

GORBACHEV SPEECH
25 APR 85

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C. APRIL PLENUM OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Information Report

Soviet television 1350 gmt 23 Apr 85

Text as broadcast of information report on plenum of the CPSU Central Committee:

A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 23rd April 1985. Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum "On the convening of the regular 27th CPSU Congress and the tasks connected with preparing for it and holding it".

The speakers in the debates on this matter were: Comrades Shcherbitskiy, First Secretary of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee; Grishin, First Secretary of Moscow City Party Committee; Kunayev, First Secretary of the CP of Kazakhstan Central Committee; Vorotnikov, Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Shevardnadze, First Secretary of the CP of Georgia Central Committee; Zaykov, First Secretary of Leningrad Oblast Party Committee; Klimchenko, tool-maker of Minsk V.I. Lenin tractor works production association; Vaino, First Secretary of the CP of Estonia Central Committee; Filatov, First Secretary of Novosibirsk Oblast Party Committee; Mesyats, USSR Minister of Agriculture; Vlasov, First Secretary of Rostov Oblast Party Committee; Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Balmont, Minister of the Machine-Tool and Tool-Making Industry.

On the report by Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev the plenum adopted a resolution which is being published in the press.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee examined organisational matters.

The Central Committee plenum transferred Comrade Chebrikov from candidate membership to membership of the Politburo of the Central Committee and elected Comrades Ligachev and Ryzhkov, Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, to membership of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

The plenum of the Central Committee elected Comrade Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Minister of Defence, to candidate membership of the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Comrade Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, to the post of Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Thereupon the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

Report by Gorbachev

Moscow home service 1500 gmt 23 (and Soviet central press 24) Apr 85

Text of announcer-read broadcast of report by Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the convening of the regular 27th CPSU Congress and the tasks connected with preparing for it and holding it:

Comrades, our Party, the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries and all of progressive mankind festively marked yesterday the 115th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The whole of life and the entire course of history convincingly confirm the great rightness of Leninist doctrine. It has been and remains for us guidance for action, a source of inspiration and a reliable compass in determining the strategy and tactics of forward movement.

Lenin taught communists to base themselves in all things on the interests of the working people, to examine life deeply, evaluate social phenomena realistically and from class positions and to be engaged in a constant creative search for the best ways of realising the ideals of communism.

Today we are checking our deeds and plans against Lenin and his great ideas and living and working in accordance with Lenin's behests.

Our plenum is to examine matters of great political importance - "On the convening of the regular 27th CPSU Congress and the tasks connected with preparing for it and holding it".

The Politburo moves the proposal, in accordance with the CPSU Rules, to convene the regular Party Congress on 25th February 1986. It is proposed to include the following matters on the agenda of the congress:

- (1) Report by the CPSU Central Committee and the Party's tasks.
- (2) Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.
- (3) On the new revised edition of the CPSU Programme.
- (4) On changes in the CPSU Rules.
- (5) On the Basic Guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1986-90 and the period up to the year 2000.
- (6) Elections to the Party's central organs.

On the reports of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and also on the matter of the Basic Guidelines for economic and social development, it is planned to hear and discuss appropriate reports. As regards the new revised edition of the programme and the changes in the CPSU Rules, their essence will be found in the report by the Central Committee and individual reports can be dispensed with.

It is proposed to elect one delegate to the congress for 3,670 communists, that is, a total of 5,000. This will make it possible to represent well all our Party's organisations and to reflect its social and national composition.

In the 10 months left till the congress, a comprehensive analysis and realistic assessment must be made of the results of what has been done since the 26th Congress; and the prospects for further development and the tasks of domestic and foreign policy must be determined. Very important documents must be prepared, above all such fundamental ones as a new revised edition of the CPSU Programme and the Basic Guidelines for development during the next Five-Year Plan period and to the end of this century, and these must be examined at a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and then be widely discussed in the Party and the country. A great deal of attention will have to be devoted to carrying out at a high level the reports and elections in Party organisations, and to completing the 11th Five-Year Plan in a worthy manner.

In short, it will be a period of strenuous and multifaceted work - political, economic, organisational and ideological-theoretical.

Today, we once more confirm the continuity of the strategic course drawn up by the 26th Party Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums. In the Leninist understanding, continuity means unwavering forward movement, revealing and solving new problems and eliminating everything that hinders development. We must rigorously follow this Leninist tradition, enriching and developing our Party policy and our overall line on perfecting the society of developed socialism.

The forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress will indisputably be a milestone in the country's development. Its significance is due to the paramount importance of the issues

submitted for discussion, the nature of the present period, and the newness and scale of the tasks facing society. This adds a special tone to all of the Party's pre-congress work and demands profound understanding of the existing situation, bold decisions and vigorous action.

The country has achieved great successes in all fields of social life. On the basis of the advantages of the new system, it has ascended to the summits of economic and social progress in a short historical period. The Soviet Union now has a powerful and comprehensively developed economy and qualified cadres of workers, specialists and scientists. In many directions of production, scientific and technical development, we firmly hold leading positions in the world.

Profound changes have taken place in social life. For the first time in history, working people have become masters of the country, creators of their own destiny. The right to work and receive reward for it are guaranteed, as are society's concern for a person from his birth to extreme old-age, broad access to spiritual culture, respect for the dignity and the rights of the individual, and the steady expansion of workers' participation in management. All these are permanent values, inalienable features of the socialist way of life. In them is a most important source of political stability, social optimism and confidence in the future.

Soviet people are rightly proud of all this. But life and its dynamism dictate the necessity of further changes and transformations, the achievement of a new qualitative condition of society, and moreover, in the broadest sense of the word. This is above all the scientific and technical renewal of production and the achievement of the highest world level of labour productivity. It is the improvement of social relations, primarily economic relations. It is profound changes in the sphere of work and of material and spiritual conditions in people's lives. It is the activation of the whole system of political and social institutions and the deepening of socialist democracy and the self-government of the people.

The development of Soviet society will to a decisive degree be determined by qualitative shifts in the economy, its transfer onto the rails of intensive growth and the comprehensive raising of efficiency. It is precisely from these positions that the situation in the national economy must be appraised and tasks for the future must be determined.

It is known that besides the successes achieved in the economic development of the country, in recent years unfavourable tendencies have intensified and not a few difficulties have arisen. Thanks to the active work of the Party, beginning from 1983, it has been possible to tighten up the work of many links in the national economy and to impose the situation somewhat. However, the difficulties have far from been overcome, and we have yet to apply no small effort to create a reliable basis for fast forward movement.

What is the cause of the difficulties? The answer to this question is, as you understand, of principled significance to the Party.

The influence of natural and a number of other outside factors has of course had an effect. But it seems that the main reason is that changes in the objective conditions of the development of production and the necessity for speeding up its intensification and for changes in methods of economic management were not duly appraised in good time and, what is particularly important, persistence was not displayed in the elaboration and implementation of major measures in the economic sphere.

Comrades, we must take cognisance of the situation as it has come about, deeply and thoroughly, and draw the most serious conclusions. The historic fate of the country and the positions of socialism in the modern world depend to a large extent on how we manage things from now on. By making extensive use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and by making the forms of socialist economic management accord with the modern conditions and demands, we should achieve a considerable speeding up of social and economic progress. There is simply no other way.

This is what determines the success of the cause of socialism and communism today, and the great responsibility which is laid upon the Party, its Central Committee

and all Party organisations in the present extremely important segment of history. And we communists are obliged to do everything to be up to this responsibility and to be equal to the great tasks dictated by times.

Now the main issue is how and by what means the country will be able to achieve the acceleration of economic development. In reviewing this issue in the Politburo, we unanimously came to the conclusion that there are real opportunities to achieve this. The tasks for accelerating the growth rate and moreover by a considerable degree are quite achievable if the intensification of the economy and the speeding up of scientific and technical progress are placed at the centre of all of our work, management and planning and structural and investment policy are restructured and the level of organisation and discipline are raised everywhere and the style of activity is radically improved.

I think that the participants in the plenum will support such a conclusion.

A relatively rapid return can be obtained if one puts into use organisational-economic and social reserves and if primarily one puts the human factor into action and ensures that everyone at his place works conscientiously and whole-heartedly.

How great the opportunities here are was related at the recent conference with workers, economic leaders, specialists and scientists in the CPSU Central Committee. The participants in that conference noted that when the need arises, by virtue alone of the collectives and their leaders pulling themselves together and beginning to work better, they manage in a short space of time to raise labour productivity to an extent which is at times comparable with the tasks planned for a whole Five-Year Plan period.

Such reserves exist at every enterprise and building site, every collective farm and state farm. No-one knows them better than the labour collectives, their Party organisations and economic leaders. Consequently, much depends on their attitude to their work, their energy and their ability to get people interested in the maximum use of all possibilities for increasing production and raising its efficiency.

An important side of the matter of responsibility and discipline is the timely and qualitative delivery of raw material, fuel, assembly components, movement of wagons, and so on. And here there are people to answer to and to answer for. A certain advance in strengthening of contract discipline in the national economy has been noted. It must be consolidated, steadily being more demanding in fulfilment of contractual obligations, without any allowances for objective conditions.

Another reserve which should be resolutely tackled is the fight against extravagance and waste. The leaders of many ministries and enterprises are trying to get a bit more capital investment, machine tools and machines, raw materials and fuel from the state. At the same time, not infrequently they are irresponsible in their attitude to their rational use. The existing equipment sometimes stands idle or is not used to the full.

And what is happening in capital construction? Many projects take an inordinately long time to build. As a result, quite a lot of material wealth is immobilised. The growth of capacity is delayed, and the country does not receive the necessary production on time.

The plan for commissioning of basic production funds is not being fulfilled satisfactorily. At depots of enterprises and new construction sites, quite a lot of uninstalled equipment has accumulated. There are considerable direct losses of material wealth as a result of negligence in carriage, storage and consumption of cement, coal, mineral fertiliser and timber, agricultural produce and foodstuffs.

Such wastefulness must be ended without delay. Evidently we cannot get by on slogans alone. There have been more than enough of them. Extra demands, including legislative ones, must be made of specific individuals for the safekeeping and correct use

of all material wealth. The necessary order must be introduced at every enterprise and construction site, every collective and state farm and every organisation. Without this there can be no question of any rational management or growth of economic efficiency.

As the main strategic lever of intensification of the national economy and better use of accumulated potential, the Party brings to the forefront the task of cardinal acceleration of scientific and technical progress. In June the CPSU Central Committee plans to hold a special conference at which this matter will be discussed. Today I should like to express certain fundamental considerations.

In the majority of industries, scientific and technical progress is flagging, it is proceeding basically in an evolutionary manner, primarily by means of improving existing technology and partial modernisation of machines and equipment. Of course, these measures provide a certain return, but it is too small. What we need are revolutionary changes, a transfer to fundamentally new technological systems, to the latest generations of machinery, giving the very highest efficiency. Essentially it is a matter of re-equipping all sectors of the national economy on the basis of modern achievements in science and technology.

The acuteness of the issue is also dictated by the fact that in recent years the country's production apparatus has aged considerably and the coefficient of renewal of fixed assets has been lowered. In the 12th Five-Year Plan period the prime concern must be a substantial rise in the coefficient of replacement of equipment.

Machine building has the final word here. It is necessary to give priority to its development, and to speed up by 50-100% the rates of growth of the industry in the 12th Five-Year Plan period. The main task is the speedy transfer to the production of new generations of machines and equipment which are capable of ensuring the introduction of progressive technology, raising labour productivity many times, lowering material inputs and raising the output-capital ratio. Prime attention must be paid to the perfection of machine-tool construction, accelerating the development of computer hardware, instrument making, electrical equipment and electronics as catalysts of scientific and technical progress.

In the light of these tasks, the fall in prestige of engineering work must not be considered normal. Not everything is in order here, and we must raise the role and prestige of craftsmen, engineers, designers and technologists and raise the material and moral incentives of their labour.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and growth in production efficiency are inseparable from a decisive improvement in the quality of goods. Its failure to correspond to modern technical-economic, aesthetic and all consumer requirements, and sometimes even obvious rejects - this is in essence the plundering of material resources and a waste of our people's labour. This is why an all-round rise in the quality of goods must be at the centre of economic policy. Quality, and once again quality - that is our slogan today. Having solved the problem of quality, it is also possible to solve the problem of quantity. This is the only reliable way to achieve the fuller and fuller satisfaction of the country's requirements for modern machinery, the population's growing demand for various goods and for overcoming shortages in the national economy.

Whichever issue we consider, and from whatever angle we approach the economy, in the final analysis everything rests upon the need for a serious improvement in management and the economic machinery as a whole. One had occasion to become convinced of this once again during the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with workers and economic leaders, and also while visiting ZiL. The participants in the meetings spoke with great concern of how it pained them that work conditions had been made more complicated by imperfections in the management system, trivial regulations and excessive paper-pushing. There is one way out of the situation: immediate and energetic measures are needed over the whole complex of management problems.

The concept of restructuring the economic machinery is clearer to us now. In further developing centralised principles in the solution of strategic tasks, we must move forward more boldly along the path of extending the rights of enterprises and their independence, more boldly introduce financial autonomy and, on this basis, make labour collectives more accountable and interested in the final results of their work.

The results of the large-scale experiment being carried out on this direction are not that bad at all, but they cannot give complete satisfaction. The point has been reached where we must pass on from the experiment to the creation of an integrated system of economic housekeeping and management. And this means that we should also begin the practical restructuring of the work of the upper echelons of economic management, and that we should aim them first and foremost at the solution of long-term social, economic, scientific and technical tasks in the search for the most effective forms of combining science and production.

Life is raising higher demands to planning, which is the core of management. It must become an active lever for the intensification of production and implementation of progressive economic solutions, and it must ensure the balanced and dynamic growth of the economy. At the same time, the plans of associations and enterprises must be relieved of the burden of excessive numbers of indices and wider use must be made of economic norms which open up room for initiative and enterprise.

It is time to begin the perfection of organisational structures of management, eliminate superfluous links, simplify the apparatus and raise its efficiency. It is also important to do this because certain management links have become obstacles and begun to act as brakes upon progress. We must sharply restrict the number of instructions, regulations and methods which, at times, interpreting the resolutions of the Party and the government, capriciously paralyse the independence of enterprises.

It is of great importance to make all primary work units and all individual workers aware of the principles of financial autonomy. This will make it possible to combine the measures aimed at further improving the system of management from above with the development of collective forms of organisation of labour and labour incentives from below and raise the activeness of the working people.

It is just as important to raise the responsibility of republican and local bodies charged with managing construction for the economy and construction of social and cultural amenities and with satisfying the requirements of the working people. Naturally, in order to do this it is necessary to continue to extend the rights of local bodies and step up their initiative and interest in the development of production and the utilisation of resources and in putting right all fields of the services for the population. Consequently, full responsibility should be borne locally for resolving all the issues pertaining to their area of jurisdiction and the sense of being dependent ought to be disposed of more quickly.

Comrades, the CPSU sees the supreme meaning of accelerating the country's socio-economic development in raising the people's well being steadily, step by step, in improving all aspects of the life of the Soviet people and in creating favourable conditions for the harmonious development of the individual.

In this connection, it is necessary to pursue consistently a line aimed at consolidating social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual wealth and strengthening the influence of social factors on the development of the economy and on the raising of its efficiency.

This line meets with the complete approval and support of the Soviet people. The task now is to work out concrete and effective measures to purge the distribution mechanism of wage-levelling, unearned incomes and everything which runs counter to the economic norms and moral ideals of our society and ensure that the material situation of each worker and each workforce depends directly on the results of their work. The Party will continue to wage a most resolute struggle against all negative phenomena which are alien to the socialist way of life and our communist morality.

Currently, the Social Programme that the Party will put forward at its 27th Congress is being carefully worked out. There are, however, tasks that cannot be postponed, tasks which require particular attention.

This pertains, above all, to the implementation of the food programme. Positive changes have taken place in the development of agriculture over the past few years, and supplies of foodstuffs to the population have improved somewhat. However, this is still a long way from what is needed. Collective and state farms and processing enterprises have the potential to increase the production of foodstuffs considerably. It is necessary to manage this potential carefully and to make more efficient use of it.

One sometimes comes across attempts by local bodies to place all the responsibility for food supplies, and especially the provision of fodder, on central bodies. Such a practice is unacceptable. The task is to use more fully all the reserves to increase food production both on collective and state farms and on the subsidiary plots of citizens and enterprises.

In general, comrades, we have to intensify work to implement the Food Programme and supplement it with serious measures to develop the processing industries of the agro-industrial complex and bring their enterprises closer to collective and state farms. Such instructions were given by the Politburo to the USSR State Planning Commission and relevant ministries, and they should approach their fulfilment in an entirely responsible and thorough manner.

The management of the agro-industrial complex needs further perfection, too. Far from everything has been done here. Under the influence of departmental interests, rayon and oblast associations are often unable to solve properly and in co-ordination the issues of integral development of agriculture and industries which are connected with it. If we are firmly convinced that there should be one master on the land and that the agro-industrial associations bear full responsibility for implementing the Food Programme - a fact, which, I think, nobody doubts - it is necessary to carry out measures which will make it possible to manage, plan and finance the agro-industrial complex as a single entity at all levels. That is what we agreed upon at the May 1982 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

A lot is to be done to more fully satisfy the demand for industrial goods and services too, fully supply the market with the products it needs and improve the quality and range of goods produced, make the price system more flexible and enhance standards of retailing. The Integrated Programme for developing consumer goods and services is directed towards solving these tasks. It envisages a substantial increase in the production of high-quality clothing and footwear, modern cultural and domestic goods and appliances and the development of many types of services.

This programme will be approved in the near future. At the same time, as you know, in a number of its directions, resolutions of the Central Committee and of the USSR Council of Ministers have already been adopted. We are talking about increasing the production of footwear, developing local industry and services in the repairing and construction of housing and improving telephone services for the population. It is important that Soviet people should sense a change for the better in the near future.

We cannot fail to take account of the changes taking place in the structure of cash-backed demand. The working people want to use their income to a greater extent for the improvement of their living and cultural and everyday conditions, for leisure, tourism and other purposes. Such needs and requirements must be satisfied more fully. This is beneficial to the state, too. But the possibilities are being poorly realised. Let us take, for example, such a specific matter as the development of orchard and allotment associations. This is a highly beneficial cause, and wide interest is being shown in it. However, it has not so far received due development. The requirement for allotments and huts, building materials and tools are far from being fully met. After discussing this matter in great detail, the Politburo ordered that appropriate measures be taken so as to go as far as possible towards meeting the demands of the people and removing unwarranted obstacles.

Areas like health care and education are acquiring ever greater importance in the life of society and of each individual and, as a consequence, in the social policy of the Party too. We have achieved a great deal in their development and ensured the equal access of all citizens to these vitally important boons. But here, too, new problems are arising today.

A substantial improvement, from the standpoint of today's demands, is needed in the material and technical base of health care, the quality of medical services and the supply of medicines to the population. The need for serious measures in this field was recently the subject of discussion in the Politburo. Provision must be made for them in the plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan period.

We have commenced the school reform, whose significance for the future of the country is difficult to overestimate. What is now required is not a formal but a meaningful approach to the tasks set, and a fundamental improvement in the quality of training and education of the rising generations and their preparation for socially useful work.

There are also numerous other matters which demand thorough consideration and for which ways to a solution must be found. These are, improving the material situation of labour veterans, especially those who went into well-deserved retirement long ago, the living conditions of young families, and maternity and child-care. Of course, it is important to continue building up efforts to resolve such social problems as the housing problem, so as, in the long term, to guarantee every family a separate flat or a well-appointed house.

We should be as attentive as possible to all man's concerns, to his work, his material well-being and his leisure. This is a key political question for us.

Now, to current matters concerning the implementation of this year's plan. We have not entirely made a good beginning. Growth of industrial production in the first quarter amounted to 2% only. Oil, metal, power and transport in particular fell back. Growth rates fell in labour productivity. The situation is not much better as regards costs, profits and other indices. The situation is being put right somewhat in April, but efforts must be redoubled in the remaining eight months in order to make up the losses. Let us speak plainly, it is not an easy task. But the matter is, the 1985 plan must be fulfilled and, moreover, without any kind of amendments. This is what socialist competition and all organisational and political work must aim at.

Responsible tasks are also facing rural workers. Their work must be carried out in such a way as to delight the country with its high results.

At the same time, it still remains to provide a qualitative elaboration of the plan for the coming year and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole. And for this it would be expedient to pass on control figures and norms to the ministries and departments, associations and enterprises in the near future. This will provide an opportunity for taking fuller account of the proposals of workers' collectives for mobilising reserves and, most important, to begin in an organised fashion from the beginning of next year a new 12th Five-Year Plan, which must have an energetic launch.

Comrades, solving the complex and large-scale tasks of the current stage, which touch on all facets of our life, is only possible by relying on the lively creativity of the people, on its brains, talent and labour. We must raise millions of working people to carry them out, constantly develop the initiative and energy of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, set in motion those inexhaustible possibilities which are at the disposal of socialist society, and more actively support all useful initiatives.

Lenin's Party, the Party of communists, has always marched and still marches in the vanguard of the people. Today it is called on to lead the movement of all the people for the speeding up of the social and economic development of the country. For this it is required that the struggle for the achievement of immediate and long-term aims be taken up by each Party organisation and each communist.

Preparations for the congress and the forthcoming reports and elections must comprehensively facilitate an upsurge in the activity and responsibility of communists, the strengthening of the fighting capacity of Party organisations, the consolidation of their links with the masses and, in the final analysis, the raising of the leading role of the Party.

The report and election campaign begins with the primary organisations, which are the Party's chief potential. It is here that Party policy is embodied in real deeds. It is here that our successes and shortcomings, our opportunities and reserves are most clearly visible.

This is why it is so important that meetings of communists should review the results of what has been done in a Leninist manner, without false idealisation and empty debate, gather together positive experience bit by bit, expose shortcomings fearlessly and pinpoint opportunities and specific ways of raising production and economic efficiency and of improving matters.

It is the duty of Party committees to display the maximum concern to ensure that meetings of primary organisations take place in a businesslike way and in an atmosphere of criticism, self-criticism and Bolshevik frankness and to ensure that awkward issues in the life of collectives and ways of eliminating all things which hold up work are discussed. It is essential to ensure that every Party member can make full use of his constitutional right to make proposals and criticisms and to ensure that not a single criticism is ignored.

The matter of reinforcing order and discipline is especially topical today. This is a pressing demand of the day which the Soviet people interpret in a broad way; including in it order in production and the services sector, in public life and at home, in each labour unit and in every town and village. And we will make every effort to ensure that order of this kind is strengthened in the country.

Life has shown the unanimous approval the people have given to measures to impose order and the weighty results these measures are producing. But it has to be bluntly stated that of late the attention given to this most important matter has lessened. In this respect it is, above all, leaders of collectives, bearing personal responsibility for discipline, who must be brought more rigorously to account. One not infrequently encounters instances where managers of enterprises forgive indiscipline in workers, hoping that subordinates will in their turn forgive their own blunders. We shall not tolerate such an attitude of mutual forgiveness.

In order to strengthen discipline and order, another indispensable condition is essential. Each individual must bear his own responsibility and conscientiously carry out his own direct duties. Substantial results cannot be achieved in any area of activities while the Party worker takes the place of the economic manager, an engineer does the work of a messenger, a scientist works at a vegetable depot and a textile worker at a livestock farm. Unfortunately, that is often the case today. It goes without saying that such a situation has not come about overnight. In some cases it is caused by well-known difficulties, and it cannot be rectified in a single day. But it must be rectified. Only then will we really be able to get rid of irresponsibility and lack of discipline.

Higher demands should be made of the tone, efficiency and strictness of the forthcoming rayon, town, oblast and kray Party conferences and the union republican communist party congresses. There must be no place at them, as sometimes happens, for eulogies and compliments, or attempts to conceal behind general words the essence of the matter and to lay the blame for shortcomings on objective circumstances or departmental misunderstandings.

It is our intention that the leading cadres, Central Committee members, and heads of ministries and departments will take direct part not only in Party conferences but also the meetings of primary organisations and do everything to ensure that the pre-congress collective meetings for discussion among communists should take place at the highest constructive and critical level.

The main slogans of the moment which must be made the leitmotiv of our pre-congress meetings and the whole of the preparations for the 27th Party Congress, are creative labour, unity of word and deed, initiative and responsibility and being demanding of oneself and one's comrades. The example here must be set by communists. It is necessary to intensify the demands made on every Party member regarding his attitude to public duty, implementation of Party resolutions and the honest and pure outlook of a Party member. A communist is assessed according to his actions and deeds. There are no other criteria, nor can there be.

During the reports and elections the leading Party bodies will have to be formed and replenished with fresh forces, and the issues of cadres which have come to a head will have to be resolved. The recently held plenums of Party committees convincingly showed what mature cadres the Party has at its disposal. At the same time they confirmed once again the need to observe most strictly the Leninist principles of selection, deployment and education of cadres. Where these principles are violated and where the promotion of workers is allowed on the basis of personal devotion, servility or protectionism, a fading of criticism and self-criticism and weakening of links with the masses inevitably sets in and, as a result, there are failures in work.

The Politburo considers it fundamentally important to continue implementing the course of ensuring stability in Party leadership and the correct combination of experienced and young workers. But this cannot be accompanied by any kind of stagnation in the advancement of cadres. In their letters to the Central Committee, communists draw attention to the fact that certain leaders, occupying the self-same post for a long time, frequently cease to see new things and become accustomed to shortcomings. There is something to think about here: We must search for ways to move our leading cadres more actively. We must promote women and promising young workers to responsible posts with greater boldness.

And one more important conclusion prompted by plenums of Party committees which have been held: Not a single Party organisation and not a single worker should be left outside the system of control. At meetings of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee over the past two years, reports have been presented on one issue or another by first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of many union republican and kray and oblast Party committees. Reports have been heard from leaders of a number of primary Party organisations, rayon and town committees and many ministries and departments. Such work must, naturally, continue to be conducted in future and must be actively developed in republics, krays and oblasts. This is in line with the rules of our intra-Party life.

And as we have now touched on control then there is another consideration I should like to voice: Namely, checking is necessary, control is essential, and every check must bring practical benefit and serve the interests of the matter in hand. But there can be little justification for repeated checks on one and the same matter, which is sometimes trivial, or for the numerous commissions set up for formalistic reasons which take people away from their work and generate an atmosphere of nervousness.

Report-back meetings, conferences and congresses provide an opportunity for the comprehensive assessment of the activities of elected Party bodies and a detailed look into the content and method of their work. Emphasis here must be placed primarily on analysis of how they deal with key matters concernign the life and labour of people and production collectives, and the development of the economy and of culture and how they conduct organisational work among the masses. It is essential to continue persistently the line of daily giving objective aid to lower Party organisations, getting things done in a more businesslike and expeditious way, reducing the flow of paperwork and overcoming bureaucratic styles of work and fondness for numerous meetings and conferences.

It needs to be said forthrightly: Far from everything has been done in countering these phenomena. There is no shortage of examples. Not so long ago, the CPSU Central Committee heard reports from Kalinin and Tselinograd Oblast Party Committees on

matters concerning the development of the agro-industrial complex. Serious deficiencies came to light in Party management of the economy, cadre work and educational work and in the activities of the buros and secretaries of oblast committees. The main thing that gave rise to their deficiencies was an uncritical attitude to what had been done, an inclination to exaggerate results achieved and reluctance to draw attention to negative phenomena. Appropriate measures had to be taken.

Certain heads of ministries and departments, too, still stick to the old approaches in leadership and are lacking in self-criticism. This is hindering matters. Life itself places on the agenda the need for a decisive improvement in work and making it match the demands of the present stage of development of society.

It is now no longer sufficient merely to be able to take executive action, although at times there is not enough of this, either. The significance is growing more and more of such businesslike qualities as competence, a sense of what is new, initiative, boldness, readiness to take on responsibility, ability to set a task and to see it through to the end, and not to lose sight of the political meaning of management. As is, I would say, the desire to learn how to work.

An important task of the report-back and election campaign is the further intensification of Party leadership of the soviets, trade unions; the Komsomol and other links in our political system, and all work involved in developing Soviet democracy.

We should always remember Lenin's idea that socialist democracy should never be understood in an abstract way. It has been and remains a tool of the development of the economy, of the growth of man's activeness and the communist education of the masses. The Party, in deepening the democratic nature of the Soviet system, has worked and will continue to work in precisely this key.

The preparations for the Party's 27th Congress and the discussion by the working people of the draft congress documents will undoubtedly stimulate much activity on the part of the Soviet people. Party committees are to take great care to provide publicity about how all channels of communication with the masses are to operate and about how much attention is devoted to public opinion, critical remarks and citizens' statements and letters. The CPSU Central Committee sees them as being of great assistance in its work and a clear indication of the Soviet people's interest in the affairs of their state.

The tasks of the Party's political-educational and ideological work have been discussed more than once in the Central Committee. Attention to this sector is understandable and progress has indeed been made. But I believe that by no means everything has been done to ensure that ideological work is linked with life in the closest possible way. Formalism and mere exhortations continue to get in the way. Damage is often done by idle talk and an inability to speak to people in the language of truth. And at times it happens that someone hears one thing and in reality sees another. This is a serious matter and not just an educational one but a political one, too.

Ideological-political education in all its forms must be linked to the maximum with the main task of our time - the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. This cannot be achieved without comprehensively taking account of the totality of the conditions of internal life and the specific nature of the international situation. You know that an all-union scientific-practical conference in December last year was devoted precisely to these matters, and that it discussed the course of implementation of the resolutions of the June 1983 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. One might recall once again today - and this should not appear paradoxical to anyone - that in propaganda and ideological work, as a whole, there should also be fewer words and more deeds.

I ought to speak, in particular, about the work of the mass information media - from factory and rayon media to the central media. The press, television and radio are effective means of organising and educating the masses and shaping public opinion. Positive changes in their work have been taking place recently, but life demands something more.

The information media are called upon to analyse events and phenomena profoundly, raise serious problems and propose ways of resolving them, and convince through their pithiness, expeditiousness and informativeness. The wise words of the Party, addressed to man, awaken thought and develop the initiative of people and foster implacability towards shortcomings. The effectiveness of the press, television and radio rises significantly when the Party committees give them active aid and support. It is necessary only that this aid and support should always be timely and weighty. And, of course, any attempts to suppress or ignore well-founded criticism should receive a principled Party evaluation.

Literature and art play a major role in the enrichment of the spiritual life of society with new values and with the ideological and moral elevation of Soviet man. The artistic intelligentsia - writers, poets, composers, artists, workers in the theatre and cinema - enjoy high prestige and recognition. But from this springs also their enormous responsibility before society. All the best things that have been created by Soviet literature and art have always been inseparable from the main causes and concerns of the Party and people. There is no doubt either that the fresh tasks which are being resolved today will find a worthy response in artistic creation, asserting the truth of socialist life.

Comrades, we are on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. Recalling that inconceivably gigantic price which was paid for victory by the Soviet people and the other peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition, returning again and again to the tragedy which befell mankind, the Communist Party and the Soviet government see the main significance of their foreign policy activity as the prevention of the repetition of anything similar. In particular, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet Union and our Party have been and will remain unswervingly true to the sacred memory of the immortal exploits of the peoples who overcame fascism.

The Soviet Union declares again and again that it will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence determined by our social system, our morality and world outlook.

We stand for regular, correct, if you like, civilised relations between states based on genuine respect for the norms of international law. But it must be made absolutely clear: only if imperialism renounces attempts to resolve by military means the historic argument between the two social systems can international relations be successfully directed into a channel of normal co-operation.

The cohesive community of socialist states, its economic and defence power and its unity of action in the international arena are an insuperable force in the struggle for the peaceful future of mankind. The achievement of a strategic military balance with the states of the aggressive NATO bloc is an exceptionally important historic gain for the fraternal countries of socialism. This parity must be cherished in every way for the sake of peace. It reliably restrains the aggressive appetites of imperialism.

Nor shall we in future spare any effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces have everything necessary for the reliable defence of our homeland and its allies, so that nobody will be able to catch us unawares.

Mankind today has at its disposal a vast potential for peace, multifaceted experience and sufficient historical and social perspective to understand where a policy of aggression can lead. This understanding is uniting peace-loving forces ever more closely, activating anti-war and anti-nuclear movements and raising more and more progressive and democratic detachments for the struggle against the threat of war. Nobody should be surprised that Washington's egoistical militaristic course is arousing more and more criticism and resistance in many countries. A tremendous contribution to the common cause of the struggle for peace is being made by communist and workers' parties, trade unions and other mass public organisations.

Not a single nation wants war. This is a source of huge reserves and potential for carrying out a policy of peace and progress. Everything should be done to ensure that the forces of militarism and aggression do not gain the upper hand in international relations.

We are convinced that it is possible to prevent world war. But, as experience shows, the struggle for preserving peace and securing general security is no easy task and demands more and more efforts. Through the fault of the imperialists, the international situation continues to be alarming and dangerous. Mankind has found itself faced by a choice: Either to further inflame tension and confrontation, or to constructively search for mutually acceptable accords which would halt the process of material preparation for a nuclear conflict.

Responsibility for the existing situation lies, primarily, with the ruling circles in the USA, and this should be plainly stated. They continue to be the initiators of the arms race and the saboteurs of disarmament, a fact of which the world community is well aware. On their initiative more and more new weapons of mass destruction are being created. Today, they are trying to extend the arms race to space. The hundreds of US military bases scattered all over the world are also destabilising the situation in the world.

The USA openly claims the "right" to interfere anywhere and in everything, and it ignores and often directly tramples underfoot the interests of other countries and peoples, and the traditions of international intercourse and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates hotbeds of conflict and war danger, inflaming the situation first in one, then in another part of the world. Today the USA is threatening the heroic people of Nicaragua with military reprisals, trying to deny it freedom and sovereignty, as happened in Grenada. Solidarity with the forces of progress and democracy and with the countries and peoples fighting for freedom and independence against the onslaught of reaction, is a matter of principle for us. Here our line is as clear as it always has been.

One does not need special political vision to be able to see how imperialism has intensified its subversive work and co-ordinated its activities against the socialist states in the course of the last few years. This applies to all spheres - political, economic, ideological and military. The documents of the fraternal parties have repeatedly stressed that imperialism is trying to secure social revenge on the broadest front - both with regard to the socialist community, and countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression, national liberation movements and the working people of capitalist countries.

The economic expansion of the USA has been broadening and becoming more active. The manipulation of bank rates, the predatory role of the transnational corporations, political limitations on trade and all sorts of boycotts and sanctions are creating an atmosphere of tension and distrust in international economic relations, disorganising the world economy and trade and undermining its legal foundations. The exploitation of ex-colonial countries and the blocking of the process of their economic decolonisation has been increased. By concentrating in its hands a growing amount of the financial and material resources of other countries, the USA is directly or indirectly putting them to the service of its gigantic military programmes.

In these conditions, ever growing interest is being aroused in the world in the idea of elaborating and implementing measures to normalise international economic relations and ensure economic security for states.

The complexity of the international situation and the sharp degree of tension obliges us to continue to attach priority importance to foreign policy issues.

Of ever increasing importance is the task of comprehensively improving and enriching co-operation and developing multi-faceted links with the fraternal countries of socialism, ensuring their close interaction in political, economic, ideological, defence and other fields and concern for the organic combination of the national and international interests of all members of the great community.

On the agenda for the joint work of the fraternal countries is the implementation of the resolutions of the economic summit conference of the CMEA member countries which took place in June last year. This is now urgently demanded by the common interests of the community, the requirements of each state's social and economic development and particular features of the international situation.

Our exchange of opinions in mid-March with the Party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty members makes it possible to confidently affirm that we are united in the opinion that the Warsaw Treaty organisation will continue to play an important role in the defence of the positions of socialism in Europe and the world and to serve as a reliable instrument for the prevention of nuclear war and the strengthening of international security for as long as the NATO bloc continues to exist.

The Soviet Union will purposefully and persistently strengthen mutual links and develop co-operation with other socialist countries, including the PRC. Our position in this matter is known, and it remains in force.

We are for the further expansion of multilateral co-operation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The CPSU and the Soviet state unchangingly support the right of all peoples to self-determination of their socio-economic system in accordance with their own wishes, and to build their future without any outside interference whatsoever. To attempt to refuse the peoples this sovereign right is a lost cause.

We invariably advocate the development of normal and equal relations with the capitalist countries. It is our firm conviction that disputes and conflicts should be resolved by political means.

The Politburo bases its proceeds from the fact that the inter-state documents of the period of detente, including the Helsinki Final Act, have not lost their value. They are an example of how international relations can be conducted if one is guided by the principles of equality and equal security and by the realities which have come about in the world and if one does not strive for any advantage, but looks for mutually acceptable solutions and accords. It would appear that in connection with the 10th anniversary of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation it would be useful if, on behalf of the states which signed the Final Act, the will were expressed once again to overcome dangerous tension and develop peaceful co-operation and constructive initiatives in international life.

The Soviet Union advocates fruitful and all-round economic, scientific and technical co-operation, based on the principles of mutual advantage and excluding any discrimination; it is ready to expand and further deepen trade relations, develop new forms of economic ties, based on the sides' mutual interest in the joint development of scientific and technical and technological innovations, in the planning and building of enterprises and in the working of raw material resources.

In presenting the matter in this way it is necessary to look closely at the state of our foreign economic ties and to take a somewhat more profound look at them, taking the long term into account. Despite international tension, there are favourable opportunities here. The approach to mutually advantageous economic ties and foreign trade should be broad, large-scale and faced towards the future.

We are in favour of extensive, mutually advantageous co-operation at many levels with the states of Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries.

Our readiness to improve relations with the USA as well, for mutual benefit and without attempts to encroach upon the legitimate rights and interests of each other, is known. There does not exist any sort of fatal inevitability of confrontation of our two countries. If one is to interpret both the positive and the negative experience accumulated by the history of Soviet-American relations, both in remote and recent history, it should be said that the most rational thing is to look for ways of leading to the smoothing-out of relations, and to build a bridge of co-operation - but to build it from both sides.

But the first stage of the Geneva negotiations which has already been concluded provides grounds for saying that Washington is holding a course which is not directed at reaching accord with the Soviet Union. This is evident if only from the fact that it is refusing altogether to discuss the matter of stopping the spread of the arms race into space and simultaneously with discussion of the matter of limiting and reducing nuclear weapons. In this way it is violating the accord reached in January on the inter-relationship of the three directions - the prevention of the arms race in space, the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and the reduction of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The question arises: How is such a position to be explained: It is to be explained by the fact that certain circles in the USA still want to achieve a dominant position in the world, primarily in the military regard. We have more than once drawn the attention of the American side to the fact that these arrogant plans do not have a future. The Soviet Union and its friends and allies, indeed all other states which stand for peace and peaceful co-operation, do not recognise the right of any state or group of states to supremacy and the imposition of their will on other countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union, for its part, has never set itself such tasks, and never will.

We should like to express the hope that the present position of the USA will be amended. This would open up the possibility for achieving mutually acceptable accords. Such a readiness is evident on our part.

Evidence of this is to be found in the USSR's proposal that both sides should introduce for the entire period of the talks a moratorium on the creation of space weapons and a freeze of strategic nuclear arsenals. Continuing this line, the Soviet Union unilaterally announced a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles and on the build-up of other counter-measures in Europe. All over the world this decision was assessed as important and constructive, promoting the success of the talks.

I should like to remind you that this is not the only step of its kind. Since 1982 the unilateral commitment of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons has been in force. And since 1983, the unilateral moratorium on being first to put anti-satellite weapons into space. The US government has not responded to even one of these initiatives with a single gesture of goodwill. On the contrary, it has been doing everything to present the actions of the USSR, directed at a reduction of the war danger and at reaching understandings, in a false light and to encourage distrust of them. In short, everything is being done to avoid positive steps in response.

One cannot help being surprised, too, at the haste with which the American administration replies with its standard and customary "No!" to our proposals, which is obvious evidence of the USA's unwillingness to steer matters towards reasonable results. I shall say one thing: An arms race and talks on disarmament cannot be combined. That is clear, if one is not to fall into hypocrisy and aim to deceive public opinion. The Soviet Union will not facilitate such a course and this should be known by all those who are now engaged in a political game and not serious policy. We would not want a repetition of the sorry experience of the previous talks.

For its part, the Soviet Union will work persistently in Geneva for concrete and mutually acceptable agreements which will make it possible not only to end the arms race but also promote the cause of disarmament. Now, as never before, political will is needed for the sake of peace on earth and for the sake of a better tomorrow.

Such, are our tasks comrades, the basic directions of home and foreign policy. Undoubtedly they will be the subject of thorough debate at the present plenum, which has to define the nature of the pre-congress activity of the whole Party and of each of its organisations.

We must conduct the work of the plenum in such a way that it may be summed up in Lenin's words:

"We now know our tasks much more clearly, concretely and graphically than yesterday; we are not afraid to point openly to our mistakes so as to correct them. We shall now devote all the forces of the Party to its better organisation, raising the quality and content of its work, creating closer ties with the masses and working out more and more correct and precise tactics and strategies of the working class."

The Party and Soviet people expect comprehensively thought-out and responsible decisions from us and it can be said with certainty that they will be supported by communists and all working people. Supported by their social motivation, their activity and their labour.

Resolution on 27th Congress

Moscow home service 1400 gmt 23 Apr 85

Text as broadcast of resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on convening the regular 27th CPSU Congress:

Having heard and discussed a report by Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the convening of the regular 27th CPSU Congress and the tasks connected with preparing for it and holding it", the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

- (1) To convene the regular 27th CPSU Congress on 25th February 1986.
- (2) To approve the following order of business of the Congress:
 - (i) Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks of the Party - rapporteur: Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.
 - (ii) Report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission: rapporteur: Comrade Sizov, Chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.
 - (iii) New revised edition of the CPSU Programme.
 - (iv) Changes in the CPSU Rules.
 - (v) Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the period 1986-90 and for the period up to the year 2000: rapporteur: Comrade Tikhonov, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.
 - (vi) Elections to central Party bodies.
- (3) To establish the norm of representation at the CPSU Congress: one delegate to 3,670 Party members.
- (4) Delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress are to be elected in accordance with the Party Rules by secret ballot at oblast and kray Party conferences and congresses of union republican communist parties. Elections of delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress from the Communist Parties of Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are to be conducted at oblast party conferences.

Communists who are members of Party organisations in the Soviet Army, Navy, or the Internal or Border Troops are to elect delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress together with corresponding territorial party organisations, at oblast or kray Party conferences or at congresses of union republican communist parties. Communists who are members of Party organisations in units of the Soviet Army or Navy which are abroad are to elect delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress at Party conferences of the corresponding troop formations.