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# Brezhnev



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

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

*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.



# 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.

## 1. 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.

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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 Constitu-



tion of the USSR declares friendship, cooperation, 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.



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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

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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 the 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 soci-



alist 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 United 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.

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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.



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The revolution in Iran, which was a unique event in 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



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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 con-

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tween 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 formi-  
dable 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 specifi-  
cally national ways and forms of struggle for socialism  
and of building socialism. But if you look at this with-  
out 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 trans-  
formations in the different aspects of social life” (*Col-  
lected 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, meth-  
ods, and ways of the socialist revolution been a me-  
chanical repetition of outside experience. Take the GDR  
or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia—  
all the socialist countries, in fact, carried out the revo-  
lution in their own way, using forms that were dictated  
by the correlation of class forces in each of these coun-  
tries, by the national distinctions and the external sit-  
uation.

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 aggres-

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 recep-



tion 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 peace-loving 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 effect 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



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 coexis-



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tence charted years ago by Lenin is exercising an in-  
creasingly decisive influence on present-day interna-  
tional relations. The seventies have shown this convin-  
glingly.

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 histor-  
ical 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 appar-  
ent. It is enough to mention such problems, for exam-  
ple, as discovery and use of new sources of energy, pro-  
vision of food for the world's growing population, pre-  
servation of all the riches of Nature on Earth and ex-  
ploration 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 pro-  
found changes are under way in the development of  
military technology. Qualitatively new types of weap-  
ons, 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 limita-  
tion, 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

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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 resolutions 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 notification 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 participa-*



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tion 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 regearing 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 Commu-

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 tice, 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 evi-  
 denced 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 con- sumption and accumulation	282	437	155
National income resources allo- cated to consumption and non- productive construction	219	354	162
Industrial production	352	627	178
Agricultural production (av- erage 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 con-  
 vincing 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 re-  
 search occupies a position of leadership in vitally impor-



tant 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 ad-

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

The industrial development of new regions is im-  
...portant both socially and politically. The work collec-  
...tives 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 diffi-  
...cult conditions—have put extremely rich natural re-  
...sources 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 Si-  
...beria.

Unique hydropower units were commissioned at  
...the Sayan-Shushenskoye, Ust-Ilimsk, Nurek, Inguri,  
...Dnieper, Nizhnekamsk, and other hydroelectric sta-  
...tions. Giant thermal power stations were completed  
...at Zaporozhye and Ulegorsk. The nuclear power in-  
...dustry 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 de-  
...cade. 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 facili-  
...ties, 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



antitative and qualitative and petrochemical industries in 1971-1980. Production of chemicals increased. At the same time, chemical production is being diversified. Polymer amalgams are being produced in Prikumsk, Omsk, and several other new modern chemical

ably strengthened production. There has been an overall mechanization of agriculture and livestock production. Research is being conducted on a wide range of means simple and complex. In the agricultural sector of the country, yields have exceeded previous ones as much as in

the past. We have made it possible to achieve a tenfold increase in production in ten years, a rate faster than in the

past. Methods have been developed for increasing the yield of the grain harvest. The cotton crop has increased. The total yield of the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans is greater than in previous periods.

The diversified and purposeful work of the working people and the masses associated with the development of the country is yielding

results. We have made it possible to achieve a tenfold increase in production in ten years, a rate faster than in the past. The sum of 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. School-children 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 twofold 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 con-

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Compared to the Ninth  
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Tenth Five-Year Plan	Tenth Five-Year Plan in % of Ninth
989	129
109	124
25	126
81	133
23.7	109
26.8	129
3	126
3.1	129
5.4	134

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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 fulfillment 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*

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*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 non-ferrous. 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



lustry. This would 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, shock-style 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

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depend in a large measure on making the extracting in-  
dustries 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  
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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 for-  
get this.

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

A thrifty, economical attitude to labour resources  
is particularly important in the conditions of the eight-  
ties. 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. Specifi-  
cally, 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 in-  
dustry. 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 move-  
ment will increasingly depend on the skilful and effi-  
cient 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

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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 be-

hind 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 as-



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pects of the Soviet people's life—consumption and hous-  
ing, 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 rai-  
sing 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 incre-  
ments 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 sup-  
plies 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 dif-  
ficulties 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 advancement 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

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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 concerned, 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 sup-



plies 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

to the population. In addition, the average production of vegetables per capita is continuing to rise. In the collection, storage, and distribution of vegetables, the job of the collective and state farms and fruit and vegetable processing bodies in the rural areas and the appropriate ministries is to maximize

the efficiency of extending the vegetable production to the most nutritious and of highest quality. This calls for the development of the vegetable processing industry and the use of modern, highly-efficient equipment. It is necessary to create a more appropriate structure of branches in the vegetable processing industry to meet with the wholehearted support of the people. The development of efficiency in vegetable production depends on the economic conditions and the organization of the work of people, on the system of

the USSR Council of Ministers has made a comprehensive decision on the development of the vegetable production of unwarranted prices of the collective and state farms. The government officials have made the decision that a maximum of five purchases for five years should be fixed for the rural areas and districts, for the same time a system of vegetable production arms that will insure a steady increase above the average level for the period. This should be done in order to ultimately

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 farms 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



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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 co-ordination 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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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### 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.

#### 1. 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. Implementation 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 a 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

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more concern for the family, for newlyweds and, chief-ly, 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 devel-

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opment 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



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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, kindergartens, 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.

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uation 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.

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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



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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

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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 organizations, 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



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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 administration 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 organ-*

isations. 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

## Speech 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. Pelse**, **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. Pelse** 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.

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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 organisations 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 organisations, 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!

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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,

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.)*



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**Л. И. БРЕЖНЕВ**

**ОТЧЕТНЫЙ ДОКЛАД ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО КОМИТЕТА КПСС  
XXVI СЪЕЗДУ КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ  
СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА  
И ОЧЕРЕДНЫЕ ЗАДАЧИ ПАРТИИ В ОБЛАСТИ  
ВНУТРЕННЕЙ И ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ**

На английском языке

Цена 25 коп.