionally correspond to the assignments in the Guidelines adopted by the Congress. The Government sees its task in undeviatingly putting this requirement into effect. We must see to it that we get a realistic, well-balanced plan and that it becomes a solid foundation for all the subsequent work of implementing the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

I would like to make special mention of achieving a better balance. The imbalances and deficits that arise now and then in some sectors of the national economy do considerable economic harm and complicate the struggle for efficiency and quality. To assure a proper balance of the economy we must secure a higher standard in the scientific grounding of plans and make broader use of special-purpose programming and balance methods of planning, of progressive standards for the use of resources.

Achieving a good balance largely depends on strict on-schedule fulfilment of the production plan and delivery of goods by each amalgamation and enterprise and each sector, in keeping with the required range of goods. This should be facilitated by gearing the assessment of the work of enterprises to their fulfilment of contractual commitments. We will be more demanding and make economic executives observe discipline in fulfilling plans and contracts.

There is yet another and not inconsiderable reserve for eliminating or at least alleviating shortages of a number of

resources. The reference here is to correct management of productive stocks. We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that many enterprises hoard equipment, raw materials and other materials, especially metal, in excess of quotas, while others experience shortages in them. In the speeches of Congress delegates, and at the congresses of the communist parties of the Union republics, at election conferences and in the press there has been heard justified criticism of shortcomings in material and technical supplies. The activity of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply of the USSR and its territorial agencies must be improved; they must play a bigger role and bear more responsibility for the manoeuvring and rational use of material resources. We must not treat the warehouses of the State Supply Committee in the economic regions as simple storage depots. They must prepare and sort out materials and supply them promptly to consumers, and this in complete sets and the required assortment.

As we invigorate planned guidance of the economy, it is also essential to continue developing management accounting on the basis of the five-year plan assignments and long-term economic standards, to improve price setting, crediting and financing, and to make broad use of the whole system of economic levers and incentives. We will go over in due course to new wholesale prices and tariffs. This will make them more effective in spurring scientific and technical progress, in updating and improving the quality of products, in promoting economical use of materials, and will make for normal operation of enterprises on a management-accounting basis.

Among the problems that it is high time to resolve is that of lowering the cost of production. We must restore its former importance to this indicator in raising the profitability of production and in assessing the performance of enterprises.

Improvement of the management mechanism calls insistently for deep-going change in the content, methods and style of work, for altering the very attitudes of managerial staff. The economic executive must have a profound grasp of the scientific and technical fundamentals of production, its organisation and economics, and must be conversant with methods of securing high labour

productivity and high quality of products; his professional competence must be combined with political and ideological breadth of vision and with the ability to work with people. Never before have efficiency, far-sightedness, energy, perseverance and socialist enterprise been so important for the executive as they are now. And the many thousands of captains of production brought up by the Party can be held up as models of skilled management. In the words of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, they are real organisers, people with sober and practical minds. But there are also executives who devote all their energy to getting lower plan targets and higher allocations of resources, to have the plan revised downward by citing so-called objective reasons. That sort of "enterprise" we do not need. There have been legitimate references at the Congress to the need for raising the responsibility of the heads of ministries, departments, amalgamations and enterprises for the work entrusted to them and for its results, to the need for resolutely combatting parochialism and departmentalism and for tightening control over the fulfilment of the directives of superior bodies and of their own decisions.

Fulfilment of the assignments of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan is the criterion that will be used to assess the competence and the political qualities of managers and managerial staff, their ability to work the new way and bring about a turn to intensification of production and increased efficiency and quality. We are sure that they will live up to the trust of the Party and people.

Effective socialist management of the economy is inconceivable without reliance on the collective of personnel and without cultivating a truly proprietary attitude to production, conversance with economics, and without the high-quality performance of each and every one. It calls for effective organisation and does not tolerate negligence or breach of discipline. To establish order everywhere, strictly to call the unconscientious to book and to bring up lagging sectors—this too, comrades, offers no small possibilities for improving the results of production.

In the present conditions, great economic and social significance attaches to the further involvement of factory and office workers, collective farmers and professionals

in running production and to enhancing the role of trade unions as the most mass organisation in settling all questions of production, work, the everyday life and leisure of the working people. Now, at the beginning of a new five-year period, it is essential to give still greater impetus to the socialist emulation, to the nationwide movement for the rational use of resources, for reducing various losses, waste, and unproductive expenditure, and for rooting out mismanagement and extravagance. Every hour of working time, every kilogram of raw material, every kilowatt-hour of energy, and every rouble invested must serve our common cause with maximum return. Party, government, trade-union and Komsomol organisations must give attention to the accumulated experience, especially in promoting the emulation in honour of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, sum up the achievements of the best workers and bring them to the knowledge of all. There is no doubt that the eleventh five-year period will be highlighted by new achievements of our heroic working class, collective farmers, and people's intelligentsia.

Comrades Delegates,

The great cause of building communism and of safeguarding peace, of improving the life of Soviet people, has been well served by the ten past five-year plans. Our new, Eleventh, Five-Year Plan is also focused on these aims.

The draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, submitted for your consideration, express the vital national interests and define the requirements of the further all-round progress of Soviet society.

Construction and peace, these two indissolubly linked concepts, close and dear to all working people, define the essence of our plans. In the present complicated international situation, with the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression so much more active, the Soviet Union, as Leonid Brezhnev has stressed, will do everything to safeguard and consolidate peace, prevent another world war, and dependably protect the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people. We will continue to devote unremitting attention to strengthening the country's defences. We may rest assured that our valorous Armed Forces will have everything they need effectively to

counter any attempts of the imperialist forces to gain military superiority.

Our Party and people take pride in the grandeur of all our achievements and look confidently to the future.

Ahead is strenuous, creative labour in the name of communism, in the name of peace.

Great Lenin said that to accomplish an immense constructive task one must "display sufficient class consciousness, devotion to principle, self-sacrifice and perseverance".

The entire heroic path of revolutionary struggle, of building a new society has shown that these remarkable qualities are embodied in the Party of Lenin, in the Soviet people, the hard worker, the fighter, the builder.

The living creativity of the masses inspired by the great ideals of communism and guided and organised by the Party is a dependable guarantee that the historic decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU will be successfully put into practice.

Long live the indestructible unity of the Party and people!

Long live the Soviet people!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

(N. A. Tikhonov's report was heard with great attention and repeatedly punctuated with prolonged applause.)

**RESOLUTION OF THE 26TH CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE
DRAFT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE "GUIDELINES
FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR
FOR 1981-1985 AND FOR THE PERIOD
ENDING IN 1990"**

*Adopted
on March 2, 1981*

Having heard and discussed the report of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, on the "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990", the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

To approve the "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990".

For the Council of Ministers of the USSR to draft, in accordance with the "Guidelines", a state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-1985, with specified assignments for each year of the five-year plan, for ministries, departments of the USSR and Union republics, and to submit it to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for consideration in October 1981.

In drawing up the eleventh five-year plan to consider the proposals made at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, at the congresses of the communist parties of the Union republics, territorial and regional party conferences, meetings of activists and plenary meetings of party committees in districts, cities and areas, in work collectives and in the press, as well as in letters of workers, collective farmers, specialists and scientists.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU believes that the implementation of a broad programme for the economic and social development of the country in the new five-year period is a major economic and political task of all party, local-government, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations. The Congress expresses confidence that the working people of all branches of the national economy will, under the leadership of the Leninist party, extend still more widely the socialist emulation movement and will use all their creative energies, knowledge and experience for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of communist construction.

**RESOLUTION OF THE 26th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
SOVIET UNION ON LETTERS AND
STATEMENTS BY WORKING PEOPLE
AND APPEALS BY COMMUNISTS
ADDRESSED TO THE 26th CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU**

*Adopted
on March 2, 1981*

1. To take into consideration that the Secretariat of the Congress has examined a considerable part of the letters and statements by working people and appeals by Communists addressed to the 26th Congress of the CPSU and has taken the necessary measures.

2. To instruct the Central Committee of the CPSU to complete examining the letters and statements by working people and appeals by Communists, addressed to the Congress, and to take appropriate decisions on them.

ON THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

A plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee elected by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on March 3.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Comrade Leonid Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected as members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, Yu. V. Andropov, M. S. Gorbachyov, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, D. A. Kunayev, A. J. Pelše, G. V. Romanov, M. A. Suslov, N. A. Tikhonov, D. F. Ustinov, K. U. Chernenko and V. V. Shcherbitsky.

Comrades G. A. Aliyev, P. N. Demichev, T. Ya. Kise-lyov, V. V. Kuznetsov, B. N. Ponomaryov, Sh. R. Rashidov, M. S. Solomentsev and E. A. Shevardnadze were elected Alternate Members of the Political Bureau.

The Plenary Meeting elected the following Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee: Comrades L. I. Brezhnev (General Secretary of the Central Committee), M. A. Suslov, A. P. Kirilenko, K. U. Chernenko, M. S. Gorbachyov, B. N. Ponomaryov, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, M. V. Zimyanin and K. V. Rusakov.

The Plenary Meeting approved the appointment of Comrade A. J. Pelše as Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS

March 3, 1981

Comrades, the first plenary meeting of the new Central Committee of our Party elected by the Congress has just ended. Permit me to report on its results. At the first plenary meeting of the Central Committee, held in an atmosphere of exceptional unity and cohesion, the leading organs of our Party were unanimously elected. The plenary meeting unanimously elected Comrade **L. I. Brezhnev** General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Permit me, comrades delegates, to express my sincere gratitude for the honour and great trust I have been accorded by being re-elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The plenary meeting unanimously elected as members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee comrades **L. I. Brezhnev, Yu. V. Andropov, M. S. Gorbachyov, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, D. A. Kunayev, A. J. Pelše, G. V. Romanov, M. A. Suslov, N. A. Tikhonov, D. F. Ustinov, K. U. Chernenko, and V. V. Shcherbitsky.**

Comrades **G. A. Aliyev, P. N. Demichev, T. Ya. Kiselyov, V. V. Kuznetsov, B. N. Ponomaryov, Sh. R. Rashidov, M. S. Solomentsev, and E. A. Shevardnadze** were elected Alternate Members of the Political Bureau.

Comrades **L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee, M. A. Suslov, A. P. Kirilenko, K. U. Chernenko, M. S. Gorbachyov, B. N. Ponomaryov, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, M. V. Zimyanin, and K. V. Rusakov** were elected Secretaries of the Central Committee.

Comrade **A. J. Pelše** was confirmed as Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Auditing Commission elected Comrade **G. F. Sizov** its Chairman.

Comrades, the newly elected members of the CPSU Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission have asked me to express to the Congress delegates their heartfelt gratitude for the great trust shown in us. We greatly appreciate this trust, we are well aware of the full measure of responsibility we bear and we assure you that we will do everything in our power to ensure that the historic tasks set by the Congress will be successfully carried out. We see this to be our duty to the Party and to the people.

All the work of our Congress was conducted in a spirit of unity and cohesion, which make our party mighty and invincible. May I assure you that the new leading Party bodies will carefully preserve and strengthen the unity of our Party ranks, the guarantee of all our triumphs!

For eight days intensive work has been proceeding here in this hall. We have summed up our progress over the past few years, we have shared our joys and disappointments and have jointly mapped out plans for the future.

Once again we have been able wholly to appreciate the full scale and, at the same time, the full complexity of the tasks facing the Party and the country.

We intend to concentrate all our efforts in two related directions. One is the building of communism, the other is the strengthening of peace. Indeed, this was the very mandate Communists and the whole people gave to the delegates at Party conferences. This mandate has now been translated into the language of Party decisions.

Today we see better than we did yesterday and see more. We know what we are doing well and where there are difficulties. A picture of our country's successful development and of the intricacies of international politics was presented to the Congress in all their totality and many aspects.

The Congress approved fundamental and at the same time specific directives for the future. All our endeavours are now being focussed on their implementation. When the Congress delegates return to their party organizations they will have to join in the tremendous work of

translating Congress decisions into practical deeds. And it is above all a matter of securing the complete fulfilment of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

What does this require? First of all, a high sense of responsibility and firm, truly communist, conscious discipline. But no less necessary, of course, are inspired thought, the tireless search for what is new and support for it. A constant display of initiative—initiative everywhere and in everything—is needed. We are confident that the stimulus provided by the Congress will enrich the work of each collective, of each district, region and Republic, and of the entire country.

The thousands of reports received during these days of labour victories of the Soviet people, dedicated by them to the 26th CPSU Congress, resounded like a triumphant salute in honour of the Congress of Lenin's Party, and as powerful support for its work. Workers at enterprises and power plants, toilers in the fields, skilled stock-breeders, construction workers, transport workers, people in the arts and sciences brought joy to their Motherland by new achievements, by splendid new deeds. On behalf of all the delegates I would like to express sincere gratitude to those participating in the pre-Congress emulation drive for their great sense of patriotism, for this wonderful expression of the unity of the aspirations, goals and deeds of the Party and the entire people!

The hundreds of thousands of letters from organizations, labour collectives and citizens conveying best wishes for the success of the work of the Congress also vividly attest to this. I think you will all support me when I say: heartfelt thanks to those who wrote such letters!

Soviet people know the Party motto is—Everything for the sake of Soviet man, for the benefit of man. They know this and therefore warmly support Party policy. But we also know something else: nothing comes without an effort. Any improvement in living conditions can be achieved only by the hard work of Soviet people themselves. Mature socialism gives every citizen very broad opportunities for revealing his capabilities. What remains to be done is to exercise these opportunities. And emancipated, conscious labour, labour for one's own benefit and for the benefit of one's society can accomplish everything!

I think we can be confident that the plans mapped out by the Congress will be not only fulfilled, but overfulfilled!

The 26th Congress showed once again that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a mighty, healthy and mature collective. Communists are truly the unbending mainstay of our society, its living soul. They are the genuinely revolutionary vanguard of the people.

Both from past and present experience, we are well aware that the role of the leading force in society does not come of its own accord. This role has to be earned, to be won in the course of constant and unceasing struggle for the working people's interests. And this role is consolidated by the fact that the Party is steadily deepening its ties with the masses of the people, takes their needs and concerns to heart.

In unity with the people lies the Party's strength!

In unity with the Party, in its leadership lies the people's strength!

Comrades, the entire course of our Congress and all the documents it adopted have once again shown that our main concern in the international arena, the principal foreign policy aim of our state has been and remains the preservation of peace.

Our foreign policy programme is one of continuing and deepening detente, a programme of struggle for ending the arms race.

Our Party has shown once again that the Soviet people have not only the desire but the political resolve to do everything for peace—for a lasting, unshakable peace. We not only have the will to struggle for peace, but a precise and clear-cut programme for this struggle.

Comrades, our Congress has been attended by the greatest ever number of delegations from Communist, workers' and other revolutionary parties in the entire history of the CPSU. The speeches by our comrades in struggle here at the Congress and at meetings in Moscow and other cities have further strengthened our faith in the invincibility of social progress, and in the inevitability of the revolutionary transformation of the world.

We are deeply grateful for the kind words expressed here about our Party and about our country. You may rest assured, dear comrades, that Soviet Communists,

true to Lenin's behests, will continue to follow steadily the tested internationalist course of our Party.

The need for unity, for peace and human progress was a theme permeating all the speeches of comrades from abroad. In our age these two concepts are inseparably linked. Peace is the crucial condition for progress in all fields of human endeavour. And we are convinced that if Communists, revolutionaries, all healthy and reasonable forces fully realize the responsibility they bear and act in a united front, the plans of the enemies of peace will undoubtedly be frustrated.

Comrades, ever since great Lenin founded our Party, it has been advancing confidently along the road he indicated of building socialism and communism.

How many times during this period has our inevitable collapse been predicated! How many times have attempts been made to force us to renounce our planned objectives! How many times have our opponents tried to persuade us that we are mistaken, that our road is not a correct one...

And what has happened? Most of those people have long since been forgotten. But socialism is alive! It is developing. It is steadily advancing. And we do not just believe, but firmly know that our supreme goal will also be achieved, a communist society will be built!

We are confident of this because we believe in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are confident of this because we realize how inexhaustible is the might of our people. We are confident of this because we know that the Marxist-Leninist course of our Party is the correct one.

So let us boldly go forward along the road leading to communism!

May the unbreakable unity of the Communist Party and the Soviet people continue to strengthen!

May the unity of the socialist community, of all revolutionary forces of the entire planet continue to strengthen!

Glory to our Leninist Party!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

(The speech was heard with great attention and repeatedly punctuated with prolonged applause.)

GUIDELINES FOR THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR FOR 1981-1985 AND FOR THE PERIOD ENDING IN 1990

Carrying into life, under the tested leadership of the party of Lenin, the economic strategy worked out by the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU, the Soviet people have achieved further successes in laying the material and technical basis of communism and raising their living standards.

The alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, and the socio-political and ideological unity of society have grown stronger; the friendship of the peoples of the USSR has become even closer. Socialist democracy has risen to a higher stage, the social and production activity of the working people has increased, and the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, of the trade unions and the Young Communist League has been enhanced. A new Constitution of the USSR—the Constitution of developed socialism—has been adopted.

The friendship of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries has become broader and richer. The Soviet Union is consistently implementing the Programme of Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples and International Detente; it exercises an ever greater influence on world developments.

The leading, guiding and organizing role of the Communist Party in the realization of the tasks of economic and cultural development, in the creative activities of the Soviet people, of the working people of all the Union republics, has grown.

The Soviet people are entering the decade of 1981-90 fully determined to make it a decade of new great undertakings and achievements.

The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, drawn up in accordance with the

Programme of the CPSU and the decisions of the 24th and 25th congresses of the Party and the successes achieved by the country, summarize the practice of communist construction in the USSR, take into account the experience of the other socialist countries, embody the strategy and tactics of the CPSU on the most important questions of economic and social development as applied to the specific conditions of the 1980s, and reflect the peaceful, constructive character of our plans.

I. MAIN RESULTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND OF IMPROVEMENT OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE IN 1976-1980

During the tenth five-year plan period, the national economy developed in accordance with the policy laid down by the 25th CPSU Congress of further improving the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of the dynamic progress of social production, its heightened efficiency and quality of work. The national wealth of the country has increased. Progress has been achieved in building up the economic, scientific and technological potential and in all the branches of material production and the non-productive sphere. The defence capability of the Soviet state has been maintained at an adequate level.

Compared with the ninth five-year plan period, the national income has grown in these years by 400,000 million rubles, industrial production by 717,000 million rubles, and agricultural production by 50,000 million rubles. Four-fifths of the national income has been channelled directly into consumption and housing, social and cultural construction.

Capital investments in the economy in the five years have totalled 634,000 million rubles. Fixed assets have increased by 40 per cent. More than 1,200 large industrial enterprises have been put into operation.

The further growth of heavy industry, the backbone of the economy, has been ensured. Industries decisive for technical progress have been developing at a priority rate. There have been increases in the production of fuel,

electricity and ferrous and nonferrous metals. Consumer goods production has risen by 21 per cent, with the output of cultural and household goods going up by 41 per cent. The variety of commodities has been increased and their quality improved.

Scientific and technical progress has been accelerated; new technology has been introduced into the economy on a larger scale; the technical level of production has risen. Soviet science has made an important contribution to resolving these tasks.

The Party's agrarian policy has been consistently implemented. The material and technical base of agriculture, which is increasingly assuming an industrial character, has been consolidated. Capital investments in this sector, covering the entire range of operations, amounted to 170,000 million rubles, or more than 27 per cent of total capital investments in the economy. Agriculture received 1.8 million tractors, over 1.3 million lorries, about 540,000 grain harvester combines, a considerable number of machines for animal husbandry and fodder production, and about 390 million tons of mineral fertilizers. Power supply per worker in agricultural production has increased by 40 per cent. Irrigation and land improvement proceeded on a large scale. The area of irrigated and drained land has reached almost 35 million hectares. An integrated programme to develop agriculture in the non-black earth zone of the Russian Federation has been continued. The concentration and specialization of agricultural production and agro-industrial integration have become deeper and more diversified.

A steady increase in agricultural production has been ensured. For the first time the average annual grain harvest over the five-year period has reached 205 million tons. There has been an increase in the production of meat, milk, eggs, cotton, and other products.

Further progress has been made in transport, and its technical facilities have been improved. Pipeline, marine and motor transport have come to play a bigger role in freight carriage, and air transport in passenger carriage. The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway has been continued.

The economy of the USSR has been developing as a

single economic complex. The economic potential of each republic has grown considerably.

Territorial-production complexes have been formed at an accelerated rate, especially in the northern and eastern parts of the country. The extraction of oil (including gas condensate) in Western Siberia has increased by 110 per cent, and that of gas, by 330 per cent.

The efficiency of production has been raised thanks to scientific and technical progress and improvement of management. The productivity of social labour has gone up by 17 per cent. Its growth accounted for 75 per cent of the increment in industrial production, for all the increase in agricultural production, and for 95 per cent of the increase in construction and assembly work in the building industry. The quality of output has further improved.

A major new step has been made in the solution of social tasks. In the five years 334,000 million rubles more than under the ninth five-year plan were allocated from the national income to improve living standards. The material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people were satisfied to a fuller extent, and their living and working conditions have been improved.

Real per capita incomes have risen by 18 per cent. The average wages of factory and office workers have gone up by almost 16 per cent and the remuneration of collective farmers' labour by 26 per cent.

There have been pay rises for individual categories of workers in the ferrous and nonferrous metals, coal, shale, textile and building industries, agriculture, and the railways. The completion of such a major social undertaking as the raising of wages and salaries for workers in the nonproductive spheres, has resulted in an increase in the earnings of 31 million people.

The social consumption funds, which are used to finance free education, medical assistance, maintenance in old age and other social undertakings, amounted in the five years to 527,000 million rubles. In 1980, payments and benefits from these funds per head of the population came to 438 rubles as compared to 354 rubles in 1975.

Veterans of the Great Patriotic War have had their material and living conditions improved, and pensions for collective farmers and certain categories of workers in a

number of industries have been raised. The spending quotas for food and medicines at health protection establishments have been raised. Free issue of textbooks to pupils in the first to fifth forms in general schools has been introduced. Other social measures have been undertaken.

The consumption of many food and non-food commodities has grown. The service industry has been further developed. Retail trade turnover has gone up by 24 per cent and the volume of consumer services, by 43 per cent.

Large-scale housing construction was undertaken. Capital investments in it have amounted to 87,200 million rubles, more than originally planned for the five years. New houses with a total floor space of 530 million square metres have been built. More than 50 million people have had their housing conditions improved. Today about 80 per cent of the urban population live in separate flats.

Progress has been made in education, culture, health protection, physical culture and sports. More favourable conditions have been created for recreation and leisure.

The XXII Olympic Games, the first to be held in a socialist country, were a success.

Universal secondary education for young people has been further promoted. The training of personnel has been expanded. Twelve and a half million young men and women have learned trades at vocational training schools. Higher and specialized secondary schools have trained 10 million specialists.

The number of doctors rose from 834,000 in 1975 to one million in 1980, and the number of hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants, from 118 to 125. The network of sanatoriums, holiday homes, boarding houses, children's preschool establishments, Young Pioneer camps and Houses of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren has been expanded.

Measures have been taken in the fields of environmental protection and rational use and reproduction of natural resources. The expenditure for these purposes has grown by 50 per cent.

Cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries has been further diversified. The implementation of the Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration of the countries members of the Council

for Mutual Economic Assistance has continued. Economic ties with developing and capitalist states have been broadened.

The achievements in economic development and in the social sector could have been greater if fuller use had been made of the advantages of the planned economy, production reserves had been more actively utilized, and a more persistent struggle against shortcomings had been waged. Not all the industries and enterprises have met their assigned targets. Waste and losses of metal and fuel have been too slowly reduced, and poor use has been made of secondary resources. The scattering of capital investments has not been stopped and the period of construction and launching of production facilities has been drawn out. The resources allocated for agriculture have not been used sufficiently effectively. Deficiencies in railway transport have not been eliminated. There have been difficulties in supplying the population with some foodstuffs and manufactured goods, housing, and everyday services.

The implementation of some economic and social tasks has been made difficult by the exhaustion of many old mineral deposits, including large ones, by the shifting of the main extractive industry centres to the east and north, and by the unfavourable weather conditions for agriculture in 1977, 1979 and 1980.

Requirements in what concerns improving efficiency and raising labour productivity have not been met as planned. The mechanism of administration and planning, management methods and the level of labour and executive discipline have lagged behind modern requirements. This has made it more difficult to switch the economy onto the path of intensive development.

On the whole, the results of the past five-year period show that our country has made progress in all spheres of economic and social development. The tenth five-year plan will occupy a worthy place in the history of the heroic achievements of the Soviet people.

The Soviet Union has entered the 1980s with a powerful economic, scientific and technical potential, and highly skilled personnel. The results that have been achieved in the sphere of economic and social development make it possible to tackle even more stupendous tasks.

II. MAIN TASKS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR 1981-1985 AND FOR THE PERIOD ENDING IN 1990

This decade will be a new major stage in the establishment of the material and technical basis of communism, the development of social relations, and the moulding of the new man. During this period it will be necessary to ensure the fullest possible utilization of the potentialities and advantages of the society of mature socialism and to increase considerably its material and spiritual wealth and its economic, scientific and technical potential. The social foundation of the USSR—the unbreakable alliance of the workers, peasants and intellectuals—will be made stronger and the friendship of the peoples will be further strengthened.

During the 1980s the Communist Party will continue consistently to implement its economic strategy, the supreme objective of which is steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people's life and the creation of better conditions for the all-round development of the individual, based on further growth of the efficiency of all social production, higher labour productivity and greater social and labour activity of the Soviet people.

Proceeding from this, it is considered necessary in the current decade to:

Ensure the further social progress of society, and implement an extensive programme for improving the well-being of the people.

Satisfy more fully the requirements of the population in high-quality and diversified food products, manufactured goods and articles for cultural and everyday use, and services.

Improve housing conditions and cultural amenities, secure, in the main, the provision of every family with a separate flat, develop the municipal services and transport and improvement schemes in cities and villages.

Carry out profound changes in the most important sphere of people's activity, that of labour, improve and facilitate working conditions, provide extensive possibilities for highly productive and creative work,

make considerable headway in eliminating the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour and in turning agrarian labour into a variety of industrial labour.

Pursue an effective demographic policy, promote consolidation of the family as the principal nucleus of socialist society and ensure the provision of better conditions for women to combine motherhood with active participation in labour and social activities; improve the maintenance of children and the disabled at the expense of society; implement a system of measures to increase people's life span and labour activity, and build up their health.

Broaden the possibilities for the harmonious intellectual life of people and for the access of the entire population to cultural values, ensure further advance of education and culture, improve moral education, and foster a communist attitude towards labour and to public property.

Use work time more rationally, reduce its non-productive expenditure and losses, increase the leisure time of the working people by developing the service sphere and facilitating domestic work, and improve the forms and organization of leisure time, particularly for young people.

Gradually obliterate the essential distinctions between town and countryside, and improve living conditions in all the republics and regions of the country.

Further the all-round development and drawing together of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, the growth of the social homogeneity of society, and the strengthening of the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people as a new historical entity.

Bring about society's further economic progress and profound qualitative advances in the material and technical basis by accelerating scientific and technical progress, intensifying social production, and raising its efficiency.

Promote the dynamic and balanced development of the economy of the USSR as a single economic complex, and the proportionate growth of all its branches, and of the economies of the Union republics. To increase by 1990 the national income used for consumption and accumulation by at least 40 per cent.

Raise the organization of social labour and of production to a higher level: concentrate forces and resources on central economic tasks; ensure the elaboration and stage-by-stage implementation of target-oriented comprehensive programmes for major socio-economic problems, the food problem in the first place, for development of consumer goods production and services, for reduction of the use of manual labour, for the development of the engineering and power industries and all types of transport, wider use of chemicals in the national economy, and other large-scale programmes.

Carry out progressive changes in the structure of the national economy; improve inter-industry and intra-industry proportions; continue the priority development of industries decisive for scientific and technical progress and the establishment of large-scale territorial-industrial complexes; bring about the greatest possible development of the agro-industrial complex and accelerated growth of consumer goods production and of sectors of the production and social and welfare infrastructure.

Ensure effective use of natural, material and manpower resources as the decisive and most effective means of multiplying the national wealth of the country, and rapid growth of socialist accumulation and consumption resources, give special attention to raising labour productivity, increasing returns on fixed assets in all branches of the economy, and reducing the expenditure of materials in production.

Work for an organic fusion of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system of economy. Enhance the role of science in laying the material and technical basis of communism and in solving pressing social problems; consistently pursue a uniform technical policy, continue the electrification of the national economy, implement the switchover to large-scale application of highly effective systems of machines and technological processes ensuring comprehensive mechanization and automation of production and the technical retooling of its principal branches.

Increase the effectiveness of capital construction, carry out consistently its industrialization, qualitative improvement of the fixed assets and more rapid

commissioning of new production facilities and their bringing up to the rated output; accelerate the reconstruction of existing enterprises.

Improve the distribution of the productive forces and the territorial division of labour; increase the contribution of every Union republic to the realization of countrywide tasks; ensure effective use in the national economy of the fuel, energy, mineral and other raw material resources of the eastern and northern regions; pursue consistently the policy of limiting the growth of large cities and develop small and medium-size towns, locating in them specialized, highly efficient production capacities, and branches of enterprises and amalgamations. Work out a master scheme for the long-term distribution of the productive forces of the USSR.

Extend and improve economic, scientific, technical, cultural and tourist ties with other countries and primarily with the countries of the socialist community.

Raise the level of guidance of the economy, combine more fully centralized management with the economic autonomy and initiative of enterprises and amalgamations: introduce everywhere the most advanced methods of socialist management, consistently implement the immutable principle of economic development: attaining the best results for the benefit of society with the least expenditure. Enhance the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions and work collectives in deciding these questions.

The eleventh five-year plan will be a crucial stage in the realization of long-term programmes. It is to embody the continuity of the policy of the country's socio-economic development and the Party's strategic guidelines for the 1980s, taking into account the specific features of the next five years.

The central objective of the eleventh five-year plan is to ensure the further growth of the well-being of the Soviet people through the stable and consistent development of the economy, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and of the changeover of the economy to intensive development, more rational use of the country's productive potential, the utmost economy of all types of resources, and improvement of the quality of work.

Proceeding from the economic strategy of the CPSU and the central objective of the eleventh five-year plan, to:

1. Carry out a system of measures for the consistent improvement of the well-being of the people. Give prime attention to improving the supply to the population of consumer goods, housing conditions, medical services and working conditions, and to solving other urgent social tasks. Relate the improvement of the conditions of life of the people more closely to the attainment of production objectives.

Increase the effectiveness of the system of material and moral incentives and the stimulating role of remuneration in accordance with the work done—the main source of the people's incomes. Ensure the priority growth of labour productivity as compared with the growth of remuneration in the different branches of the economy, in production amalgamations and individual enterprises.

Increase the social consumption funds, promote the further development of the social maintenance system, education and culture, and improve living conditions of families with children and facilities for recreation and leisure.

Take care to improve the working and living conditions of the working people, to ensure a creative atmosphere and a healthy socio-psychological climate in every working collective, to facilitate improvement of professional skills, to meet cultural requirements, and to promote physical culture and sports in amalgamations, at enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Facilitate in every way the growth of the social and labour activity of Soviet people and the development of socialist emulation.

2. Ensure steady growth of the economy, improve the structure of social production.

Increase the national income used for consumption and accumulation by 18-20 per cent.

Develop at a priority rate the industries ensuring progressive structural shifts in the national economy and stable and balanced extended reproduction. Continue the technical retooling of the basic industries—power, metallurgical, machine-building, chemical, as well as transport and construction. Improve the structure of the

fuel-energy complex and of the production of structural materials through increasing the output of the most progressive products. Work for greater coordination in the development of the extractive and manufacturing industries and of the branches which produce and consume instruments of labour, taking full account of the extension of socialist international cooperation and deepening of the specialization of production.

Ensure higher production growth rates in the "B" group industries than in the "A" group.

Provide for the greatest possible development of the agro-industrial and the food complex, for the proportionate, balanced growth of agriculture, the branches of industry servicing it, the food industry, and the industries connected with the procurement, storage, transportation and processing of agricultural products. In agriculture lay stress on the tasks of increasing the production of grain and fodder, developing animal husbandry, ensuring the preservation of agricultural products, and delivering them in the best commercial form to the consumer. Accelerate the transition of agriculture to an industrial basis and progressive technology.

Implement measures for improving the operation of all types of transport and, above all, railway transport, and ensure their development in full conformity with the requirements of the economy and the population.

Consolidate and improve the countrywide system of material and technical supply, enhance its role and responsibility for the rational and economical use of material resources and for the uninterrupted supply of the economy with raw and other materials, equipment and spare parts.

Concentrate capital investments in the main directions and the major projects due for completion, and above all, in the reconstruction and retooling of operating enterprises. Build quickly, economically and at a high technical level.

Build new enterprises primarily in those branches and industries that ensure progressive changes in the structure of the economy and the utilization in the economy of the fuel, energy, mineral and other raw material resources of the eastern and northern regions of the country. Limit the

construction of new production facilities in the European part of the country.

Strengthen the material and technical base of capital construction, better provide it with skilled personnel, ensure conformity between the capacities of subcontracting organizations and the volume of the work they do.

Ensure the comprehensive development of the economies of the Union republics and economic areas, and improve their specialization in the system of the social division of labour.

3. Enhance persistently the effectiveness of social production through its all-round intensification and improve the quality of goods and services in all branches.

Ensure the most rational use of material, manpower and financial resources which is indispensable for balanced economic development, for creating the necessary reserves and achieving high end results.

Raise the productivity of social labour by 17-20 per cent and obtain through this at least 85-90 per cent of the increment in the national income.

Increase the availability of machinery per worker; introduce in every way comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes, reduce steadily the number of manual workers in all industries, especially in ancillary and supporting operations. Take measures to achieve a balance between the existing and newly-created jobs and the manpower resources. Create conditions for providing new enterprises, especially in Siberia and the Far East, with personnel. Improve the organization of work, the system of rate setting, and incentives. Introduce scientific organization of work and raise its effectiveness.

Improve considerably the quality of all types of output, broaden and renovate the range of products in keeping with the present-day requirements of economic development and of scientific and technical progress, as well as with the growing requirements of the population. Increase steadily the share of top-quality products in overall production. Introduce actively integrated systems of quality control.

Implement measures to increase the returns from

fixed assets in the branches of the national economy, in enterprises and their amalgamations.

Use production facilities more rationally, introduce highly productive machinery on a larger scale, and improve the structure and timely renovation of the operating fixed assets.

Pay special attention to reducing the time it takes to bring the production facilities of new enterprises and projects up to design output level and attaining other high technical and economic performance indicators, increasing the shift index of the most efficient machines and mechanisms, and accelerating the replacement of obsolete equipment.

Make fuller use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and rational design ideas to reduce capital investment ratios.

Use material resources thriftily. Ensure in 1985, as against 1980, a saving of fuel and energy resources equivalent to 160-170 million tons of reference fuel, with 70-80 million tons to be saved by reducing the expenditure rates; reduce in machine building and metal-working the average expenditure norms for rolled ferrous metals by not less than 18-20 per cent, for steel pipes, by 10-12 per cent, and for rolled nonferrous metals, by 9-11 per cent; save, in construction, 7-9 per cent of ferrous rolled stock and timber, and 5-7 per cent of cement.

Continue the work on using more broadly secondary and reusable resources, fuel and energy, domestic garbage, and by-products. Develop the material and technical base of organizations engaged in the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials. Expand specialized production, raise the quality and the level of unification of packing cases and packing case materials, improve the use of returnable and reusable packing.

Tighten the policy of economy in production and in the service and administrative spheres. Work out and implement measures to eliminate losses in industry, construction, transport, agriculture, and other areas. Strengthen in every way cost accounting in all branches of the economy.

Accelerate the turnover rate of current assets in the national economy by 2-3 days.

Reduce the cost of products and of work. Increase profits in industry and construction by approximately 30 per cent and on state farms by 70 per cent.

4. Ensure further acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

In all the sectors of the economy, pursue consistently a policy of more rapid technical retooling of production and the development and manufacture of machines and plant which help to improve working conditions, raise labour productivity and save material resources. Raise technical standards in auxiliary and servicing processes.

Create and introduce in production fundamentally new machinery, materials and progressive technology. Ensure increased production of machines and units of large unit capacity and productivity, of highly economic equipment, and of complete systems of machines for comprehensive mechanization and automation of production.

Improve standards and specifications for finished products, components, packing cases and raw and other materials and services, in accordance with consumer requirements.

Raise the effectiveness of scientific research, reduce considerably the time it takes to introduce scientific and technological achievements in production. Improve coordination among scientific institutions, ensure priority development of fundamental research and increase the effectiveness of applied research. Strengthen the material base of research, design and prospecting organizations and higher educational institutions.

5. Enhance the protection of nature, the land and its mineral wealth, the atmosphere, water bodies and the flora and fauna. Ensure rational use and reproduction of natural resources.

6. Improve administration and raise management standards in all spheres of the economy, accentuate orientation on the attainment of optimal final economic results.

Enhance the organization and coordination of work in all the branches of the national economy. Consistently improve planning, ensure organic interaction of the plan, the economic levers and incentives, perfect organizational structures and methods of management.

Promote in every way initiative, a businesslike approach and a creative search for reserves for increasing production, ensure a high degree of organization and executive discipline in every sector of production.

Increase the responsibility of executives for the results and quality of work, achievement of planned targets and contractual obligations, observance of the principles of cost accounting, ensuring the profitability of production, expanding the wage fund, and for the accelerated turnover of current assets. Wage a resolute struggle against any manifestation of departmentalism and parochialism and against the understating of plans; and prevent unfounded revision of plan targets. Enhance the role and initiative of work collectives in management and planning, in instilling in workers the spirit of a conscientious, creative attitude to work and of a high degree of social and production activity.

7. Raise the effectiveness of foreign economic relations.

Ensure the deepening of socialist economic integration with the CMEA countries. Broaden cooperation with developing countries, and mutually advantageous trade with capitalist states.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND ACCELERATION OF TECHNICAL PROGRESS

In the eleventh five-year-plan period, the development of science and technology must be subordinated to an even greater extent to solving the economic and social tasks facing Soviet society, to hastening the switchover of the economy to the path of intensive development, and to making social production more efficient.

Proceeding from this it is necessary:

to ensure the elaboration and realization of a comprehensive programme for scientific and technical progress, and target-oriented programmes for the solution of major scientific and technical problems;

to strengthen links between science and production, to heighten the responsibility of ministries and departments for the level of research in scientific institutions and for

the speediest possible introduction of the results of completed research projects and inventions into production. To improve the system of appraisal of the technical and economic standards of items being developed and manufactured, and to phase out in good time obsolete items from production. Substantially to reduce the time schedules for developing and introducing new technology:

to increase the manufacture of instruments, equipment, means of automation, reagents and preparations for scientific research; to extend the automation of research and development work with the use of electronic computers;

to determine and change in good time the direction of research and development work and the organizational structure of scientific institutions in keeping with the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution; to step up the interaction of social, natural and technical sciences;

to enhance the effectiveness of the use of the scientific potential of higher schools for carrying out tasks facing the national economy; to improve the training, advanced training and certifying of scientific and teaching personnel;

to improve the system of scientific and technical information and patent-licence work;

to promote in every way the further development of the creative work of inventors and innovators on a mass scale; to enhance the role of scientific and technical societies in improving production.

On the basis of the application of achievements of science and technology:

to develop the production and ensure extensive use of automatic manipulators (industrial robots), built-in automatic control systems with the use of micro-processors and micro-computers and establish automated shops and plants;

to accelerate the introduction of automated methods and means of quality control and of testing products as an integral part of production processes;

to raise to an optimal level the per-unit capacity of machines and equipment, and simultaneously reduce

their size, metal and energy consumption and the unit cost of final products;

to develop multifunctional machines and equipment which can be readjusted when production processes, types of goods produced and the character of work are altered;

to make wide use, when developing new machines, equipment, apparatus and instruments, of the modular principle, employing standardized units and assemblies;

to develop fundamentally new types of means of transportation and power plant, ensuring a considerable reduction in fuel and energy consumption;

to develop and introduce into production highly effective methods of enhancing the strength properties and the corrosion, heat and cold resistance of metals, alloys, metal structures and pipes; to increase the production of new structural materials, coatings and items manufactured with the use of metallic powders, powder alloys, and refractory compounds;

to promote the production of super-pure, semi-conducting, super-conductive, new polymer and composite materials and items made from them, with a wide range of pre-set properties, and heat- and chemically-resistant non-organic, non-metallic materials, as well as compounds necessary for making cast products;

to use more extensively processes with few operations and little or no waste, to develop and introduce into production effective methods of the comprehensive utilization and recycling of hard and heavy liquid fuels, and of the production of synthetic fuels;

to use electrochemical, plasma, laser, radiation and other highly effective methods of working metals, materials and products in order considerably to improve their properties;

to ensure the development and extensive use of technical means and techniques for the comprehensive and fuller extraction of useful components from ores and for the working of lean and compound deposits;

to expand the use in the economy of renewable energy sources (hydraulic, solar, wind and geothermal).

In the **social sciences**, to concentrate on the following areas:

generalization of the experience of the revolutionary-

transformative activities of the CPSU and the international communist and working-class movements; elaboration of problems of dialectical and historical materialism, scientific communism and political economy;

study of theoretical questions of developed socialism, of establishment of the material and technical basis of communism and improvement of production relations, of raising the effectiveness of social production: of the socio-economic problems involved in scientific and technical progress and labour, of problems of improving the management of the national economy, sectoral and regional economics, agrarian theory and demography;

elaboration of problems of social structure and development of the political system of mature socialism, of consolidation of the legal basis of state and political life, of communist education, of all-round and harmonious development of man and the socialist way of life;

investigation of the patterns of development of the world system of socialism, of problems of socialist economic integration and external economic ties;

study of the questions of economy and policy of capitalist and developing countries; criticism of anti-communism and of bourgeois and revisionist concepts of social development: exposure of the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism.

In the natural and technical sciences, to concentrate efforts on the solution of the following major problems:

development of mathematical theory, its more effective utilization for applied purposes;

development of the physics of elementary particles and the atomic nucleus, solid-state physics, optics, quantum electronics, and radiophysics;

development of nuclear power engineering, and establishment of the foundations of thermonuclear power engineering, improvement of methods of energy transformation and transmission;

development of chemico-technological processes for obtaining new substances and materials with pre-set properties, and of the scientific foundations for the techniques of comprehensive utilization of raw materials and by-products that save energy and manpower resources and have closed technological cycles;

improvement of the quality, reliability, economical operation and productivity, and lessening of the noise and vibration levels of machines, plant and other engineering products, and reduction of their material and energy intensiveness;

improvement of computer technology, its storage element capacity and software and the means and systems of collection, transmission and processing of information;

understanding of the mechanism of physiological, biochemical, genetic and immunological processes of man's life activity, improvement of the methods of prevention, diagnosis and treatment of the most widespread diseases, development of new medicines, preparations, and medical equipment;

creation of new highly productive plant strains, animal breeds and cultures of useful micro-organisms, development of new physiologically active substances, including pesticides;

development of biotechnological processes for making products used in medicine, agriculture and industry;

further study and exploration of outer space in the interests of the development of science, technology and the national economy;

study of the structure, composition and evolution of the Earth and the biosphere, the climate and the World Ocean, including the continental shelf, with the aim of making rational use of their resources, improving the methods of forecasting weather and other natural phenomena, raising the effectiveness of measures in the sphere of environmental protection; development of ecology.

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

The most important tasks facing industry are to meet more fully the requirements of the economy in producer goods and those of the population in consumer goods; intensification of production, and improvement of the quality of output based on the fullest possible use of achievements of scientific and technical progress.

To regard the increase in production and the raising of quality of consumer goods as the priority task of all industries, all enterprises and organizations, as a matter of special concern of all Party, state and economic bodies, and of the trade unions.

To accomplish these tasks it is necessary:

to increase industrial output in the five years by 26-28 per cent, with the increment in the production of producer goods to be 26-28 per cent and that in the production of consumer goods 27-29 per cent;

to raise labour productivity in industry by 23-25 per cent, obtaining through this more than 90 per cent of the increase in output;

to improve the structure of industrial production, to ensure balanced development of the extractive and manufacturing industries and accelerated growth of the output of products decisive for technical progress in the national economy;

to increase considerably the scale of the development, mastering and introduction into production of new highly effective technologies ensuring growth of labour productivity, reduction of material and energy intensiveness, improvement of the quality of products, and enhancement of their competitiveness on the external market;

to broaden and systematically renovate the range of structural materials and to improve their technical and economic characteristics. To increase the production of progressive materials substituting for ferrous and non-ferrous metals;

to improve the utilization of fuel and energy resources, to reduce the consumption of oil and oil derivatives as boiler and furnace fuel and to develop atomic power generation at priority rates;

to ensure economy of material resources, to introduce progressive norms of expenditure per unit of output, widely to apply comprehensive processing of raw materials, resource-saving machinery, little or no waste and energy-saving technology, to make every use of local raw and other materials, and utilize secondary resources. To reduce to the minimum the use of raw foodstuffs and other agricultural produce for technical purposes;

to reduce the cost of industrial production and increase its profitability;

to improve the forms of organization of industrial production and production links between industries and individual enterprises; to raise the level of specialization, cooperation and concentration of production;

to increase considerably the scale of technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, to re-equip them with new highly effective machinery, to introduce up-to-date technologies and scientific organization of work and production, to increase the output of office equipment;

to improve the utilization of production capacities and fixed assets and increase the shift index of machines and equipment. To develop, taking into account the specific features of separate industries and lines of production, and apply progressive systems of organization of repair work and modernization of machinery.

To establish the following main directions of development of branches of industry.

In the power industry, to raise the output of electricity in 1985 to 1,550-1,600 thousand million kilowatt-hours, including 220-225 thousand million kilowatt-hours by atomic power stations and 230-235 thousand million kilowatt-hours by hydroelectric power stations. To ensure the increase in power production in the European part of the USSR, primarily by atomic and hydroelectric power stations.

To commission new capacities of 24-25 million kilowatts at atomic power stations. To continue work on fast-neutron reactors and on the use of nuclear fuel for the generation of thermal energy.

To build large hydroelectric power stations on rivers in Siberia, the Soviet Far East and Central Asia, taking into account the need for comprehensive utilization of hydro-resources, and also hydro-accumulating power stations in the European part of the USSR. To continue the research and design-and-survey work on tidal power stations. To make fuller use of the hydropower resources of small rivers.

To build at an accelerated rate thermal power stations to operate on the coal of the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk basins and also on the natural and casing-head gas of West Siberian deposits. To put into operation the first stage of the Ekibastuz-Centre 1,500-kilovolt DC

transmission line and the Ekibastuz-Urals 1.150-kilovolt AC transmission line.

To continue work on the further development of the country's Unified Power Grid and on enhancing the reliability and quality of the supply of the national economy with electricity.

To ensure further development of centralized heat supply to consumers through the construction of heat and power plants and large district heating boiler rooms, and reduction of fuel consumption ratios and the cost of electric and thermal energy.

To raise labour productivity by 18-20 per cent.

In the oil industry, to ensure in 1985 extraction of 620-645 million tons of oil (with gas condensate).

To develop at an accelerated rate the oil industry in Western Siberia, in the Kazakh SSR and in the north of the European part of the USSR, to speed up the commercial exploitation of new oil deposits on the basis of wide application of industrial methods of construction and complete sets of equipment ready for immediate operation.

To expand the use of new methods of influencing oil strata so as to increase oil extraction from them. To introduce the progressive method of gas-lift oil extraction and highly productive submersible electric pumps, to improve extraction technologies for highly viscous and bituminous oil.

To bring in 1985 the share of oil produced by comprehensively automated fields up to 85-90 per cent. To reduce labour expenditure on servicing per well by 15-18 per cent.

To improve the technical and economic characteristics of drilling operations through accelerated technical retooling and further improvement of their technology and organization.

In the oil-refining industry, to raise the effectiveness of oil utilization, to ensure a further deepening of oil processing and a reduction of losses of oil and oil derivatives.

To master large-tonnage production of aromatic hydrocarbons, liquid paraffins, ethylene and oil electrode coking coal. To increase the production of highly effective additives to fuels and lubricants.

To improve the quality of oil products and continue the standardization of grades of lubricants, greases and engine, boiler and furnace fuels.

To ensure the planned increase in production primarily by raising labour productivity.

In the gas industry, to regard implementation of the programme for stepped-up development of gas extraction as a highly important task and raise it in 1985 to 600-640 thousand million cubic metres. To create conditions for the further accelerated development of the industry.

To introduce highly productive automated modular units for gas preparations at gas fields.

To increase the capacities for the comprehensive processing of oil and natural gas and obtain ethane, sulphur and other by-products. To build up the extraction of gas condensate and ensure its fuller utilization.

To build high-capacity trunk gas pipelines with a high degree of automation and operational reliability.

To raise the effectiveness and reliability of the operation of the country's Unified Gas Supply System; to continue the construction of subterranean gas storages in the main fuel-consuming regions.

To raise labour productivity by 33-35 per cent.

In the coal industry, to raise coal extraction in 1985 to 770-800 million tons.

To develop, at priority rates, the extraction of coal by the most effective open-cast method through wide application of advanced processes and large-capacity mining and transport units; to accelerate the build-up of extracting capacities in the Kuznetsk Basin and the construction of facilities at the Kansk-Achinsk and Ekibastuz fuel and energy complexes, and the increase in coal extraction in these regions.

Further to develop underground coal extraction, especially for making coke, and extraction by the hydraulic method, as well as the transportation of coal by pipelines.

To improve the quality of coal and increase the supply of high-grade coal and coal bricks for communal and domestic needs.

To increase the capacities of organizations building coal-mines.

To accelerate the development and organization of serial manufacture of sets of highly-productive equip-

ment for coal extraction in complicated mining and geological conditions and for preparatory mining; to expand the development and introduction of automated coal-mining facilities run without the constant presence of people in the stope.

To increase the production capacities of plants manufacturing coal-mining equipment so as to fully satisfy the national economy's requirements in highly-productive and reliable mining equipment and spares for it.

To improve working conditions and safety measures.

To achieve the increase in coal extraction and processing primarily by raising labour productivity.

In the iron and steel industry, the main trend in further development must be radical improvement of the quality and increase in the production of effective types of metal products.

To produce in 1985 117-120 million tons of finished rolled steel.

To carry out large-scale technical retooling of the iron and steel industry.

To increase by 50 to 150 per cent the production of cold-rolled sheet steel, heat-hardened rolled shapes from low-alloy steel, steel sheet and tin plate (including extra-thin grades) with protective coatings, cold-rolled strip, dynamo steel, and rolled steel shapes and high-precision rolled shapes.

To step up the production of economical and special types of steel pipes: threaded pipes for the oil industry with new types of threaded joints and anti-corrosion coatings, high-strength pipes for high-pressure boilers, bearing pipes and pipes for atomic power stations, to master the production of multilayer pipes for gas pipelines.

To increase the output of metal powder by 200 per cent for the production of articles with high wear and corrosion resistance and long service life, and also in order to make machinery and mechanisms less labour-consuming and metal-intensive; to develop industrial production of precision alloys and rolled stock.

To ensure the priority development of the raw material basis for the iron and steel industry.

To make fuller extraction of components from ores and increase the content of iron, manganese and

chromium in concentrates; to master on an industrial scale the techniques of concentration and pelletization of oxidized ferruginous quartzites.

Further increase in steel production is to be achieved through the application of the oxygen-converter and electric steel-smelting methods. Electric steel output is to be increased by 60 per cent and the production of steel by the methods of special resmelting and out-of-furnace processing is to be expanded.

To raise steel casting output on continuous casting installations to 35-37 million tons.

To ensure fuller utilization and high-quality preparation of ferrous scrap metal and make wider use of metal-containing wastes; to build small-capacity steel plants where ferrous scrap metal accumulates and metal products are consumed.

To secure fuller utilization of reusable energy resources.

To raise labour productivity by 12-14 per cent.

In the nonferrous metals industry, to strengthen the raw materials base of existing enterprises and its further priority development and improve the techniques of the extraction and processing of ores and concentrates; to make fuller and more comprehensive use of mineral raw materials, to accelerate the introduction of autogenous, hydrometallurgical, microbiological and other effective technological processes and installations of large per unit capacity and improve the quality and range of the items produced.

To increase the production of aluminium by 15-20 per cent, copper by 20-25 per cent, and nickel and cobalt by at least 30 per cent; to build up the output of zinc, lead, titanium, magnesium and precious metals, as well as tungsten and molybdenum concentrates, niobium and other alloying elements.

To develop at a priority rate the production of semi-conducting, super-pure and special materials, precision alloys and other materials with improved properties, economical types of rolled stock, bimetals, thin aluminium and copper electrolithic foil, powders and high-precision unregrindable cutters made of hard alloys and mineral ceramics.

To accelerate the construction of mining and concentration combined projects at new rich deposits.

To increase considerably the collection, procurement and processing of nonferrous metal scrap and waste and improve the utilization of reusable energy resources.

To increase output primarily through raising labour productivity.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry, to increase output by 30-33 per cent. To raise the production of mineral fertilizers in 1985 to 150-155 million tons in reference units (36-37 million tons calculated in 100 per cent of nutritive content), synthetic resins and plastics to 6-6.25 million tons, and chemical fibre and thread to 1.6 million tons.

To develop at a priority rate the raw materials base to secure fuller utilization of the facilities for the production of mineral fertilizers and chemical feed additives.

To ensure balanced development of the production of mineral fertilizers and chemical means of plant protection and increase the output of concentrated and compound fertilizers. As from 1985, to deliver potash fertilizers to agriculture only in the granulated or large-crystal form.

To increase the production of synthetic rubber to replace natural rubber and prolong tyre life; to expand the production of tyres for heavy-duty tip-lorries and scrapers and low-pressure tyres for agricultural machines and motor cars.

To develop the production of high-quality polymers with pre-set technical characteristics, including reinforced and filled plastics, as well as the production of plastic pipes.

To increase the production of small-tonnage chemicals; to satisfy more fully the requirements of the national economy in chemical additives for polymer materials and for the synthesis of medicines, auxiliary substances for the textile industry, preservatives, catalysts, synthetic fibres, threads and dyes, varnish-and-paint and packaging materials, detergents, substitutes for fats and vegetable oils for industrial use, extra-pure chemicals and reagents, and special extra-thin polymer films.

To increase the production, broaden the range and improve the quality of rubber footwear, chemicals for household use and photographic materials.

To raise labour productivity by 28-30 per cent.

To accelerate the development of the **geological study of the territory of the country**, to expand prospecting for mineral resources, particularly for fuel and energy. To take steps to discover oil and gas deposits in Western and Eastern Siberia, the European part of the USSR, Central Asia, the Kazakh SSR and the continental shelf; to expand the raw materials base of the operating mining enterprises, especially in those regions where territorial-production complexes are being established; to intensify the search for and exploration of deposits of rich and easily dressed ferrous and nonferrous metal ores, bauxites, phosphorites, coal, combustible shale and raw materials for the atomic power industry and for the production of building materials and mineral fertilizers, as well as the search for and exploration of subterranean waters.

To develop more rapidly progressive types of geophysical and geochemical exploration of the earth's mineral wealth, to use widely in geology the possibilities of airborne and space means of studying the earth's natural resources; to elaborate and apply methods of accelerated geological and economic evaluation of deposits; to ensure further technical re-equipment of geological prospecting organizations, their supply with highly effective equipment, instruments and transport means.

To provide for the priority development of **machine-building and metalworking industries** and increase their output by no less than 40 per cent.

To ensure the speediest possible organization of the serial production of new models of machines, equipment, means of automation and instruments enabling extensive use of highly productive energy- and material-saving technological processes, and the production of the necessary machinery suited to the specific conditions of operation in different regions and different branches of the national economy.

To raise the technical standards and quality of engineering products, means of automation and instruments, to produce much more economical, productive and reliable technology with a longer service life. To this end, to accelerate production of the means of automated control of machinery and equipment, enclosed electric

drives with thyristor transducers and micro-processors, and hydraulic and pneumatic equipment. To increase considerably the production of spare parts, units and assemblies for machines, plant, means of transport, and instruments.

To elaborate and carry out measures to make more effective the systems for controlling the quality and technical level of engineering products.

To increase substantially the production of systems of machinery and equipment, programme-controlled automatic manipulators which make it possible to eliminate manual, unskilled and monotonous labour, especially in conditions which are arduous and harmful to health.

To make machine building more efficient through improving its technological processes and organization, to ensure thorough intra- and inter-branch unification of parts, units and technological processes.

To continue the extension of specialization in machine building, and the development of new and the modernization of operating specialized enterprises and large shops turning out blanks, parts, units and assemblies for branch and inter-branch use.

To improve the structure of the stock of metalworking equipment by increasing the manufacture of highly productive special lathes and transfer machines, advanced forge and press equipment, and automatic lines and complexes.

To give priority to the provision of machine-building enterprises with new metalworking equipment.

To elaborate and carry out a system of measures in order to lower the metal consumption ratio for machines and equipment and considerably to reduce waste and losses in metalworking by:

improving the design of machinery and equipment, extensively using metal of higher strength, shapes, high-precision rolled stock, plastics and insulation materials with a high thermal resistance:

replacing technological processes based on metal cutting by economical methods of part-shaping;

extensively introducing electric furnaces into foundry work and the method of non-oxidation metal heating into forging.

To manufacture and introduce in engineering enter-

prises part-rolling mills, providing for the minimum waste of rolled stock.

To establish at large machine-building enterprises facilities for the manufacture of special economical small-tonnage rolled shapes in order more fully to meet the requirements of machine building in the necessary range of rolled shapes.

To ensure the delivery to consumers of complete sets of equipment ready for immediate assembly, the assembly, adjustment and running-in of this equipment by machine-building enterprises, and its transfer to clients.

To raise labour productivity by 31-35 per cent.

In power machine building, to increase considerably the manufacture of equipment for atomic, hydraulic and thermal power stations, including atomic reactors with a capacity of 1-1.5 million kw and generating units with a capacity of 500,000-800,000 kw for thermal power stations operating on low-grade coal; to manufacture and deliver the first atomic reactors to supply heat to large cities; to develop new generating unit models with fast-neutron reactors with a capacity of 800,000-1,600,000 kw, and equipment for highly manoeuvrable generating units with a capacity of 500,000 kw; to develop an experimental-industrial steam-gas 250,000 kw installation with intercycle gasification of hard fuel.

To increase the manufacture of equipment for using reusable energy resources in metallurgy and other industries, to put into serial production gas pumping units for trunk gas pipelines with a pressure of 100 atmospheres.

In heavy and transport machine building, to increase considerably the manufacture of complete sets of metallurgical equipment, including machinery for continuous casting of blanks, new types of self-propelled mining equipment and highly productive mining transport machines of continuous operation; to develop systems of machines for the comprehensive mechanization of the labour of miners in complex mining-geological conditions.

To expand the manufacture of diesel engines with high technical and economic characteristics, and to develop engines for high-capacity road-building machines.

To organize the production of more powerful trunk-line and shunting diesel locomotives, to increase the

manufacture of specialized railway freight cars, tank cars, cars for electric trains, and track machines.

To accelerate the build-up of capacities for the manufacture of means of mechanization and automation of cargo handling and warehouse operations.

In electrical engineering, to increase considerably the production of 1-1.5 million kw turbogenerators, sets of AC equipment for 1.150 kv and DC equipment for 1.500 kv, high-capacity trunkline electric locomotives, steel-smelting furnaces with capacities of up to 200 tons, enclosed electric drives for rolling mills and oil and gas pumping stations, high-torque electric motors, power semi-conducting transformer technology, automated welding lines, and installations for applying wear-resistant coatings to metal-cutting tools.

To pay special attention to the development and putting into production of electrical engineering equipment with a higher efficiency and a lower specific consumption of nonferrous metals and other materials, to organize the manufacture of new economical sources of light with greater luminous efficiency and longer service life.

To organize the manufacture of complete sets of electric equipment for high-capacity excavators, rotary excavation complexes, and drilling rigs.

To expand the production of heat-resistant enamelled wire and microwire, small-size high-capacity storage batteries and thin foil-covered dielectrics, and to put into production a series of new types of miniature power sources, electric engines and optical fibre communication cables.

To begin serial production of installations for laser processing of materials and plasma powder spraying.

In chemical and oil engineering, to ensure the development and manufacture of highly productive equipment, including that for fundamentally new technological processes in the chemical, oil, gas, oil and gas refining, petrochemical, medical, microbiological, pulp and paper industries and in geological prospecting.

To increase considerably the manufacture of high-capacity equipment and units for the production of chemical fertilizers, means of plant protection,

chemical fibre and plastics, and technological lines for producing protein-vitamin concentrates, fodder yeast, furfurool, and lysin aminoacids. to develop complete technological lines for making B fodder vitamin and xylite and master their manufacture.

To ensure the production of complete drilling installations which can be assembled anywhere and are suited for cluster drilling equipment for mechanized exploitation and repair of wells, and automated and modular equipment for the development of oil and gas fields.

To organize the manufacture of highly efficient technology for making large tyres for heavy-duty tip-lorries and new types of moulded and non-moulded industrial rubber products, polymer films and drain-pipes.

To increase the production of highly efficient gas and dust traps and equipment for industrial sewage disposal.

In the machine-tool and tool-making industry, to raise considerably the technical level and quality of output. To ensure:

the raising of the productivity of metal-cutting lathes, forge-and-press machines, foundry and woodworking equipment by 30-60 per cent, an increase in their reliability and service life, and the raising of the precision of metal-cutting lathes by at least 20-30 per cent;

the priority growth of the output of forge-and-press equipment;

accelerated development of the production of sets of metal-cutting machinery equipped with automatic manipulators;

a considerable increase in the manufacture of numerically-controlled metal-cutting machines, especially multi-operation ones with automatic tool replacement; automatic lines for machine building and metal working, including readjustable ones; heavy and special-purpose metal-cutting lathes and forge-and-press machines; equipment for automatic assembly of mass-produced goods;

expanded production of complete sets of automatic wood-working equipment for making furniture, chip-wood boards, carpentry-construction units, wood-panel houses, and other wooden items.

To increase the manufacture of tools, including abrasive ones, and to meet more fully the respective needs

of the machine-building, metalworking and other industries.

To organize large-scale manufacture of new types of tools, including those with wear-resistant coatings, tungsten hard alloys, synthetic diamonds, and other superhard materials.

In instrument-making, to raise the technical level of computer technology and instruments and means of automation with the use of the latest achievements of microelectronics, optical electronics and laser technology.

To develop at a priority rate the manufacture of high-speed control and computer systems, peripherals and software for them, electronic regulation and telemechanic devices, executive mechanisms, and instruments and pickups for systems of comprehensive automation of complex technological processes, units, machines and equipment; to increase the output of optical instruments.

To organize the production of measuring and information technology for automated power consumption control systems, as well as instruments and means of automation for quality control in agriculture and other branches of the economy.

To develop and start the manufacture of digital seismic prospecting systems for geophysical work in prospecting for oil, gas and other minerals; to increase the output of instruments and gauges for scientific research, for control over the expenditure of fuel and energy resources, over the working conditions and the state of the environment, and modern medical instruments and apparatus, as well as measuring technology and cash registers.

In the automobile industry, to accelerate the manufacture of lorries with diesel engines; to master the production of new highly effective strip mine tip-lorries of a particularly high carrying capacity, general-purpose tip-lorries and buses with diesel engines; to increase the production of trailers and semi-trailers for motor trains; to reduce fuel consumption by improved design of internal combustion engines.

To increase the production of lorries with loading-unloading devices, container carriers with a capacity of 20 and 30 tons, refrigerator cars, tank lorries for oil deriva-

tives, means of transportation of livestock, poultry, live fish and liquid compound fertilizers with a carrying capacity of 9-13.5 tons, shop vans and specialized vehicles for delivery of consumer goods.

To design and organize serial output of special-purpose and cross-country motor vehicles for agriculture and the forest and building industries.

To ensure the designing and to begin production of small-capacity electric motor vehicles with effective power sources for urban transportation.

To continue the development of the bearings industry, and especially the manufacture of bearings for higher payloads, and precision bearings for machine-tool and instrument making.

In tractor and agricultural machine building, to secure further growth in the production of the heavy-duty K-700, T-150 and other tractors and of the entire set of machines and implements for them.

To develop capacities and organize the manufacture of the required set of highly productive machines for introducing industrial technologies into agriculture.

To design and start making a high-capacity row-crop tractor and a highly productive grain combine harvester with technical and economic characteristics conforming to present-day demands.

To increase the manufacture of anti-erosion machinery and machines for growing vegetables, fruit, grape and medicinal plants, and of small-size tractors with a set of implements.

To organize the production of self-propelled windrow harvesters, to expand the production of combined soil cultivating and sowing machines, as well as machines and equipment with active tools.

To organize the manufacture of new highly productive machines and equipment for the preparation and application of hard and liquid mineral fertilizers and chemical plant protection means, as well as grain-cleaning and grain-cleaning-and-drying units and sets.

In machine building for livestock farming and fodder production, to increase the output of sets of highly effective machines and equipment ensuring the introduction of advanced technological processes of procurement, preparation and distribution of fodder and of keeping and

growing livestock and poultry, as well as equipment for fresh-water fish farming.

To expand considerably the production of self-propelled fodder harvesters; to provide for the development of production capacities and for an increase in the output of machines of greater productivity and of higher carrying and cross-country capacity for the application of organic fertilizers, increased-capacity vehicles for transporting green fodder, highly productive loaders, and equipment for the initial processing, cooling and storage of milk on the farms.

In machine building for the construction, road-building and municipal services industries, to develop highly productive machines for the comprehensive mechanization of the principal operations at all stages of construction, and to master their manufacture.

To accelerate the production of powerful self-propelled earth-moving machines and new technology for the mechanization of timber felling, land improvement, and the municipal services.

To increase the output of machines for carrying out building operations in conditions of uninterrupted production.

To raise the technical level, broaden the range and increase the production of mechanized, manual building-and-assembly tools and finishing machines for construction work; to hasten the development and put into serial production complete technological lines and equipment for making advanced building materials, units and pre-fabricated structures; to increase the production of highly efficient automated lines for obtaining cement by the dry method.

In machine building for the light and food industries, to develop and start the manufacture of highly effective systems of machines and equipment ensuring mechanization and automation of technological processes, comprehensive utilization of agricultural raw materials, reduction of losses during their processing, storing and delivery to the consumer, as well as the improvement of the quality and broadening of the range of products.

To increase the production of equipment for preparing foodstuffs and semi-processed food for long storage, for prepackaging and packaging of foodstuffs and manu-

factures, as well as equipment for trade, public catering and service enterprises; to ensure the production of new types of highly efficient transfer lines and sets of equipment for the primary processing of cotton and flax, shuttleless spinning of fibre, finishing of knitwear and cloth, the production of non-woven fabrics and clothes and footwear.

To develop for the printing industry systems of effective machines and equipment for the processing of texts and illustrations by electronic means. To increase the output of offset printing machines and automated equipment.

To extend in every way the production and range of electric household appliances, to make them more reliable, economical, convenient and attractive.

In the building materials, building structures and components industry, to increase output by 17-19 per cent; to provide for the priority development of the production of articles that ensure lower metal and labour expenditure, a reduction in costs, the weight of buildings and structures, and their better thermal insulation.

To produce 140-142 million tons of cement in 1985; to increase the output of high-grade multi-component and specialized cement.

To build up capacities for the production of building materials with the use of ash and slag from thermal power stations, metallurgical and phosphorous slags, and waste of extractive enterprises and coal-enriching mills; to continue the development of the industry producing building materials from non-metallic ores; to increase the production of glass, especially polished, reinforced and heat-resistant glass, fibre glass cloth, effective finishing and heat-and sound-insulating materials, construction faience, and plumbing equipment, and to improve their quality.

To increase the manufacture of up-to-date ferro-concrete, metal and glued wooden structures.

To accelerate the development and introduction of energy-saving technological processes in the production of cement, glass and lime, economical methods of thermal treatment of ferro-concrete and of firing ceramic articles, and effective methods of insulation of thermal installations and utilization of secondary heat; to increase the

manufacture of economical heating appliances, plumbing equipment, automated heating boilers and boiler installations.

To retool brick production on the basis of the latest technology.

To increase the delivery to agriculture of lime and dolomite meal for liming acidic soils.

To raise labour productivity by 16-19 per cent.

In the timber, pulp and paper and woodworking industries, to increase output by 17-19 per cent.

To continue to develop the timber industry, to equip its enterprises with highly productive machines for timbering, road building, and loading-unloading operations; to improve the working and living conditions at timber-felling sites; to make fuller use of the timber resources in the European part of the country without harming the environment; to organize complex enterprises for afforestation and felling and the processing of timber.

To increase considerably the comprehensive nature of the processing of wood raw materials; to develop at priority rates the output of advanced types of timber and paper products; to increase the production of chip wood boards by approximately 50 per cent, fibre boards and cardboard by 30-50 per cent, pulp by 30-40 per cent, and paper by 20-25 per cent; to develop and master new technological processes and materials ensuring extension of the range and considerable improvement of the quality of printing paper; to increase the output of wallpaper and paper for household needs. Maximally to utilize paper waste. To increase the production of furniture, broaden its range and improve quality and convenience in use.

To develop capacities for the production and increase the output of wood-panel houses for rural housing construction.

To increase the extraction of pulp and other intermediate products from wood; to make wider use of hardwood for pulp production.

To raise labour productivity by 16-18 per cent.

To develop at priority rates the production of **consumer goods.**

To work out and implement measures to equip the industries, enterprises and shops turning out consumer goods with highly productive technology, to introduce

advanced production processes, and to increase the supply of quality raw and other materials to them; to provide for the further extension and improvement of the range and quality of goods in conformity with the growing requirements of Soviet people; to improve coordination and specialization and heighten quality control in consumer goods production.

In the light industry, to raise output by 18-20 per cent; to increase the production of high-quality goods that are in great demand, above all, different kinds of cotton, woollen, silk and linen textiles and clothing made out of them, knitted underwear and outerwear, hosiery and socks, tulle curtains, footwear, fur headgear, and artificial leather and fur; to pay more attention to extending the production and improving the quality of goods for children; to improve the range and quality of workclothes and footwear, especially for women.

To continue the retooling of light industry enterprises on the basis of the broader introduction of highly productive pneumomechanical, rotary and self-twisting spinning machines, shuttleless weaving looms, multifiller machines with uninterrupted fabric formation, comprehensively mechanized and automated lines in the cotton, woollen, knitwear and clothing industries, continuous technological processes in fabrics and knitwear finishing and the production of non-woven fabrics.

To improve the pattern of the textiles produced increasing for the purpose the share of knitwear and non-woven materials. Maximally to replace natural fibre for technical purposes with chemical fibre, and fabrics, with non-woven materials.

To raise labour productivity by 16-20 per cent.

To increase the output of cultural and household goods by at least 40 per cent, considerably improve the quality of output and constantly to renew and widen its range; to develop at a faster rate the production of technically advanced durables, distinguished by the novelty of their functions, reliability, economical performance, improved consumer properties, attractiveness and greater convenience in use, applying modern achievements of science and technology in the process.

To increase considerably the production of household goods, chemicals for household use, plumbing equip-

ment, fitters', carpentry and gardening tools, means of the small-scale mechanization of agricultural work which are in high demand, as well as toys, and goods for artistic and technical creative work, sports and tourism. Fully to satisfy the demand for spares for household machines, instruments and means of conveyance belonging to citizens.

To set for the industries the following targets in increasing the production of cultural and household goods: for the radio-engineering industry—70-90 per cent; for the communication equipment industry—50-80 per cent; for the electronic industry—80-90 per cent; for the chemical industry—40-60 per cent; for the aircraft, automobile, iron and steel industries, machine building for the light and food industries and the electrical engineering industry—40-50 per cent; for the instrument-making and building materials industries—30-40 per cent; for the timber, pulp and paper and woodworking industries—20-30 per cent.

In the fishing industry, to increase the volume of commercial fish output (tinned fish included) by 10-12 per cent.

To ensure further extension of the range and improvement of the quality of fish products, increase in the output of live and chilled fish, smoked fish of the sturgeon species, ready-to-serve products, smoked and dried fish, fish fillet and semi-processed products.

To increase the productivity of inland basins and littoral marine areas of the USSR, and to heighten the protection of fish stocks. To develop at an accelerating rate fish production by the pond, hatchery, lake and other fish-breeding farms; to increase output of these farms by 80-100 per cent. To broaden the scale of the research and utilization, on a rational basis, of the biological resources of the open waters of the World Ocean.

To augment the fishing fleet with new highly efficient vessels and improve its utilization through the technical retooling of boats and introduction of highly effective fish-detecting and navigation instruments, fishing tackle, and technological equipment, the timely supply of fuel and packaging and other materials, and reduction of the overall time spent for repairing and handling of vessels in ports.

To obtain an increase in production primarily by raising labour productivity.

In the local industry, to increase output roughly by 40 per cent. to improve the quality and broaden the range of goods. To promote local handicrafts.

To increase the output of consumer goods and manufactures from local raw and other materials, industrial and agricultural waste, the extraction of local minerals, and the growing of cultivated varieties of grapevine, sorghum and other vegetable raw materials. To expand work at home, above all, by using the labour of invalids and pensioners as well as of the rural population in between seasons.

V. DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The principal task of the agro-industrial complex is reliably to supply the country with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials.

In the interests of successful realization of the food programme, to ensure unified planning, proportionate and balanced development of the branches of the agro-industrial complex, considerable strengthening of its material and technical base, improvement of economic links between branches, organization of their smooth cooperation in increasing the output of agricultural products, improvement of the storage, transportation, processing and delivery of produce to the consumer.

In agriculture, to ensure dynamic development and growth of the effectiveness of all its branches, an increase in the output and improvement of its quality; to continue the policy of all-out intensification of agricultural production.

Resolutely to apply in practice advanced experience, to improve the organization of work and production on collective and state farms, to raise considerably the effectiveness of the utilization of the land, production funds and material, financial and manpower resources, to implement a system of measures to improve planning,

economic stimulation of production and the procurement of agricultural products, to strengthen the management accounting system, reduce production costs, raise the profitability of agricultural production and improve the financial and economic position of the farms.

To continue improving the structure and the distribution of agricultural production in zones and regions of the country, to raise the level of its specialization and concentration, to enhance the role and responsibility of the republics, territories, regions and districts in building up all-Union food stocks and in meeting the population's demand for foodstuffs.

To increase in the five years the average annual output of agricultural produce by 12-14 per cent, and labour productivity in collective farming by 22-24 per cent.

In field husbandry, the main task is to increase in every way soil fertility and crop yields and to bring about further growth of the output of grain, fodder and other products through the application of scientifically substantiated zonal systems of farming.

To bring the average annual production of grain to 238-243 million tons, including 12-13 million tons of pulses; to increase the production and purchase by the state of millet, buckwheat, rye, rice, durum and strong wheat, brewing barley, maize and fodder-grain crops.

An urgent task is radically to improve **fodder production** and to satisfy the fodder requirements of collectively owned livestock, as well as of personally owned livestock and poultry, to complete the elaboration and begin the realization of the complex programme for the establishment of a reliable and balanced fodder base of animal husbandry in the country, to specialize fodder production by branches on the collective and state farms, to pay special attention to making farms self-sufficient in fodder, to make fuller use of food waste.

To improve the quality of all types of fodder, to concentrate efforts on solving the fodder-protein problem, first of all through expanding the sown area and increasing considerably the production of peas, lucerne, clover, lupine, soy bean, rape and other protein-rich crops, to raise the yields of fodder crops and the productivity of natural pasture lands, to secure a sharp reduction in the loss of the nutritious value of fodder

during harvesting and storage, to accelerate the construction on the farms of standardized storage facilities for silage, haylage, hay, grass meal, root crops, and other fodder.

To bring average annual raw-cotton production to 9.2-9.3 million tons, to improve the quality of cotton fibre, to expand the cultivation of the most valuable fine-fibre varieties of cotton, to improve the structure of the production of long-staple cotton with good technological properties.

To increase the crop yields and improve the quality and storage of bast crops and to increase the volume of primary industrial processing of fibre-flax and hemp.

To bring average annual sugar beet production to 100-103 million tons, to increase the yield of sugar per hectare of sugar-beet plantations.

To raise the yields and improve the quality of the seeds of sunflower, common flax, castor-oil and essential-oil plants and other industrial crops, as well as medicinal plants.

To increase further the production, to broaden the range and improve the quality of potatoes, other vegetables and melon crops, to improve their storage and to cut losses sharply.

To improve the organization of the production, procurement, storage, processing and marketing of fruit and vegetables, including potatoes, to expand the construction of refrigerating and storage facilities, state procurement centres and processing enterprises and shops, in the first place in the areas where these crops are grown.

To expand the construction of hothouses, especially those using industrial thermal waste and thermal springs.

To increase the production of fruit, berries, grapes, tea and subtropical crops; to continue the planting of new industrial-type orchards and vineyards and the reconstruction of existing plantations; to increase the share of high-quality varieties and strains of crops, specifically of winter varieties of fruit; to promote on a broader scale the sale of fresh vegetables and fruit through consumer cooperatives and on collective-farm markets.

To improve the system of growing seeds of agricultural crops, to hasten its transition to an industrial basis,

to introduce more rapidly new highly productive varieties and hybrids, to improve the quality of seeds; to reduce losses caused by pests, diseases and weeds, to apply more extensively biological plant protection means; to introduce industrial methods of cultivating maize, sugar beet, sunflower, soya bean, potatoes and other crops.

To consider **livestock raising** a top priority task in the countryside; to continue to increase the output of livestock products and the productivity of livestock and poultry; to bring the average annual production of meat to 17-17.5 million tons (slaughter weight), milk to 97-99 million tons, eggs to not less than 72.000 million, wool to 470.000-480.000 tons; to work to raise the productivity of milch cows and the quality of milk; to make wider use of the possibilities of increasing beef production through the intensive breeding and fattening of young cattle, to reduce the fattening time, to take measures to expand the raising of cattle for beef and poultry farming, to pay greater attention to the development of reindeer, horse and rabbit breeding, fur farming, pond fish farming, bee-keeping and silkworm breeding.

Intensively to develop pig farming, to extend the capacities of industrial-type pig-breeding enterprises, to make better use of the possibilities of pork production at non-specialized farms and on the individual plots of citizens, to increase in every way the production of mutton, wool, karakul and other products of sheep and goat breeding, to strengthen the production base of these branches, and to set up large mechanized farms and fattening centres.

Substantially to increase yield per head of livestock, radically to improve stock reproduction and the preservation of the livestock population.

To raise the level of selection with the aim of improving the pedigree qualities and productivity of animals, breeding new highly productive breeds, lines and hybrids of livestock and poultry meeting the requirements of industrial methods; to increase the deliveries of medical preparations and vitamins to animal husbandry and to improve the veterinary service.

To increase the purchases of agricultural products, with a considerable rise in their quality and strict compliance with the planned range.

To improve the organization and methods of procurement.

To develop direct contacts between trading and public catering enterprises and collective and state farms.

To increase the production of meat, milk, potatoes, other vegetables and fruit on the subsidiary farms of enterprises, organizations and institutions, on subsidiary individual plots, as well as in the gardening, vegetable-growing and rabbit-breeding associations (societies) of factory and office workers, to help them in purchasing young stock, fodder, seeds and fertilizers.

To continue **land improvement**, to commission under state-financed projects 3.4-3.6 million hectares of irrigated and 3.7-3.9 million hectares of drained land, to supply water to 26-28 million hectares of pasture-land in desert, semi-desert and mountainous areas.

Substantially to enhance the effectiveness of the use of irrigated and drained land and to reduce the time required for the attainment of projected crop productivity on them, to raise the technical level and the quality of the water-conservation work, to ensure a comprehensive approach to land improvement and to the putting of improved land to agricultural use, to carry out measures to ensure rational use of water for agricultural needs, to improve the condition of irrigated and drained lands, and increase accountability for allowing them to fall out of agricultural use, to accelerate the reconstruction of existing land amelioration systems, improvement of their water supply, and elimination of soil salinity and excess acidity.

To launch preparatory work for channelling part of the flow of northern rivers to the Volga basin, and to continue research and design work for channelling part of the flow of Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Consistently to implement measures to increase the delivery and a more rational use of **chemicals** in crop farming and animal husbandry, to ensure in 1985 the supply of mineral fertilizers to agriculture to an amount of not less than 115 million tons in equivalent units, five million tons of chemical fodder additives, and 650,000-680,000 tons of highly effective crop protection agents, to

improve the provision of agriculture with chemical fodder preservatives.

To enhance the role of the agrochemical service in agriculture and its responsibility for the effective application of mineral fertilizers, liming materials and chemical crop protection agents, to introduce on a larger scale methods of localized application of fertilizers, drastically to cut back fertilizer losses in storage, transportation and application.

To ensure fuller and more effective use of the resources of organic fertilizers, to equip the farms with a range of highly efficient machines and implements for this purpose, to raise the volume of application of organic fertilizers to 1,000-1,200 million tons by 1985, to improve the quality of liming of acid soils.

To envisage in the eleventh five-year plan the provision of adequate capital investments in agriculture, the share of which in the overall allocations for the national economy is not to be below the level so far attained, to increase in every way the effectiveness of capital investments for productive purposes, using them in the first place to increase soil fertility, establish a stable fodder base for animal husbandry, build facilities for the primary processing of agricultural products, warehouses, stores, and reconstruct and expand premises for livestock breeding and other purposes.

To carry out at priority rates the construction in rural areas of well-appointed houses with facilities for livestock and poultry keeping, children's preschool institutions, club houses and other cultural and service establishments; to increase capital investments for these purposes by 39 per cent; to expand central heating systems, gas and water supply and sewerage systems in rural areas; to enlarge the scale of construction of intra-farm hard-surface roads.

To speed up the development of the industrial base of construction in the countryside; to increase the output of sets of light industrial structures with a high degree of prefabrication.

To continue the retooling of agriculture on the basis of new technology, to supply agriculture in the five years with 1,870,000 tractors, 1,450,000 lorries, 600,000 grain combine harvesters, and other farm machinery, to com-

plete the comprehensive mechanization of the production of sugar beet, raw cotton and fibre flax, and of the application of organic and mineral fertilizers and crop protection agents, to raise the level of mechanization of the production of vegetables, including potatoes, fruit, fodder, and livestock products.

Considerably to improve the use of tractors, lorries, harvesters and other machines, to avoid their premature write-off; to improve the quality of the repair and maintenance of machines, and their preservation; to continue the strengthening and specialization of the repair and servicing base; to extend the introduction of progressive forms of organization of machinery utilization.

To increase the power per worker ratio in agriculture by 40-50 per cent.

To enhance the responsibility of farm managers and specialists, workers in research institutions and Party, government and agricultural management bodies for the introduction of scientifically substantiated methods of farming, to raise the efficiency of agricultural science, to speed up the introduction of its achievements into production, and to strengthen its ties with production.

Consistently to promote specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

To ensure further development on collective and state farms of subsidiary industrial production units and workshops to process agricultural products, to produce building materials and make consumer goods, primarily from local raw materials and industrial waste.

To improve the training of personnel in mass trades, to reinforce the middle managerial level on collective and state farms with skilled specialists.

To promote the independent economic initiative of collective and state farms and inter-farm enterprises.

In forestry, to go over gradually to managing it on the principles of continuous and rational use of forest reserves and to ensure an improvement in their qualitative composition, to raise young forests of fine wood on an area of at least eight million hectares; to introduce industrial methods of forest growing; to launch a target-oriented comprehensive programme for establishing a

permanent timber base in the European-Urals zone of the USSR for the pulp and paper industry by raising forest plantations.

To increase the scope of afforestation work on pastures in the semi-desert regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in order to expand and strengthen the fodder base of sheep breeding.

In food-industry branches, to increase output by 23-26 per cent, to develop at a high rate the production of ready-to-cook, semi-cooked and other culinary products, potato products and quick-frozen fruit and vegetables; to ensure priority development of the production of baby and dietary foodstuffs.

To raise the quality, broaden the range and expand the production of foodstuffs enriched with proteins, vitamins and other valuable components; to increase the output of packaged goods, to extend the use of new types of packaging which will ensure long preservation and lower losses of food products.

To make processing much more comprehensive, to expand the utilization of agricultural raw materials; to introduce continuous cycles and intensive production regimes, to secure the use on a wide scale of direct extraction methods in vegetable oil production, the aseptic method of tinning fruit and vegetables, comprehensively mechanized lines in the meat and dairy industry, and methods of transporting raw materials and products in bulk and in containers.

To promote in every way the changeover of the processing industry to accepting livestock, milk, fruit and vegetables in the areas of their production and their delivery by the procurers' transport.

To ensure the comprehensive development of the refrigerator industry and a wider use of artificial coolants in the processing and storage of farm produce.

To raise labour productivity by 21-23 per cent in the food industry and by 27-29 per cent in the meat and dairy industry.

In the flour-milling and mixed feeds industry, to increase the production of high-grade flour by approximately 24-27 per cent and that of mixed feeds at state industrial enterprises by 13-15 per cent, and to double the output of protein-vitamin additives, to ac-

celerate the retooling of the flour-milling industry by equipping it with complete sets of highly productive mill plant.

To put into operation grain elevators with an aggregate capacity of 20 million tons, in the first place, in the main grain-growing areas.

To speed up the increase of grain-drying capacities in the areas growing sunflower, maize and rice.

In the microbiological industry, to carry out measures to accelerate the output of products of microbiological synthesis, and to ensure an 80-90 per cent increase in output.

To increase considerably the production of commercial microbiological protein and lysin, and also antibiotics for fodder and veterinary purposes, fodder vitamins, microbiological plant-protection agents, ferment preparations, premixes, bacterial fertilizers, and other products of microbiological synthesis.

To raise labour productivity by 38-42 per cent.

VI. DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The central task of transport is the full and prompt satisfaction of the transport needs of the national economy and the population and the heightening of efficiency and quality standards in the transportation system. With this aim in view it is necessary:

to improve the organization and management of the transportation process;

to make fuller use of and to increase the reliability of the technical facilities of transport;

to improve the coordination of the work of all modes of transport and their interaction with other branches of the national economy, and introduce improved technology in haulage involving different carriers;

further to improve the planning of the work of transport, eliminate cross-hauls, excessively long and other non-rational freight hauls, reduce per unit and per passenger transportation costs, lessen the expenditure of resources on the transportation of freight and passengers;

to strengthen the material and technical base of transport, speed up the introduction of new technology, advanced technological processes and automated control systems, raise the level of comprehensive mechanization of cargo handling and repairs;

to improve the structure of the rolling stock and the fleet, ensuring their more extensive specialization;

to extend the sphere of application of new transportation means for freightage in the northern regions of the country and also for urban and commuter passenger carriage;

to speed up the development of the container transportation system, extend the transportation of packaged and piece freight and enlarge the network of special centres equipped to handle containers and packs;

considerably to improve services for passengers by all types of transport;

to enhance the safety of transportation and lessen the harmful effect of transport on the environment;

to improve the organization of transportation in international communication;

to take measures to cut transportation time and improve the preservation of cargoes.

On the railways, to carry out reequipment and further to increase the freight and traffic capacity of railways on freight-intensive lines and the capacity of railway stations and junctions.

To raise the level and effectiveness of routing freightage and the role of the timetable in organizing the movement of trains, to improve the use of locomotives and rolling stock, to speed up the switchover of the rolling stock to roller bearings.

To put into operation in 1981-1985 at least 5,000 km of parallel lines of track, to electrify more than 6,000 km of track, to fit more than 15,000 km of track with automatic blocking and centralized dispatching systems, and to lay at least 3,600 km of new track, to open the whole length of the Baikal-Amur Railway to traffic.

To consolidate the repair and construction facilities of the railways.

To increase railway freight turnover by 14-15 per cent, passenger turnover by 9 per cent and labour productivity by 10-12 per cent.

In marine transport, to improve the use of the fleet, ports and repair shipyards, the organization of cargo and passenger carriage and raise the effectiveness of the export of transportation services.

To augment the merchant marine with specialized vessels—container carriers, lighter carriers, railway-train ferries, ships for Arctic navigation and icebreakers, to begin the installation of atomic power units on cargo ships.

To ensure round-the-year navigation in the western part of the Northern Sea Route and prompt delivery of essential freight to the extreme North and the Far East regions.

To build up the capacity of sea ports and repair shipyards.

To increase marine cargo carriage by eight to nine per cent.

In inland navigation, substantially to strengthen the material and technical base, above all for cargo shipping in the areas of Siberia, the Far East and the North. Wherever feasible, to divert cargo shipping from railway to river transport, to extend the period of navigation on main waterways.

To increase the cargo-handling capacity of river ports, to augment the river fleet with large-tonnage motor ships, river- and sea-going ships, pusher tugs, barges for heavy-load trains, ice-breakers and comfortable passenger ships, to develop repair facilities for the river fleet.

To increase the cargo turnover of river transport by 19-20 per cent.

Speedily to develop pipeline transport, especially for the transportation of oil products, oil and gas.

To raise the quality of the construction of pipeline transport projects and ensure their reliable operation, to carry out measures considerably to increase the capacity of newly-built gas pipelines, and to automate pumping stations, to develop and introduce technological processes for round-the-year construction of pipelines in difficult-of-access areas with rigorous natural and climatic conditions.

In motor transport, further to strengthen the material and technical base and develop public transport at priority rates: to continue the concentration of motor

vehicles in large motor pools and to improve their technical servicing and repair, to strengthen the repair base and improve the system of its operation.

To improve the structure of the motor-vehicle fleet, to increase the share of large- and small-tonnage and specialized vehicles in it; to ensure further growth of centralized haulage and large-scale use of road trains with sets of trailers and semi-trailers, above all for transportation on interurban lines.

To improve the organization of the work of road passenger transport in town and country, to increase the regularity and frequency of bus traffic.

To increase freight turnover in public road transport by 30-40 per cent and the passenger turnover in public buses by 16-18 per cent.

To envisage priority expansion of the basic network of trunk **motor roads**, to expand the construction of roads in the countryside linking district centres and the central premises of collective and state farms with public roads, to improve the quality of the construction, repair and maintenance of roads, paying special attention to traffic safety.

In air transport, to extend the network of airports on long-distance and local air routes, equipping them with modern means of the mechanization and automation of transportation processes and the servicing of planes, and the construction and reconstruction of repair plants and maintenance bases for civil aviation, especially in the regions of the North, Siberia and the Far East.

To carry out measures considerably to reduce per unit fuel consumption through rational exploitation of aviation equipment, reduction of fuel losses, by making engines more economical and improving the weight and aerodynamic characteristics of airplanes and helicopters.

To envisage the large-scale introduction of airborne and ground systems of navigation and radio equipment ensuring automation of the control of air traffic and the take-off and landing of planes, and increasing the regularity and safety of flights.

To increase passenger turnover by approximately 30 per cent.

In industrial transport, to accelerate reconstruction

and retooling, improve the use of rolling stock and secure a rhythmical pace of cargo handling.

To expand the existing and organize new enterprises of inter-sectoral industrial railway transport.

To accelerate the introduction of continuous-operation and new specialized types of transport (conveyor, pneumocontainer, hydraulic, and so on), especially in the mining and chemical industries and at building-materials enterprises.

More fully to satisfy the requirements of the national economy and the population in **communication** services, and to improve their standards.

To continue the establishment of a single countrywide automated communications network based on the most up-to-date systems of transmission of information, to promote the development of colour television and stereophonic broadcasting, to make wider use of artificial earth satellites for multiprogramme television and radio broadcasting, telephone communication with remote localities and the page facsimile transmission of central newspapers.

To increase in the five years the length of trunk telephone lines by about 80 per cent and the number of telephones in town and country by 30 per cent, including those for private subscribers by 40 per cent.

To raise the level of mechanization and automation at post offices and considerably to increase the volume of container transportation of mail, printed matter and mail order goods.

VII. CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

The main task in capital construction is to continue the build-up of the country's production potential on a new technical basis, the erection of houses, and service, social and cultural establishments.

To work for a radical improvement of construction and higher effectiveness of capital investments, to pay chief attention to securing the timely commissioning of fixed assets and production capacities, to concentrate capital investments and material resources on the most

important projects, to limit the number of projects being built at the same time, to reduce the time spent on construction, to commission production capacities and projects in the non-productive sphere evenly and in a balanced manner throughout the year. In the next few years to bring the volume of uncompleted construction projects and uninstalled equipment into conformity with established norms.

In the five years, to increase capital investments in the national economy from all sources of financing by 12-15 per cent.

To channel capital investments primarily into the reconstruction and retooling of enterprises and the completion of projects begun earlier. To begin the construction of new, and the expansion of existing, enterprises when the requirements of the national economy in a given type of product cannot be satisfied through improving the use of existing production capacities with due account taken of their reconstruction and retooling.

To improve design-and-estimate work and build according to the most advanced and economical projects. To envisage in them a growth of the effectiveness of capital investments through the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and advanced experience, and through economy of materials and labour expenditure, to raise the quality of layout and architectural and building solutions, to lower costs in the construction of buildings, structures and dwelling houses, and to reduce capital investments per unit of capacity installed, to make rational use of the land allotted for construction.

To heighten the responsibility of ministries, departments, commissions of experts, and design and research organizations for high technical standards and cost effectiveness of projects and a correct determination of planned construction costs.

To improve the contract and direct-labour methods, to promote in every way advanced forms of organization of construction, such as module, team-rotation, unit-by-unit construction, and others, to create conditions for the dissemination everywhere of the start-to-finish flowline

team contract based on better engineering preparation and more complete construction sets.

To carry out measures for a considerable reduction of manual labour expenditure, the provision of highly efficient machinery, mechanisms and motor transport, including small-capacity motor vehicles, and to raise the efficiency of their use by improving the shift ratio, to improve the supply of building organizations with small-scale mechanization, means, with mechanized, electric-power and hand tools, as well as mobile amenity rooms.

To raise the level of industrialization of construction and the degree of prefabrication of structural elements and parts, to widen the use of new effective structural elements, to make fuller use of local building materials.

To increase the capacities of territorial building and assembly organizations in areas of concentration of construction, to develop the network of mobile contractor organizations and mobile inventory depots.

To ensure further development and technical retooling of house- and plant-prefabrication plants and rural building organizations, and make fuller use of their capacities, to increase the share of large-panel and module house building in the overall volume of housing construction.

To practise in some industries construction of enterprises with bank credits granted to contractor organizations to the sum of the project's full estimated cost, the fully completed enterprises to be turned over to the customer on a ready-for-operation basis.

To raise labour productivity in construction by 15-17 per cent.

VIII. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND RAISING THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLE

To ensure further growth of the people's well-being and development of the socialist way of life and the entire system of social relations on the basis of economic progress and higher production efficiency.

To this end, to envisage:

provision of the most favourable conditions for highly productive work and enhancement of its creative character; all-round reduction of manual, low-skilled and arduous physical labour; improvement of labour protection and safety techniques; closer control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption;

the raising of the level and improvement of the structure of consumption of material goods and services, improvement of their quality and widening of their variety;

improvement of housing and living conditions of the population, especially in rural localities, lightening of domestic work, better standards in all types of services;

creation of conditions for strengthening the family, provision of greater privileges and benefits to families with children and to working mothers;

growth of the educational and cultural level of the population, improvement of medical services for, and recreational facilities of, Soviet people, provision of more favourable conditions for active labour;

further development of socialist democracy, encouragement of the initiative of the working people, their broader participation in management, promotion in every way of socialist emulation and of the movement for a communist attitude to work;

effective use of the social factors of economic growth, the combining of material and moral incentives to work, enhancement of their influence on production growth and the attainment of high end results.

To raise per capita **real incomes** of the population by 16-18 per cent.

To regard fuller satisfaction of the demand of the population for various goods and services as a top priority task.

To increase **retail trade turnover** in the state and cooperative trade sectors by 22-25 per cent.

To ensure, on the basis of a consistent tackling of the food problem, further improvement in the diet of the population through greater consumption of the most nutritious products.

To meet more fully the demand for cultural and household goods and commodities other than food, to increase considerably the sale of building materials to the

population, as well as of substandard materials and articles for repair and other needs in the home.

To widen and renovate the range of goods and to improve their quality, to increase the sale of new, fashionable as well as inexpensive quality goods in general demand, to influence actively the moulding of reasonable requirements and esthetic tastes of the population.

To raise the average monthly **wages and salaries** by 13-16 per cent and to raise their level to 190-195 roubles by the end of the five-year period.

To increase the **remuneration of collective farmers** from the collective economy by 20-22 per cent.

In the wage and salary sphere to ensure:

greater dependence of the earnings and bonuses of every worker on his personal labour contribution and on the end results of the performance of the work collective, and enhancement of their stimulating role in raising labour productivity, improving the quality of output and achieving savings in all types of resources; improvement of the wage-rate system and output-quota setting;

improvement of the wage scheme for different categories of workers taking into consideration the complexity and importance of the work done, the working conditions and the intensiveness of labour, also in particular branches of the national economy and particular regions of the country.

To ensure growth of the wages of workers, including those of low-paid workers, through the reduction of manual, low-skilled labour, improvement of qualifications, doubling-up on jobs, and higher performance.

As the necessary conditions are created and the resources amassed, gradually to increase minimum wages to a monthly 80 roubles and wage-rates and salaries, in the first place in the productive branches of the economy. Widely to use for this purpose the existing reserves for labour productivity growth in the amalgamations, enterprises, institutions and industries.

To improve regional pay-rate regulation.

To introduce regional wage and salary differentials in the Urals and in some areas of Kazakhstan and in the northern parts of the Vologda and Kirov regions for

factory and office workers for whom none have yet been established.

To establish long-service additional pay in the southern regions of the Far East and Eastern Siberia.

To continue increasing the size of additional pay for night work in some industries.

In the sphere of remuneration of the work of collective farmers to ensure:

greater dependence of pay on the end results, labour productivity, and the quality of output;

reduction of the difference between the pay rates of collective farmers and the workers of state agricultural enterprises, to be effected in step with the growth of their labour productivity, skill and participation in social production.

To establish the minimum duration of annual paid leave for collective farmers at the level of the minimum leave for wage and salary workers.

To increase the **social consumption funds** by 20 per cent. to enhance the role of payments and benefits to the population from these funds in solving production and socio-demographic problems, to raise the effectiveness of the utilization of the resources channelled into these funds, including those provided by amalgamations, enterprises, organizations and collective farms.

To increase **state aid to families with children and to newlyweds**, to grant greater privileges and benefits to these families, to contribute to improving their housing conditions and amenities of daily life, to improve the system of state allowances for children, to improve the diet and services in preschool establishments, boarding schools, boarding institutions attached to schools, and children's homes, to complete the introduction of the free issue of textbooks to pupils of general educational schools.

To ensure further **improvement of the working conditions, amenities of daily life and rest and leisure conditions of working women**.

To introduce, beginning with 1981, in successive regions of the country, a partially paid leave for working mothers to look after their children until they reach the age of one. To expand benefits granted to working women in connection with the birth and upbringing of children.

To create possibilities for women with small children to work an incomplete day or week, to work according to an adjustable timetable or at home, to take effective measures to lighten domestic work.

To increase considerably the number of specialized prophylactic treatment centres for expectant mothers.

To provide for the continued development of the network and improvement of the work of kindergartens and crèches, extended-day schools (groups), Young Pioneer camps and other children's establishments, especially in areas with a high rate of female employment in social production, to build preschool establishments for at least 2.5 million children.

To bring in 1985 the number of pupils in extended-day schools (groups) to 13.5-14 million. To improve the work of Palaces (Houses) of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren and other extra-school institutions.

To improve the social security system, to raise the minimum old-age and disability pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers and pensions due to loss of the breadwinner, to provide for the further equalization of the social security conditions for collective farmers and workers of state-owned enterprises.

To bring the size of previously awarded pensions progressively closer to that of the pensions awarded to workers of similar trades and qualifications at the present time.

To carry out further measures to improve the conditions of life of veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the families of the fallen, to show greater concern for veteran workers.

To extend the opportunities for pensioners to participate in social labour, to improve the forms of material incentives for work by able-bodied pensioners.

To extend the network of pensioners' homes, to improve amenities and services there, to improve the organization of prosthetic-orthopedic assistance to the population and the provision of invalids with individual means of conveyance.

To continue the reimbursement of state loans.

To pursue a consistent policy of ensuring the **stability of state retail prices** of staple foodstuffs and manufactures, to tighten state and public control and to heighten

the responsibility of ministries and departments and heads of amalgamations, enterprises, organizations and institutions for observance of price discipline.

To ensure the continued development of **trade and public catering**.

To extend the retail trade network, to strengthen the material and technical facilities of state and cooperative trade, to improve the organization of trade management, to pay special attention to the establishment of self-service supermarkets, department stores, specialized stores and big shopping centres, to increase the network of brand shops of industrial ministries and amalgamations, as well as that of brand shops of state farms, collective farms and their associations to sell fruit and vegetables.

To raise the standards of shopping services to the population, in every way to develop advanced forms of trade, to improve self-service sales of goods, sales to order at places of work and residence, as well as mail order trading and to supply more packaged goods to the distributive network.

To raise the role of public catering in meeting the requirements of the population, to provide for its development at priority rates, to further its industrialization, to improve the supply of hot meals to factory workers, office staffs, collective farmers and students at educational institutions of all types at their place of work or study, considerably to expand the network of public catering establishments and raise the standards of service they provide for the population, to develop the network of special diet establishments.

To introduce advanced technology in goods transportation, storage, processing and sale, modern distributive network and refrigerator equipment, sets of machines and highly productive lines to process and package goods, to improve the economic ties between industrial, agricultural and distributive enterprises and organizations, to enhance the role of economic agreements in drawing up production and marketing plans for consumer goods.

To carry out measures to concentrate stocks of goods primarily within the wholesale trade network, to increase the degree of responsibility of wholesale storage centres for the uninterrupted provision of the shops with the

required range of goods, and the responsibility of shops for having the established range of goods always on sale.

To improve the work of the distributive system and industry in studying consumer demand, to take fuller account of the specific features of the demand of various groups of the population and regions of the country.

To contribute in every way to the development of consumer cooperatives, encouraging their economic initiative and activity in improving trade and public catering in the countryside and expanding raw material and food resources, to increase the production at consumer cooperative enterprises of goods required by the population through more effective utilization of local materials and primary products, cattle and poultry breeding and fish farming in inland waters, to conduct more actively the purchase of agricultural produce from the population and collective farms, to expand trade in these products in cities and industrial centres, to make fuller use of the possibilities for increasing the procurement of honey and wild fruits, berries, mushrooms, nuts and medicinal herbs.

To develop the network and improve the operation of collective-farm markets, to aid the population in delivering and marketing their surplus agricultural produce from individual auxiliary plots and gardening, vegetable growing and other associations.

Substantially to extend the network of shops selling articles accepted from the population and collective farms on commission.

Considerably to improve **public services**, to increase the volume of services by approximately 40-50 per cent, to raise the quality of order fulfilment and standards of service, to provide for the accelerated development of public services in the countryside and in the eastern regions of the country.

To promote the **savings banks service**, improve its forms of working and provide for increased supply to the banks of computers and other essential facilities.

To advance the state-funded life and property insurance system.

To improve the regime of work of enterprises in the distributive system, public catering and everyday services and other institutions and organizations of the services

sphere for the maximum convenience of the working people, to heighten public control over the work of these enterprises, institutions and organizations.

Consistently to improve the **housing conditions of Soviet people**, to make dwellings more comfortable and improve amenities in them, to extend the network of youth hostels at enterprises and organizations, and to improve services in them, to build dwelling houses with a total floor space of 530-540 million square metres, to provide for their priority construction for housing workers of newly established enterprises and newly developed areas, and in the countryside, to distribute new state-provided housing, as a rule, on the principle of a separate flat for each family.

To pay more attention to the comprehensive building up of cities and townships, to complete, in the main, the changeover to standardized home building with improved apartment layout and maintenance conditions.

To raise the role of house-building cooperatives in improving the housing conditions of the population, to extend the possibilities for individual house building, especially in small towns, urban-type settlements and in the countryside, to provide assistance to working people in cooperative and individual house building through the incentive funds of amalgamations and individual enterprises.

To carry out measures for improving the maintenance of housing, to promote public utility services, better to provide cities and other localities with central heating and water supply systems, to improve their amenities and the planting of greenery there, in residential areas to allocate premises and grounds for sports, health-building and cultural and educational work.

To ensure the continued development of the **public education system** and fuller satisfaction of the country's requirements in specialists and skilled workers, to improve the functioning of all forms of education and personnel training at all levels, to advance and improve education through evening and extramural courses.

To improve the forms and methods of labour, moral and esthetic education in schools, to raise the standards of vocational guidance for young people, to create pre-

requisites for a gradual changeover to starting children's tuition in preparatory forms of general educational schools at the age of six.

To provide for the further development of the network of vocational technical schools as a major source of skilled workers for the national economy, to raise the number of skilled workers finishing these institutions to 13 million in 1981-85; to train 60 per cent more skilled workers with a secondary education.

To improve on-the-job training and advanced training.

To train approximately 10 million specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education, to carry out measures for raising the quality of the training of specialists and improve their utilization in the national economy.

To promote the development of socialist culture and the arts, to enhance their role in shaping a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, in meeting more fully the various cultural requirements of Soviet people.

To improve the cinema service to the population, to make wider use of films for instructional and educational purposes.

To improve the performance of cultural and educational institutions, to make maximum use of their material facilities, irrespective of their departmental affiliation, to extend the network of public libraries and clubhouses and to enhance their role in communist education and in the organization of amateur creative activities and the leisure activities of the working people, to improve the functioning of parks, zoos and museums and the protection of, and publicity given to, historical, cultural and natural monuments.

To promote the development of publishing, to meet more fully the demand for printed matter, especially literature and books for children, and to improve the quality of typographical output.

To promote television and broadcasting, to introduce a second all-Union TV programme.

To show constant concern for the development of the **health service**, to raise the level and quality of health care, to provide for the continued expansion of the network of health establishments, their improved structure and

rational location, better to supply the health services with medicaments, instruments, medical equipment, implements, and means of conveyance and communication.

To take measures to accelerate the extensive introduction into medical practice of scientific and technical achievements and advanced forms and methods of organization of the work of the medical and pharmaceutical personnel, to increase the total number of hospital beds by 8-10 per cent.

To step up disease prevention work, to raise the effectiveness of regular preventive medical check-ups and to extend them to ever greater sections of the population, primarily to children.

To increase medical industry output by about 40 per cent, to provide for the development and production of highly effective medical agents, particularly those for cardio-vascular and oncological diseases and endocrine ailments, as well as semi-synthetic antibiotics, to expand the production of up-to-date medical equipment.

To develop and improve in every way **recreational facilities for the working people and tourist travel**, to extend facilities for joint recreation and spa treatment for parents and children, to improve guided tour services, to give all-round assistance to the organization of gardening and vegetable-growing associations of factory and office workers, to increase the production of country cottages, implements and recreational and tourist goods.

Actively to promote **mass-scale physical culture and sport**, their ever broader introduction into the everyday life of Soviet people, to increase physical culture and sports activities among children and young people, to make more effective use of sports facilities.

More fully to meet the needs of the urban and rural population for **postal, telephone and telegraphic services**.

Considerably to improve the standards of **public transport**, providing for the continued development of inter-city, intra-city and suburban transport services, to pay special attention to extending the provision of various forms of transportation to the rural population.

To increase the volume and variety of services connected with the growth of the number of vehicles belonging to the population, to extend the network of technical maintenance, petrol filling and car washing

stations, as well as the construction of cooperative garages and well-equipped parking lots for these vehicles.

IX. PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

To improve the standards of environmental protection, to invest more work in preserving farmland and combating soil erosion, to step up the pace of recultivation of land and ensure its protection against mudflows, landslides, cavings in, salination, bogging, underflooding, and droughts.

To exploit mineral deposits more comprehensively, excluding losses of minerals during excavation and processing.

To hasten the construction of water conservation installations in the basins of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov, the Baltic and the Caspian and in the major industrial regions of the country, to carry out measures to enhance the protection against pollution of the seas, rivers and other bodies of water in the Arctic region, to increase the capacity of water recirculation and re-use systems, to develop and introduce closed-type systems of water consumption at enterprises, to improve the protection of water sources, including small rivers and lakes, from depletion and pollution, to continue the work of protecting and rationally using unique natural complexes, in the first instance, Lake Baikal.

To begin the development of automated control systems for water utilization schemes in the basins of the major rivers of the European part of the country and Central Asia.

To perfect production processes and means of transport with a view to reducing the discharge of toxic waste into the environment and improving the purification of waste gases, to increase the manufacture of highly effective gas and dust traps and water purification installations, as well as instruments and automated stations for environmental control, considerably to reduce the use of peat as fuel for thermal power stations.

To heighten the protection of forests from fires, pests and diseases.

To expand protective afforestation, to set up new and improve existing green zones in and around cities and townships.

To continue the establishment of a scientifically substantiated network of preserves and national parks and on their basis to study natural systems and objects in order to work out recommendations on the rational utilization of natural resources, to implement measures for a balanced increase in the population of wild animals and for the reproduction of valuable fish species in natural and artificial reservoirs.

To intensify the establishment and development of the system of registering natural resources, to improve state management of, and heighten control over, nature utilization and protection, to draw the public more widely into nature conservation work.

X. DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

To ensure better distribution of the productive forces with the aim of enhancing the efficiency of social production on the basis of further specialization and proportionate development of the economies of the Union Republics and economic regions within the single national economic complex.

To accelerate the build-up of the economic potential of the eastern regions, to carry out large-scale work on tapping their natural resources and developing fuel, energy and raw materials bases in Siberia and Kazakhstan, to concentrate the establishment of energy-consuming enterprises there, to step up the development of the building base, housing, communal services and cultural facilities construction, agriculture and the production of machines and plant for the key industries of the eastern regions, and on this basis improve the comprehensive economic development of these regions and the provision of personnel for them.

In the Central Asian Republics to make fuller use of manpower and natural resources and production capacities, to ensure further growth of cotton production, to raise its quality considerably, to accelerate the development of animal husbandry and other labour-intensive branches of agriculture, as well as the light industry and machine building, to improve the state of irrigated land and the supply of water to it, to extend the training of skilled workers from among the local population and especially rural youth.

In the European part of the country and in the Urals further to develop industry mainly through better use of the existing production potential and reconstruction and retooling of existing enterprises, without increasing the number of workers. In the European regions, as a rule, not to establish new or enlarge existing energy- and water-intensive production units. Widely to develop the atomic power industry, to continue tapping the hydropower resources of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia.

To provide for the further development and formation of territorial production complexes and industrial centres, especially in the newly developed regions.

To improve transport and economic links, to develop more extensively the intersectoral cooperation of production units located in the same territory, excluding unwarranted duplication and parallelism in the establishment of production and non-production infrastructural facilities by different departments.

To enhance the role and improve the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies in ensuring comprehensive economic and social development in their territories.

To envisage further improvement of people's well-being in all the Union Republics on the basis of economic growth and higher efficiency of social production. In doing so, to ensure fuller satisfaction of the requirements of the population in newly developed regions with rigorous natural conditions.

To establish the following guidelines for the economic and social development of the Union Republics for 1981-85:

In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) to increase industrial production by 24-27 per

cent, to develop machine building and the gas, chemical and petrochemical industries at an accelerated rate, to provide for the further development of the light, food and fishing industries.

To raise electricity output to 950,000-970,000 million kilowatt-hours in 1985, the extraction of oil, including gas condensate, to 560-580 million tons and that of gas to 420,000-460,000 million cubic metres, to increase the production of finished rolled steel by 12-14 per cent, mineral fertilizers by 60 per cent, textiles by 13 per cent, knitwear by 20 per cent, sugar by 50 per cent and butter by 13-15 per cent.

To increase average annual output in agriculture by 12-14 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of 134-136 million tons of grain, 33-34 million tons of sugar beet, at least one million tons of grapes, 8.4-8.7 million tons of meat (slaughter weight), 50-52 million tons of milk, and 235,000-240,000 tons of wool, to increase the production of sunflower seeds by 30 per cent, vegetables by 20 per cent, including potatoes by 10-12 per cent, to commission 1,550,000-1,650,000 hectares of irrigated land and to drain 1,720,000-1,820,000 hectares of marsh and waterlogged land.

In the non-black earth zone of the RSFSR to continue implementing the comprehensive programme for turning it into a region of highly productive field and animal husbandry and for developing allied industries, to build houses, motor roads, and social, cultural and communal service facilities at a priority rate.

In Moscow and Leningrad to concentrate on the reconstruction and retooling of enterprises, to enhance their specialization in manufacturing products of high technical standards and quality, and to ensure fuller utilization of production capacities and priority rates of growth of labour productivity compared with the growth of production, to provide for the further comprehensive development of the municipal economy.

To reconstruct and enlarge the Kolomna diesel locomotive plant, the Bryansk machine-building plant and the Penza diesel-building plant.

To commission new capacities at the Cherepovets iron and steel plant, to continue the formation of the Timan-Pechora territorial production complex on the basis of the

fuel, energy, mineral and timber resources of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nenets Autonomous Area, to improve the utilization of the timber resources of the north of the European part of the USSR, and to set up additional paper-making capacities in the Syktyvkar timber industry complex.

To put into operation generating capacities at the Smolensk, Kalinin and Kursk atomic power stations.

In the central black earth zone to ensure further development of agriculture and allied industries, to continue the formation of a territorial production complex on the basis of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, to commission the first stage of the Oskol electro-metallurgical plant.

In the Volga region to continue development of the automobile, tractor and other engineering industries, to take steps to maintain the level of oil and gas extraction, to start the formation of an industrial centre to extract and process gas and condensate and to produce sulphur on the basis of the Astrakhan gas condensate deposit, to commission capacities at the Cheboksary and Nizhnekamsk hydropower stations and the Balakovo atomic power station.

In the North Caucasus to develop intensive crop farming, commercial animal husbandry, and the food industry, to start construction of the fourth section of the Grand Stavropol Canal, and to continue work on irrigating land and putting it to agricultural uses and on utilizing hydropower resources, to commission capacities at the Rostov atomic power station, the Atom mash plant and the Novocherkassk electric locomotive plant, to increase capacities for the manufacture of highly efficient grain combine harvesters in the Rostselmash production amalgamation and the Taganrog combine harvester plant.

In the Urals to continue the reconstruction and retooling of enterprises of the iron and steel, nonferrous metals, machine building, chemical and petrochemical industries, to strengthen the raw materials base of nonferrous metallurgy, to commission capacities at the Perm thermal power station.

In Siberia to provide for the accelerated growth of the fuel, power, nonferrous metals, chemical, petrochemical, timber, pulp and paper, woodworking, microbiological

and building industries. In every way to strengthen the food base by developing farming and enterprises to process agricultural raw materials.

To ensure further development of the West Siberian territorial production complex, to bring the extraction of oil, including gas condensate, to 385-395 million tons and that of gas to 330.000-370.000 million cubic metres in 1985, to put into operation production capacities at the Tobolsk petrochemical plant, the Tomsk chemical plant and the Surgut thermal power stations, to embark upon the construction of a plant to manufacture chemical and oil-refining equipment, to strengthen the building base, to step up the construction of houses, social and cultural facilities, and roads, to put the Surgut-Urengoi railway into service.

To increase the extraction of power-generating and coking coal in the Kuzbass basin, to continue irrigation work in the Kulunda Steppe.

To continue the formation of the Kansk-Achinsk territorial production complex, to put into operation the first sections of the Beryozovsky strip coal mine No. 1 and the Krasnoyarsk heavy excavator plant, and capacities at the Beryozovsky No.1 thermal power station, to ensure further development of the Sayan territorial production complex, to complete, in the main, construction of the Sayan-Shushenskoye hydropower station, to commission capacities at the Abakan railway car plant and the Sayan aluminium refinery, to continue construction of electrical engineering enterprises in Minusinsk.

To build up capacities for increasing the manufacture of highly productive grain combine harvesters in the Krasnoyarsk grain combine harvester amalgamation.

To start construction of the Boguchany hydropower station, to put into operation the first generating units at the Kharanor thermal power station, to complete the Gusinozersk thermal power station, to conduct preparatory work for opening up the Ozyorny deposit of polymetallic ores.

In the Soviet Far East to ensure further development of nonferrous metals, oil refining, fishing, timber, wood-working and pulp and paper industries, to increase the production of soya beans, rice and other agricultural produce.

To begin the economic development of the zone adjoining the Baikal-Amur Railway, to complete design work for the Udokan copper deposit, to continue the formation of the South Yakutian territorial production complex, to complete construction of the coal strip mine, the concentration mill and the first section of the Neryungri thermal power station, to prepare a feasibility study for opening up the iron ore deposit in South Yakutia and for construction of the Berkakit-Tommot-Yakutsk railway line.

To continue construction of the Bureya hydropower station, to complete construction of the Primorye thermal power station and the Kolyma hydropower station.

To build a conversion metallurgical plant, to continue development and modernization of existing ports, to start construction of the second stage of the Vostochny deep-water port.

To develop more widely the network of sanatoriums and health resorts in Siberia and the Soviet Far East, especially on the basis of local mineral water sources.

In the Ukrainian SSR to increase industrial production by 20-23 per cent.

To raise the production of electricity to 280,000-290,000 million kilowatt-hours in 1985 with most of the increase to come from atomic power stations, to commission capacities at the South Ukrainian, Khmel'nitsky, Zaporozhye, Crimea, Chernobyl and Rovno atomic power stations and the Odessa atomic heat and power plant, to accelerate construction, reconstruction and retooling of coal industry enterprises, to increase coal output, to commission capacities at by-product coke plants and enterprises producing mineral fertilizers and motor vehicle tyres, to increase the production of finished rolled steel by 14-16 per cent.

To develop at a priority rate the power and chemical machine building, electrical engineering, machine tool and instrument-making industries and the manufacture of machines for animal husbandry and fodder production, to put into operation the first stage of the Uzhgorod electric motor plant, to reconstruct and retool the Voroshilovgrad diesel locomotive plant and existing enterprises of the light and food industries, to increase butter production by 20-30 per cent. In 1985 to raise the

production of sugar to 6.6-6.8 million tons and that of tinned fruit and vegetables to 3,000-3,300 million standard tins.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 12-14 per cent and the production of sunflower seeds by 20 per cent, to ensure an average annual output of 51-52 million tons of grain, 56-57 million tons of sugar beet, at least one million tons of grapes, 3.9-4.1 million tons of meat (slaughter weight) and 22.5-23 million tons of milk, to continue construction of the Danube-Dniester and Kakhovka irrigation systems and the second stage of the Dnieper-Donbas canal, to begin construction of the third stage of the North Crimea canal and the first stage of the Azov irrigation system, to bring under cultivation 500,000-510,000 hectares of irrigated land and to drain 640,000-680,000 hectares of waterlogged land.

Further to develop health resorts and tourist centres.

In the Byelorussian SSR to increase industrial production by 26-29 per cent, to increase the output of engineering goods by 50 per cent, mineral fertilizers by 30 per cent, including potassium fertilizers by 40 per cent, and textiles and butter by 20 per cent, to develop at a priority rate radio engineering, electronics and instrument-making industries.

To complete expansion of the Gomel farm machinery plant and the Brest carpet and cloth mill, to commission new capacities at the Polymir production amalgamation in Novopolotsk, to build a conversion metallurgical plant.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 10-12 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of 7.8-8.1 million tons of grain, 12.5-13.5 million tons of potatoes, 950,000-1,000,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 6.5-6.7 million tons of milk, to drain 480,000-520,000 hectares of waterlogged and marsh land.

In the Uzbek SSR to increase industrial production by 28-31 per cent, to raise electricity output to 44,000-45,000 million kilowatt-hours in 1985, to increase the production of mineral fertilizers by 40 per cent.

To build up capacities for the production of copper and the extraction of lead and zinc ore at the Almalyk

mining and metallurgical combine and those for the production of steel and rolled stock at the Bekabad plant, to commission capacities at the Tashkent tractor plant, Angren No. 2 thermal power station, the cotton textile mills in Andizhan and Nukus, knitted-goods mills and other enterprises of the light industry as well as those of the food industry.

In 1985, to produce 560-570 million square metres of cotton and silk textiles, 480,000-485,000 tons of vegetable oil, and 1,000-1,100 million standard tins of fruit and vegetables.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 17-19 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of at least 5.9 million tons of raw cotton, including 400,000-420,000 tons of fine-staple cotton, 2.8-3 million tons of grain, 2.4-2.5 million tons of vegetables, 400,000-410,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), 2.5-2.7 million tons of milk, 20,000-21,000 tons of wool, and 2.25 million karakul pelts, to step up the development of viticulture and melon and fruit growing, to continue reclamation of the Karshi and Dzhizak steppes, to bring under cultivation 450,000-465,000 hectares of irrigated land, and to bring water to 1.5 million hectares of pasture-land.

In the Kazakh SSR to increase industrial production by 22-25 per cent, to continue development of the power, nonferrous metals, iron and steel, machine building, coal, chemical, petrochemical and light and food industries. In 1985 to raise the output of coal to 134 million tons, electricity to 90,000-95,000 million kilowatt-hours, finished rolled steel to 5.1-5.3 million tons, and textiles to 208-210 million square metres, to increase the primary processing of oil by 110 per cent and the production of mineral fertilizers by 30 per cent.

To strengthen the raw materials base of the nonferrous metals and iron and steel industry, to commission capacities for the extraction of iron ore at the Kachar mining and dressing combine, to increase ore extraction at the Zhairam deposit of polymetallic ores, to expand prospecting for oil and gas in West Kazakhstan, to step up the development of the Buzachi peninsula oil deposits.

To commission new capacities for the extraction of phosphorites in the Karatau basin and in the Aktjubinsk

region and for the production of yellow phosphorus and mineral fertilizers, to complete construction of the Chinkent oil refinery.

In the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz territorial production complex to increase the output of coal and alumina, to continue construction of large thermal power stations each with a capacity of 4 million kw, to commission the second stage of the oil refinery, to complete, in the main, reconstruction of the Pavlodar tractor plant.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 11-13 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of 28-29 million tons of grain, 1.2-1.3 million tons of meat (slaughter weight), 4.9-5 million tons of milk, 110,000-115,000 tons of wool, and 2.5 million karakul pelts, to carry out measures to ensure stable production of grain, especially durum and strong wheat, and groats, further to develop animal husbandry, mainly beef cattle and fine-fleece sheep-breeding, to continue construction of a network of group water supply systems for agriculture, to bring under cultivation 400,000-420,000 hectares of irrigated land, to bring water to 15 million hectares of pasture-land in desert and semi-desert regions.

In the Georgian SSR to increase industrial production by 30-33 per cent, electricity generation by 20 per cent, the output of engineering goods by 60 per cent, production of the chemical industry by 50 per cent, and of the light and food industry by 30 per cent, including a 70 per cent rise in the output of tinned fruit and vegetables, to envisage priority growth rates for the electrical engineering, electronics, radio engineering and instrument-making industries.

To build a plant to manufacture cableway equipment.

To complete construction of the Zhinvali hydro-engineering project, to continue construction of the Khudoni hydropower station and to begin construction of the Namakhvani hydropower station.

To commission new capacities for processing tea leaves and grapes and for bottling mineral water.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 22-24 per cent; to continue specialization in viticulture, tea cultivation and subtropical fruit growing, to raise the average annual production of grain to not less than 740,000 tons, high-grade tea leaf to not less than

466,000 tons, grapes to 1-1.1 million tons, meat to not less than 160,000 tons (slaughter weight), and milk to not less than 710,000 tons, to carry out work to drain and bring under cultivation 35,000 hectares of land in the Colchis lowland and to irrigate 60,000 hectares.

To carry out shore-reinforcement work on the Black Sea coast, to complete the Caucasian mountain-pass motor road, to continue construction of the Marabda-Akhalkalaki railway line.

Further to develop resort areas and tourist centres.

In the Azerbaijan SSR to increase industrial production by 29-32 per cent and the output of engineering goods by approximately 60 per cent:

To continue improving the industrial structure by priority growth of the electrical engineering, instrument-making, radio engineering, electronics and other industries ensuring fuller employment of manpower resources, to build a plant to manufacture deep-water foundations and a plant to produce industrial automatic and remote control devices, to complete construction of the plants of the Azerelektroterm amalgamation and a specialized motor vehicles plant.

To build up stocks of oil and gas to stabilize their extraction, to reconstruct Baku oil-extracting equipment plants.

To put into operation the Shamkhor hydropower station and the Azerbaijan thermal power station and new capacities at chemical enterprises in Sumgait.

To build the Yevlakh-Belokany railway line.

To raise electricity output to 20,000 million kilowatt-hours in 1985, to increase production in the light and food industries by about 30 per cent, to widen the range and improve the quality of the products of these industries, to increase capacities for the manufacture of textiles, carpets and rugs, tinned food and food concentrates, and to commission new grape processing factories.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 15-17 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of at least 600,000 tons of raw cotton, 1.3-1.4 million tons of grapes, 1.1 million tons of grain, 850,000-900,000 tons of vegetables, not less than 150,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 850,000-860,000 tons

of milk, to bring under cultivation 80,000 hectares of irrigated land.

In the Lithuanian SSR to increase industrial production by 21-24 per cent, to double electricity output, to increase oil-refining fourfold and to raise the output of tinned meat and milk 2.5-fold, to develop at a priority rate the electronics and radio engineering industries, to expand the production of computer equipment, textiles and furniture, to improve the quality and widen the range of fish products.

To put into operation the first stage of Ignalina atomic power station, Vilnius No. 3 thermal power station, and the second stage of the Mažeikiai oil refinery, to reconstruct factories for the industrial processing of flax.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 8-10 per cent, to ensure an average annual output of 3.2-3.4 million tons of grain, 2.3-2.5 million tons of potatoes, 500,000-520,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 2.8-2.9 million tons of milk, to drain 440,000-460,000 hectares of waterlogged and marsh land.

In the Moldavian SSR to increase industrial production by 30-33 per cent, to continue development of the agro-industrial complex, to complete the colour TV sets plant and the Rezina cement plant, to begin construction of plants to manufacture machines for tomato harvesting and for mechanizing work in orchards and vineyards.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 20-22 per cent, to ensure an average annual output of 3.6-3.8 million tons of grain, 4.1-4.2 million tons of sugar beet, 310,000-320,000 tons of sunflower seed, 1.4-1.6 million tons of fruit and berries, 1.3-1.4 million tons of vegetables, 1.5-1.6 million tons of grapes, at least 300,000-310,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 1,250,000-1,350,000 tons of milk, to bring under cultivation 120,000 hectares of irrigated land.

In the Latvian SSR to increase industrial production by 15-18 per cent, to develop at a priority rate the electronics and instrument-making industries and the production of communication equipment, to raise the quality and widen the range of fish products.

To increase the manufacture of super-class and first-class domestic radio equipment, to develop capacities for

the centralized output of products for inter-branch use, to retool light industry, to start the construction of the Daugavpils hydropower station, to continue the development of seaports.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 12-14 per cent, to raise the average annual output of grain to not less than 2-2.1 million tons, potatoes to 1.7-1.8 million tons, meat to 300,000-310,000 tons (slaughter weight), and milk to 1.8-1.9 million tons, to carry out land improvement work on 280,000-290,000 hectares of waterlogged land.

In the Kirghiz SSR to increase industrial production by 21-24 per cent, to complete the Kurpsai hydropower station, to commission capacities at the Tash-Kumyr hydropower station, to start construction of a tin ore mining enterprise, to put into operation the gold mining combine, to develop the electronics industry, to increase textile production by 20 per cent, to complete construction of the carpet-making combine.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 8-10 per cent, to envisage the further development of fine-fleece and semi-fine-fleece sheep breeding and the strengthening of the fodder base by developing alpine pasture-land. To raise the average annual production of grain to 1.4-1.6 million tons, meat to 170,000 tons (slaughter weight), milk to no less than 700,000 tons, and wool to 33,000-35,000 tons, to bring at least 75,000 hectares of irrigated land under cultivation, to complete construction of the Papan reservoir, to bring water to 500,000 hectares of pasture-land.

To conduct research, design and survey work for the comprehensive utilization of mineral, raw material, land, water and energy resources in the Issyk-Kul region and in the Chu Valley area.

In the Tajik SSR to increase industrial production by 24-27 per cent.

In the South Tajik territorial production complex to continue construction of the Yavan electrochemical plant and commission new capacities at the aluminium refinery, to begin construction of the Rogun hydropower station and to put into operation the Baipazy hydropower station, to raise electricity production in the republic to 16,000 million kilowatt-hours.

To retool the Dushanbe cotton combine and the Leninabad silk combine, to increase the output of cotton textiles by 30 per cent and of tinned fruit and vegetables by 20 per cent.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural output by 12-14 per cent, to ensure an average annual production of at least 315,000 tons of grain, 910,000-920,000 tons of raw cotton, including 315,000-320,000 tons of fine-staple cotton, 110,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 520,000 tons of milk, to develop horticulture and viticulture, to irrigate 50,000-55,000 hectares of land, to continue development of the Dangara Steppe.

In the Armenian SSR to increase industrial production by 29-32 per cent, increasing the relative share of the radio engineering, electronics, instrument-making and machine-tool industries.

To commission capacities at the Razdan machine-building plant, to build a lift-truck plant and a perfumery, to reconstruct nonferrous metals and chemical industry enterprises, to complete the Idzhevan-Razdan railway line, to extend mineral water bottling capacities.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 10-12 per cent, to ensure an average annual output of at least 310,000 tons of grain, 240,000-260,000 tons of grapes, 400,000-430,000 tons of vegetables, 95,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), and 520,000 tons of milk, to increase the production of fruit, berries and essential oil crops, to bring under cultivation 30,000 hectares of irrigated land.

In the Turkmen SSR to increase industrial production by 21-24 per cent and electricity output by 80 per cent, to develop at an accelerated rate the chemical, light, food and machine-building industries.

To expand oil and gas prospecting and commercial drilling, to raise gas output to 81,000-83,000 million cubic metres, to put into operation the Chardzhou oil refinery and the Turkmen nitrogen fertilizer plant and to continue the build-up of capacities at the Mary thermal power station, to double oil refining and increase mineral fertilizer output by 180 per cent, to start construction of a graphitized electrode plant in Tashauz.

To complete construction of the carpet-making combine in Bezmein and the non-woven fabrics mill in

Chardzhou, to retool the Ashkhabad cotton combine, to increase vegetable oil output by 70 per cent.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 14-16 per cent, to ensure an average annual output of at least 380,000 tons of grain, 1,210,000-1,230,000 tons of raw cotton, including 290,000-300,000 tons of fine-staple cotton, at least 90,000 tons of meat (slaughter weight), at least 325,000 tons of milk, and 1.25 million karakul pelts, to increase the production of grapes, especially table and raisin varieties.

To continue construction of the Karakum Canal, to bring 90,000-93,000 hectares of irrigated land under cultivation, to bring water to 6.9 million hectares of pasture-land.

In the Estonian SSR to increase industrial production by 14-17 per cent, to develop at priority rates the shale-chemical, electronics, instrument-making and electrical engineering industries.

To increase the output of furniture and whole-milk products and to continue to develop fishing and sea transport, to start retooling the shale processing industry and reconstruction of the Kränholm cotton combine and other light and food industry enterprises.

To increase the average annual volume of agricultural production by 11-13 per cent, to raise the average annual output of grain to 1.4-1.45 million tons, potatoes to 1.3-1.4 million tons, meat to 210,000-215,000 tons (slaughter weight), and milk to 1.2-1.3 million tons, to drain 100,000-110,000 hectares of waterlogged land.

XI. EXPANSION OF EXTERNAL ECONOMIC TIES

To continue the development of foreign trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation with foreign countries, to make rational use of the advantages of the international division of labour and of the possibilities of external economic ties for raising the efficiency of social production.

To promote in every way mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific and technical contacts with

socialist countries, to take an active part in the deepening of the socialist economic integration of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Consistently to continue the implementation of the long-term target-oriented cooperation programmes of the CMEA countries aimed at resolving major problems of the development of the power industry, the fuel and raw materials industries, machine building, agriculture, transport and consumer goods production, as well as bilateral long-term programmes for specialization and cooperation in production.

To improve direct contacts between ministries, production amalgamations, enterprises and organizations of the USSR and the other CMEA countries participating in cooperation, to enhance the responsibility of ministries, production amalgamations, enterprises and organizations for fulfilling their commitments in the sphere of external economic relations, to introduce unified standards and rates on a broader scale.

To seek out new possibilities to promote cooperation in making rational use of the scientific, technical and production potential and the material, financial and manpower resources of the countries of the socialist community for resolving by common effort problems of intensification of the economies and the creation of additional sources of commodity stocks.

To develop, on a long-term and equitable basis, mutually beneficial exchange of goods and the all-round economic, scientific, technical and other ties of the Soviet Union with developing countries, to continue rendering these countries economic and technical assistance in the construction of industrial enterprises and power, agricultural and other projects conducive to strengthening their economic and political independence.

Proceeding from the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems and the need to strengthen detente, to maintain stable mutually beneficial trade, economic, scientific and technical contacts with capitalist countries showing interest in cooperation with the Soviet Union, to continue the implementation of the agreements in force and the conclusion of new agreements on carrying out large-scale projects in the fuel, metal-

lurgical and chemical industries and other branches of the national economy, to explore other avenues for promoting cooperation with these countries.

To take an active part in the solution of international problems in the fields of raw materials, fuel and energy, food, environmental protection, peaceful uses of outer space, exploitation of the resources of the World Ocean, and in improvement of international economic relations on a fair and equitable footing.

To develop the production of goods for export, to improve the structure of export, above all through increasing the production and deliveries of engineering and other finished products meeting the requirements of the external market, constantly to improve their technical standards and quality, and to increase deliveries of goods for export with a greater degree of processing.

In the import field to make rational use of the possibilities of the international division of labour to accelerate scientific and technical progress and to meet more fully the requirements of national economy in advanced equipment, the latest production processes, and raw and other materials, as well as the population's demand for consumer goods.

XII. IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGEMENT, RAISING MANAGEMENT STANDARDS IN ALL SPHERES OF THE ECONOMY

To improve consistently the management of the national economy, taking into account the growing scale of production and complexity of economic ties and the demands of the scientific and technological revolution, with a view to making maximum use of the possibilities and advantages of the economy of mature socialism.

To introduce in the eleventh five-year-plan period a series of measures to improve the mechanism of economic management and to increase its impact on raising efficiency and quality, and to improve the organizational structure of management and the style and methods of work. To direct national economic management towards

fulfilling the Party's decisions on the economic and social development of the country, accelerating the transition of the economy to intensive development, and raising the people's living standards.

To enhance the role of planning as the central link in managing the national economy, to accentuate the importance of the five-year plan, which is the main instrument in implementing the economic policy of the Party, and the social orientation of planning, to raise the level of centralized planning and in plans to take fuller account of the latent reserves of production and of the latest achievements in science and technology.

To ensure in planning correct allocation of priorities, the choice of the most effective ways of achieving high economic results.

To make wider use of comprehensive target-oriented programmes as organic components of state long-term plans for economic and social development, to make them better substantiated and directed to achieving final results and the solution of concrete scientific, technical, economic and social problems, to develop and apply effective programme control systems.

To practice a comprehensive approach to planning the development of inter-related branches of the national economy and economic regions of the country, to ensure the elaboration of balanced plan assignments for all aspects of performance, to use progressive technical and economic norms for this purpose.

To introduce, at all levels of economic management, improved plan indicators differentiated with regard to the specific features of the branches of the economy and most fully reflecting and stimulating growth of production, of its efficiency, labour productivity and the quality of output, and the saving of working time, metal, energy and other resources.

To raise the effectiveness of territorial planning and its role in regional development, to improve planning for, and the management of, territorial production complexes, to work out unified legal principles of the establishment of territorial production complexes and industrial centres and of their interdepartmental administration.

To improve the organization of planning, the structure, forms and methods of the work of planning

agencies, to introduce and effectively apply an automated system of plan calculations, to enhance the responsibility of USSR ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the Union Republics, as well as of production amalgamations, for the validity of plans and for passing them down to the executives in time.

To tighten the regime of economy and promote management accounting, to augment and effectively use socialist property for furthering the economic growth of the country and raising the Soviet people's well-being. To ensure a regime of strict economy and thriftiness at all levels of the national economy, to take fuller account of the time factor, and to fulfil the tasks in hand within the shortest possible time, resolutely to combat mismanagement and wastefulness, to enhance the role and responsibility of ministries, departments and other managerial bodies in this respect.

To carry out at all levels of management a system of measures to ensure a fuller utilization of all types of resources—labour, energy, raw and other materials, equipment and production capacities; to reduce all kinds of losses and waste and to eliminate unproductive expenses.

To develop and strengthen in every way management accounting, based on the assignments of the five-year plan and long-term economic standards, to pay special attention to increasing returns on assets, reducing costs and appreciably to raise the role of this indicator in assessing the performance of and stimulating the work collectives of enterprises and amalgamations, to work for greater returns, for eliminating the unprofitability of production and increasing profits, primarily through reducing costs, raising labour productivity and improving the quality of output.

To improve the forms of management-accounting relations and to enhance the mutual interest of suppliers and consumers as well as of clients and contractors in, and their responsibility for the fulfilment of plan assignments and contractual commitments.

To raise the effectiveness of the management accounting organization of work in research, design and technological organizations, in enterprises and amalga-

tions in developing, mastering and introducing new technology on the basis of schedule-orders.

To tighten up requirements for efficiency and quick recoupment of the cost of new machinery, products and projects.

Substantially to improve quota-fixing for all production resources; systematically to revise outdated quotas and introduce progressive ones conforming to the modern standards of technology, production processes and organization of production and work. To enhance the mobilizing role of technically substantiated quotas in implementing the regime of economy and in strengthening the management accounting system.

To continue the improvement of the system of material incentives taking account of the actual contribution of each work collective and individual worker to the results achieved, to develop effective forms of rewarding work collectives for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of their plan assignments with a reduced number of wage and salary workers, using wage fund savings to stimulate growth of labour productivity and improvement of the quality of work.

To enhance the role of financial and credit levers in intensifying production, strengthening the management-accounting system and tightening the regime of economy, to use them more actively in resolving problems of accelerating the development and introduction of highly effective new technology and withdrawing obsolete facilities, increasing the output of consumer goods and the volume of services to the population, mobilizing latent production reserves and eliminating unproductive expenses and losses.

To improve price formation in branches of the national economy as an important instrument of planned management, to heighten the stimulating impact of wholesale prices on improvement of quality of output, acceleration of the mastering of new highly effective equipment and replacement of obsolete facilities, better use of production resources and the lowering of production costs, to strengthen state price discipline.

To raise the quality and efficiency of stock-taking and statistics, to improve stocktaking documentation and accounting at all levels of the

national economy in conformity with present-day requirements of management, planning and analysis of economic activity, making wide use of electronic computers.

To better the style and methods of running the economy on the basis of the Leninist principles of management, to be more exacting, to learn to work, to manage more effectively.

To raise the level of organizational work, to promote a businesslike approach and operational efficiency at all levels, to generalize and more actively introduce advanced methods and experience in management, in every way to foster initiative and socialist enterprise, the ability to see the perspective and to mobilize work collectives for the accomplishment of the tasks facing them. Not to allow violations of the rights of enterprises and amalgamations, petty tutelage and administration by merely issuing orders to their managers and specialists, to educate every working man in the spirit of collectivism and thrifty attitude towards the people's property, to improve economic grounding of cadres, strictly to observe socialist law in economic relations, to heighten legal expertise.

Relentlessly to combat manifestations of red tape, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism, to enhance the responsibility of ministries, departments, amalgamations and enterprises and their heads for the job entrusted to them, for the results of their work, for carrying out plans and the decisions of higher decision-making bodies without fail, and for strict observance of state planning and financial discipline, to increase the effectiveness of economic sanctions for non-fulfilment of plan assignments and contractual commitments and non-rational expenditure of material and financial resources.

To achieve an appreciable improvement of labour discipline, order and organization in production as an indispensable condition of fulfilment of plans for economic and social development and further improvement of the Soviet people's well-being, to ensure full and rational utilization of working time in all sectors of production and in the service sphere, to carry out measures to secure personnel stability and reduce labour power turnover.

To make wider use of the various forms of material and moral pressure on violators of discipline and re-

olutely to eradicate instances of a conciliatory, lenient attitude being adopted towards violators of law and order and rules of socialist community, to those who evade socially useful labour and enrich themselves at the expense of the state, at the expense of honest workers.

To heighten control over the results of management at all levels of the economy, to improve supervisory-auditing work, to enhance the role of people's control bodies, book-keeping stocktaking and departmental control in ensuring state discipline and the preservation of socialist property and observation of the regime of economy.

To improve the work of the managerial apparatus, to reduce expenditure on its maintenance, and resolutely to remove superfluous and duplicating units.

To enhance the quality and efficiency of managerial labour, more actively to disseminate rational methods of work, to improve office work, to make fuller use of computers and other office equipment, to ensure further development and enhancement of the efficiency of the network of automated control systems and computer centres for collective use, continuing their unification into a single state system of the collection and processing of information for stocktaking, planning and management.

To improve the organizational structure of management, to carry out measures aimed at overcoming departmental separatism and more fully combining sectoral and territorial management, to improve the coordination of the activities of central, sectoral and local management bodies so as effectively to solve the key problems in the development of the national economy.

To improve the direction of scientific and technical progress, to continue to develop the network of research-and-production amalgamations.

To particularize the general schemes of sectoral management worked out in industry in relation to the assignments of the eleventh five-year plan, systematically to improve organizational structures and raise the efficiency of production and industrial amalgamations on the basis of further concentration, specialization and cooperation.

To complete the drawing up and realization of general

management schemes in capital construction to define clearly the spheres of activities of construction ministries, to reduce the number of echelons in management and of small separate organizations, to extend the network of building and assembly amalgamations which handle every aspect of the construction and commissioning of capacities and projects.

To continue the improvement of the management of agriculture, to promote state-cooperative, inter-collective farm, inter-state farm and collective- and state-farm amalgamations and agro-industrial organizations.

To ensure effective management of the integrated food complex, improving the system of plan indicators and material incentives, to organize management of the production, storage, processing, delivery and marketing of agricultural products in such a way that the workers of each of these sectors should be interested in delivering high-quality foodstuffs to the consumer.

To improve the management of material and technical supply, to develop progressive forms and methods in production-economic relations among amalgamations and enterprises and supply, transport and other agencies and to enhance their mutual material responsibility for the prompt and proper fulfilment of plan assignments and obligations as regards products delivery and transportation in accordance with the consumers' orders and long-term agreements.

To improve the organizational structure of the management of trade, the branches providing cultural and everyday services to the population, the housing and municipal sector, and environmental protection, in this work to proceed from the need more fully to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people, to enhance the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the development and organization of the work of these sectors.

To improve the management of external economic activities.

To promote the initiative and creative endeavour of the working people in managing the economy, to raise the role of work collectives in managing and planning production, in deciding questions pertaining to training person-

nel and improving their working and living conditions, and in strengthening discipline and cultivating a communist attitude to work, to enhance the importance of permanent production conferences and general meetings of work collectives, to carry out measures to spread further and raise the effectiveness of the team form of the organization of work and pay, to promote the movement for greater versatility on the job and the mastering of related trades.

To improve the organization and increase the effectiveness of socialist emulation, to make it be guided by the need for plan fulfilment and overfulfilment, a high quality of work, growth of labour productivity and observance of the regime of economy, to foster a spirit of emulation, comradesly cooperation and mutual assistance in work.

To promote the movement for drawing up and carrying out upwardly revised plans exceeding the five-year-plan targets fixed for the given year, to raise the role of ministries and departments in creating the necessary conditions for the successful implementation of upwardly revised plans, to improve the organization of emulation between work collectives of enterprises supplying raw and other materials and parts and those of allied enterprises turning out finished products, to promote workers' emulation on the basis of personal (team) production plans, to strengthen the link between material and moral incentives and the results of socialist emulation for raising production efficiency and work quality.

To increase the publicity given to emulation, to surround front-rank workers and innovators with esteem and respect, to develop the tutorship of young workers by experienced ones, to ensure prompt generalization and systematic spreading of advanced experience.

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The economic policy set out by the Party for the eleventh five-year-plan period and for the 1980s reflects the fundamental, vital interests of the Soviet people. It ensures our society's steady advance along the path of raising the working people's well-being and laying the material and technical foundations of communism.

The Guidelines for the Economic and Social

Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, which have been fully approved and supported by the Soviet people, are the basis for drawing up the eleventh state five-year plan. Fulfilment of the tasks that have been set calls for able utilization of the inexhaustible strength of the Soviet system and the vast production, scientific and technical potential and rich natural resources of the country. Sharply to raise the efficiency of production, to put all reserves into the service of the national economy is the duty of the Party, government and economic bodies, of all public organizations and work collectives and of every Soviet citizen.

Material and cultural values and the country's national wealth are created by the labour of the workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia. Society can distribute only what it produces. Therefore, the higher the results of work, the greater the might of our socialist homeland, the fuller the satisfaction of personal and social requirements, the higher the Soviet people's living standards.

Implementation of the eleventh five-year plan requires improvement of organizational and political work. It is necessary to make greater demands as regards the fulfilment of assignments, a high degree of organization and accuracy in work, and strict observance of plan discipline at every level, from enterprise to ministry. Raising the level of management and inculcating a businesslike approach, a sense of responsibility and initiative are essential to achieving success in production.

It is the duty of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and the territorial, regional, area, city and district Party Committees and primary Party organizations to mobilize the working people unfailingly to carry out plan assignments in every work collective from the very first days of the five-year period, to improve the style and methods of work, and not to tolerate red tape and procrastination. It is necessary to educate workers in a spirit of high awareness and responsibility for their work, to ensure that they fully understand the importance of everyone's contribution to the accomplishment of the task of raising production efficiency and attaining high standards of national economic performance. All work collectives

must regard the line for raising efficiency as a matter of vital concern to them, as an indispensable condition for successful advance. It is necessary to start, with fresh energy, nationwide socialist emulation for fulfilment of the assignments of the eleventh five-year plan, for the full mobilization of production reserves, the speediest application of the achievements of science and technology, and rational utilization of everything created by the people's labour. Advanced experience of management is to be found everywhere, and it must be utilized by all enterprises and organizations.

The Soviets of People's Deputies, which enjoy extensive rights under the USSR Constitution, have a responsible role to play in carrying out the plans mapped out by the Party. The millions of deputies and volunteer helpers of the Soviets are a great creative force that must be fully utilized. The Soviets should be more active in drafting plans and supervising their fulfilment and enforcing strict observance of Soviet laws. They are called upon to exert stronger influence on the development of social production and to pay more attention to increasing the output of goods for the population, to the development of public education, health protection, housing, cultural and municipal and everyday services, trade and public catering.

At the stage of mature socialism the trade unions play a bigger role as a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of communism. They have to make a worthy contribution to the fulfilment of the five-year plan, to draw more and more workers into the management of production and the solution of the diverse economic and social tasks, to instil in them the feeling of being the masters of production, to raise the effectiveness of socialist emulation, to show constant concern for the conditions of work, everyday life and rest and recreation of people, and to exercise strict control over the observance of labour legislation and collective agreements.

In the eleventh five-year period important tasks face the Leninist Young Communist League, a loyal assistant of the Party, and all Soviet youth. In factory and field, on construction sites, in the spheres of science and culture, education and health protection, in all sectors of com-

munist construction, the YCL is called upon to lead young people in the drive for fulfilling and overfulfilling plan assignments, to cultivate in them Soviet patriotism, love of their socialist homeland, and a striving to master knowledge and the achievements of science, technology and culture and to introduce everything that is new and progressive into production.

The successful realization of the five-year plan will ensure further build-up of the country's economic potential, a rise in the people's well-being and the maintenance of the defence might of the Soviet state at the proper level. It will raise still higher the international authority of the Soviet state and will be conducive to strengthening the socialist world system and rallying all forces fighting for peace and social progress.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU expresses firm confidence that under the leadership of the Party of Lenin the Soviet people will achieve fresh successes in communist construction, in increasing the might of our homeland.

ДОКУМЕНТЫ И РЕЗОЛЮЦИИ. МАТЕРИАЛЫ XXVI СЪЕЗДА
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА
Москва, 23 февраля — 3 марта 1981 года

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