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CPSU**



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OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE  
SOVIET UNION**

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**REPORT  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION  
TO THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU**

Delivered by  
**LEONID BREZHNEV,**  
First Secretary of the CPSU  
Central Committee

Comrade delegates, the period between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses of our Party has been packed with big and important events, both in our own country and in the international sphere. All these years the CPSU, guided by the line laid down by the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses, has led the Soviet people unswervingly along the path of communist construction. All the activities of the CPSU have been directed to implementing the Party Programme—to building the material and technical basis of communism, ensuring a higher standard of living, improving social relations and educating the Soviet people in a spirit of lofty communist consciousness. The Party has devoted every effort to ensuring peaceful conditions of work for the Soviet people; it has fought actively to maintain peace throughout the world.

*Insofar as concerns the development of the*

*Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, the period under review has seen the further consolidation of the Party's ranks and a growth of its political and organising role in Soviet society. Lenin's principles of Party life have been firmly established in the Party. Today, at the 23rd Congress, we may confidently assert that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become stronger and more monolithic and its ties with the people have become still sounder. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with other fraternal parties, has actively worked for the cohesion of the world communist movement on the basis of the invincible doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for the unity of action by the Communists of the whole world against the common foe, imperialism.

*Insofar as concerns the internal development* of the Soviet Union, it has been a period in which the Soviet people have, by their enthusiastic labour under the leadership of the Communist Party, completed the seven-year plan. New achievements in the development of the economy, science, technology and culture have made the Soviet Union still more powerful economically, politically and militarily. The Soviet standard of living has risen. The consolidation and extension of socialist democracy in various spheres of social life has continued. There has been a further strengthening of the foundations of the socialist system—the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry; the friendship of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union; the ideological and political unity of all working people

and their cohesion round their vanguard, the Communist Party.

*Insofar as concerns the international situation* in the period that has elapsed since the 22nd Party Congress, there has been a steady growth in the international influence of the Soviet Union and the entire world system of socialism, the countries and peoples fighting for independence and progress against the yoke of colonialism have scored fresh victories, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries has become more active and there has been a further development of the international communist and labour movement.

On the other hand, there has been a continued exacerbation and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Imperialism, primarily imperialist circles in the USA, has on a number of occasions resorted to insolent provocative acts, going so far as war adventures. This has resulted in an exacerbation of the international situation.

The increased aggressiveness of imperialism by no means signifies that there has been a change in the alignment of world forces in its favour. On the contrary, this aggressiveness is a reflection of the growing difficulties and contradictions confronting the world capitalist system in our days. The events of the past few years have again shown that no matter what methods and means imperialism resorts to, it is not in a position to check the course of historical development. Contemporary revolutionary forces are continuing their offensive. The peoples' fight against imperialism is increasing.

The CC CPSU has taken into consideration all the complications of the world situation in elaborating the course of the Party and the state in foreign policy; it has been guided by the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and by the desire to ensure peaceful conditions for the building of communism and socialism in the countries of the world socialist community and to prevent the unleashing of a new world war. In elaborating and implementing foreign policy the Central Committee proceeded from its internationalist revolutionary duty both to the fraternal socialist countries and to the working people of all countries.

The results of past years show that the political line of the CPSU is correct and enjoys the full support of the entire Soviet people. Our chief task is to work for the implementation of this line. Loyalty to the cause of communism, proletarian internationalism and socialist solidarity has been and will always be the law of life and struggle of the great Party of Lenin.

**I.**  
**THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS**  
**OF THE USSR.**  
**THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CPSU**  
**IN THE SPHERE OF FOREIGN POLICY**

**I. THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM, THE EFFORTS**  
**OF THE CPSU TO STRENGTHEN ITS UNITY AND**  
**MIGHT**

Comrades, work to strengthen the might and cohesion of the socialist community occupies an extremely important place among the multifarious activities of our Party and state in the sphere of foreign policy. We regard the socialist community as one of the greatest historical achievements of the world working class; we regard it as the main revolutionary force of our time, the most reliable support for all peoples struggling for peace, national liberty, democracy and socialism. During the period under review the world socialist system has grown substantially stronger; it has increased its international prestige and its impact on world affairs.

*In the sphere of political co-operation* between the socialist countries during the period under review, the relations between fraternal parties have developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism and mutual support, on the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual respect, on the prin-

principle of the independence of parties and states. In this period our relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries of the socialist community and with the socialist states have undoubtedly become better, closer and more cordial. We have good fraternal relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Cuba, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance play a great role in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist states. These treaties are real charters of friendship embodying the experience accumulated in the course of many years, the maturity and warmth of the relations of fraternal peoples, their lofty internationalist spirit. They are doing excellent service to our common revolutionary cause and will continue to do so.

It is a pleasure to note that the socialist system is being steadily consolidated in the fraternal countries, that the new social relations are being perfected, that the standard of living is rising and that the international prestige of the socialist states is increasing.

The world socialist system is making steady progress. The basic laws of socialist construction are common to all countries, they are well known and have been tested in practice. Nevertheless,

as the socialist countries develop, they are constantly coming up against new problems engendered by the realities of life in all its complexity and variety. It stands to reason that there are no ready-made solutions to these problems, nor can there be any. The development of the world socialist system, therefore requires a constant creative approach, on the tried and tested basis of Marxism-Leninism, to the problems that arise, it requires the pooling of experience and opinions.

Business-like contacts and political consultations between the leaders of the fraternal parties of socialist countries have developed into a system. During the year and a half that have elapsed since the October (1964) Plenum of the CC, members of the Presidium and Secretaries of the CC, and many members of the CC CPSU have, on a number of occasions, met leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of almost all the socialist countries for negotiations and detailed talks. Our friendly meetings, sincere talks, our pooling of opinion and experience, always take place in a spirit of comradeship, profound mutual respect and common loyalty to the great ideals and aims of socialism.

Such meetings make it possible to summarise and use, in good time and more fully, all that is worthwhile in the practical activities of each country and of the entire socialist system, to elaborate more successfully the policy of communist and socialist construction in all our countries and the most correct line in international affairs. Everything, all our experience, tells us that this is a practice that is very neces-

sary and useful and we should like to see it developed in every way.

As far as the CPSU is concerned we shall continue to do everything to develop and strengthen political relations with the fraternal socialist countries.

*In the sphere of the economic co-operation* between socialist countries, our relations have developed and reached a higher level in recent years. Bilateral and multilateral economic relations have been substantially expanded. Trade turnover between socialist countries has greatly increased. Trade turnover with the countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance alone has increased from 5,600 million rubles to 8,500 million rubles in the period under review. A number of measures have been carried out for specialisation and cooperation in production on mutually beneficial terms. In the interest of our peoples scientific, technical and cultural contacts are constantly being multiplied and strengthened. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is acquiring increasing importance in expanding the economies of the participant countries. Economists are now busy working on problems of the greater specialisation and co-operation in production and the more rational dovetailing of economic plans. Like many fraternal parties, we are of the opinion that only in this way can the national economies of the socialist countries keep pace with the tempestuous scientific and technical revolution of our days and thus ensure conditions for further achievements in the economic competition with capitalism.

The economy of the socialist countries is developing more rapidly than that of the countries of the bourgeois world. Suffice it to say that in the period 1961-65, the industrial output of the world socialist system increased by 43 per cent and that of the capitalist system by 34 per cent. As you see, the difference is substantial and, apart from that, industrial growth figures in capitalist countries are not an indicator of higher living standards as they are in the socialist countries, but are primarily evidence of the growing profits of the monopolies and the progressing militarisation of capitalist economy.

The socialist countries are maintaining and developing their superiority in economic growth rates and are making increasingly effective use of the advantages of socialist mode of production, thereby fulfilling one of their primary, genuinely revolutionary tasks.

As far as the CPSU is concerned we shall continue to do all we can to ensure that economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries are extended and strengthened.

*In the sphere of military co-operation,* there has been further consolidation of our relations with the socialist countries in the face of growing aggressive acts on the part of the imperialist forces headed by the USA, a strengthening and improvement of the mechanism of the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact is the reliable protector of the gains of the peoples of the socialist countries. The armies of the Warsaw Pact countries are equipped with the most up-to-date weapons. In field exercises, in the air and at sea, co-operation between the armed

forces of the allied states is being developed, the power of modern weapons tested and the fraternity of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries strengthened. If the need arises the closely-knit family of signatories to the Pact will rise solidly in defence of the socialist system, and the free life of our peoples, and deliver a crushing blow at any aggressor.

As far as the CPSU is concerned we shall continue to do all we can to extend and consolidate military co-operation of the fraternal socialist countries.

Comrades, co-operation and solidarity are the main sources of the strength of the socialist system. The development and deepening of this co-operation is in accordance with the vital interests of each individual country and of the socialist system as a whole, it promotes the cohesion of our ranks in the struggle against imperialism.

Such cohesion is particularly necessary in the present situation when the US imperialists are escalating their aggression against the Vietnamese people, have launched an unprovoked attack on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a socialist country. The CPSU is working consistently for united action by all socialist countries in assisting fighting Vietnam. Permit me, comrades, to speak at greater length about the events in Vietnam and our support of the fraternal Vietnamese people somewhat later.

The CPSU and the Soviet people fully support the fraternal Korean people who are fighting against US imperialism to unify Korea on a democratic basis. Our Party, all the Soviet

people, are confident that the Korean people will be victorious and that Korea will be united and free.

The heroic people of Cuba, the first American country to carry out a socialist revolution, are fighting and building socialism under difficult circumstances. Cuba is not alone: she is a member of the mighty community of socialist states. Our people are wholeheartedly with the Cuban people in their efforts to build a new society. The Soviet Union has been giving all-round support to fraternal Cuba, and will continue unswervingly to do so.

While speaking of the consolidation of the world socialist system, comrades, we must at the same time note that our relations with the Parties of two socialist countries, with the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour unfortunately remain unsatisfactory.

Our Party and the Soviet people sincerely desire friendship with People's China and its Communist Party. We are prepared to do everything possible to improve relations with People's Albania and the Albanian Party of Labour.

You know that in November 1964 there was a meeting in Moscow between the CPSU and a delegation of the CC CPC. Somewhat later our delegation had a talk with the leadership of the CPC in Peking. It was proposed to the Chinese comrades that a new meeting be held at the highest level in Moscow or Peking. We still believe that such a meeting would be valuable, and are prepared at any moment to examine existing differences with the leadership of the

CPC in order to find a way of overcoming them on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We are convinced that our parties and our peoples will ultimately overcome all difficulties and will march side by side in the fight for our common, great revolutionary cause.

The CC CPSU puts forward for the future as *one of the main orientations of the Party and the Soviet state in the sphere of foreign policy the development and consolidation of ideological, political and organisational bonds with the Communist Parties of all the socialist countries based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism; the development and consolidation of political, economic and other bonds between the USSR and the socialist states; the promotion in every possible way of the cohesion of the socialist community and the strengthening of its might and influence. The CPSU will do everything in its power to ensure that the world socialist system becomes still more powerful and advances from victory to victory.*

## **2. EXACERBATION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT**

Comrades, in its foreign policy the CC CPSU has paid regard to the processes taking place in the capitalist world. The capitalist system as a whole is gripped by a general crisis. Its inherent contradictions are growing more acute. In their efforts to surmount these contradictions and hold their ground in the struggle against social-

ism, the bosses of the bourgeois world pinned strong hopes on state regulation of the economy, scientific and technical progress and on greater military production. However, this has not, nor could have cured capitalism of its basic ailments. Although economic growth in the main capitalist countries has been more rapid since the war than between the two world wars, it is obvious that capitalist economy has remained unstable. Periods of relative rises in production are succeeded by recessions. Such rises and drops have occurred in many capitalist countries, particularly in the United States.

When to this is added the mounting inflation, the tremendous growth of the national debt and the indebtedness of the population, it becomes clear that the hidden destructive forces inherent in the capitalist economy are still operating and that it will not escape new upheavals.

The law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries is operating implacably; the contradictions between the capitalist states are growing more acute. For a number of years economic growth in the West-European countries and Japan was more rapid than in the United States, but in the last few years the tables have turned. Economic growth in the USA has been accelerated, while in Western Europe and Japan rates of growth have sharply fallen.

The US monopolies have taken advantage of this and mounted a fresh offensive in the world markets. American capital is again being invested heavily in the industries of Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and other coun-

tries. However, unlike the early postwar years, the US monopolies are having to deal now with stronger competitors, who are hitting back at the dollar more and more frequently.

The competitive struggle in Western Europe, including the Common Market and other state-monopoly associations, has also become sharper. A process of disintegration has set in the imperialist blocs, as a consequence of the contradictions among the member countries. The United States is no longer able to direct the latter's policy as sweepingly as before. It is long since any serious politician, let alone the people has given credence to the myth about a "threat of Soviet aggression", which once helped forge these blocs. American aggression, on the other hand, is a patent fact. The allies of the United States are becoming increasingly conscious of the dangers involved in blind conformance with Washington policies. Thus, a new area of contradiction and rivalry is appearing within the capitalist world.

Militarisation of the economy, the most abhorrent development in the bourgeois world today, must not be overlooked. National riches created by workingmen are being increasingly used for the manufacture of death-dealing weapons, rather than for improving people's lives. Mountains of arms have been stockpiled by now, yet the arms race continues at an unheard-of pace, consuming an immense portion of the national income of the bourgeois states.

Since NATO was founded more than a thousand million dollars have been spent in building up and improving its war machine. In

the 20 postwar years US military expenditures have exceeded those of the 20 years preceding the Second World War 48 times over. Today, more than three-quarters of all US Federal Budget expenditures are being spent directly or indirectly for military purposes.

Increased production of weapons of war in the main imperialist countries is compelling other countries as well to spend considerable funds for strengthening their defences. Militarisation of the economy is inseparably connected with the general aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, above all that of the United States. The imperialists would like nothing better than to subjugate many of the independent states and erect barriers to the social progress of mankind. Time and again, the course of history is bearing out Lenin's description of American imperialism as a predatory, piratical and hateful oppressor of the peoples.

As before, the contradiction between labour and capital—the main contradiction of capitalist society—operates to the full extent in the capitalist world. The monopolies are trying to impose greater burdens on the working class and other sections of working people. Never before has the degree of exploitation been so high as now. The fruits of scientific and technical progress, and of the growth of productive forces, are falling into the lap of a handful of monopolists. In the meantime, millions of people are unemployed, even at times of good business. Large numbers of peasants are being ruined and driven off the land.

The facts play havoc with the lying tales

of "people's capitalism" and the "welfare state" spread by bourgeois ideologists. What sort of general welfare is it if, say, the 1965 net profits of the US monopolies aggregated 45,000 million dollars, or 4 times as much as annual average during the Second World War, while 32 million Americans, as the US Government itself admits, live in poverty?

Mounting exploitation of the working people is giving impetus to the class struggle. The social battles in capitalist society are growing more bitter. The proletarians of Italy, Japan, France, Belgium, the United States, Britain and other countries have been fighting back staunchly in recent years with strike actions against the monopoly offensive on their standard of living, and on many occasions they have been victorious. Suffice it to say that in the last ten years the number of people involved in strikes has doubled and now totals some 55 to 57 million annually.

The range of socio-economic and political demands raised by the working class has widened in the course of the class battles in the capitalist countries. In Italy, France and other countries, factory and office workers are demanding with mounting vigour that trade unions should share in the administration of enterprises, that the key economic sectors should be nationalised; they oppose the omnipotence of finance capital. In Japan millions of working people demand not only higher wages, but also the removal of American war bases and a ban on US nuclear submarines calling at Japanese ports.

Headed by the Communist Parties, who are

their vanguard, the proletariat of the capitalist countries are waging an active struggle against war, against the colonial policy of the imperialists, and in support of peoples that have become victims of imperialist aggression. The resounding political successes scored lately by the working class and all the "Left" forces of France speak plainly of their increasing influence on the country's social life, and of the growing political maturity of the masses. The working class of Italy stands in the van of a broad progressive front and is frustrating reactionary attempts at encroaching on the democratic gains of the people. During the period under review there has been a great upsurge in the United States, in the fight against racial discrimination, in the campaign for the civil rights of the 20 million American Negroes. Large sections of the American nation are protesting more and more vigorously against the US aggression in Vietnam.

Other social strata opposing monopoly oppression—the bulk of the peasants and the intelligentsia—are rallying more closely round the working class. A broad anti-monopoly front is being formed. This process promotes closer unity of the people and stimulates their struggle for the ultimate goal—for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism.

Times are becoming increasingly difficult for capitalism. Its doom is becoming more and more obvious. But the capitalists will never give up control of their own free will. It is only through tenacious class battles that the working class and the rest of the working people will achieve victory.

We know that the workers' movement in the capitalist countries has to cope with serious difficulties and fight hard battles. Many such battles lie ahead.

The Communists and all the people of the Soviet land express their heartfelt solidarity with the working people in the bourgeois countries. Soviet people feel inspired by the thought that the gains of the Soviet working class and those of the other socialist countries are a support to our class brothers in the courageous struggle for their rights, for their liberation, for the future of their children, for the victory of the new social system.

### **3. THE CPSU WORKS FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

Comrades, a century ago, when Marx and Engels raised the banner of scientific communism, there were no more than a few dozen people in the international organisation of the proletariat. Communist League which they founded, was the world's first. That was the time when the world heard the proud word **C o m m u n i s t**, imbued with such deep meaning. This word resounded, never to disappear, because it connotes the supreme truth, the supreme purpose of millions upon millions of workingmen.

Half a century ago, when our Party led by Vladimir Lenin marshalled the people to assault capitalism, there were 400,000 Communists in the world. Today, 88 Communist Parties in all

continents have a membership of nearly 50 million.

What is the reason for the steady growth of the communist ranks, and of their influence? The reason is that the Communists express the basic interests of the working people more fully than anybody else. Selfless dedication to the working-class cause, living, unbreakable bonds with the people, the ability continually to learn from the people's revolutionary experience and the capacity to stand at the head of the people and fearlessly lead them in struggle—all these are sources of communist strength.

Armed with a scientific theory of social development, communism is the only political movement in the world that is able to see clearly the historic prospects of mankind. The general line of the communist movement, worked out collectively by the fraternal parties at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings, is a line for achieving the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. It accords with the interests of all mankind. In the last few years, most of the Communist Parties have adopted new programme documents on its basis, defining national as well as international interests and problems.

In the period under review the international activities of the CC CPSU have been imbued with the unchanging desire to strengthen unity and fraternal solidarity with the other Communist and Workers' Parties and to work with them for implementation of the general line of the world communist movement.

Since 1960 the number of Communists in the world has increased by 14 million. Their bonds

with people have grown stronger. The world communist movement has consolidated its position as the most influential political force of our time.

*The Communist Parties of the socialist countries* are doing immense constructive work. They are resolving the difficult problems of economic development, new social relations and the communist education of the people, and are providing for the defence of their socialist gains. This work is of historic significance. It strengthens the international positions of socialism and adds to the force of attraction exercised by its ideas all over the world.

*The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries* are heading the struggle of the masses against the monopolies and forging a political revolutionary army in class battles. Today, Communist Parties are exerting a strong influence on the entire national life in many of these countries. The Communists are the finest sons of the working class, the working peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. They produce prominent social and political leaders and many devoted fighters for the working people's cause. Communists are leaders of many trade unions and democratic mass organisations in the capitalist countries; Communists are members of parliament and mayors of many towns and villages; Communists are publicists and scientists, writers and teachers; Communists stand at the head of partisan detachments and underground groups of revolutionaries in countries where an armed struggle is in progress against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All this is practical evidence of the mounting influence exercised by the Com-

munist Parties, and of their unbreakable ties with the people.

In France, Italy, Finland, Belgium, Britain, Austria, Denmark, Cyprus, Australia, Canada, India, Ceylon, Syria, Iraq, the Sudan, the South African Republic, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, and other countries—wherever Communist Parties exist, they are waging a determined struggle for greater influence on the masses, for the interests of the working class and all other working people. More and more, the Communists are winning the sympathies of the people. In a number of European and Latin American countries, the Communist Parties have grown into a major political force. A quarter of all electors vote for Communists in these countries.

The Communists are the most active fighters for the unity of the working-class movement. Lately, distinct headway has been made in the struggle for such unity, although it still encounters considerable difficulties. These are due above all to the right-wing leaders of the social-democratic parties. But it is not these leaders who represent the true interests of the working-class movement. The working class is becoming increasingly conscious of the dangers implicit in the policy of the right-wing social-democratic leaders, who are bent on safeguarding capitalism and maintaining the split in the working-class movement. The masses are becoming increasingly convinced from their own experience that nothing but concerted efforts will yield tangible results in the struggle against monopo-

ly capital. The working class wants unity and we are deeply convinced that this will be achieved.

The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of a large group of young independent states on the world scene confronts the *communist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America* with new tasks. Born in the flames of national liberation revolutions, it is gaining strength in the struggle for their consummation, for the consolidation of freedom and independence, and for social progress.

The Communists tread a thorny path in the countries of the capitalist world, falsely styled "free." Every step made by the communist movement there involves grim struggle against an experienced, treacherous and ruthless foe. Our Party, which has travelled a glorious path from the early underground Marxist circles of the late 19th century, from the barricades of 1905 through the battles of the October Revolution to the victory of socialism, knows full well how much courage, tenacity and heroism is required of Communists in the struggle for the people's cause under sustained enemy fire. For many years now, the Communist Parties of Spain, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, Venezuela, Peru, the South African Republic and a number of other countries have had to operate underground. The Communist Party of the United States is fighting gallantly in most difficult conditions, withstanding the assault of a giant coercive police machine, and hounded continuously by anti-communist ideologists in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

Unable to defeat the Communists in politico-

ideological combat, bourgeois reaction resorts to terrorism against the Communist Parties and to physical violence against loyal sons of the proletariat and all the working people.

The whole of our Party and all our nation condemn the anti-communist terror in Indonesia. The reactionary forces in that country have, without trial, brutally exterminated tens of thousands of people whose only "guilt" was their being members of the Communist Party. The persecution and banning of the Communist Party prejudices the unity of the revolutionary forces of Indonesia, undermines the anti-imperialist front and greatly damages the interests of the friendly Indonesian people. We demand that the criminal butchery of Communists, those heroic fighters for Indonesia's national independence and the interests of the working people, be stopped at once.

In the recent years, executioners have depleted the communist ranks of many outstanding leaders. Many gallant fighters for the happiness of their peoples, for socialism have been tortured and done to death by the police. These men are immortal. They will live on in the memory of generations.

No tortures, no terror by the reaction can break the Communists. We are proud that our movement produces wonderful heroes, that it produces models of ideological devotion, civic and personal courage.

Comrades, the successes of the communist movement are incontestable. But Communists take a sober view of the situation. Vladimir

Lenin taught us to take into account not only victories but also setbacks, in order to draw from them the correct conclusions.

Giving leadership to the class struggle is a great and complicated art; today, it is probably more intricate than ever before. The conditions in which the fraternal parties are waging the struggle vary from country to country. New social strata, whole nations, are joining the revolutionary struggle. They have different traditions, different economic conditions and different experience in struggle. All this affects the activities of the respective Communist Parties.

The experience of the revolutionary movement during the last few years has again demonstrated that success is achieved by Parties that adhere to the tried and true Leninist principles of strategy and tactics, and take account of the existing situation. Experience shows that deviations from the Marxist-Leninist line either to right or "left" become doubly dangerous when they are combined with nationalism, great-power chauvinism and hegemonic ambition. Communists cannot help drawing the proper conclusions from this.

Comrades, you know that the world communist movement has run into serious difficulties over the last few years. The attitude of the CPSU on this score is well known to the Congress delegates. We regret deeply that the differences from which none but our common adversaries benefit have not been overcome to this day. This, we believe, goes against the interest of every fraternal party and the common interest of the entire world communist movement. The CPSU

believes that it is the duty of all Communists to work for the consolidation of the ranks of our movement. The CC CPSU believes that the stronger the solidarity of all the detachments of the communist movement, the stronger will be the international anti-imperialist front and the more successfully the world revolutionary process will develop.

What concrete ways does our Party conceive in the present situation for strengthening the unity of the communist movement?

In the opinion of the CC CPSU there is good common Marxist-Leninist ground for closing the communist ranks, namely, the general line worked out by 1957 and 1960 Meetings of the fraternal parties. Developments since then have put it to the most exacting test and it has withstood that test. Today there is every reason for saying that loyalty to this line is a dependable guarantee of unity and of new successes in the revolutionary movement.

Greater unity calls for the observance of the collectively defined rules governing relations between Parties, those of complete equality and independence, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual support, and international solidarity. The Communist Parties possess vast experience in revolutionary work and none can find the right conclusions for the problems that arise before them better than they themselves. The CPSU is opposed to any and all hegemonic trends in the communist movement. The CPSU stands for truly internationalist relations between all the Parties on the basis of equality.

Like the other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the CPSU believes that, despite the differences, it is possible and necessary to work for united action by the Communists of all countries in the struggle against imperialism, in order to repel its aggressive actions more strongly, in the name of freedom and independence of the nations. The more closely united the world-wide army of Communists, the greater success will be achieved in such important tasks in the contemporary anti-imperialist struggle as the fight to end US aggression in Vietnam, support of the progressive forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialist intrigues, and defence of our brother Communists from reactionary terrorism in some countries.

The conferences and meetings held lately by representatives of Communist Parties have served to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement. Our Party attaches great importance to such contacts. In the last 18 months alone, we have had meetings with more than 200 delegations from 60 fraternal parties. Further multilateral and bilateral meetings, the continuous exchange of experience, and comradely discussions of current problems—this is a correct and useful practice in the relations between fraternal parties and, at the same time, a good way of promoting the solidarity of the communist movement.

The Central Committee of the CPSU fully shares and supports the fraternal parties' view that international conferences of Communist Parties are an important and tested form of securing the international unity of Communists,

and holding collective discussions of new problems. We stand for a new conference when conditions for it are ripe.

The facts confirm that the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties are strongly in favour of the international unity of the revolutionary vanguard of the international working class. The objective identity of the basic interests of all the revolutionary contingents is the foundation on which the unity of Communists rests and flourishes. Today, at this Congress, the CPSU again repeats the appeal to all Communists: Close the ranks tighter for the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism!

Comrades,

*The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is unswervingly loyal to its internationalist revolutionary duty. From the rostrum of our Congress we assure the representatives of the world communist movement, and through them the Communists of the whole world, that:*

the CPSU will work steadfastly for stronger international unity of all the fraternal parties on the basis of the great teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin in accordance with the line worked out collectively by the world communist movement;

we shall continue our determined struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, nationalist tendencies, and shall promote the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist teaching;

our Party will continue to promote the line for joint action by the Communist Parties of the world in the struggle against imperialism for

the great goals of peace, democracy and national independence, for socialism and communism.

#### 4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT. OUR PARTY'S SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Comrades, all these years the CC CPSU has consistently followed a policy of giving every possible support to the struggle of the peoples against colonial oppression and promoting all-round co-operation with the newly-free countries on a basis of equality, strict respect for sovereignty and non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

In the past few years the cause of national liberation has made considerable progress. The world has witnessed the emergence of another 17 independent states, including the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. Almost the whole of Asia and Africa have now shaken off the yoke of colonial slavery. This is a great gain in the peoples' liberation struggle against imperialism.

But there are still countries in the world today where the imperialists are seeking by force of arms to preserve the shameful colonial system. In Angola and Mozambique, in "Portuguese" Guinea and in South Arabia patriots are heroically fighting the foreign enslavers and invaders. In South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia the resistance of the people to the racist regimes is mounting. Our Party and the entire

Soviet people actively support this struggle; we are giving effective all-round assistance to peoples fighting against foreign invaders for freedom and independence and shall continue to do so. We are firmly convinced that the day is not far distant when the last remnants of colonialism will be destroyed and the peoples will raise the banner of national freedom in the liberated territories. That is the sentence passed by history, and it is irrevocable.

The peoples of the countries that have won state independence are working to abolish the grim aftermaths of colonial rule. These countries have vast natural resources. Nevertheless, on a population basis, output is only one-fortieth to one-twentieth that of the economically developed countries. But the peoples who have achieved independence are fully determined to overcome their age-old backwardness.

The new life in the liberated countries is burgeoning in fierce combat with imperialism, in a sharp struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of internal reaction. Some social strata, supported by imperialism, are trying to direct the development of the liberated countries along the capitalist road. Others, expressing the interests of the bulk of the people, are working to promote development along the road of social progress and genuine national independence.

Experience shows that the struggle for social progress and national independence is more successful, where there is greater unity of all patriotic, progressive and democratic forces. Communists, being as they are, selfless fighters

against imperialism for the interests of the people, are active in this struggle. Unquestionably, where this is forgotten and where Communists are even persecuted, the cause of strengthening national independence and freedom is harmed.

It should be borne in mind that to this day many of the newly-free countries are subjected to economic exploitation and political pressure by imperialism, which has not reconciled itself to its defeats. It is doing everything it can to preserve the possibility of exploiting the peoples and is resorting to new and craftier methods.

The capitalist monopolies still have considerable control over the economy and resources of many of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and are continuing ruthlessly to pillage them. The USA, Britain and other Western powers are draining nearly 6,000 million dollars a year out of these countries as profits on capital investments.

Wherever they can, the imperialists try to utilise the internal contradictions in the newly-free countries. They provoke clashes between various social, national and tribal groups and strive to set various politicians against each other; they try to move to power those belonging to the most reactionary and corrupt elements who enrich themselves through ties and collaboration with foreign capital. In some countries they succeed in setting up anti-popular regimes, whose representatives are not averse to being the direct accomplices of imperialism in the international arena as well.

The imperialists ignore the national sover-

eighty of the newly-free countries. They cynically lay claim to the right of intervening, by force of arms, in the internal affairs of other peoples. An example of this is the recent resolution of the House of Representatives of the US Congress on armed interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries, a resolution which has evoked indignation throughout the world. Essentially this is an attempt to legalise aggressive imperialist action like the recent US armed intervention in the Dominican Republic.

All this is a manifestation of the policy of neo-colonialism, the struggle against which the whole of progressive mankind regards as one of its cardinal tasks. There is no doubt whatever that the people who have risen to fight for independence will carry this struggle on until final victory is achieved and will oppose all attempts to re-enslave them.

The CC CPSU informs the Congress with satisfaction that in the past few years our relations with the overwhelming majority of the independent countries of Asia and Africa have developed successfully. There has been a considerable extension of trade, economic and cultural co-operation between the USSR and these countries. Nearly 600 industrial, agricultural and other projects are being built in Asian and African countries with the aid of our design organisations and with the participation of Soviet building specialists. Soviet geological surveying teams are working in many of these countries, in jungles and sun-scorched deserts, help-

ing the young countries to explore and utilize their mineral resources.

More than 100 educational and medical institutions as well as research centres have been built or are under construction in these countries with Soviet assistance. The number of students from Asian, African and Latin American countries studying at Soviet institutions of higher learning and technical schools has almost doubled in the past five years. The number of Soviet teachers, doctors and other specialists in the cultural field now working in 28 Asian and African countries has increased fourfold. In these countries Soviet people are working selflessly, conscientiously, without sparing themselves. They are contributing greatly towards strengthening friendship between countries. The proletarian internationalism of the Soviet people is manifested in all this.

Our Party and Government are also rendering all possible support to the newly-free countries in the international arena as well. The USSR actively opposes imperialist interference in the internal affairs of the young national states. It opposes the attempts of the neo-colonialists to provoke conflicts between the independent countries with the object of exhausting their strength in internecine struggle. In many vital international issues we are successfully co-operating with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We shall continue to promote this co-operation in the interests of progress and peace.

Comrades, an important development of the past few years has been the emergence of a

number of newly-free countries on the road of progressive social development. Experience has thereby confirmed the conclusion drawn by the 1960 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, and recorded in its Statement: the masses "are beginning to see that the best way to abolish age-old backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only in this way can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger."

Major social reforms have been carried out in such countries as the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Mali, Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Burma. Foreign monopolies are being driven out. Feudal estates are being confiscated and capitalist enterprises nationalised. The state sector in the economy is being enlarged, industrialisation implemented and broad social legislation adopted in the interests of the people. It goes without saying that the form and scale of these processes differ in different countries. The revolutionary creative work of the peoples who have proclaimed socialism as their objective is introducing features of its own into the forms of the movement towards social progress.

We have established close, friendly relations with the young countries steering a course towards socialism. Naturally, the further these countries move towards the objective they have chosen the more versatile, profound and stable our relations with them will become. The relations between the CPSU and the revolutionary

democratic parties of these countries are likewise developing.

The achievements scored by the newly-free countries that have taken the road of social progress is evoking the special hatred of the imperialists, who are spinning a web of conspiracies against them. Recent developments show that the reactionary forces have become more active, particularly in the African continent. Imperialist plots have been exposed and thwarted in a number of African countries. In face of the intrigues and plots of the imperialists and the conspiracies of the agents bribed by them, the liberated peoples are doing the only correct thing, they are resolutely repelling the enemies of freedom and progress and displaying increasing vigilance. The Communist Party and the entire Soviet people indignantly condemn the criminal policy of plots and subversion against independent countries.

Special mention must be made of the courageous liberation struggle of the peoples of Latin America.

Only recently the USA regarded Latin America as a reliable bastion. Today in every country in that continent the people are waging a struggle against US imperialism and its accomplices—the local military, feudal lords and bourgeoisie, who are linked up with foreign monopolies. This struggle is headed by the working class and the Communist Parties.

An important factor of our day is the consolidation of the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in the struggle

against imperialism. The Afro-Asian solidarity movement, the movement for the unity of the Arab peoples and for the unity of the peoples of Africa, and the solidarity movement of the peoples of the three continents are in line with the vital interests of these peoples and we actively and ardently support them.

Comrades,

*The Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards as its internationalist duty continued all-round support of the peoples' struggle for final liberation from colonial and neo-colonial oppression.*

Our Party and the Soviet state will continue to:

render the utmost support to the peoples fighting for their liberation and work for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples;

promote all-sided co-operation with countries that have won national independence and help them to develop their economy, train national cadres and oppose neo-colonialism;

strengthen the fraternal links of the CPSU with the Communist Parties and revolutionary democratic organisations in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The successes of the national liberation movement are inseparably bound up with the successes of world socialism and the international working class. The firm and unbreakable alliance of these great revolutionary forces is the guarantee of the final triumph of the cause of national and social liberation.

## 5. STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST THE AGGRESSIVE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM, FOR PEACE AND WORLD SECURITY

Comrades, in foreign relations the Soviet Union has consistently pursued a policy of peace—a policy that springs from the very nature of our state which always acts in the interests of the people. The foundation for this policy was laid by Lenin, and we steadfastly adhere to the Leninist approach to foreign affairs.

The years that have elapsed since the 22nd Congress of the CPSU have witnessed a tense struggle between two opposing trends in the international arena: the peace-loving and the aggressive.

Alongside other socialist countries, the Soviet Union has pursued a policy aimed at relaxing tension, strengthening peace, achieving peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and creating conditions in international life under which each nation would freely advance along the road of national and social progress.

On the other hand, these years have seen a still more glaring manifestation of the aggressive nature of imperialism, and the threat it constitutes to peace and to the freedom and independence of nations. The imperialists have brazenly interfered in the affairs of other countries and peoples, even going so far as to engage in armed intervention. As a result, there has been an exacerbation of world tension. The threat of war from the aggressive acts of the

imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, has increased.

Under these conditions, the Party and the Soviet state have pursued a policy of resolutely rebuffing the forces of aggression, countering any further deterioration of the situation in the world and combatting the threat of a world war. In this we have relied on the steadily growing might of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system, on the support of peace-loving forces throughout the world.

We have always sided with peoples subjected to imperialist aggression and have rendered them political, economic and, when necessary, military aid; we have exposed the perfidious designs of the aggressors. The Soviet Union's vigorous efforts jointly with other peoples which cherish the cause of freedom and peace have time and again compelled the imperialists to retreat.

In speaking of mounting world tension and of the threat of a world war, special mention must be made of US imperialist aggression against Vietnam. In flagrant violation of the Geneva Agreements, the USA has piratically attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and is waging a barbarous war against the people of South Vietnam. This imperialist power, which styles itself a champion of freedom and civilisation, is using almost all the known means of destruction and annihilation against a peace-loving country situated thousands of miles away from America, a country that has never harmed US interests. More than 200,000 US troops, US aircraft carriers, huge bombers, poison gases

and napalm are being used against the heroic patriots of Vietnam. Irresponsible statements threatening to escalate military operations still further are being made in Washington. Recently the US State Department officially declared that there is a "programme" of destroying vegetation and crops in Vietnam with chemicals in order to deprive the Vietnamese of food sources. Such is the real face of US imperialism. Through its aggression in Vietnam the US has covered itself with shame which it will never live down.

But no matter what outrages the aggressors commit they can never break the will of the Vietnamese people who have risen in a sacred struggle for the freedom of their country, for their life and honour, for the right to order their own destiny. Their heroic, just struggle will go down in history as a splendid example of unyielding courage, staunchness and determination to achieve victory.

A powerful movement in support of Vietnam is mounting throughout the world. Moral and political isolation of the US aggressors is being intensified. The Vietnamese people enjoy the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the broad masses of all countries. Indignation against the war in Vietnam is growing among the American people as well. All this is promoting the best internationalist traditions of the world working class.

The Soviet Union and the peace-loving peoples of the whole world demand that the USA stop its aggression against Vietnam and with-

draw all interventionist troops from that country. Continuation of this aggression, which the American military are seeking to extend to other Southeast Asian countries, is fraught with the most dangerous consequences to world peace.

We categorically declare that if the aggressors escalate the shameful war against the Vietnamese people they will have to contend with mounting support for Vietnam from the Soviet Union and other socialist friends and brothers. The Vietnamese people will be the masters of their country and nobody will ever extinguish the torch of socialism, which has been raised on high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

As a consequence of US aggression in Vietnam and other aggressive acts of American imperialism our relations with the United States of America have deteriorated. The US ruling circles are to blame for this.

The USSR is prepared to live in peace with all countries, but it will not reconcile itself to imperialist piracy with regard to other peoples. We have repeatedly declared that we are prepared to develop our relations with the USA, and our stand in this has not changed. But for these relations to develop the USA must drop its policy of aggression. Good fruit of peaceful co-operation cannot be grown on the poisonous soil of aggression and violence. Our Party and our Government categorically reject the absurd standpoint that the great powers can develop their relations at the expense of the interests of other countries and peoples. All countries, big and small, have the same right to respect of

their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. And nobody has the liberty to violate this right.

Comrades, the Soviet Union is vitally interested in ensuring European security. Today West-German imperialism is the USA's chief ally in Europe in aggravating world tension. West Germany is increasingly becoming a seat of the war danger where revenge-seeking passions are running high. West Germany already has a large army in which officers of the nazi Wehrmacht form the backbone. Many leading posts in the Government are occupied by former nazis and even war criminals. The policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany is being increasingly determined by the same monopolies that brought Hitler to power.

The Rhineland politicians fancy that once they get the atomic bomb frontier posts will topple and they will be able to achieve their cherished desire of recarving the map of Europe and taking revenge for defeat in the Second World War.

One of the most ominous factors endangering peace is the bilateral military alliance that is taking shape between the ruling circles of the USA and the FRG. This factor remains an object of our unflagging attention.

US and West-German imperialism are a peculiar sort of partners. Each wants to make use of the other for his own designs. Both seek to aggravate tension in Europe—each in accordance with his own considerations. The West-German militarists entertain the hope—an unrealisable hope, of course—that this will enable

them to carry out their revenge-seeking plans. The USA, for its part, wants some pretext to enable it, more than 20 years after the war, to continue keeping its troops and war bases in Europe and thereby have the means of directly influencing the economy and policy of the West-European countries.

The Washington rulers count on West Germany continuing faithfully to serve the interests of the US imperialists in Europe, and if necessary, on pushing the West Germans into the inferno of war first. In the meantime, Bonn is hoping to involve the USA and its other NATO partners more deeply in its revenge-seeking plans and thereby secure a revision of the results of the Second World War in its favour. It is not difficult to see that all these designs are spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

The threat stemming from the aspirations of the West-German revenge-seekers is well appreciated by the peoples of Europe. In the course of half a century many European countries have twice been the victims of German aggression. Like us, the peoples of eight socialist countries know only too well the predatory ways of the German militarists. The burden of German occupation has been experienced by most of the West-European peoples. Today, therefore, the struggle against the threat of another war is the vital affair of all European peoples. Even in West Germany itself more and more people are protesting against the bellicose policy of the Bonn rulers.

The recent speech of the Federal Chancellor at the congress of the Christian Democratic Union shows that the Government of the FRG intends to continue an aggressive revenge-seeking policy. This is also evident from the FRG Government's proposals to the Soviet and some other governments concerning key international issues.

The balance of forces in Europe today is not at all what it was like on the eve of the Second World War. Nobody will succeed in changing the present frontiers of the European countries. Even by climbing on the shoulders of their US ally, the West-German imperialists will not become taller. They will only hurt themselves more when they fall. The aggressors are now opposed by such a mighty, invincible force that if they unleash war it will bring them nothing but destruction.

The unanimous and firm warning on this account made in January 1965 by the Warsaw Treaty countries was an important step by the Soviet Union and our allies in the struggle against giving the West-German militarists access to nuclear weapons.

We will never agree, nor reconcile ourselves, to the West-German militarists obtaining nuclear weapons. If, in spite of everything this does happen, the necessary measures will be taken. The responsibility will devolve wholly on the ruling circles of the FRG and on those who encourage them. Nobody has the right to forget that after the defeat of the nazi aggressors the participants in the anti-Hitler coalition—the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France—

solemnly pledged themselves under the Potsdam Agreement to do everything necessary to prevent Germany from ever again threatening her neighbours, and to preserve peace throughout the world. The Soviet Union will always honour this commitment.

We highly value the fact that our friend and ally, the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist state of the German working people, is vigilantly defending peace in the heart of Europe. It has implemented in practice the peace-loving and democratic principles of the Potsdam Agreement and is consistently pursuing a policy of peace and advocating the strengthening of security in Europe.

As a whole, comrades, the positions of the socialist community in Europe are now firm and reliable. This is an important factor helping to consolidate socialism throughout the world and ensuring the security of all peoples.

As a counterbalance to the bellicose and the revenge-seeking policy of US and West-German imperialism in Europe the Soviet Union is consistently advocating the strengthening of European security and peaceful, mutually advantageous co-operation among all European states.

We profoundly believe that the conclusion drawn by the international communist movement that it is possible to curb the aggressor and avert another world war remains valid. But to make this possibility real the broad masses must participate in the struggle; there must be vigorous, ever-mounting action on the part of all the peace forces; the peace movement, trade unions, women's associations, youth

leagues and other mass democratic organisations must redouble their activity.

The socialist countries play a special role in the defence of peace. We are well aware of this, and for that reason the CPSU shows tireless concern for strengthening our country's defensive might and consolidating our military alliance with other socialist countries. The CPSU sees its duty in keeping the Soviet people in a state of unceasing vigilance with regard to the intrigues of the enemies of peace and does everything to prevent the aggressors, if they try to violate peace, from ever taking us by surprise and to make certain that retaliation overtakes them inexorably and promptly.

Comrades, while exposing the aggressive policy of imperialism we are consistently and unswervingly pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This means that while regarding the coexistence of states with different social systems as a form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism the Soviet Union consistently advocates normal, peaceful relations with capitalist countries and a settlement of controversial inter-state issues by negotiation, not by war. The Soviet Union firmly stands for non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, for respect of their sovereign rights and the inviolability of their territories.

It goes without saying that there can be no peaceful coexistence where matters concern the internal processes of the class and national liberation struggle in the capitalist countries or in the colonies. Peaceful coexistence is not ap-

plicable to the relations between oppressors and the oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression.

As regards state relations of the USSR with capitalist countries we want these relations to be not only peaceful, but also to include the broadest mutually advantageous contacts in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

At this Congress we can note with satisfaction that our peace-loving policy has had notable success in the period under review. The Soviet Union has good relations with most countries.

The USSR has always attached great importance to relations with neighbouring countries and we are pleased to note that our good-neighbourly policy has yielded beneficial results. Our relations with Finland and Afghanistan are characterised by trust, friendship and co-operation. Normal relations are taking shape with the Scandinavian countries, although it cannot be said, of course, that there are no obstacles to their further development. The Soviet people welcome the certain turn for the better that has taken place in recent years in the Soviet Union's relations with Turkey and Iran.

The CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have always paid great attention to improving relations with such major Asian countries as India and Pakistan, which can virtually be considered our neighbours as well. In the period under review our traditional, time-tested friendship with India and her great people has been further consolidated. There has likewise been an improvement in our relations with Pakistan.

The Tashkent meeting of the leaders of India and Pakistan with the participation of the Soviet Prime Minister in conformity with the Soviet Government's proposal was an event of world-wide significance. The very fact that this meeting was held, the results achieved by it and the positive assessment of these results by world opinion speak eloquently of the great trust that the peoples have for the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has always favoured the development of friendly relations with Indonesia. The Indonesian revolution made a noteworthy contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. The courageous people of Indonesia have every right to see that the gains achieved by them in the long and bitter struggle for independence and progress are preserved and further enhanced.

The Soviet Union supports Cambodia, a country friendly to us, in her just struggle to preserve and strengthen her independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

There has been a considerable improvement in our relations with France. This is a positive development stemming from a community of interests in a number of key international issues, and from long-standing traditions of friendship between our peoples. Further development of Soviet-French relations may serve as an important element in strengthening European security.

In recent years our relations, particularly in the economic field, with such a major European

country as Italy have begun to improve. We are prepared to develop these relations.

An activation of Soviet-British relations would undoubtedly be useful. The future will show how far British foreign policy makes this activation possible.

We can note that lately there has been a certain advance in our relations with Japan with whom we are developing mutually advantageous economic ties. But we cannot help taking into account the fact that there are US troops and war bases on Japanese territory in the immediate proximity of Soviet frontiers. Recently Japan and the South Korean Government, a puppet of Washington, have signed a militarist treaty which we emphatically condemn. All this, of course, hampers the development of our relations with Japan.

The dismantling of foreign military bases on alien territory and the withdrawal of foreign troops from such territory have been and remain a major international issue. The imperialist powers, primarily the United States of America, have established numerous military bases scattered throughout the world and have stationed contingents of their armed forces on the territories of other countries. These bases and armed forces are being used to further interests alien to peace; they are being used as a means of bringing pressure to bear on peace-loving countries, and frequently for open armed interference in their internal affairs. The Soviet Union considers that it is high time to end this situation which threatens the peace and security of countries, high time to dismantle military

bases on foreign territory and withdraw foreign armed forces from this territory. We shall continue to pursue a policy aimed at achieving this purpose in the interest of strengthening world peace and security.

In furtherance of the vital interests not only of the Soviet people but also of the broadest masses in all countries the Soviet Union is waging a consistent struggle to slow down and stop the arms race started by the imperialists, to reach agreement on practical steps towards general and complete disarmament. Soviet policy on these issues enjoys the understanding and support of many countries.

In the period under review the USSR has continued to take an active part in the work of the United Nations. The admittance of many newly-free countries to UN membership has substantially changed the situation in that organisation, and the change has not been in favour of the imperialists. In the UN the Soviet Union un-deviatingly strives to facilitate the unity of countries opposing aggression and thereby enhance the role played by the UN in the struggle for universal peace and the independence of the peoples. On the initiative of the Soviet Union the UN General Assembly at its latest session adopted important resolutions against interference in the internal affairs of countries and against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We shall continue to regard the UN as an arena of active political struggle against aggression, for peace and the security of all peoples.

*The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that at this stage in the struggle for*

*an improvement of the international situation, and for the consolidation of peace and the development of peaceful co-operation among nations it would be most important to achieve the following:*

To put an end to US aggression in Vietnam, withdraw all US and other foreign troops from South Vietnam and enable the Vietnamese people to decide their internal affairs by themselves; accept the position set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as a basis for the settlement of the Vietnam problem.

To ensure strict adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

To conclude an international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; completely remove the question of the nuclear armament of the FRG or of giving it access to nuclear weapons in any form; implement the aspiration of the peoples for setting up nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world; secure a solemn obligation on the part of the nuclear powers to refrain from using nuclear weapons first; reach an agreement on the banning of underground nuclear test—implementation of these steps aimed against the threat of a nuclear war would open the road for a further advance towards the complete banning and destruction of nuclear weapons.

To initiate talks on European security; discuss the proposals of socialist and other European countries for a relaxation of military

tension and a reduction of armaments in Europe and the development of peaceful, mutually advantageous relations between all European countries; convene an appropriate international conference for this purpose; continue to look for ways to a peaceful settlement of the German problem—one of the cardinal problems of European security—so that on the basis of recognition of the now existing borders of the European countries, including those of the two German states, the survivals of the Second World War in Europe can be completely eliminated.

Such are our proposals. Many of them have been put forward earlier. Naturally, we do not regard them as all-embracing and are prepared to give our closest attention to all other proposals aimed at improving the international situation and strengthening peace.

Comrades, we have every reason to declare that our country's international position is stable. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government reliably serves the interests of communist construction and the cause of preserving and strengthening world peace and security. The CPSU will continue to pursue this tested course.

The quicker our country moves forward in building new society the more successfully will our international tasks be resolved. By the will of history the Land of Soviets was the first in the world to raise the banner of communist construction. The Soviet people led by their Leninist Communist Party will continue with honour to hold aloft this great, invincible banner.

## II.

### THE PARTY'S EFFORT IN BUILDING THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, with your permission I shall now give you a general picture of our country's internal situation and report to the Congress on our Party's policy and the results of its activities in the sphere of economic development.

The Central Committee's economic leadership was aimed at achieving our principal programme economic target—creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

The Congress is meeting at a time when the seven-year plan, an important stage in the fulfilment of that task, has been completed. Allow me, therefore, to report briefly on the most important results of that period, which was marked by the further growth and consolidation of the socialist economy on the basis of scientific and technical achievements.

During the past seven years the national income used for accumulation and consumption increased by 53 per cent, industrial production by 84 per cent. The basic assets of the economy

increased by 92 per cent. Industrial enterprises exceeded output targets to the tune of 46,000 million rubles. New deposits of oil, gas, iron ore, non-ferrous metals, chemical raw materials and other minerals have been surveyed and are being exploited industrially. The fuel and power, and the iron and steel industries have been expanded. The main sectors of heavy industry increased regularly throughout these years, and there was also a substantial increase in the output of food stuffs and of household goods and items of cultural use.

The CPSU and the entire Soviet people have every reason to be satisfied with the results of the country's development in these years. During this period our country has increased its economic and defence might, figuratively speaking it has gained in height and strength, and broadened in the shoulders.

It took over 40 years of labour for the Soviet people—32 years if the war years are left out—to create the economic and defence potential with which we started the seven-year plan. In the course of seven years, the working people, under the leadership of the Party, have almost doubled the basic production assets; 32 and 7 years—that shows how our economic development has been accelerated.

Comrades, in the last of these seven years our country celebrated the 20th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War. In this connection it is worthwhile recalling that in 1940, on the eve of the war, we produced 18.3 million tons of steel, 13.1 million tons of rolled stock, 31.1 million

tons of oil, 5.7 million tons of cement, 145,400 motor vehicles, 31,600 tractors and 48,300 million kwh of electricity. That was all our people had when they rose to fight a savage enemy.

We suffered appalling losses in the war. Over twenty million Soviet people perished. Throughout the tremendous territory from the western frontier to the Volga everything lay in ruins—thousands of towns and villages, tens of thousands of factories, mines and other enterprises, state and collective farms, schools and houses. It seemed that many decades would be needed to restore what had been destroyed.

But the Soviet people under the leadership of the Party performed miracles of labour heroism. In 1965, the year of the 20th anniversary of victory and the last year of the seven-year plan, our industry was producing 5 times as much steel as in 1940, 5.5 times as much rolled stock, almost 8 times as much oil, practically 13 times as much cement, 4.2 times as many motor vehicles, more than 11 times as many tractors and 10.5 times as much electric power as in 1940.

Is there any need to comment? The achievements of our people are truly tremendous.

The development of our country's productive forces has been accompanied by an improvement in socialist public relations. Our social system has become still stronger and more stable. The two forms of socialist property, the property of the whole people and collective-farm and co-operative property, have been strengthened. The social wealth of the country and the incomes of the working people have grown and

important measures have been implemented to straighten out the wages system and increase remuneration for labour in all sectors of the economy. Democratic principles in industrial management have been extended.

During the seven-year period the number of workers has increased by 14 million, and the number of specialists and office workers by 7 million. The growth in the number of workers reflects the high rates of industrial growth in our country and is evidence of the rising role of the working class—the most progressive, most organised class in our society—and consequently, of the stability of the socialist system. Factory, office and professional workers, and their families now constitute 75.4 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union and the collective farmers make up the other 24.6 per cent. The fraternal alliance of the working class and the collective farmers ensures the unity of the entire Soviet people.

The organising and educational role of the Party, its ability to arouse the people for great deeds of labour was again demonstrated in implementing the seven-year plan.

You will remember, comrades, that after the 21st Congress of the CPSU, Muscovites and Leningraders, working people from the Urals and Siberia, from the Ukraine and Byelorussia, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals in all the Union Republics, launched a competition at the call of the Party for a mighty new economic upsurge.

The workers, engineers and technicians,

the office employees of industrial enterprises and transport by their devoted labour have further increased the economic might of our country and raised it to a higher industrial level.

Collective farmers, state-farm workers, agronomists and cattle breeders have worked hard on farm and field. They have overcome tremendous difficulties and have made their contribution to the development of the country's economy so as to ensure the supply of food for the people and raw material for industry.

Builders have erected thousands of factories, hundreds of thousands of houses, as well as schools and hospitals.

Scientists, engineers, workers in the field of culture, all Soviet intellectuals participate actively, through their constructive labour, in the creative effort of the Soviet people.

Permit me, in the name of the Congress, heartily to congratulate the advanced workers and innovators in production, the whole working class, the collective farmers, our intelligentsia, the entire Soviet people on their wonderful labour achievements!

In recent years the economy of the Soviet Union has made great headway, and there are some indisputable achievements in its development. This is good, but it is not in the tradition of our Party to close our eyes to faults and reconcile ourselves to them.

For a number of reasons, of which I shall speak later, we did not succeed in reaching a number of important seven-year plan targets. This is true, first and foremost, of agriculture,

the output of which increased by only 14 per cent. This lag in farm production has begun to hamper our advance; it has had a bad influence on the growth rates of the food and light industries and has prevented the measures planned to raise living standards from being carried out in full.

Certain disproportions have been discovered in some sectors of heavy industry. The seven-year plan targets for the output of some chemical products, coal, machines and equipment, as well as consumer goods, were not reached. In several industries not all the new enterprises went into operation at the planned time and many of those built did not reach rated capacity. As a consequence the growth of the national income was slower than envisaged in the seven-year plan.

Comrades, the period under review was an important stage in the implementation of the seven-year plan, and in the fulfilment of the tasks set in the CPSU Programme; for this reason permit me to report in greater detail on the Party's work in the sphere of economic development during the period between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses and also on the prospects for the further development of our economy. Since the figures in the report at the last Congress were given up to 1960 inclusively, we shall examine the main index figures for the 1961-65 period. This will make for a more vivid comparison of the results of the last five years with the target figures envisaged in the Directives for the next five years.

## INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION

Socialist industry has big achievements to record for the period under review. This can be seen from the basic figures on the growth of industrial output over the past five years.

### Growth of Industrial Output

	1960	1965	1965, % of 1960
Gross industrial output (thousand million rubles)	155	234	151
Electric power (thousand million kwh)	292	507	173
Oil (million tons)	148	243	164
Gas (thousand million m <sup>3</sup> )	47	129	274
Coal (million tons)	510	578	113
Steel (million tons)	65	91	139
Rolled stock (million tons)	51	71	139
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (thousand million rubles)	34	61	179
Textiles, all varieties (thousand million metres)	8.2	9.1	111
Leather footwear (million pairs)	419	486	116
Granulated sugar (million tons)	6.4	11	173
Meat, including processed and packed meat (million tons)	4.4	5.2	118
Animal fats (thousand tons)	737	1,073	146
Vegetable oil (thousand tons)	1,586	2,770	175
Fish, whales and marine animals and seafood (million tons)	3.5	5.8	163

It can be seen from these figures that a substantial increase in the volume of industrial output was achieved in the period under review, especially in the leading industries; in the past five years the social product has increased by 35 per cent and the gross industrial product by 50 per cent. The increase in industrial output over the past five years totalled 79,000 million

rubles. That is three and a half times the increment achieved during all the pre-war five-year plan periods.

The Soviet Union's share in world industrial output is steadily rising. In 1965 the USSR accounted for about one-fifth of world industrial production whereas on the eve of the Second World War the Soviet Union's share was less than a tenth. It must be mentioned, furthermore, that the population of the USSR is only 7 per cent of the world population. The task set by the Party—to surpass the per capita output of the developed capitalist countries—is being steadily fulfilled. The difference in the levels of industrial production of the USSR and the USA is being reduced.

Deep-going qualitative as well as quantitative changes have taken place in our economy. Scientific and technical progress has brought into being many new industries. A number of sectors of the country's economy have been re-equipped. A large number of machines, installations and instruments of various types have been designed and are in use, some of them unique, the first of their kind in the world. Technical progress, mechanisation and automation made it possible to increase labour productivity in industry by 25 per cent in the last five years.

Technical reconstruction of the transport services is proceeding on a broad scale. Electric and diesel trains carried 85 per cent of all railway freights last year. Increasing numbers of heavy and fast aircraft, heavy-cargo motor vehicles and ships are being made available.

Laying long-distance oil and gas pipelines is proceeding on a large scale, their total length now amounting to more than 70,000 kilometres.

A gigantic construction programme has been carried out. In the 1961-65 period the capital invested in the economy amounted to 211,000 million rubles, approximately as much as during the preceding ten years.

Our country has never before seen construction on such a tremendous scale. There are comrades here present who have come from all corners of the Soviet Union. They confirm that everywhere, "from Moscow to the farthest border", as the song has it, people are hard at work building factories and power stations, housing estates and whole towns, laying railways and pipelines. In short, no matter how far you may travel across the boundless expanses of the country, construction sites are to be seen everywhere. Such is the typical landscape of our country.

The economy of each Union Republic has been developing successfully as part of the economy of the USSR. Production plans were fulfilled by the Russian Federation where industrial output increased by 45 per cent in five years; by the Ukrainian SSR which increased output by 53 per cent; and by the Byelorussian SSR with an increase of 64 per cent. Production continued to grow in the Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Armenian and Moldavian Republics. In the five years production increased by 34 per cent in Turkmenia, 50 per cent in Uzbekistan, 54 per cent in Tajikistan, 63 per cent in Kazakhstan, and 67 per cent in Kirghizia. Industrial

production in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia increased at rates higher than the average for the whole country; the 25th anniversary of the re-establishment of Soviet power in those Republics was recently celebrated by the whole country.

As you see, comrades, industry in the country as a whole and in each republic individually, has grown and improved. Economic ties and mutual assistance between the Union Republics have expanded.

It is particularly gratifying to note that in recent years the political equality of the Union Republics and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, achieved and steered in the course of socialist construction, have been strengthened by economic equality. This is a vivid demonstration of the vitality of the Lenin national policy; it demonstrated to the whole world that only socialism enables the peoples to overcome economic underdevelopment and backwardness and become advanced, highly industrial socialist nations. This is a reliable foundation for the further cohesion of all the peoples of our great multinational country.

When examining economic development we must mention the faults in our work as well as its positive aspects. In recent years such unfavourable symptoms have been manifested as reduced growth rates in production and in the productivity of labour, and lower efficiency in the use of fixed assets and investments. A correct appraisal cannot be made without a critical approach, and without that we shall make less progress.

After the October (1964) Plenum the CC CPSU analysed the state of affairs in the economy, laid bare the causes of these unfavourable manifestations and outlined ways of overcoming them.

A number of factors contributed to the retarding of economic growth: defects in management and planning, underestimation of cost-accounting methods of running the economy, and the insufficient use of material and moral stimuli. The forms and methods of management, planning and economic stimulation employed until recently were not in accordance with the new, higher level of the country's productive forces and had begun to hold back their development.

The bad harvests of 1963 and 1965 had an adverse effect on the economy, and prevented the target for improved living standards from being reached in full. Nor must the deterioration of the international situation be ignored. The aggressive acts of the US imperialists forced us in recent years to make additional and substantial allocations to strengthen our country's defences.

It must be admitted that as a consequence of the subjectivist approach, some miscalculations were made in drawing up the seven-year plan, and some targets were set too high. The increase in production fixed for some industries did not always accord with real possibilities.

The territorial system of industrial management divided the leadership of industries among numerous economic areas; the principle of a single technological policy was violated;

research institutions were cut off from production and this held up the development and introduction of new machinery.

Isolated, separate corrections would have been insufficient to surmount the difficulties that had arisen, the interests of communist construction required the elaboration of a system of measures that would ensure the more rational use of the gigantic productive forces that had been created in the country, a rapid rise in living standards and the full disclosure of the advantages of our system.

After the October Plenum, the Central Committee concentrated its attention on the basic problems of improving economic relations in our society, improving the system of economic management, planning and stimulating production. At the March and September (1965) Plenums of the CC CPSU a new approach to economic management was evolved and the principles of our Party's economic policy at the present stage of development were defined.

These principles consist in giving a greater role to economic methods and stimuli in running the economy, radically improving state planning, extending the economic activities and initiative of factories and collective and state farms, and making factory staffs more responsible for and materially more interested in the results of their work.

The implementation of this economic policy will facilitate the creation of conditions necessary for accelerating technical progress, increasing efficiency in social production and in developing productive forces.

All-Union and Union-Republican ministries have been set up for the purpose of improving the leadership of industries and accelerating scientific and technical progress. They have been made responsible for the state of affairs in the respective industries, for a high technical level of production and the satisfaction of the country's need for industrial goods and for the implementation of the economic reform.

The new centralised management of industries is in harmony with the substantial extension of the rights of the Union Republics, enterprises and associations, and the greater stress on economic methods of leadership—that is its advantage. We should like to warn those working in the ministries against attempts to revive the narrow departmental approach to business that was a frequent fault of the old ministries.

There is still much to be done to implement in full the new system of planning and economic stimuli; this is one of the most important tasks for the next few years.

The success of our cause, comrades, now depends to a considerable extent on the ability, initiative and efficiency of executives, engineers and technicians, on a bold approach to the solution of the intricate problems of economic development, on the ability to mobilise factory staffs to fulfil plans and achieve the maximum efficiency in production.

We are convinced that Party organisations and executives who have had considerable experience in socialist construction and are politically mature, factory directors, shop and

department managers—all of them working in close contact with scientists, engineers and technicians—will be fully able to cope with the task set them.

The decisions of the March and September Plenums have been widely commented on abroad. Our friends have assessed them correctly and our enemies, as usual, have tried to distort them. The reactionary bourgeois press has said quite a lot recently about a “crisis” in Soviet economy. Some people even had the illusion that our latest economic measures represented a retreat from socialism.

What can one say about this?

These assertions are ridiculous from beginning to end. It is obvious to anybody that our unshakable foundation has always been and remains public ownership of the means of production. We are not only retaining but improving the principle of planning in our economy. The strengthening of the centralised planning leadership of the economy is now combined with the further development of the initiative and independent work of enterprises; this means that the socialist principles of economic management are being applied more correctly and efficiently. Since socialism is a society whose principle is payment for labour according to its quantity and quality, this presupposes the operation of economic stimuli, of material incentives and the drawing of millions of working people into the management of the country's economic life.

The products turned out by a socialist enterprise are the result of the concerted efforts of

the entire staff. It is, therefore, quite logical that in addition to giving a material stimulus to each worker in accordance with his own personal labour, the entire staff is given material interest in the end results of the factory's work. This will make it possible to combine personal and public interests.

The decisions of the March and September Plenums of the CC CPSU met with the unanimous support of the entire Soviet people. We hope that the measures adopted by these Plenums for improving leadership in the economic life of our country will also be approved by the delegates to the 23rd Congress.

Comrades, our Congress must examine and endorse the Directives for the new five-year plan. Since the Congress will hear a report on that question by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, allow me to dwell only on the main features of that plan, features which mirror the fundamental ideas and political propositions which the CC CPSU has considered necessary to use as the basis for the new five-year plan.

First of all, it must be said that the five-year plan for 1966-70 is a further important stage in building the material and technical basis of communism. The CC CPSU has defined the *cardinal task* of the new five-year plan. *This task is to make the utmost use of the achievements of science and technology, of the industrial development of the whole of social production, of its heightened efficiency and the rise in labour productivity to ensure a further substantial growth of industry and high, stable rates of development in agriculture and, as a*

*result of this, to secure a substantial rise in the standard of living and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of all the Soviet people.*

In the next five years further steps will be taken to solve such problems as eradication of the essential distinctions between town and country, and between mental and physical work. The fulfilment of major economic and social tasks will still further strengthen the political and material basis of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The fraternal alliance of the peoples of our country will be further developed.

The tasks of the five-year plan thus reflect the inherent unity of the development of the material and technical basis, and the rise in the standard of living; the quantitative growth of the resources of the economy and the further deep-going qualitative changes in the economy, the enhancement of the productive forces and the improvement of social and economic relations.

The main targets of the new five-year plan take into consideration the need to further strengthen our economic relations with the fraternal socialist countries and the developing states.

As a whole, the draft Directives reflect the striving to make better use of all our potentialities so as to ensure faster economic growth and a fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs.

Provision has been made *for high rates of growth* of social production and the national

income during the next five years. The total output of all branches of material production, i.e., the gross social product, will increase by an average of more than 7 per cent annually, as against a little over 6 per cent during the preceding five years. At this point it should be mentioned that during the next five-year period the annual average absolute increment in industrial output will amount to 22,000-23,000 million rubles as against 15,800 million rubles during the preceding five-year period. It is planned to increase gross industrial output during the coming five-year period by approximately 50 per cent and agricultural output by 25 per cent.

Investments in the economy will amount to approximately 310,000 million rubles, i.e., 50 per cent more than during the preceding five years. This will ensure the development of all branches of the economy and of all the Union Republics, accelerate the growth of key industries and do away with both inter- and intra-sectoral disproportions which in recent years have hindered the harmonious development of our economy.

*Prime importance is attached to the development of agriculture.* The task is being set of boosting this major sphere of material production and thereby satisfying the country's requirements in farm produce more fully. It is planned to increase labour productivity in agriculture through mechanisation, chemisation and electrification, and consistently, step by step, bring the technical facilities and organisation

of production in agriculture to the level obtaining in industry.

An important feature of the coming five-year period is that *the gap between the rate of growth of the production of the means of production (group A) and the production of consumer goods (group B) will be considerably narrowed down.*

The Party, which holds the welfare of the people above all else, will devote particular attention to this most important economic and political task, the fulfilment of which accords with the interests of millions of people.

There was a time when to achieve rapid development of heavy industry we had deliberately to restrict our requirements. Now we have mighty productive forces, which enable us to develop those branches of social production which directly satisfy the material, cultural and other requirements of the people at a faster rate. This Party line finds expression in the five-year plan measures to narrow the gap between the rate of development of the production of the means of production and the production of consumer goods, and between the rate of development of agriculture and industry.

In the preceding five-year period production in group A increased by 58 per cent and in group B by 36 per cent, in the next five years we plan a 49-52 per cent increase in the production of the means of production and a 43-46 per cent increase in the output of consumer goods.

As these figures show, the Party will continue to give priority to the development of heavy industry, continue to provide a faster

growth of the production of the means of production. At the same time, due to the successes that have been scored in developing heavy industry, we have the possibility in the new five-year period of investing much larger resources into industries producing consumer goods. This will enable the country to increase its industrial might and, simultaneously, implement far-reaching social and economic measures aimed at further improving the people's material welfare.

In the next five years special attention will be given to the extremely important *economic and political task of accelerating scientific and technical progress and raising the efficiency of social production.*

Research and designing organisations and material and monetary resources must be concentrated on the main, cardinal trends in the development of science and technology. Research must be closely integrated with the development of production; the specialisation of scientific and designing organisations must be strictly demarcated, and undefined responsibility and duplication must be eliminated.

The task is to secure a rapid rise in labour productivity and the profitableness of production. Party and economic bodies, scientists and specialists and all workers in industry must devote their energy to the fulfilment of this task.

The growth of labour productivity must spring primarily from a rise in the technical level of production through the development and introduction of new machinery and modern

processes, the broad application of comprehensive mechanisation and automation, greater specialisation and an improvement in the production co-operation of enterprises.

Comprehensive mechanisation and automation is a most important means of increasing productivity and making labour easier. Much is being done along this line in our country. But the gap between the levels of mechanisation of basic and auxiliary processes is still wide. Although factories are well equipped with modern machines the share of manual labour is shrinking slowly. This is becoming a grave hindrance to the further growth of labour productivity and the profitableness of production. All economic bodies and Party organisations at enterprises must perseveringly steer a line towards the overall mechanisation of production processes, steady reduction of the share of manual labour and more rational use of manpower.

Today it is particularly important to organise production and labour scientifically. Naturally, it is important to equip all branches of the economy, all production sectors with new machinery. It is just as important to have skilled personnel able to make the fullest use of this machinery. This problem was successfully resolved by the Party during the period of socialist construction. Soviet industry has emerged to a leading position in the world as regards the technical level of production and the level of training of workers and specialists.

Unfortunately, many of our enterprises still fail to attain harmony between man and

machine in organising the production process. The introduction at all enterprises of scientifically organised production and labour in line with modern scientific and technical progress has therefore been put forward as one of the cardinal economic tasks.

The Party considers that one of the most pressing tasks is to achieve a *radical improvement in the quality of goods*. In speeding up technical progress special attention must be paid to improving the quality of goods, lengthening the service life of machines and making them more reliable in operation. The better the quality of goods, the more effective and productive the whole of social labour will be. This task is important for other reasons as well. Today when we have entered the world market on a large scale and are competing with the leading capitalist countries, it is very important that Soviet machines, machine tools, equipment, in short the entire output, not only reach the world standard but surpass foreign goods in quality.

The high technical level of our industry ensures the output of machines, appliances, apparatus and other items whose technical and economic specifications fully conform with the growing requirements of the economy and the world market.

The five-year plan devotes much attention to *improving the structure of industrial production and eliminating bottlenecks*. It gives priority to the development of the power, engineering, chemical and electronic industries.

A pressing task is to abolish the shortage

of fuel, particularly in the European part of the country. Provision is made for the further accelerated development of the oil and gas industries. At the same time, there must not be, as had been the case in the past few years, any neglect of the coal industry, which continues to play an important role in supplying the country with fuel.

Radical steps will be taken to eliminate the shortcomings in the development of the iron and steel industry. Experience has upset the mistaken viewpoint that in our day, when polymeric materials have appeared, the demand for metal will shrink greatly. This viewpoint had an adverse effect on the development of the iron and steel industry.

I should like to dwell specially on the manufacture of motor vehicles, tractors and farm machinery. The shortage of motor vehicles and tractors is becoming a weak spot in the economy; few motor cars are being manufactured. To meet the requirements of the economy more fully the new five-year plan envisages a considerable increase in the output of motor vehicles, for which purpose the existing factories are to be reconstructed and new ones built. There will be an increase in the output of large and specialised lorries as well as tractors, particularly plough tractors. The quality of all farm machines is to be improved.

*Proper distribution of the productive forces* is of immense economic and political importance in our huge country where there is such diversity of natural conditions and such uneven density of the population. Further explo-

ration of the natural resources of the country's eastern regions is planned. To develop the economy of Siberia and the Soviet Far East faster, a number of social and economic measures have to be carried through in the next five years. In particular, these measures will help to retain people already working there and to attract new people. This is an important Party and state matter.

Attainment of the five-year plan targets for the increase of industrial and agricultural production, as well as the solution of major social problems, depend to a large extent on the *successful fulfilment of the programme of capital construction*. A considerable share of the increment will come from the production capacities which must be commissioned in the next five years.

We shall have to build hundreds of factories, mines, power stations, irrigation systems, power transmission lines, as well as new towns and settlements, state farms, collective-farm premises, millions of new flats and cottages, thousands of schools, kindergartens, nurseries and hospitals.

The fulfilment of this enormous volume of construction will require a further increase in the capacity of the building industry and an enlargement of the technical facilities of building organisations.

Industrialisation remains, as before, the main trend in the development of the building industry. A sharp reduction of the time and money spent on construction can only be achieved through further industrialisation. Pre-

fabricated ferro-concrete parts and elements and other effective materials and structures will continue to play an important role here. The recent practice of eliminating the so-called "non-industrial" materials—brick, tiles, natural stone and timber—and their replacement by reinforced concrete even where this was economically unjustified, was wrong. These materials must not be underestimated, particularly in rural construction work.

The questions of accelerating construction, improving its quality, and increasing the efficacy of capital investments acquire particular importance. An end must be put to the pernicious practice of scattering capital investments and material and technical resources among numerous projects, since this retards construction and freezes investments. The delayed commissioning of a new plant causes heavy losses to the state.

The CC CPSU and the Government consider it necessary to take steps to improve planning and increase economic incentive in the building industry so as to speed up construction, raise its quality and reduce costs. The speedy commissioning of plants and the high quality of construction work should be made the main criterion in planning and assessing the work of building organisations. Greater material encouragement must be given to individual workers and collectives of building organisations for the timely commissioning of projects.

The Central Committee of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics and the territorial, regional, town and district Party com-

mittees must devote constant attention to problems of construction and secure a more rational utilisation of state capital investments, the timely commissioning of plants and an improvement in the quality of construction; they must show concern for the working and living conditions of builders—a large contingent of the working class.

The Directives for the new five-year plan lay emphasis on the development of all *transport facilities*. This sector of the economy must ensure the uninterrupted turnover of material resources in the economy and provide access to unexploited natural resources and undeveloped regions. The five-year plan targets for building up transport technical facilities and improve correlation between the various types of transport will be a major factor in enhancing the efficiency of social production.

Comrades, the new five-year plan sets far-reaching tasks in the development of industry, transport and construction; it accords with the vital interests of the Soviet people and meets their high material and cultural requirements. The Soviet people approve the five-year plan, calling it a people's plan. This is gratifying to the Party, since it sees in the nation-wide support for the new plan confirmation of the correctness of its policy.

We are confident that the new programme for building up the industrial might of our socialist country, which is to be endorsed by this Congress, will be successfully carried out.

## AGRICULTURE

Comrades, in the period under review, the Party Central Committee and all local Party and Government bodies have devoted much attention to *agriculture, which is an important sector of our economy*. Despite difficulties, our collective and state farms continue to grow and develop steadily, their economy is becoming stronger, material and technical facilities are expanding and the living standard and cultural and technical level of agricultural workers are rising.

The following table shows the output of staple farm products (by all categories of farming):

	1956-60		1961-65	
	Average annual output	Percentage of growth compared with the preceding five years (in terms of one year)	Average annual output	Percentage of growth compared with the preceding five years (in terms of one year)
Grain, million tons	121.5	6.5	130.2	1.4
Industrial sugar-beet, million tons	45.6	13.7	59.0	5.2
Cotton, million tons	4.4	2.3	5.0	2.7
Sunflower seeds, million tons	3.7	8.4	5.1	6.7
Vegetables, million tons	15.1	6.1	16.7	2.2
Potatoes, million tons	88.3	4.9	81.5	drop by 1.6
Meat, dead weight, million tons	7.9	6.8	9.3	3.4
Milk, million tons	57.2	8.6	64.7	2.5
Eggs, thousand million	23.6	8.3	28.7	4.1
Wool, thousand tons	317	7.0	361	2.7

This table indicates that the output of key farm products is increasing in our country. However, the rate of increment in the last five years has been considerably lower than in the preceding five-year period. As we have already pointed out, the result was that in agriculture the targets of the seven-year plan were not fulfilled. This situation in agriculture could not but draw the attention of the Central Committee.

Delegates to this Congress know that this question was examined at the Plenary Meeting in March 1965, and that the Central Committee found that the slow development of agriculture was due to a violation of the requirements of the economic laws of production, neglect of the material incentive and of the correct combination of public and personal interests. There were, of course, other reasons as well.

Serious shortcomings in the system of procuring farm products hindered the planned management of agriculture. The purchasing prices of many farm products did not cover actual expenditures and gave the collective and state farms little incentive to expand production. Agriculture was allocated insufficient funds and material and technical resources.

An increase in output was also hindered by the unjustified reorganisation of agricultural bodies, the imposition of stereotype recommendations from above and the underestimation of science and the experience of long years of practice.

After the March Plenary Meeting, the Central Committee and the Government undertook a

series of important measures to improve planning and provide greater incentives in order to boost agricultural production. A fundamentally new system of purchasing farm products has been instituted. Collective and state farms have been given realistic, fixed plans of purchases covering a period of five years. The purchasing prices of many farm and animal husbandry products have been raised, and higher prices introduced for the sale of staple grain to the state over and above the plan. At the same time, there has been a reduction in the sale price of many types of machinery equipment and materials and also in the cost of electric power for collective and state farms. In the countryside the prices of manufactured goods and foodstuffs have been lowered to conform with the corresponding prices in town.

These steps have yielded beneficial results. Despite last year's severe drought that hit many regions, particularly regions producing marketable grain, the total output of farm produce added up, in comparable prices, to 55,300 million rubles, which exceeds the value of the output of any preceding year. In 1965 the collective and state farms had quite good harvests of the majority of crops with the exception of grain.

Special mention, comrades, must be made of the fact that last year a fine job was done by cotton-growers, sugar-beet growers and livestock-breeders. They have every right to be proud of the results of their work.

A noticeable improvement has also been achieved in livestock-breeding. Here are figures to illustrate this:

**Livestock Population and Productivity at  
Collective and State Farms and Other State Enterprises**

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Cattle, million head at the end of the year	58.2	62.5	61.3	62.1	65.5
of which:					
Cows	20.1	21.8	22.3	22.6	23.5
Pigs, million head	49.4	53.9	27.7	38.3	41.3
Sheep and goats, million head	109.1	110.9	108.4	100.2	103.1
Poultry, million head	152.0	154.5	97.7	127.8	140.2
Average milk yield per cow, kilos	1,851	1,765	1,599	1,700	2,006

The table shows that the collective and state farms have surmounted the difficulties that arose in 1963 and achieved an increase in the head of cattle, including cows, and also of pigs and poultry, although the pig and poultry population is still below the 1962 figure. Last year the average milk yield per cow increased by 306 kilos. In 1965 the collective and state farms considerably increased their output and fulfilled the state purchasing plan for all animal husbandry products.

We must devote more attention to this important, though still lagging, branch of agriculture. Under the new five-year plan the task is to develop animal husbandry both by enlarging the livestock population and, chiefly, by increasing its productivity. This approach will make it possible considerably to step up the output of animal produce in the immediate future and raise its profitableness. The further growth of grain output, the effective utilisation of hay meadows and pastures, a higher level of mechanisa-

tion of farm work and an improvement of the breeds of livestock will help us to accomplish this task.

With the object of enlarging fodder resources the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have taken steps to expand the mixed feeds industry and the industries producing feed proteins, microelements and antibiotics. It has been found expedient to develop the new, microbiological industry.

Comrades, we have all grounds for saying that the decisions of the March Plenary Meeting are beneficial to the development of agriculture. The people have seen for themselves that the economic policy worked out by the Party for the countryside is correct; they have supported it with deeds, and that is the main thing.

*A key task of our Party and people is to secure an upsurge in collective- and state-farm production.* The Central Committee considers it necessary to implement a number of measures in agriculture with the purpose of creating conditions for the further growth of the productive forces in the countryside and abolishing the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture. The draft Directives for the five-year plan outline the prerequisites for the solution of this task. Investments in agriculture are to be almost doubled. In the next five years, as compared with the previous five-year period, agriculture is to receive 700,000 more tractors, 680,000 more lorries and 4,000 million rubles' worth more farm machinery. Electricity consumption in agriculture is to increase by approxi-

mately 200 per cent. The collective and state farms are to be supplied with more mineral fertilisers; in 1970 they will receive twice as much fertilisers as in 1965.

*An increase in grain production* remains one of most important tasks. Formerly this problem was chiefly tackled by enlarging the crop area. To some extent, the collective and state farms will continue to enlarge the area sown to grain through a more rational use of arable land, primarily ploughland. *But the main thing is to increase the yield per hectare to the utmost.* This is the decisive condition for accelerating the development of agriculture in general and of grain production in particular. A considerable expansion of the area sown to rice and groat crops is planned in order to meet the country's requirements in these products quickly and fully. Provision is also being made for further increasing the output of such staple crops as potatoes and other vegetables, as well as cotton, flax, sugarbeet, sunflower seeds, tea, fruit and grapes.

*Work to increase soil fertility and the efficiency of agriculture in all zones* is to be conducted on a nation-wide scale during the next few years.

We have to farm in regions with different soil and climatic conditions. In some areas, crops are periodically subjected to disastrous droughts and in others they suffer from superfluous moisture. To ensure stable bumper harvests in zones with unfavourable natural conditions, the Central Committee and the Government consider it ne-

cessary to carry out an extensive programme of land improvement, primarily in the central zones of the European part of the USSR, Byelorussia, the Baltic region, the south of the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Central Asian Republics and some other areas. Perhaps, one of the next Plenary Meetings of the Party Central Committee should discuss this question.

The soil is an immense source of wealth for our society and the foundation of agricultural production. The preservation of this wealth, its productive utilisation, the enhancement of soil fertility, control of wind and water erosion, and where necessary the planting of forests must be regarded as matters of state importance.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to draw attention to yet another problem, that of utilising machinery at collective and state farms. The countryside is steadily receiving and increasing the number of tractors, lorries, harvester-combines and other machines. Labour there is acquiring the features of industrial work. Yet, in recent years, there has been a drop in many key indicators of the utilisation of the fleet of machines and tractors. Machine operators tend to leave their jobs, causing fluidity in the labour force. All this creates difficulties. Facilities for repairing farm machinery must be enlarged to the utmost, the Selkhoztekhnika enterprises and the collective and state farms supplied with modern equipment, and machine operators given better training and bigger material incentives. Under present conditions the task of increasing agricultural production cannot be successfully

carried out without constantly stepping up the supply of machinery to agriculture, radically resolving the question of repairing and servicing this machinery, and improving the training of machine-operators of the most diverse qualifications.

In order to deve'op productive forces in agriculture it is necessary further to *improve social relations in the countryside*. The experience of many years has convincin'ly confirmed the vitality of both the collective- and state-farm form of the organisation of socia'ised economy. However, in recent years there have been unjustified attempts to reorganise many co'lective farms into state farms. The March Plenary Meeting has remedied this situation.

As you know, it has been decided to convene the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, which will examine the new Ru'es of the Agricultural Artel. This Congress will be a major political event in collective-farm deve'opment and will help to consolidate the collective-farm system still further.

The collective farms have now become economically strong, large and highly mechanised; re'ations among themselves and with state bodies have broadened considerably, and the political and cu'tural level of the co'lective farmers has risen immeasurably. We should 'ike to have your opinion as to whether it wou'd be advisab'e to set up e'ective co'lective-farm and co-operative bodies in the districts, regions, territories, repu'b'ics and in the centre. This democratic form of management would allow us to make fuller use of the advantages of the co-operative economy

in the further development of agricultural production, considerably expanding inter-collective-farm production and economic relations; utilise natural, material, technical and labour resources most rationally, and improve the organisation of processing and selling produce.

In making this recommendation we are taking past experience into consideration. As you all know, during the first years of collective-farm development there was a system of managing collective farms which consisted of collective-farm unions in the localities and a Collective-Farm Centre. These bodies were regarded as authoritative by the peasants.

This was a further embodiment and development of the ideas in Lenin's co-operative plan and allowed the collective-farm system to be further democratised and the broad masses of collective farmers to be drawn into economic, cultural and social activity.

At the same time, the role of state farms as state enterprises in the countryside must be still further enhanced.

Each state farm must in all respects become a model of large-scale socialist farming.

Thus, at the present stage the task is to do everything possible to facilitate the development and prosperity of both state and collective farms.

Comrades, the Party is fully aware that it is no simple matter to achieve an upsurge in agricultural production. It would be wrong to think that now, when huge material and technical resources are being allocated for the development of agriculture, everything will run by itself.

It is the duty of Party, Government and agricultural organs, of all workers in agriculture to make the fullest use of each hectare of land, of every invested ruble, of every machine and ton of fertiliser and to do this ably and economically.

The fulfilment of the plans in agriculture will depend on the creative initiative and energy of rural workers, on the correct organisation of labour and on the quality of the work of the heads of collective and state farms and of agronomists, livestock experts, machine-operators and economists.

In the further progress of agriculture an extremely important role is to be played by science and by the utilisation of its achievements in production. We are sure that scientists and specialists will bend every effort to solve contemporary problems of agricultural and biological science and economics, and will make a worthy contribution to the promotion of agriculture.

Regional, territorial and district Party committees must show constant concern for strengthening all sectors of production with skilled cadres and rendering them more practical assistance. Organisational and educational work with people must be raised to a higher level, the work of Party organisation at the collective and state farms improved and their activity enhanced.

Allow me, on behalf of the Congress, to express profound confidence that Party, local, government, agricultural, trade union and Kom-somol bodies in the Republics, territories, re-

gions and districts, all collective farmers and state-farm workers, workers in industries supplying the collective and state farms, scientists and specialists will with the energy and perseverance inherent in Soviet people enthusiastically undertake to accomplish the great tasks set by the Party to achieve an upsurge in agriculture, and that they will fulfil this work with honour.

Comrades, we can note with satisfaction that the new five-year plan is approved and supported by the peoples and Parties of the fraternal socialist countries as well. This gives us more strength, good humour and confidence. The new five-year plan is approved by Communists and all our friends in the capitalist countries who regard it as yet another victorious step on the road to communism. Even ill-wishers and undisguised enemies of the Soviet Union are compelled to admit that our plans are realistic.

Implementation of the political line mapped out by this Congress and the practical programme of economic and cultural development will still further enhance the economic and defensive might, prestige and influence of the Soviet Union. It will deal imperialism yet another blow and will be a political and economic victory of world significance of the Communist Party, the socialist state and the Soviet people.

The main thing today is to pool all our efforts for the fulfilment of the five-year plan. Under the new conditions the Party organisations bear still greater responsibility for the work of collectives, for the economic development of districts, towns, regions, territories and republics. They must come forward as the or-

ganisers of the fulfilment of the plans drawn up by the Party and promote the creative initiative and the emulation movement of the masses, and give every encouragement to the movement for communist work.

The Party sets Party and economic executives the extremely important task of acquiring modern scientific knowledge in the sphere of technology, economy and the organisation of production. All executives in industry, agriculture, construction and transport must perseveringly learn the art of directing production under the new conditions and ably solve questions concerning the organisation of labour. There must be a fundamental improvement in the training and re-training of personnel engaged in the management of production.

Party organisations must do everything to facilitate the introduction of the new system of economic management so as to make it possible to utilise its potentialities to the utmost.

What are the most important conclusions to be drawn from the above?

*Firstly*, during all these years Soviet economy has been developing at a rapid rate and important qualitative changes have taken place in its structure. This has created the necessary conditions for the solution of the immediate, more complex tasks set by the draft Directives for the new five-year plan.

*Secondly*, the period under review has shown that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union creatively and boldly solves the most complex problems of economic management and discards everything failing to stand the

test of time and hindering our progress. The Central Committee considers that the recent Plenary Meetings worked out the correct way to resolve basic economic problems which will lead to an acceleration of the rate of our development.

*Thirdly*, the Soviet Union has continued to strengthen its position in economic competition with the leading capitalist countries. The experience of the past few years has confirmed that the steady expansion of production at a high and, what is most important, at a stable rate is the law of development of socialist economy in our country. Such development is beyond the power of the capitalist countries. This is an indisputable advantage of socialism over capitalism.

Comrades, socialist competition has started throughout the country with the aim of worthily marking the 23rd Party Congress. Numerous reports on labour achievements are being sent in to the Congress from all parts of the country. The plan for the first quarter of the first year in the new five-year period was fulfilled by the workers in industry by the day the Congress opened. The country will receive a large quantity of metal, electric power, coal, mineral fertilisers, cement, rubber, automobile tyres, machines and equipment, clothing, knitwear, leather footwear and a large amount of foodstuffs over and above the plan.

By March 20, workers in agriculture had overfulfilled the quarterly plan for sales of meat, milk, butter, eggs and other animal products to the state. The repair of tractors and other farm machines has, in the main, been

completed. Spring sowing is in progress in the southern regions. In the course of the sowing campaign collective farmers, machine-operators and state-farm workers are displaying a high level of organisation.

May the banner of socialist emulation, raised by the heroic working class at the dawn of Soviet rule, continue to be held high throughout the struggle by the Party and people to fulfil the new five-year plan for our country's economic development.

The Party profoundly believes that the Soviet people, who are full of inexhaustible energy and enthusiasm, will accomplish magnificent feats of labour to further the great aim of building communism.

### III. RISE OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING, DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Comrades, by securing the rapid development of the economy, of the productive forces, the socialist system has created most favourable conditions for a steady rise in the living standards of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia—of all the working people. Socialism is the only system under which it is possible to follow a fair principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labour, because public ownership is dominant, there is no exploitation of man by man and all members of society are equal in relation to the means of production.

The prosperity of every working person is rising in step with the growing social wealth. The national income of the Soviet Union is one of the biggest in the world. It is rising continuously, and the incomes of working people are rising with it. In the last five years the national income increased 33 per cent and last year

surpassed 190,000 million rubles. Nearly three-fourths of this sum, all of 141,000 million rubles, was spent on satisfying the requirements of the Soviet people.

The Party and the Soviet Government availing themselves of the successes in economic development are doing everything to improve the living conditions of the people. In the period under review, the average wages of factory and office workers increased 19 per cent. Wages have been raised for people employed directly in the public services, including educational, health, cultural and retail trade workers and people employed in the housing and community services.

At the same time prices were reduced for woollen, silk and linen textiles, some articles of clothing, ready-made children's clothes, clocks and watches, bicycles, photo cameras, medicines and for some other consumer goods.

In our country public funds play an important part in raising the people's standard of living. Payments and benefits received by the population out of the public consumption fund amounted to 41,500 million rubles in 1965 against the 27,300 million rubles in 1960. These funds were spent on increasing the pensions and on the additional benefits granted to war invalids and the families of soldiers and officers killed in the war. The granting of pensions to collective farmers was an important social measure. More than 70 million are attending tuition-free general, vocational, specialised secondary and higher educational establishments, schools and courses. The number of

hospitals, polyclinics, sanatoria and holiday homes is climbing steadily. More than 4 million doctors and other medical workers are concerned with health protection. The number of children at pre-school institutions has nearly doubled and totals about 8 million.

We speak of these major social measures with legitimate pride, because they are possible only in a socialist country where everything is done in the interest of the people.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government were constantly concerned with extending the scale of house-building. In the last five years, dwellings totalling 393 million square metres of living space were built in the cities, towns and on state farms, and more than 2,000,000 new cottages were built in the villages. Town improvement has made good headway.

Many new houses are built, but the housing problem is still acute. Therefore the Party attaches prime importance to this problem and considers it necessary to increase allocations for housing construction, to expand building facilities and to improve the quality of housing. Alongside state-financed building, house-building co-operatives should be extensively promoted. In the coming five years it is planned to build houses totalling 480 million sq. metres of living space in the cities and towns and on state farms. This means that 100 million sq. metres more will be built at the expense of the state and on the funds of housing co-operatives than in the previous five years. The rural population and the collective farms will build some

2 or 2.5 million new cottages. More than 45,000 million rubles are to be spent on housing and communal construction against the 35,000 million spent in the past five years.

Party, Government, economic and trade-union bodies must see to it that the house-building plans are fulfilled; they must pay more attention to the maintenance and repair of houses; they must make the procedure of registering and distributing housing strict and efficient, and see to it that the public knows what is being done.

The CC CPSU holds that the lag in rural construction can no longer be tolerated. Regrettably, attention to rural house-building and to proper planning and improvement of villages, has been lax for many years. House-building and the construction of cultural and service facilities in villages has got to be tackled in earnest. The collective and state farms have got to be prodded to action in this matter.

Comrades, in the last few years the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government devised a number of new measures to improve the supply of food and consumer goods, and to expand retail trade. In 1965, retail sales totalled 104,600 million rubles, surpassing the 1960 figure by 34 per cent.

The Congress delegates know that we have made considerable headway in this sphere. There were no interruptions in the supply of bread, pastry, macaroni, noodles, milk and dairy products, eggs, butter, vegetable oil, sugar, confectioneries and other products. More of these products were sold last year than in any previous year.

For all this, the supply of some commodities

is still behind the demand. The assortment of meat products is not always adequate. Although the supply of milk is ample, not enough sourmilk products and cheeses are being put out; the assortment of dietetical products is insufficient, and the demand for buckwheat and rice is not fully met. In the new five-year plan the Central Committee has set high targets for agriculture, the fulfilment of which will enable us to satisfy the mounting food demand.

The growth of people's incomes has considerably stimulated the demand for consumer goods in the last few years. In 1965, industry produced more than 9,000 million metres of fabric and 486 million pair of leather shoes. The sale of household utensils and goods meeting the people's cultural requirements has expanded. As many as 3,300,000 TV sets, 4,800,000 radio receivers, nearly 1,500,000 refrigerators, more than 3,000,000 washing machines, etc., were sold to the population last year. This, comrades, is not bad at all!

Yet the working people have good cause to complain about the work of the light industry and the other industries producing consumer goods. So far, the market is not getting enough necessary commodities. It is not always possible to buy attractive clothes for children, the dress, suit or overcoat you like or choose a pair of shoes to your liking. Not all the factories making consumer goods take account of the taste and the increasing demand of the customer. Many articles made by the sewing, textile and shoe industries are of low quality.

We shall have to work hard, comrades, and

remedy this situation. What we need is to ensure full satisfaction of the population's mounting demand for consumer goods within the coming five years. In this special attention will have to be paid to improving the quality and finishing of commodities.

It is planned to expand sharply the construction of factories in the light, food, chemical and other industries producing consumer goods. Some 15,000 million rubles, or nearly twice as much as was spent in the previous five years, are to be allocated for this purpose in 1966-1970. The technical re-equipment of the light and food industries, retail trade and communal services will have a pronounced bearing on the expansion of consumer production and the improvement of the quality of consumer goods.

Party and Government bodies, ministries, associations and factories must treat consumer production as an important government task. Possibilities for increasing consumer production should be made fuller use of not only at factories of the light and food industries, but in all other industries. Much greater amount of goods may be obtained through a more rational use of manpower and raw materials available in the villages, and this without any particularly large capital outlays. We ought to afford greater scope for the development of various manufactures and ancillary plants processing farm surpluses, wild fruits and berries and local natural materials on collective and state farms.

It is planned to build more shops, industrial refrigerators, warehouses and other ancillary trading facilities. People employed in

retailing at towns and villages, and the employees of consumer co-operatives, play the decisive part in improving retail services, for it is up to them to develop and improve new forms of trade most convenient for the population.

It is essential radically to improve public services in towns and villages, extend the number of catering establishments, laundries, barber shops and hairdressers', dry-cleaning establishments, tailoring and clothes repair establishments, and furnish the service sphere with enterprising personnel.

If all these measures are fulfilled, we shall be able to improve the supply of food and manufactured goods, and increase retail sales.

Comrades, our Party attaches immense importance to raising the welfare of Soviet people. It is striving to activate all the levers of economic development. By increasing production, raising the productivity of labour and boosting the national income, we shall achieve a further improvement of the Soviet people's standard of living in the next five years. *Real incomes per head of population will rise something like 30 per cent in five years.*

The CC CPSU considers that higher wages for factory and office workers and higher pay to collective farmers should be the chief means of raising incomes. The wage question is a major political and economic issue. Its solution has a bearing on the vital interests of millions of people. In these five years it is envisaged to raise the minimum wage in the national economy to 60 rubles monthly. As much as 12,500 million rubles will have to be spent annually to cover

the new expense involved and the wage and salary rises for factory and office workers in the medium pay bracket. This is a huge sum.

Wage additions and benefits for people working in the Far North, Far East and Siberia will be increased. It is also planned to invest more heavily there in the building of houses, schools, hospitals, pre-school and other cultural and public facilities, which will do a lot to develop those highly important economic regions.

A word about the pay system at collective farms. Often, the present procedure of distributing collective-farm incomes creates fluctuations in payments for the collective farmers' labour; on many collective farms permanent earnings for work done are not guaranteed. A guaranteed monthly pay is to be introduced at collective farms in the coming five years, which will be brought closer to the wages of state-farm workers for corresponding jobs and work rates. This will mark an important stage in the development of collective farming and in improving the collective farmers' standard of living.

Besides raising and adjusting wages, it is envisaged in the new five-year plan to reduce retail prices on goods as their output increases and the productivity of labour grows. This, too, will contribute to improving the people's standard of living.

Comrades, recently we allowed by way of experiment a number of enterprises in the Ivanovo, Perm, Dnepropetrovsk and some other regions to transfer to a five-day working week and two days off. Experience shows that, given the appropriate organisational and technical

adjustments, production at these enterprises has improved perceptibly.

On the strength of this experience and in response to numerous suggestions coming from working people, the Central Committee considers it possible to go over to a five-day working week and two days off, with the 41-hour week remaining in force. The transition of factory and office workers to this new working week should be gradual, depending on the extent of readiness of the given enterprise, so that the people and the country gain from it.

The introduction of a five-day working week will have a far-reaching effect on our society, since it creates additional opportunities for improving labour conditions and for a rational use of leisure by factory and office workers. There will be more time for recreation, bringing up children, combining study and work, and raising the people's cultural and technical level.

Comrades, concern for the welfare of people who devoted the larger part of their lives to work and have now retired is an obligation the socialist state must unfailingly fulfil. In contrast to the capitalist countries, pensions in the Soviet Union are paid entirely out of state and public funds. At present, we are annually spending about 11,000 million rubles on pensions, which constitutes a substantial part of the national income.

In the next five-year period it is planned to further improve the pension scheme. It is envisaged in particular:

to raise the minimum old-age pension for factory and office employees;

to apply to collective farmers the old-age pensioning procedure defined in the Pension Law for factory and office workers, which sets the pensionable age for women at 55 years and for men at 60 years ;

to raise the minimum old-age pension for collective farmers and to apply to them the pension-setting procedure established for factory and office workers;

to improve the disablement benefits scheme for the working people.

Reduction and abolition of the income tax for factory and office workers will continue.

It is an important fact that the new five-year plan envisages effective measures to bring the living standards of the rural and urban population still closer together and to raise the general standard of living in the Soviet Union. The implementation of these measures will mean that good work has been done to bring closer the time when the essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical labour disappear. The political effect of all these measures consists in adding strength to the unbreakable alliance of the working class and the peasants, and the monolithic unity of the whole Soviet people. They will constitute a new and wonderful gain secured by our Party and the Soviet state.

Comrades, unprecedentedly rapid *scientific* development is the most striking feature of our time. Science is exercising an ever-mounting influence on all the aspects of material and cultural life. In our time, it is impossible to secure technical progress and a high rate of growth of

the productive forces without extensive scientific research and the rapid application of its results in production. The fact that science has become a direct productive force is radically changing man's labour. In socialist conditions science is not only changing the nature of man's labour but also the material and cultural pattern of his life.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people have trained a whole army of eminent scientists, devoted to the cause of communism and able to cope with the most complex scientific problems of our time. Today, more than 660,000 scientific workers are employed at the country's 4,650 research institutions and higher educational establishments. They comprise one-fourth of all the scientific workers of the world.

We pride ourselves on the USSR Academy of Sciences. The Party and people show it every attention and concern. It serves our country and world civilisation selflessly and loyally. The great conquests of Soviet science, which have added to the glory of our country, are directly associated with the work of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

In the time under review the Academy of Sciences and the republican research institutions kept expanding and gaining strength. Many gifted scientists and researchers were trained there to take an active part in solving the nation's economic problems, in cultural development and in training research personnel in the national republics. The establishment of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences was

an important step forward in the country's scientific development.

Soviet scientists have helped to introduce new and highly efficient production methods, build up a strong atomic industry and atomic power engineering, tap our giant mineral resources and raise high-grade varieties of farm crops. Major advances have been made in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, geology and other fields of knowledge.

The whole world acknowledges the outstanding achievements made by Soviet science in studying the Universe and exploring outer space. The Soviet Union holds priority in such phases of space exploration as the launching of the world's first artificial earth satellite, the first manned space flight, the first group flights, the first space flight by a woman, and, last but not least, man's first walk in outer space.

The soft landing on the Moon of the automatic station Luna-9 has marked an important step in the exploration of space and the development of interplanetary communications. The world's first photographs of a lunar landscape, transmitted by the Soviet station, is of the utmost scientific importance.

The flights of the automatic stations Venus-2 and Venus-3, which delivered a pennant with the Soviet national emblem to Venus and yielded a wealth of scientific information, constituted a fresh achievement in national science.

Permit me, from the rostrum of our Congress, again most heartily to congratulate Soviet scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and

workers, and our glorious cosmonauts, on these scientific triumphs.

Soviet science has won great prestige and has indisputably great accomplishments to its credit. However, mention should be made of the deficiencies that hold up its development. The gravest is the slow introduction of the results of scientific research into production. There is an unjustifiable gap between theoretical research and its technological and design development. Often, years pass before a discovery is applied in production—a fact damaging the national economy and science itself. Poor use of electronic computer techniques is one example of this. And it is a fact that modern computer and control techniques lead to a sweeping revolution not only in production methods, but also in economics, planning, accounting, designing and scientific research itself.

The recent reorganisation in industrial management and the establishment of branch ministries have created favourable conditions for the rapid introduction of scientific achievements in production. But favourable conditions are not yet a guarantee of success. The ministries and Party and Government bodies must therefore focus attention on science and the introduction of its achievements in the economy. The work of academic and specialised research institutes, the designing organisations and factories must be better co-ordinated and they must be given a chance to work together in order to reduce to the minimum the time term for the practical introduction of scientific achievements. At the same time, the scientists themselves, the Acade-

my of Sciences and the Committee for Science and Technology must see to it that the results of scientific research are applied in production within the shortest possible period of time.

The more science feeds the economy with new ideas and technology, the higher the rate of technical progress. What we need is creative endeavour and a broad perspective in our technological policy.

The problems Soviet science has still to solve are truly immense. The construction of a new society requires an amount of scientific knowledge unprecedented in history, both in order to develop the productive forces and to re-model all social life.

It is the purpose of science to multiply the material and cultural riches of the people, to make their life still more prosperous, and to help the Party and people build a communist society successfully.

The Party and the people will stint no strength and energy for the further advancement of Soviet science. The scientists can count on the Communist Party, the Government and the whole Soviet people for support in their big and fruitful work for the good of their country.

Comrades, the *school and the specialised secondary and higher educational establishments* play an immense role in political, economic and cultural development, and in rearing the new man. Our Party takes pride on having evoked a thirst for knowledge and education in the Soviet people. There are 214,000 general schools in the country with a total enrolment of more than

48 million. It is planned to build over 22,000 new schools in 1966-70.

Communist construction requires further improvement in the work of the schools, expansion of their material basis and improvement in teaching methods. The Soviet school must develop as an institution of general learning, a school that teaches rising generations to work, as a polytechnical school. It must equip its pupils with sound knowledge of the fundamentals of science and educate in them the materialist outlook and communist morality; it must prepare the youth for life, for a thoughtful choice of profession. The teacher plays a decisive part in the fulfilment of this task. Today our schools have more than 2,400,000 teachers. The teachers constitute one of the biggest contingents of the Soviet intelligentsia. It is with profound respect and solicitude that the Party and the people treat the Soviet teacher, who gives his strength and knowledge and all the warmth of his heart to training and educating children.

The immense programme of industrial and agricultural development confronts the Party with the task of continuously reinforcing the working class and the labour force on the farms with skilled personnel. This responsible job falls to the vocational and technical schools.

There are more than 4,000 such schools in the country today, attended by more than 1,500,000 young men and women. In the coming five years the vocational and technical schools are to train over 6,000,000 skilled young workers. The Party, trade-union and Komsomol

organisations, and all the ministries and institutions must give them daily help in coping with this task. We are sure that the instructors and teachers, and other employees engaged in vocational and technical training will fulfil their duty honourably.

Comrades, more than 12 million specialists, including about 5 million that have a higher education, are employed in different branches of the economy and culture. The school of higher learning has splendid accomplishments to its credit. The Party will continue to show constant concern for the development of higher and specialised secondary education, for in our time the demand for competent specialists has grown immeasurably. In the coming five years the number of students will increase by almost 1,000,000.

Personnel for economic, Party, Government, diplomatic, military and social work are chosen chiefly from among specialists trained at the institutions of higher learning, higher schools. Our specialists must not only have complete command of their profession, but also know the laws of social development, home and foreign policy, and have a broad outlook. We cannot conceive of a good Soviet specialist without knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and a clear understanding of the Party and Government policy. To meet this challenge, the teaching of social sciences at school of higher learning has got to be improved considerably.

Comrades, the Communist Party has always held in high esteem the role of creative intelligentsia—workers in *art and literature*. Soviet

art and literature, imbued with the lofty spirit of partisanship, and service to the people has become a powerful source of communist education.

Works of art and literature have been made accessible to all people in our country. The high educational and cultural standard of the Soviet people, and the fact that they are masters of their country have created splendid conditions for the development of Soviet art and literature. The best works of art and literature enrich not only the treasure-store of Soviet classical arts, but also the progressive culture of mankind.

Quite a number of good novels and a lot of good poetry, songs and paintings, clever films and plays have appeared in our country over the last few years, winning the acclaim of readers and audiences. Many of them were awarded the Lenin Prize, and the number of writers, sculptors, stage directors and actors, film-makers, musicians and artists whose works have enriched the spiritual life of the people in this period, far exceeds the list of prize-winners.

It is a very significant fact that the present-day reality, the problems of communist construction, have become dominant in Soviet literature, the cinema, theatre, painting, music and sculpture. Artists of different generations are striving to comprehend and depict the image of our contemporary deeper and more expressively. A quest is underway, and there are setbacks alongside creative triumphs. It is only natural that we want the setbacks to be as few as possible. We believe the earnest of the successful development of Soviet culture lies in our creative intel-

ligentsia being guided by the same aims and tasks as the rest of the Soviet people and their Communist Party.

In the past few years many gifted works by art workers of the Union Republics have won fame in the Soviet Union and abroad. Every one of our republics can boast of outstanding art workers and of splendid achievements in art and literature. The national, consequently exceedingly varied, cultures of peoples comprising the fraternal family of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, constitute a culture single in its socialist content, imbued with the grand spirit of communist construction and common concern for the welfare and prosperity of our great multi-national country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always shown, and will continue to show, concern for the development of art and literature. The Party has always guided, and will continue to guide, the activities of creative organisations and give them every possible support and assistance. The Party is opposed to administrative arbitrariness in matters related to art and literature. At the same time, it proceeds from the principle of partisanship in art and literature and the class approach in assessing all matters in the cultural sphere. We never forget Lenin's words that "literature must become *part and parcel* of the general proletarian cause."

The Party will always support the art and literature that assert faith in our ideals and fight irreconcilably against all manifestations of alien ideology.

Socialist art and literature are profoundly

optimistic in spirit. They have the ability of perceiving the new and progressive trends in our life, and of brightly depicting the beauty of the world we live in and the grandeur of the aims and ideals of the men of the new society. Yet, this does not mean that writers should write only about the good. As you know, we have many shortcomings, and their criticism in works of art is useful and necessary, for it helps the Soviet people to overcome them.

Unfortunately, there are hacks in literature who make it their business to fling mud at our system and slander our heroic people, instead of helping them. True, they are only a handful, and certainly do not express the sentiments and thoughts of our creative intelligentsia, who are closely linked with the people and the Party. These renegades scorn what is most cherished by every Soviet citizen—the interests of the socialist land.

It is only natural that the Soviet people cannot remain indifferent to the disgraceful activities of these people. The Soviet people treat them as they deserve to be treated.

The Party shows concern for the needs of the intelligentsia and always supports creative unions and societies. Art organisations, institutions, publishing houses, theatres and film studios must have an exacting, critical approach to their work and the artist's responsibility to the people. Marxist-Leninist criticism is important for the development of art and literature.

The Soviet artist is an active fighter for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world. May

our art and literature while constantly improving the artistic forms and methods, continue to portray the various aspects of our life fully and richly, thus inspiring the Soviet people in their titanic labour and struggle for the lofty and noble goals.

Comrades, everything done in our country to raise the people's living and cultural standards, promote science and education, literature and art, bears out the simple truth that socialism's main goal is centred on man's welfare and his all-round development. We have now reached a level where we can speed up our advance to this goal, and cope with still greater tasks.

There must be no unrealistic propositions in our plans for the future. They must be based on the possibilities of the Soviet economy, and on the level already achieved in the development of the productive forces. What we must do now is make the most effective use of these possibilities, and steadily increase the material and spiritual wealth necessary to man. The Party will spare no effort to achieve this end. At the head of the people and hand in hand with the people, the Communists will do their utmost for the life of Soviet people to become better and richer. This is what we consider our supreme duty. It is in the name of this that we are building communism.

**IV.**  
**THE GROWING ROLE OF THE CPSU  
IN DIRECTING COMMUNIST  
CONSTRUCTION**

**I. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE PARTY AND THE  
ENHANCEMENT OF ITS ORGANISATIONAL AND  
POLITICAL WORK**

Comrades, the period under review was characterised by the further growth of the Party's role in the life of Soviet society, the consolidation of its ranks, the perfection of forms and methods of work and the strengthening and development of the Party's bonds with the masses. Our Leninist Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. Its ranks unite the more advanced representatives of the working class and the working people as a whole. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, the militant revolutionary ideology of the world working class, the Party is confidently leading the Soviet people forward along the road of communist construction, is directing and organising the life of socialist society and successfully

fulfilling its role of teacher, organiser and political leader of the entire Soviet people.

Thanks to the political and organisational work of the Party among the masses, thanks to their selfless labour, the Soviet people have increased the economic potential, raised the living standards, and thus made it possible to further strengthen our socialist state and promote the Soviet Union's prestige in world affairs.

An important stage in the life of our Party was marked by the October (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU which expressed the firm determination of the Party to develop and observe strictly Lenin's standards of Party life and principles of leadership. Defects in the sphere of the economic and Party organisation, errors due to the unjustifiable reorganisation of Party, Government and economic bodies are being corrected on the basis of the decisions of the October Plenum.

The October Plenum had a beneficial effect on all aspects of the life of the Party, the socialist state and Soviet society as a whole. It also served as clear evidence of the monolithic character and unity of the Party, its political maturity and ability to remove boldly and decisively everything that hinders our progress. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, armed with the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, believing deeply in the creative potentialities of the masses, is leading the Soviet people confidently to communism.

The Central Committee notes with great satisfaction that the Party meetings, conferences

and congresses held prior to the 23rd Congress fully approved the decisions of the October and subsequent Plenums of the CC.

The Party meetings, conferences and congresses were conducted at a high level of political consciousness, their participants manifesting great activity. Almost 2,300,000 members and candidate members of the Party spoke at meetings of primary Party organisations alone. Most of these speeches were delivered in a clear-cut and business-like manner. The speakers analysed the results and defects in the work and stressed the growing demands they made of leading Party bodies and officials.

The Party report-and-election campaign was a vivid demonstration of the close cohesion of Communists round the Central Committee of the CPSU and their complete understanding of their lofty tasks and duties.

Another manifestation of this increased activity of Communists and the great interest of non-Party people in all the work of the Party is the tens of thousands of letters that have been sent to the CC CPSU and the 23rd Congress, letters in which the people of our country cordially greet the delegates, wish them success, express their gratitude to the Party for its solicitude for their welfare, make proposals and offer advice and criticism on questions concerning the life of the Party and the state. One cannot read without feelings of deep emotion these sincere messages in which Soviet people write about their innermost thoughts and aspirations.

Many proposals and wishes expressed by working people were used or were taken into consideration in the materials prepared for the Congress. In the course of their work, the leading bodies of the Party, Government, economic, trade union and Komsomol organisations must put into effect useful proposals, advice and comments from Communists and non-Party people.

Comrades, permit me on behalf of the Congress to express sincere thanks to the Party organisations, groups of working people, men serving in the Soviet Army and Navy, rank-and-file Communists, all Soviet people who have sent letters to the Congress, and to assure them that the Party will give its utmost attention to their criticism, proposals and advice.

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has 12,471,000 members and candidate members. In the period under review the Party ranks have grown by 2,755,000 new members. The increase in the membership of the CPSU reflects the high prestige enjoyed by the Party and the boundless faith Soviet people have in it.

We are proud of our millions of fellow-Communists who, in all fields of communist construction, carry the ideas of the Party to the masses and stand in the van of the working people in our country. The army of Communists, many million strong, has devoted all its efforts, knowledge and organisational ability to increasing the might of our country, to our great revolutionary cause.

Now allow me to inform you of the composition of the Party.

**Composition of the CPSU**  
(Percentages on January 1, 1966)

a) <b>Social status</b>		b) <b>length of Party membership</b>	
workers	37.8	under 10 years	47.1
peasants (collective farmers)	16.2	10-30 years	47.8
office employees and others	46.0	over 30 years	5.6
c) <b>age groups</b>		d) <b>educational qualifications</b>	
under 25 years	6.2	higher and incomplete higher education	18.2
26-40 years	46.8	secondary education	30.9
41-50 years	24.9	incomplete secondary education	27.5
over 50 years	22.1	primary education	23.4

As can be seen from the above figures, our Party consists mainly of workers and collective farmers. In recent years the percentage of workers accepted into the Party as candidate members has increased. Between the 20th and 22nd Congresses, among those admitted as candidate members only 40.6 per cent were workers whereas in the period under review they constitute 47.6 per cent. In the future, too, the working class must maintain its leading position in the social composition of the Party.

Among the office and professional employees joining the Party over two-thirds are from the technical intelligentsia, specialists in various branches of the country's economy. Half of the Communists have either higher, incomplete higher or secondary educational qualifications.

The composition of the Party according to length of membership is noteworthy. Here we see the veterans of the Party who have been through three revolutions, Communists who were steeled in the struggle for the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, for the great socialist transformation of our country; we see here, too, those who linked up their fate with the Party in the difficult days

of the Great Patriotic War and who, after the war, raised their Soviet country from ruins and ashes. All of them in a single army of political fighters are now actively building communist society. The composition of the Party gives a good picture of the combination of old and young Communists. Today more than half the Party membership are people under 40 years of age. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was always proud that young people join our Party, he saw in this an expression of the continuity of the generations, the continuity of the Party's revolutionary spirit and militant traditions.

The historic role played by the CPSU in the great victories of socialism and its high prestige naturally inspire many Soviet people to link up their lives ideologically and organisationally with the Party and devote themselves to the revolutionary effort to transform society, to achieve the victory of communism. The exacting demands made of every person who joins the Party are dictated by the Party's tremendous responsibility to the Soviet people.

The Central Committee has recently checked up on the work of a number of Party organisations and has found that in some of them lowered demands have been made of those joining the Party. Certain Party committees directed their primary organisations to speed up the enrolment of new members with the result that in some cases ideologically immature people found their way into the Party. This has now been corrected.

It is a principle of Party life, a law for all Party organisations that they show concern for

the purity of the Party's ranks, that every Communist bear proudly and justify his lofty title of member of the Leninist Party. Lenin said it is better for ten who work not to call themselves Party members than for one chatterbox to have the right and opportunity to be a member of the Party. The further consolidation of the Party insistently demands higher efficiency on the part of the primary organisations that constitute its foundation. The primary Party organisations with their ramified network of shop organisations and Party groups play a decisive role in implementing Party policy and in educating Communists; they are the link between the Party and the masses, they function where creative activity is actually underway. In the Party today there are 320,000 primary organisations: they are to be found in almost all enterprises and offices.

The whole life of the Party, its achievements and its faults, everything that gives us pleasure or sorrow—all of this is reflected in the activities of the primary Party organisations. They usually produce much that is new and that often becomes the property of the whole Party; they, too, come up against negative phenomena and struggle against them. The primary Party organisations should take correct account of the individual characters of people and of their needs, demands, abilities and attitude to their work. This accounts for the diversified nature and intricacy of the work of primary Party organisations and of the huge contingent of the most active Party members—the secretaries of primary Party organisations and Party group or-

ganisers.

It is the duty of all Party bodies to show constant solicitude for the primary organisations. Party committees must be in constant contact with primary Party organisations and the officials of district, town and regional committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics should regularly visit primary organisations, talk with Communists, listen to their advice and deliver reports to them.

The activities of primary Party organisations must be directed towards instilling in Communists and non-Party people a lofty ideology, a conscientious attitude to their duty and a profound understanding of the policy of the CPSU. Party organisations must raise political and organisational work among the masses to a still higher level, they must promote the creative activity of the people in the struggle to fulfil the new five-year plan and ensure better labour and living conditions for industrial and office workers and collective farmers.

Everybody knows how great is the role of the territory, regional, city and district Party committees in the practical implementation of Party policy and Party measures. At this Congress we note with pleasure that the November (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU reunited the regional industrial and agricultural Party organisations into single bodies, thus reestablishing Lenin's principles of Party structure and eliminating the serious mistakes that had been made in this sphere. Rural district Party committees have also been restored and

in a short time have again regained their position as militant and authoritative propagandists of Party policy in the countryside.

Comrades, the Party and all its leading bodies must strictly observe inner-Party democracy and ensure its consistent development. The Central Committee of the CPSU has recently taken a number of important steps in this direction. The development of the principle of democratic centralism has found expression in the further consolidation of the principle of collective leadership at the centre and locally, in enhancing the role of the plenary meetings of the CC CPSU and local Party bodies, in showing full confidence in the membership and in improving inner-Party information.

It is essential for the members and alternate members of the Presidium, the Secretaries and members of the CC CPSU, members of the Government, ministers and other leading officials to speak regularly to the Party activists and to all working people on current problems of economic and cultural development, on the country's internal affairs and on the international situation. It is essential to pay greater attention to and respect the opinions and proposals of Communists, create conditions for extensive criticism and self-criticism so that Party organisations can at any moment correct any Communist who has deviated from the Party rules and prevent aggravation of faults in the work. Those who suppress criticism must be made liable to the severest penalties.

The development of inner-Party democracy presupposes a simultaneous improvement of in-

ner-Party discipline. These two are inseverably bound together. Complete democracy, freedom of opinion on all questions discussed, and iron discipline when a decision has been taken in accordance with the will of the majority of Communists—such is the inviolable law of the Party. And we must demand its unswerving observance by all Communists, no matter where they may work or what posts they may hold.

The task is one of enhancing every Communist's sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in his organisation and in the Party as a whole, of being exacting to all Party members so as not to permit liberalism in respect of those who contravene Party and state discipline, who forget their duty to the Party and think that Party membership gives them certain privileges.

The all-round development of inner-Party democracy will promote the further consolidation of the Party, extend its ties with the masses and give it still greater prestige. Comrades, economic and cultural development is now proceeding on a greater scale than ever before, and foreign policy problems have become more complicated. Under these circumstances the correct promotion and training of leading Party and the state officials assumes great importance.

The Party has educated and promoted to leading posts an army of many millions of ideologically sound, well-trained and energetic officials who are carrying out the Party line on a scale and in a business-like manner that are typical of our system.

In recent years the leading Party personnel have become more qualified. Most of the Party

officials are experienced people who have got a good schooling in political and organisational work. This is one of the Communist Party's gains, and the Party is proud of its cadres.

The frequent reorganisations of Party, Government and economic bodies that have taken place in recent years have had an adverse effect on the selection, promotion and training of cadres. As a rule these changes were accompanied by unjustifiable shifting and changing of officials and this resulted in a lack of confidence among them, prevented them from making full use of their abilities and provided grounds for irresponsibility.

At the present time we have every possibility of seeing to it that Party, state and economic bodies and mass organisations are headed by competent organisers who have a profound knowledge of their business and have authority among both Communists and non-Communists. The interests of communist construction demand the bolder promotion of young, energetic people. In so doing it is essential to remember the need to maintain a correct proportion of old and young executives. Comrades who have been through a big school of practical work in the local bodies should be more actively promoted to work at the top.

The business of the selection and education of cadres must be regarded as a major Party and state affair. We must concentrate the attention of all Party bodies, from top to bottom, on the main task—the selection, promotion and education of cadres, the verification of the fulfilment of Party directives, the improvement of

the work of Party organisations and Government bodies.

We still have to make a serious improvement in the training and re-training of officials for Party, Government and economic bodies. A wide network of permanently functioning courses to improve the qualification and raise the ideological level of leading officials must be set up at the centre and locally, and at the same time the work of Party educational establishments must be perfected. Experience also shows that Party and state bodies must improve the ways in which specialists are appointed to jobs and see that they are correctly used.

The selection and promotion of cadres is inseparable from the day-to-day verification of the fulfilment of Party and Government directives, of how they cope with the jobs entrusted to them. This well-organised verification is the most important way of training cadres correctly. Verification must be regular, it must help rectify mistakes and find the best possible way of achieving the goals we have set ourselves. Regional and territorial committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics must make regular reports to the CC CPSU; district and city committees must report to the regional and territorial committees and to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics. The Party Control Commission of the CC CPSU and the Party commissions of local Party bodies must play a greater part in verifying the observance of Party and state discipline by Communists.

Comrades, the strength of the Communist Party is in its close bonds with the people. The Party sees its duty in strengthening ties with the masses, developing socialist democracy, and improving the work of state and mass organisations.

The socialist democracy of our state system is best embodied in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies that are both organs of state power and the biggest mass organisations of our people. The local Soviets have the duty of improving education, health services, social security, trade and catering, and the provision of cultural and other amenities for the people; they must be more active in improving towns, villages and housing estates and in building roads and dwelling houses.

The improvement of the work of the Soviets must be based on their further democratisation. The sessions of Soviets of Working People's Deputies must play a still more important role, local Soviets must be given a larger measure of independence in dealing with economic, financial and land questions, in guiding local industrial establishments, in providing welfare and cultural services for people; the Standing Committees must be more active; deputies must make periodic reports to the electorate. Reporting to sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR must become an established practice of the USSR Council of Ministers as well as the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics, territorial, regional, city and district Executive Committees must report to the corresponding Soviets of Working People's Deputies at their

sessions. The most important draft bills and other acts should be the subject of nation-wide discussions.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics have to exert still greater efforts to develop Soviet legislation, to verify the fulfilment of laws, and put on the agendas of their sessions a broader range of questions concerning economic, social, cultural and state organisation. Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Supreme Soviets of Union Republics must be more active in their work. This could possibly be done by the establishment of new standing committees of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Party bodies must completely eliminate their petty tutelage of the Government bodies and the practice of replacing them, which begets irresponsibility and inertness on the part of the officials. It is the duty of Party organisations to develop the activity of the Soviets in every way, support their initiative and show great concern for the selection and promotion of people to jobs in the Soviets, and also for the observance and further development of the principles of socialist democracy.

Success in the work of the Soviets depends to a considerable extent on drawing the masses into their work. In this respect the People's Control bodies are of great importance. Party organisations must daily guide the work of the People's Control bodies and give them all-round assistance and support.

In developing the democratic principles of

state organisation the Party proceeds from the assumption that all the activities of Soviet bodies and the extensive creative participation of the people in running the country's affairs should be based on the strictest observance of socialist legality. Soviet laws are the embodiment of norms of socialist justice that have been tested in practice and are an expression of the will of all the people. They are permeated with solicitude for the people and are the reliable protector of our social system and of the interests and rights of Soviet citizens. The militia-bodies, the procurators' offices and the courts are doing a great deal for the further consolidation of socialist legality and justice. The state security bodies and the border guards are vigilantly doing their duty of exposing and counteracting imperialist intelligence services and their agents.

Comrades, constant solicitude for the strengthening of our country's defence potential and the might of our glorious Armed Forces is an important duty of the Soviet state. The Soviet Army, both in the Civil War and in the years of grim trials during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people showed that it is a worthy offspring of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia of our country. Soviet troops heroically defended the liberty and independence of our country.

The achievements in economic, scientific and technical development have enabled us to equip the Army and Navy with the most highly perfected nuclear rocket weapons and other armaments of the latest design. The armaments of

the Soviet troops are on a level with modern requirements and their striking power and fire power are sufficient to crush any aggressor.

We must never forget the possibility of future trials that may again fall to the lot of the Soviet people. In the present strained and complicated world situation it is our duty to maintain untiring vigilance. The Party deems it essential to ensure the further development of the defence industry, to perfect nuclear-rocket weapons and all other types of armaments. This is essential to the security of our country.

We must perfect civil defence, improve the patriotic work of preparing the people, especially the youth, for defence, increase the patronage of the enterprises, educational establishments, state and collective farms over army formations and units, and do more for the officers and men of the Soviet Army and their families. This is a matter for the entire Party and for all the Soviet public.

The Communist Party, the Soviet Government and our entire people appreciate the honourable and hard labour of the soldiers, sailors, sergeants, petty officers, officers, generals and admirals, show great love for their Armed Forces and are proud of their glory won in battle. The Party will in the future continue to strengthen in every way the defence potential of the Soviet Union, increase the might of the Armed Forces of the USSR, and maintain the troops at a level of preparedness that will reliably ensure the peaceful labour of the Soviet people.

Comrades, in solving the problems of communist construction the *trade unions* have a

great role to play; their membership is about 80 million. Under present-day conditions, the functions of the trade unions as a school of communism are being given a new content.

The extension of the rights and economic activities of enterprises, the consistent use of economic stimuli makes the trade unions responsible to a much greater degree for the fulfilment of the state plan, for the technical improvement of production, and for invention and rationalisation on a mass scale. They have a growing role to play in developing the creative activity of the people, in drawing the working people into the management of production, in developing socialist competition and the movement for communist labour.

The attention of the trade unions must be focussed on the political education of the working people, problems of improving the organisation and remuneration of labour, and training workers in higher skills; they must take care of sanitary conditions and safety measures at enterprises. The trade unions must take daily interest in services for the people and in the way plans for housing and the building of nurseries and kindergartens are being fulfilled.

For the work of the trade unions to reach a higher level, Party leadership must be improved and Party organisations must pay still greater attention to the selection and training of trade-union functionaries; they must give greater support to proposals put forward by trade-union organisations.

The *Leninist Komsomol*, with its membership of about 23 million young men and women, and

the splendid Soviet youth it heads are an active creative force in Soviet society. The Party is proud of having educated whole generations of people in the spirit of boundless loyalty to the great ideals of communism. It regards the Komsomol as the militant vanguard of the Soviet youth, the Party's reliable reserve. At all times, at all stages of the life and development of our society, the Komsomol has held sacred and continued its tradition to follow the Communist Party of Lenin in all things and be its loyal and reliable assistant.

Komsomol members, Soviet young men and women, display a high sense of responsibility and consciousness in their attitude to the destiny of the people and the state. The continuity between generations and the tremendous strength of revolutionary traditions are brought out clearly in the practical work of young people, in their lofty political ideals. The labour exploits of young people—the builders of mammoth power stations, railways and new towns, the conquerors of virgin lands and the pioneers of space exploration—have added glorious pages to the history of the Soviet Union.

The years will pass and our descendants will extol the heroism of the present generations and their clarity of purpose in the struggle to consolidate socialist ideals in the world.

The young people are our future. We want them constantly to feel the temporal bond between our revolutions, learn to see life in all its depth and complexity and be conscious of their role in and responsibility for the building of communism. Soviet young people are

imbued with revolutionary romance, with the romance of labour heroism, the nobility of man, lofty ideals, and preparedness to defend their country against all encroachments by its enemies.

The Party and the entire people have faith in the creative strength of young men and women. We want to see the life of young people filled daily with concrete work for the good of our country. Young Soviet men and women enthusiastically respond to all calls of the Party and the Government.

The realities of life, furthermore, make great demands on the content of Komsomol activities, and of all work among the youth. There are many organisations and institutions in the country whose vocation it is to educate the rising generation. In their activities, however, they are frequently isolated one from the other. It must not be forgotten that our country is, speaking figuratively, a country of the youth, half its population are people under 26 years of age. It is, therefore, extremely important for the Party, the Komsomol and all other organisations to pay greater attention to the upbringing of the youth. To put ideological and educational work among the youth on a higher level and enrich its content is an important task of the Party and the Komsomol. It is excellent that Komsomol members and other young people are working enthusiastically on building sites and are participating in the solution of economic problems. Nevertheless, the cardinal feature of Komsomol work—the upbringing of the youth—must not be overlooked.

We have to admit that there are shortcomings in the ideological and educational work among young people. There are cases of certain Party and Komsomol organisations not taking account of the fact that the present generation of young people has not gone through the trials of revolutionary struggle that fell to the lot of the older generation. Some young people want to keep aloof from our busy life, tend to remain the dependents of others, demand much from the state but forget their duty to society, their duty to the people. Our enemies, the bourgeois ideologists, seek out and try to make use of these weaklings who are susceptible to any ideological infection. Luckily, there are only a few such people among the youth.

The ideological and political work of the Party and the Komsomol must promote and strengthen a Marxist-Leninist awareness among the rising generation, develop in them a class approach to all the phenomena of life, and teach them loyalty to the cause of the Communist Party. That is the mighty force that will make young people feel still more responsible for their country and the defence of the great gains of socialism, and serve as a sharp weapon against the influence of bourgeois ideology and morals.

Party organisations must improve their leadership of the Komsomol, must patiently and attentively train Komsomol cadres and pass on to them their political and organisational experience. We should strengthen the Party nucleus inside Komsomol organisations. It is clearly wrong that out of two and a half million Communists under the age of 30, only about 270,000

are working in the Komsomol. Young Party members must be more actively drawn into the work of the Komsomol and must regard that work as an important Party duty. Higher demands must also be made of the content of the work of the Komsomol organisations themselves. Organisational ability and discipline must be made stronger in the Komsomol and the forms and methods of its educational work must be improved. The Komsomol must also step up its work among children, and must take measures to improve the Young Pioneer organisation. Trade-union, sports, cultural and educational organisations, and the management of enterprises and construction sites, state and collective farms must, alongside the Komsomol, pay considerably greater attention to the upbringing of the youth.

The Party has confidence in the strength and possibilities of the Leninist Komsomol and has entrusted it with big and important tasks in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

It is a matter of honour for the entire Party to educate young people and make them worthy of our revolutionary times. Like a mother who carefully nurtures her children, the Party must educate the young generation, the hope and future of our great country, to be people strong in spirit, staunch and devoted fighters for our great cause.

## **2. ABOUT SOME CHANGES IN THE RULES OF THE CPSU**

Comrades, the Rules of the CPSU adopted by the 22nd Congress conform to the standards of Party life, the need of the times and the

tasks of communist construction. Yet the experience of the past few years showed that it is necessary to make a few amendments and addenda. A number of proposals to this effect was made at Party general meetings, conferences and congresses of the Communist Parties of our Union Republics, and in letters to the CC CPSU. In the main they pursue the purpose of raising still higher the name of Party member, extending intra-Party democracy, ensuring a further development of the initiative and activity of Party organisations, and enhancing the responsibility of Party members for the work of their organisations and the Party as a whole.

On summing up the practical experience of the period between the congresses, as well as the proposals of local Party bodies and Party members, the Central Committee considers it necessary to submit for the consideration of the Congress the following amendments and addenda to the Rules of the CPSU. Allow me, comrades, to put them before the Congress.

In order to make admission to Party membership more exacting, it is suggested that young people under 23 years of age be admitted to the Party only through the YCL. This will enhance the role of the Komsomol as the Party reserve and will help us select for the Party the most active section of young people schooled in the ranks of the YCL.

We agree with the organisations and comrades who believe that right to give recommendations for admission to the Party should extend to Communists with at least a five-year

Party record, and not to Communists with a three-year record, as provided for in the Rules at present.

It is suggested that it be put down in the introductory part of the Rules that the Party purges its ranks of persons who violate the Programme, and the Rules of the CPSU, and who discredit the lofty name of a Communist by their behaviour.

It is suggested that a procedure be introduced whereby the decision of a primary Party organisation expelling a member from the Party should enter into force as soon as it is endorsed by a district or city committee of the CPSU. It should be as final as its decisions concerning admission to the Party. This will enhance the responsibility of district and city committees of the CPSU in examining misdemeanours of Communists. The procedure will not prejudice the rights of Communists, because they will be able, as before, to appeal to any superior Party body, including the CC CPSU. It stands to reason that the regional and territorial Party committees, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics, will be obliged, as they are now, to exercise control over the way the district and city Party organisations handle the cases of members who infringe upon the Party Rules.

It appears undesirable to penalise infractions by reducing a Party member to the status of candidate member. This measure has not justified itself in practice. The Party organisations have a sufficient choice of other disciplinary measures. If a Communist is not worthy of

the lofty name of Party member, the Party organisation should deliberate his continued membership of CPSU.

Some amendments and addenda concern the section of the Rules dealing with the higher Party organs.

In view of the ever-increasing tasks and the greater role of the Party in communist construction the need may arise in the period between congresses to discuss the more important political problems at representative Party forums broader than the Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU. In Lenin's lifetime, and right up to 1941, all-Party conferences were held in such cases. It should be put down in the Rules that, whenever necessary, the Central Committee may convene all-Union Party conferences, and that the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics may convene republican Party conferences.

It is suggested that we accept the proposals of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics for holding congresses of the Communist Parties of Union Republics at the same time and that such congresses be convened not less than once in every four years.

In many letters, Party members propose that the Presidium should be renamed the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU. The motive behind these proposals is that the Party had had a Political Bureau of the CC for a considerable length of time during Lenin's lifetime and later. The name Political Bureau will reflect more fully the nature of the work done by the supreme political body of our Party, which

guides the activities of the Party between Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU. We support this proposal.

The opinion has been voiced that the Bureau of the CC CPSU for the RSFSR is redundant at the present time. All important matters related to the work of the territorial and regional Party organisations of the RSFSR are handled by the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CC CPSU despite the existence of the Bureau of the CC for the RSFSR. It is therefore needless to have such a parallel body as the Bureau of the CC CPSU for the Russian Federation. The CC CPSU concurs with this opinion.

In view of the fact that the CC CPSU and the 23rd Party Congress have received many proposals concerning the provisions governing the renewal and continuity of Party organs and their leading cadres, we shall have to hold counsel on whether it is advisable to keep these provisions in the Party Rules. As such, the principle of systematic renewal and continuity has existed in our Party for a long time. And it is a good principle. The Party has always seen to it that new cadres, grown to the task, should be promoted to leading Party and Government offices.

As for the provisions now governing this process, life has shown that they have not justified themselves. Sometimes, formal considerations took precedence in the election of Communists to leading Party organs over the principle of selecting cadres according to their general ability and political qualifications. As a result, good men who could still have done good

work in Party committees, are often compelled to step down from elective organs.

The obligatory restriction of the term of office for secretaries of primary Party organisations to two years has resulted in great fluidity. Previously, 30-35 per cent of the secretaries of primary organisations were replaced each year, while of late the percentage has risen to 60 per cent. What is more, two-thirds of the secretaries have had to step down merely because the term defined in the Rules had expired. This has begun to have a negative effect on the work of the primary Party organisations.

The provision in the Rules requiring the renewal in every regular election of at least one half of the city and district Party committees and the Party committees and bureaus of primary Party organisations has also caused an unjustifiable reduction of the contingent of mature and experienced people eligible for election to Party committees.

In view of this, the said provisions in the Rules of the CPSU should be examined at our Congress. It seems more desirable to retain in the Rules only the programmatic provision that the principle of systematic renewal and continuity of leadership is observed in the election of all Party organs from primary organisations to the Central Committee, and to delete from the Rules the provisions restricting this process. It is more proper and democratic for the Party membership to decide for themselves whether this or that member of the Party is fit to serve on a leading Party organ by virtue of his political qualities and business efficiency.

It is proposed to formalise in the Rules the existing practice of granting the powers of a district committee to the Party committees of large Party organisations and to establish that such Party committees are elected for a term of two years.

The Central Committee of the CPSU is convinced that the suggested amendments and addenda to the Rules of the CPSU will tend to raise still higher the level of organisational Party work and to improve the efficiency of the Party.

### 3. PARTY IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Comrades, theoretical work and the ideological and political education of Communists and all working people is a most important element in the activities of the Communist Party. Our Party has always held aloft the all-conquering banner of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. Loyalty to this revolutionary teaching and irreconcilable struggle against its enemies has always been a key principle of the Party's wide range of activities.

Lenin always called on the members of the Party to untiringly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism and to develop it creatively. He has set us the great example of how creatively theory should be treated and produced priceless theoretical and practical solutions for many of the basic questions related to the development of the socialist revolution and the building of a new society. His ideas, his plans and instructions are exerting an inestimable

influence to this day on all our daily social, political and economic life.

All the great victories socialism has scored in our country are based on the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The hopes of our enemies about an ideological degeneration of the Communist Party and the Soviet people could not be more futile. This will never happen. No force on earth can undermine or dampen our unshakable faith in Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical legacy of Marx-Engels-Lenin is the most cherished possession of our Party and the world communist movement. We may say legitimately that the creative development of the scientific Marxist-Leninist theory and its organic fusion with the revolutionary practice of the working class and all the working people is the strongest and the most striking feature of our Party's activities throughout its history.

In the present circumstances, the scale and tasks of our theoretical work are still greater. No society has ever stood in such great need of scientific theory as the socialist society. This is why theory must continue to blaze the way for practice and ensure a strictly scientific approach to the management of the Soviet people's economic and cultural life. Theoretical work, conducted on a big scale, has to light the way for our Party like a bright beacon. The Party considers the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as a cardinal task and a necessary condition for success in the building of communism.

The social sciences are to play a big role in

developing Marxist-Leninist theory, and the Party has always relied on them heavily. The most important task of Soviet scientists is to solve important problems in economics and politics, philosophy, sociology, history, law and other social sciences in close relation to the practice of communist construction. It is up to them to investigate thoroughly such problems as the trend and character of the formation of communist social relations, the improvement of the state system and the development of socialist democracy, the forms and methods of economic management, the scientific organisation of labour, the content and methods of communist education, and other urgent issues. The development of social sciences and the practical application of conclusions thus reached are of no less importance than using achievements in natural sciences for material production and for the development of the nation's spiritual life.

Combatting bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism and reformism is of the utmost importance. We should never lose sight of the fact that imperialism is our class enemy. It conducts subversive activities against the socialist system, its principles, its ideology and its morals. The giant imperialist propaganda machine corrupts the individual and attempts to distract the people from politics. In all circumstances, the struggle against bourgeois ideology must be uncompromising, because it is a class struggle, a struggle for man, for his dignity and freedom, a struggle to invigorate the positions of socialism and communism, in the interests of the in-

ternational working class.

It is the honourable task of our scientists to create works devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism took shape and developed as a science in irreconcilable struggle against all sorts of distortions, against the ideology of the exploiting classes. It has always deeply analysed objective historical processes and the class struggle, worked out the theory and tactics of revolution on this basis, and lit the way for the building of a new society. In this lies the vital force, the immortality of the great communist teaching.

The realisation of the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism is bound up intimately with the creative endeavours of all sections of the people, with their active participation in communist construction—something that is achieved by extensive and purposeful organisational and ideological work of the Party.

The moulding of the new Soviet man is the greatest result achieved by the Party through many years of ideological work. A proud successor to the revolutionary traditions of the generation of fighters who founded the world's first workers' and peasants' state, the Soviet man, has built socialism, has withstood and defeated fascism in deadly combat, safeguarded the great gains of our revolution, and is now the first in history to be building communism. The working class, the collective farmers and the Soviet intelligentsia are displaying models of lofty socialist consciousness and heroic

labour. A most profound change has occurred in the consciousness of Soviet people after the victory of socialism.

The main thing now is to raise the standard of all the sectors of the Party's ideological work still higher. We must remember Lenin's tenet that communist education is inconceivable outside the sphere of conscious labour and social activity. All ideological work must be closely associated with life, with the practice of communist construction for otherwise, as Lenin repeatedly stressed, it deteriorates into the mere political phrase-mongering. It is the purpose of the Party's ideological work to marshal the working people for the successful fulfilment of all tasks related to the building of the material and technical basis of communism, to mould their scientific world outlook, to instil communist morals in all members of society, and to ensure the harmonious all-round development of the individual.

The Soviet people are accomplishing the greatest social turn in the history of mankind by building communism. Tens of millions of people are participating in this creative process. We must teach the majority, and then also all the working people, to work as well as our splendid shock workers work today.

This is quite feasible. The shock workers and innovators of today are ordinary people. But they stand out because they have gained complete mastery over the machine, because they serve society consciously, because they are bearers of lofty ethical and moral principles, of the collectivist spirit, and because they per-

form their duty to the people selflessly and to the utmost of their ability. In a manner of speaking, they belong to the future. They work in a way all people will work in communist society. This has an immense bearing on the success of our ideological work. We have the example, the model that others should follow, that others can learn from. The Party organisations must see to it that every Soviet citizen finds the programme for his own work in the targets of the new five-year plan, and that he contributes to its fulfilment to the full extent of his ability.

Our Party has always attached prime importance to instilling a sense of discipline in all members of society. Far from conflicting with the democratic basis of the Soviet system, good labour discipline and the requirement to observe the laws and rules of socialist society, unconditionally, promote the development and extension of Soviet socialist democracy. The substance of socialist democracy lies in good socialist organisation of all society for the sake of every individual and in the socialist discipline of every individual for the sake of all society. It is the task of the Party to maintain a high sense of discipline and organisation in all the links of the Party and Government.

Instilling thriftiness and a sense of concern for the maintenance and expansion of public wealth in all Soviet people should occupy an important place in the work of Party organisations. Now already, Soviet society possesses immense national riches. But the country's riches have got to be ceaselessly multiplied and

used with thrift and care. Unfortunately, there are still cases of extravagance and misuse of material wealth. How much richer and stronger our country would be, if we learned to treat every kilogram of metal, coal, cement and petroleum and every public ruble, with thrift and care. Teaching thrift should be just as prominent a task in the Party's ideological work as teaching people to be conscientious about their work.

Comrades, our country, the great Soviet Union, rests upon the fraternity, friendship and co-operation of all the peoples of our land, on their common socio-economic system, political system and socialist ideology. The economic and cultural ties of the peoples of the USSR are becoming closer and more varied. The great process of the coming together of peoples, the strengthening of the unbreakable bonds of their friendship and fraternity, unity and cohesion is well underway.

For nearly half a century, the Party worked tirelessly to forge, invigorate and perfect this union, until it turned into the unconquerable and powerful force of our state that the friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples represent today. Time and again, our enemies attempted to disrupt and shake this friendship by force of arms and the venom of their bourgeois ideology. But all their designs were dashed, while the friendship of the Soviet peoples is gathering fresh strength, flourishing, and developing.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the living embodiment of the Leninist ideas

of proletarian internationalism, the friendship and fraternity of the peoples. The finest sons and daughters of the 131 nations and nationalities of our country are represented in it. We take pride in the fact that all the national contingents of our Party merge, like the waters of the rivers in a huge ocean, in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a union of like-minded Leninists, united in will, in purpose and in ideology.

Our Congress is an impressive example and proof of this. Look around you in this hall, comrades; men and women of all of the nations and nationalities of our country are present here. Each of them is the son of his socialist nation, and at the same time the son of the Party, its fighter, a Communist and internationalist for whom the interests of his own people and those of any other nation of the Soviet Union are equally dear and understandable. In this lies the strength of our Party, the strength of our multinational Soviet state, our Soviet people.

The Party and all the Communists, irrespective of their nationality, will continue to work tirelessly for further consolidation of the friendship and fraternity of the peoples of the Soviet Union so that their economic, cultural and spiritual ties become closer and more varied. In solving any problem related to the development of our country, whether political, economic or cultural, the Party will always consider the interests and national features of every people and instil in all Soviet men the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of inviolable devo-

tion to the fraternity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. This is the only correct national policy. The experience of the Soviet Union's development attests to its being correct and viable.

It has always been, and always will be, a most important task of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to cement the friendship and unity of the multinational Soviet people and develop its bonds with the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries, with the Communist Parties and the working people of the world.

Comrades, we are faced with great tasks of improving ideological and political work in the countryside. The psychology of the rural worker has undergone a radical change in the course of the socialist remaking of agriculture. He has become educated and cultured and the alliance between the working class and the peasants has become more firmly consolidated. At the same time note must be made of serious shortcomings in the cultural and educational work in the countryside. Over a period of many years due importance was not attached to extending the network of clubs, libraries, cinemas and sports facilities in the countryside.

The attention of Party, local Government, trade union, Komsomol and all ideological institutions must be drawn to the elimination of these shortcomings. There must be a basic improvement in the political and cultural education of rural workers and more help must be forthcoming for the countryside from urban cultural and educational institutions, theatres, and creative associations and organisations.

This work must be carried on along a wide front. A higher level of culture and an improvement of life in the countryside will undoubtedly step up the development of the productive forces of the collective and state farms.

Comrades, the scale of the ideological and educational work among the people is closely linked up with the enhancement of the theoretical and political knowledge of Communists. Furthermore, we must take into consideration the fact that our Party has become numerically large. Nearly a quarter of the membership are Communists of up to three years' Party standing and candidate members.

The Party has extensive experience of organising the theoretical education of Communists. While solicitously preserving all the best that had been accumulated in the past, it constantly improves Party education. The Central Committee has worked out and is putting into effect a new, more harmonious system of Party education, which takes into account the different levels of theoretical training among cadres and is aimed at drawing the entire army of Communists into active agitation and propaganda work among the population.

Today when the Party is working on far-reaching political and economic tasks, it is the duty of each Communist to keep in step with life, master the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, cultivate Bolshevik ideology and principles, learn to support everything new and advanced and show intolerance of inertness and routine. Communist ideology is the source of

the strength of our cadres, of their staunchness in carrying out the Party's policy.

In the ideological field there are large and complicated tasks which require a radical improvement of Party guidance. Today the Soviet man is an active participant in the struggle for the Party line, a real master of his country. His interests and cultural requirements range far and wide. All this must be taken into consideration in ideological work.

We have considerable material resources for the further promotion of educational work among the masses. A total of 7,700 newspapers and nearly 4,000 magazines are published in the country. Their circulation in the period under review has risen by 74 million copies, i.e., by 60 per cent. More than 1,250 million copies of books and pamphlets are printed annually. In the country we have more than 70 million radio receivers and radio rediffusion sets, and 120 TV stations. According to the Directives for the five-year plan there will be 40 million TV sets in the Soviet Union in 1970.

The Party has skilled propagandists, agitators, journalists, and TV, cinema, radio and theatrical workers. This is truly a golden fund, which the Party must cherish, solicitously foster and correctly utilise.

We must resolutely discard the erroneous idea that ideological work is the business solely of specialists in this sphere of Party activity. This view runs counter to the Party's traditions and narrows down the front of its ideological influence. Ideological work is the business of our entire Party, of all Communists. You must

always remember that the ideological effect on the masses, the efficacy of all agitation and propaganda depend directly on the power of example set by Party members, by the leaders. The identity of word and deed is a high Leninist requirement that must continue to be a law in all the work of our Party, of every Communist, of every leading functionary.

Party organisations must tirelessly improve all forms and means of ideological and political education, carry on planned ideological work and achieve a better co-ordination of the efforts of all contingents of the ideological front. The work must be organised in such a manner as to make Party propaganda, mass agitation, culture, education, in short, all means, serve the lofty cause of shaping Marxist-Leninist consciousness in Soviet people, and the great cause of building communism.

Comrades, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is taking place on the eve of two great anniversaries. Next year there will be the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the world's first socialist state. And 1970, the last year of the new five-year plan period, will witness the 100th birthday of the greatest genius in history, the founder and leader of our Party and state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Unquestionably, all Soviet people will mark these anniversaries with further outstanding successes in the building of communism.

These great events give the five-year plan special colouring and significance. The colossal

effort of the Party and people to fulfil the new five-year plan will be illumined by the bright light of these two historic anniversaries.

The political, economic and social significance of the new five-year plan and what we do to implement it range far beyond the boundaries of our country. Our new plan of economic development is a practical embodiment of the unshakable fidelity of the Party and Soviet state to the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, to their internationalist duty to the world socialist system, the world communist and working-class movement and the national liberation movement. The successful fulfilment of the five-year plan will render an excellent service to the cause of further strengthening the unity of the world socialist system and will still further enhance the Soviet Union's economic and defensive might and its international prestige.

For that reason, comrades, we must set out fulfilling the tasks of the five-year plan with all the energy and perseverance of Communists.

In devoting all their strength to the building of the future, our Party and all Soviet people proudly look back to the difficult but glorious road they have travelled in the course of the past half century.

We have much to be proud of, comrades. No other nation in the history of mankind has accomplished such colossal feats in the building of a new society and in the development of the economy, science and culture within such a short span of time and under such incredibly difficult conditions as our Soviet people. The

heroic, 50-year history of the world's first socialist society will be worthily crowned with new accomplishments and feats, with what has already been done through the efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

Today the difference between the past and present of our socialist state is particularly evident.

Permit me to recall an episode from history. Early in March 1918, when the Soviet Government was moving from Petrograd to Moscow, Lenin wrote his famous article "The Chief Task of Our Day" in a train at night in the dim-light of a tiny lamp.

That was a grim time for our socialist motherland. German imperialism had savagely attacked the young socialist state. At the time, many members of the Party were gripped by desperation and a sense of frustration. But Lenin was not the kind of person to panic and lose his head even for a fleeting moment. In his article he called upon the Party and the people to display unbending determination to move forward on the road to socialism, to build up a firm foundation for socialist society stone by stone, to work unstintingly to create a modern engineering industry, build up discipline, strengthen law and order, and promote efficiency and co-operation on a nation-wide scale. He ended his article with a brilliant forecast. Comrades, listen carefully to these words: "This is just what the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic requires in order to cease being wretched and impotent and become mighty and abundant for all time." (V. I. Lenin Sel. Works, Vol. 2, p. 671.)

This forecast has come true. Yes, there is such a socialist country in the world, which has irreversibly become abundant and mighty in the economic, military and every other respect. It is our Soviet homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is solely due to the fact that year after year the Party and the people moved steadily along the road mapped out by Lenin.

Our multinational socialist state will mark its 50th anniversary in the full bloom of its power, glory and might. In the past half-century it has been brutally attacked many times by the imperialists, but each time our people crushed its enemies in hard and sanguinary battles and continued their triumphant onward movement. The monumental gains that Soviet people are rightly proud of have been achieved by them under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Party has immortalised its name by having been able to organise and inspire the people to accomplish great feats. Our country owes all its achievements to the Party's leadership. As regards the Party, it has been able to accomplish these successes solely thanks to the selfless work and whole-hearted support of the people.

The heroic working class, the glorious collective-farm peasantry, our talented intelligentsia, men, women and young people are the ones who carried out the Party's great plans. They are the ones who smelted metal, mined coal and ore, sowed grain, built, multiplied the country's wealth and, when necessary, fought to defend

her against enemy invasion. Our Party is boundlessly proud and happy that a great and heroic people like the Soviet people entrust their destiny and their future to it.

On behalf of our Congress, which represents our entire Communist Party, allow me to address the Soviet people and warmly thank them for their great trust and support, for their great work, for their wisdom, courage, perseverance and valour in the struggle for the cause of Lenin, for the cause of the Party.

The Soviet people regard the Party as their leader and the organiser of all their successes. They have seen and see daily in practice that the Party's foreign and home policy is the only correct policy and that the road along which the Party is leading them is the only true Leninist road.

On behalf of the Congress, which represents all contingents of our many-million-strong Communist Party, allow me to assure the working class, all working people, all the peoples of our multinational country, that the Communist Party will continue devoting all its strength to the struggle for the happiness of the people and the prosperity of our country, for communism, and that by its practical work it will justify the great trust of the Soviet people.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin!

Long live the glorious, industrious and heroic Soviet people!

May our great multinational country, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, live long and flourish!

Long live the mighty community of socialist countries!

May the world communist and working-class movement develop and grow stronger!

Long live Marxism-Leninism through the centuries!

Long live communism!

*(Leonid Brezhnev's report was heard with great attention and was frequently interrupted by prolonged applause.)*

## LEONID BREZHNEV'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Comrade delegates, the report of the Central Committee of the Party has been discussed at our Congress by delegates from the Communist Parties of all our Union Republics that make up the great multinational Soviet Motherland, by representatives of the Party organisations of the Moscow and Leningrad hero-cities, by envoys of the Party organisations of the Urals and Siberia, the Volga area and the Far East and a number of other territories, regions and Autonomous Republics of the Russian Federation.

From this rostrum we have heard foremost workers and collective farmers, engineers and scientists, men of literature and art, Party, state, trade-union and Komsomol leaders.

The plenipotentiary representatives of the 12-million-strong Leninist Party in a profound and practical way discussed the major problems of the Party and country life, the results

gained on the path traversed, and plans for the future.

In short the main features that characterised these speeches are:

complete unanimity of the Congress on the political line of the Central Committee both in domestic and foreign affairs;

warm Bolshevik internationalist solidarity with all socialist countries, with Communists all over the world, with all fighters against imperialism;

and finally, real Party spirit of comradeship and serious exactingness to ourselves and others in the name of the triumph of our common cause, in a word, a good, businesslike mood of the vanguard detachment of the huge army of builders of communism.

This is fine, comrades. It is an indication of the high degree of the political maturity of our Party.

Those delegates who spoke at the Congress not only actively supported the policy of the Central Committee, but also developed it by adding to and enriching the report of the Central Committee with voluminous factual material and by raising a number of new important problems.

Speeches of all comrades at the Congress have thus merged with the report of the Central Committee to show the activities of our Party in all extent and variety.

All this, comrades, frees me of a more extended concluding speech. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

**REPORT  
ON THE DIRECTIVES  
FOR THE FIVE-YEAR  
ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT PLAN  
OF THE USSR  
FOR 1966-70**

Delivered by  
**ALEXEI KOSYGIN,**  
Chairman  
of the USSR  
Council of Ministers

Comrades, the Central Committee of the CPSU is submitting to the 23rd Party Congress draft Directives for the five-year plan of economic development of the USSR for 1966-70. The draft is a programme of economic development for the next five years, which our Party is putting before the Soviet people. It is a reflection of the main content of our Party's policy expressing the vital interests of the Soviet people, a policy of carrying forward the construction of communism in the USSR, as envisaged by the Programme of the CPSU.

The draft Directives have been published and widely commented upon at home and abroad. They have been studied at Party congresses and conferences in the Republics, territories and regions, at meetings of primary Party organisations and at working people's meetings, and have been widely discussed in the press. Everywhere they have met with unanimous ap-

proval. Many suggestions have been received. These will be carefully studied when the five-year plan is drawn up, some will be reflected in the Directives.

Before I go on to the principal tasks of the five-year plan, allow me to review the major results of our economic and cultural development.

## I.

### THE ECONOMY OF THE USSR AT THE PRESENT STAGE. ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OVER THE LAST SEVEN YEARS

The Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, delivered at the Congress by Comrade L. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the CC CPSU, vividly shows the colossal work that has been done by the Party in the period since the 22nd Congress of the CPSU and the leading role played by the Party in promoting the development of Soviet society, gives a comprehensive political characteristic of the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic situation and an assessment of the results of our country's social and economic development and defines the economic and political tasks in the building of communism.

Long-term economic plans, which reflect the advantages of the socialist social system, play the key organising role in developing our economy and culture. Almost 40 years have passed since the Party's 15th Congress, guided by the Leninist idea of socialist economic planning on scientific lines, approved the

Directives for the first five-year plan. That was the start of the system of five-year plans, which have played such a tremendous role in the Soviet Union's political, economic and cultural development.

When the first five-year plan was being adopted, our country was virtually just starting to build its heavy industry. Private capital had a sizable share of industrial production and, in particular, retail trade; the countryside was a sea of small peasant farms, while state farms and agricultural co-operatives played a negligible role in farm production; exploiting classes still existed in town and country. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working class and the toiling masses were only taking their first steps in laying the economic foundations of socialism.

As a result of the fulfilment of the first, second and, partially, the third five-year plans (the latter having been cut short by the Second World War), the gigantic task of industrialising the country and transforming agriculture along socialist lines was carried out. The exploiting classes and the causes of the exploitation of man were eliminated. New, socialist relations of production, which provided scope for the accelerated development of the productive forces, became dominant. The Soviet Union was turned into a highly developed industrial state, with a strong material basis for socialism.

A real cultural revolution took place in the country. All the Soviet Republics scored great successes in economic and cultural development.

The war, that the nazis forced upon the Soviet Union, resulted in incalculable destruction: we lost more that 20 million men and about 30 per cent of our national wealth. The Party and the people were faced with the urgent task of restoring the economy in a brief period, and then considerably surpassing the prewar level. In the main, we solved this problem by fulfilling the fourth five-year plan. Fulfilment of the fifth five-year plan advanced our economy still further.

The Party's 20th Congress, which set the course for the building of communism, endorsed the Directives for the sixth five-year plan. Three years later, the 21st Congress of the Party approved the targets for economic development for 1959-65. That span of time embraced two five-year periods. Altogether, our country thus carried out seven five-year plans. Each plan was a great achievement of the Soviet people, a stage in our socialist country's heroic history and a further step in building socialism and communism.

To give a picture of the road that has been travelled from the first five-year plan to the present day and to clarify the *starting position* of the next, eighth five-year plan, let me cite some figures to show how the output of the key heavy industry items has grown:

	1928	1940	1945	1958	1965
Electric power (1,000 mln kwh)	5.0	48.3	43.3	235	507
Steel (mln tons)	4.3	18.3	12.3	54.9	91.0
Oil (mln tons)	11.6	31.1	19.4	113	243
Gas (1,000 mln cub. m)	0.3	3.4	3.4	29.9	129

	1928	1940	1945	1958	1965
Coal (mln tons)	35.5	166	149	493	578
Cement (mln tons)	1.8	5.7	1.8	33.3	72.4
Metal-cutting lathes (thousand)	2.0	58.4	38.4	138	185
Motor vehicles (thou- sand)	0.8	145	75	511	616
Tractors (thousand)	1.3	31.6	7.7	220	355
Mineral fertilisers (in conventional units, mln tons)	0.14	3.2	1.1	12.4	31.3

When we started on the first five-year plan, we were turning out only 5,000 million kwh of electric power annually, that is, half of what the Lenin Hydro-Electric Power Plant on the Volga near Kuibyshev now generates in a year. During the first and second five-year plans and the first three years of the third five-year plan the output of electric power was increased almost 10-fold. As a result of the war damage, the output of electric power declined. But in the period between the first postwar five-year plan and the seven-year plan, which has just been completed, output again increased rapidly from year to year. In 1965 the Soviet Union produced 507,000 million kwh, i. e. 101 times more electricity than in 1928.

The picture is roughly similar in the other heavy industries. The output of steel and oil in 1965 was 21 times the 1928 figure; coal, 16 times; cement, 39 times; metal-cutting lathes, 93 times.

As for consumer goods, the following figures are characteristic:

	1928	1940	1945	1958	1965
All types of fabrics (1,000 mln linear metres)	3.0	4.5	1.8	7.5	9.1
Knitted goods (mln)	8.3	183	50	496	907
Footwear (mln pairs)	58	211	63	356	486
Granulated sugar (mln tons)	1.3	2.2	0.5	5.2	8.9
Radio receivers (thousand)	—	160.5	13.9	3,902	5,159
Television sets (thousand)	—	0.3	—	979	3,655
Refrigerators (thousand)	—	3.5	0.3	360	1,675

The table shows that the production of fabrics during the five-year plan periods increased by 200 per cent; leather footwear, by 740 per cent; granulated sugar by 600 per cent.

There was also a sustained growth of the output of farm produce. This is evident from the following annual averages for the five-year periods:

	1924-28	1936-40	1946-50	1956-60	1961-65
<b>Total agricultural output</b> (1,000 mln rubles in comparable prices)	22.0	23.5	27.3	46.7	52.3
<b>Production of key items</b>					
Cereals (mln tons)	69.3	77.4	64.8	121.5	130.2
Raw cotton (mln tons)	0.6	2.5	2.3	4.4	5.0
Meat, slaughter-house weight (mln tons)	4.2	4.0	3.5	7.9	9.3
Milk (mln tons)	29.3	26.5	32.3	57.2	64.7
Eggs (1,000 mln)	9.2	9.6	7.5	23.6	28.7
Wool (1,000 tons)	157	129	147	317	361

On the whole, in the course of the five-year plans the average annual volume of farm output rose by almost 150 per cent. However, in that period the country's population increased by 50 per cent and its purchasing capacity increased even more, while the growth of farm output was inadequate and did not fully meet the requirements of the economy.

As you see, comrades, the Soviet economy is on a steady upgrade, despite the difficulties at various stages of its development. Our economic successes were achieved by drawing on the country's internal resources, through the heroic effort of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and thanks to the advantages of the socialist system.

The main results of the fulfilment of the seven-year plan are also proof of our successes.

In the last seven years, industrial output increased by 84 per cent, capital construction (building and assembly), by 49 per cent, and freight haulage by all types of transport, by 72 per cent.

The national income utilised for consumption and accumulation, rose by 53 per cent. The basic production assets in the national economy grew by 90 per cent, including a twofold increase in industry.

During the seven-year plan many new factories, the world's largest blast furnaces, coking ovens, rolling mills and machine-building plants have been built or put into operation. It gave powerful push to the development of the light and food-processing industries. Many thousands of new machine models and much new equipment were put into operation. A great deal of work was done in the technical reconstruction of all types of transport.

Our scientists have scored some remarkable successes. Soviet achievements in the exploration of space, the development of quantum electronics, the physics of solids, the creation of polymer

and various semi-conductor materials, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and in other fields are well known and have won world-wide recognition.

The Soviet Union's defence industry is being steadily and all-sidedly improved on the basis of industrial and technological progress. While increasing the output of weapons, much attention was devoted to the development and production of new weapons and to the enhancement of the combat and technical specifications of our arms.

The Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force now have the most powerful modern weapons.

We are proud of our talented scientists, designers, engineers, technicians and workers of the defence industry who are developing weapons of the highest class.

The Soviet Union has almost unlimited natural resources. Thanks to the selfless effort of our splendid geologists more and more natural resources have been discovered and put at the service of man. The resources now at our command fully ensure the further development of the economy.

In the past seven-year period the population of the USSR increased by 23 million reaching a total of 232 million. The number of industrial and office workers went up from 56 million to 77 million. There are now considerably more specialists in industry, agriculture, transport and construction, and many more workers in science, culture, education, public health and other fields of mental endeavour. This is evident from the following figures:

	Census of 1926 (shortly before start of first five-year plan)	January 1959 (start of seven-year plan)	End of 1965
Intellectuals and professionals (total, mln)	2.6	20.5	25.3
Including diploma'd specialists with a specialised secondary or higher education (mln)	0.5	7.5	12.1

There has been an immense rise in the general educational level of people engaged in manual labour. In the last seven years the number of persons with a secondary education rose from 45 to 58 per cent among industrial workers, and from 23 to 31 per cent among collective farmers. Women and young people play a great part in social production.

In the seven-year plan period, especially in 1965, a number of important measures were taken to raise the living standards. For the country as whole, the wages of industrial and office workers went up from an average of 78 rubles in 1958 to 95 rubles in 1965; and together with the payments and benefits accruing to them from public consumption funds, from 104 to 128 rubles. State pensions were introduced for collective farmers in 1965. The number of persons receiving state pensions increased from 20 million to 32 million.

In recent years, a great deal of attention was devoted to housing construction. In the seven years, almost 17 million flats and cottages were built in town and country. This amounted to nearly 40 per cent of the housing in the country at the start of the seven-year plan.

The people's consumption has gone up considerably. In the seven years, the sale of goods through the state and co-operative retail network increased by 60 per cent.

The plan targets were thus more than met for most of the major indices, such as gross industrial production, freight haulage in transport, and others.

But the targets for agriculture were not accomplished. In the past seven years farm production increased by only 14 per cent.

The March Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU analysed the causes of the lag in agriculture and mapped concrete measures to eliminate shortcomings and accelerate the development of all branches of agricultural production.

As the result of the lag in agriculture, the food and light industries fell short of their targets and this could not help but slow down the growth of the national income and of the people's prosperity.

Another reason for the slowdown in the growth rate of real incomes was that the rate of growth of labour productivity dropped somewhat in recent years. In 1956-60 labour productivity increased by an annual average of 6.5 per cent, and in 1961-65 by 4.6 per cent. We must do everything we can to overcome this lag.

This is partly due to the fact that the international situation has recently been seriously aggravated through the fault of the United States, which started and is escalating the aggressive war in Vietnam, a war which may assume much wider proportions at any time and is a threat to world peace. In view of this, and

other aggressive acts on the part of the imperialists, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government were forced to increase defence expenditure.

There are other reasons for some of the targets of the seven-year plan having not been met. These are the mistakes and miscalculations made in the seven-year plan. This applies particularly to agriculture and some industries. These miscalculations were aggravated by a thoughtless and voluntarist approach to the solution of a number of complex economic problems, which upset the necessary proportions between the various sectors of the economy and also within the sectors themselves. In some cases, economically unjustified target figures which could not be fulfilled, were set. Accordingly, under the new five-year plan the targets for some industries are lower than those formerly envisaged.

The Party condemned the subjective approach to economic problems as alien to Leninism, as amateurish, heedless of scientific data and practical experience. The decisions of the October (1964) and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee put an end to such "methods" of management by restoring and developing, in modern conditions, the Leninist principles of scientific direction of socialist construction. These decisions are aimed at bringing management and planning in line with the demands of the objective economic laws of socialism, mobilising and mustering for communist construction all the potentialities and advantages of planned economy, and promoting

still further the creative initiative of the masses.

Summing up the results of the seven-year plan, we can safely say that great successes in economic development have been achieved. Our socialist economy has grown immeasurably and become more diversified. Scientific and technical progress and the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology have been speeded up. The Soviet Union's international positions have been further strengthened and its prestige enhanced.

Our magnificent working class has displayed great labour enthusiasm and a high degree of political awareness in carrying out the stupendous and complex tasks that had been set before socialist industry by the seven-year plan. Collective farmers and the workers of state farms have worked extensively and fruitfully. By their heroic efforts they are perseveringly surmounting the difficulties and consolidating the economy of the collective and state farms.

Scientists, designers, engineers, technicians, agronomists, and workers in public education and public health, all contingents of the Soviet intelligentsia, are making an outstanding contribution to the national cause of building the material and technical basis of communism, developing the country's productive forces and boosting its economy and culture.

The dedicated labour of millions is a most important condition for success in economic and cultural development. There is no doubt that in the next five years the Soviet people will make another great stride forward in the country's economic and cultural development.

## II.

### THE MAIN TASKS OF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, the draft Directives for the new five-year plan envisage the fulfilment of far-reaching economic tasks. In the next five years our country's material and technical basis will be given a further powerful boost. The economic and defence might of the USSR will be enhanced. Soviet society will make considerable progress in the building of communism.

Marxist-Leninist science is the theoretical foundation for the new five-year plan just as for the whole of Soviet economic policy. In defining the main objectives of the five-year plan, the Party is guided by Lenin's teaching on the building of communism, the socialist economy, the socialist state system and the scientific management of economic and social processes. At the same time, the Party takes into account the experience gained in socialist and communist construction in the USSR and the experience of other socialist countries.

Under the new five-year plan the principal directions of Soviet economic development correspond to the main trends in the modern scientific and technical revolution and take into account the latest achievements in physics, chemistry, mathematics, cybernetics, biology and other sciences.

The draft Directives state that the Party considers *the main economic task* of the five-year plan to secure—through the utmost application of the achievements of science and technology, the industrial development of the whole of social production, and the enhancement of its efficiency and higher labour productivity—a considerable growth of industry and stable high rates of agricultural development, thereby achieving a substantial rise of living standards and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of all Soviet people.

To fulfil this task provision is made for a higher rate of growth of the gross social product, the national income and real incomes of the population than during the preceding five years.

The gross social product is to increase by 40 per cent, and basic production assets by more than 50 per cent, including 60 per cent in industry and roughly 90 per cent in agriculture. The national income is to go up by 38.41 per cent, and real income (per head of population) by 30 per cent.

These targets rest on a sound economic and scientific foundation. They have been set to meet the growing requirements of Soviet society and in accordance with the actual level of

our economic development and realistic possibilities of expanding social production.

We shall have to carry out the important tasks of ensuring the simultaneous growth of accumulation and consumption. They can be carried out only by enhancing the economic effectiveness of social production, which is inseparably linked up with accelerated scientific and technical progress. A feature of the new five-year plan is, therefore, that it aims at a rapid technical re-equipment of all branches of production, a progressive modification of its structure, and the timely substitution of obsolescent products by new and better ones. It envisages further industrial development of all branches of social production.

Rapid introduction of scientific and technical achievements into production has now become the main condition for raising the productivity of social labour. Without this it is impossible successfully to build the material and technical basis of communism. Science plays a tremendous role not only in developing and in enhancing its efficiency; it also makes a great contribution towards satisfying the people's day-to-day requirements and helps to improve working and living conditions. The course the economic competition between the two world systems will take depends, in large measure, on the level of scientific development and on the scale of application of the results of research in production.

In this context, the five-year plan must provide for a more rapid promotion of fundamental, theoretical, and also applied scientific research

and for the concentration of means and resources in key and most promising scientific and technological fields.

Scientific and technical research must provide production with timely and clear prospects and suggest effective solutions. A well-ordered system of balanced organisation and stimulation of the speediest and most economical application of the results of research in production must be set up as soon as possible. The development of direct cost-accounting links between research institutes and factories will undoubtedly promote a more rapid application of the results of research to production. The direct and immediate task of scientific institutions and ministries is to ensure close ties between science and production.

It is extremely important to work out scientific principles for the further development of the power industry, the development of new structural, building and other materials and highly efficient technology, which would embrace automation and economic management.

Inventors, rationalisers and scientific and technical societies are called upon to play a big role in promoting technical progress and applying the achievements of science and technology in production. They are also making a large contribution towards developing and improving production technologies. Economic and public organisations must provide inventors, rationalisers and members of scientific and technical societies with the most favourable conditions for creative work.

The plan envisages an increase in the rate of

growth of labour productivity through large-scale application of scientific and technical achievements in production, the promotion of production specialisation, scientific organisation of labour, an improvement of skills and greater economic incentives. The average annual rate of growth of labour productivity per working person will rise to 6 per cent in industry as against 4.6 per cent in 1961-65, to 6.6 per cent in construction as against 5.3 per cent, and to approximately 7 per cent in the socialised sector of agriculture as against 3.7 per cent.

Far-reaching measures are to be taken to provide better working conditions and lighten the labour of workers, and to replace manual labour by machines. Modern machines will considerably lighten not only manual but also mental effort and make it more efficient.

Modern technical means are to play an ever growing role in economic management. Combined with communication means, transmitting information from factories, electronic computers will greatly enhance the efficiency of the management of industry and construction, and the work of transport, and facilitate the drawing up of scientifically substantiated optimum variants of plan targets. These machines will carry out various functions in engineering, economic and financial estimates, considerably automate accounting and make labour more productive. The introduction of these machines in the system of management is an important economic task.

To a large extent technical progress in the economy and the advance of science depend on

how well we organise the system of providing information on the results of research at home and abroad, on achievements and new methods in production, on inventions and technical improvement suggestions. We must set up a highly efficient system of scientific information on a nation-wide scale. It will help planning and economic bodies and research organisations to accelerate the application of scientific and technical achievements in the economy. It will enable our research workers and designers to avoid unjustified duplication in their work and save time and money. With the co-operation of scientists, the Committee for Science and Technology must take steps to set up an efficient and reliable system of scientific information.

Scientific and technical progress goes hand in hand with higher quality products. To improve quality we must be firm in stopping production of all obsolescent goods, replacing them with new items which are up to modern standards. This line must be clearly expressed in the five-year plans of industries and individual enterprises. In the next five years industry must produce more and more new types of products whose quality exceeds that of world standards.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of social production it is of immense importance to use fixed assets, raw materials, fuel, components, labour and financial resources rationally and to reduce all per unit production costs. The five-year plan calls for a reduction in the per unit consumption of ferrous rolled stock in machine-building and metal-working by 20-25 per cent;

of fuel in industry by at least 8-10 per cent. The achievement of this target is an important condition for the fulfilment of the five-year plan, because every per cent in the reduction of material expenditure in industry adds more than 1,500 million rubles to the national income. In 1970 alone we must save more than 8 million tons of ferrous rolled stock, which is equal to the annual rolled stock output of a giant steel mill like the one at Magnitogorsk; we must save 85 million tons of conventional fuel, 40,000-50,000 million kwh of electric power and a great quantity of other material values, which will be used in the interests of the country, for the people's welfare.

The output-to-production ratio of assets (in terms of the quantity and quality of products marketed and in terms of profit) must become one of the main criteria in assessing the work of each enterprise. In drawing up the five-year plans for the enterprises, the level of profitability—the profit-to-production ratio of assets—must be correctly determined. The drive for the effective use of production assets is of primary economic and political importance and must be a matter of concern for the whole people.

Other important tasks of the plan are: reduction of the share of work and construction in progress; reduction of the volume of uninstalled equipment and the mass of unsold goods; reduction of the period of construction and commissioning of new capacities and a cut in the cost of capital construction.

Mechanisation of auxiliary operations, the smooth running of industry, improvement of la-

bour discipline and elimination of workers' idle time are our economy's great potentialities.

The draft Directives provide for a considerable reduction of the cost of output and an increase in the profitability of the whole of production, including a more than twofold increase of the total profit in industry, which will be the main source for raising the standard of living.

The development of production and the enhancement of its effectiveness, as envisaged by the draft Directives, constitute the basis for the far-reaching social and economic programme which we are to implement in the next five years.

One of the cardinal social tasks of the five-year plan is to accelerate the rise of the standard of living.

Real incomes will rise rapidly as the national income grows. In the next five years we shall be able to attain a much more rapid growth of the consumption fund as compared with the preceding five years: it will grow by 36-39 per cent. In other words the consumption fund will grow at an annual average rate of 11,000 million rubles as compared with 6,500 million rubles in the last five years.

In 1970 the resources used for raising living standards should go up by roughly 59,000 million rubles over the 1965 figure.

For many years the production rate of consumer goods lagged markedly behind that of producer goods. The level of development achieved by the economy allows the new five-year plan to envisage a considerable growth in the rate of development of agriculture and bring

it closer to the development rate of industry, and within industry, to narrow the gap between the rate of consumer goods production and the rate of producer goods production. With the gross industrial product to rise by 47-50 per cent, the output of Group A is to go up by 49-52 per cent, and of Group B by 43-46 per cent. In the preceding five-year period, Group A increased by 58 per cent and Group B by only 36 per cent.

The next five years will thus witness an essential change of proportions in the national economy, a redistribution of funds in favour of production of consumer goods while continuing to give priority to the production of the means of production.

It goes without saying that in the next five years, taking the present international situation into account, the Central Committee and the Government will continue to strengthen the country's defence capacity and maintain our Armed Forces at such a level as to crush the aggressor should he dare to encroach upon the peaceful life and peaceful labour of the Soviet people.

The acceleration of the growth of consumer goods production is to be ensured by doubling the output of producer goods for the branches on which the growth of public consumption immediately depends, namely, agriculture, the light and food industries, trade, housing construction, and cultural facilities and services; by creating a stable agricultural raw material basis for the light and food industries; by increasing the share of consumer goods output

in the gross output of heavy industry, especially in the chemical and engineering industries.

Better utilisation of the means of production is a key condition for bridging the gap between the output rate of Group A and Group B. The better use we make of the means of production, the smaller the increment of the output of Group A will be needed to ensure a rapid rate of growth of the whole of social production, including the output of consumer goods.

At the same time, a speed up of the growth of consumer goods production is a necessary prerequisite for the further successful development of the economy. This is the only condition under which it is possible to activate all the material incentives for boosting production.

Another important social task is to further erase the essential distinctions between town and country, consistently raising the material and cultural level of the rural population, bringing it closer to the urban living standards.

Agriculture will be brought up closer to industry in terms of production technology. During the next five years the basic production assets of agriculture will be nearly doubled and considerably renewed, and the rate of growth of productivity will be relatively higher than in industry.

A decisive condition for the fulfilment of the five-year plan will be the transition to the new methods of planning and economic management worked out at the March and September Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU. The task is to introduce these methods consistently, to build up and improve centralised guidance of plan-

ning and, at the same time, to develop democratic principles of economic management and make every effort to promote the creative activity of the masses. The introduction of the principle of profitability must be fully ensured in all branches and links of the economy.

Modern conditions make new, greater demands on our economists. Scientists will have to work on a series of pressing problems of planning and economic management under new conditions. This requires a searching and thorough study of economic processes and the drawing up of scientific recommendations for improving the practical work involved in economic development.

The draft Directives envisage a further powerful upsurge of the economy and culture of all the Union Republics. They stem from the Party's Leninist national policy, aimed at the utmost consolidation of the friendship and fraternity of the peoples of the USSR. In the next five years the volume of industrial output is to go up roughly by 50 per cent in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia, by 60 per cent in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenia, by 70 per cent in Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania and Moldavia, and by 80 per cent in Tajikistan and Armenia. This ensures a more rapid growth of industrial production in Republics where industry had once been less developed.

The five-year plans of the Union Republics must take their economic features and potentialities into account, provide for strengthening and improving the economic ties between

them and meet with the interests of all the fraternal peoples of the USSR. While promoting its economy and culture, each Republic will thereby make the maximum contribution towards the fulfilment of national tasks. That is precisely in what Communist-Leninists see the substance of socialist internationalism and the foundation on which to further consolidate the inviolable friendship of all peoples of our country.

It is of prime importance to site the productive forces in the Union Republics and economic areas of the country rationally and most effectively. In the next five years, we must boost industrial and agricultural production in the areas east of the Urals, where vast resources of industrial raw materials, fuel and electric power are concentrated.

Large-scale economic construction is to be started in the eastern areas of the country. A number of sweeping economic projects, which will include mining and processing enterprises, and new railways, motor roads and oil and gas pipelines are to be built in these areas on the basis of the deposits of oil, gas, cheap coal and ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores and other resources that are being developed or have been newly discovered.

The economic potential of the Soviet Far East, which is rich in ferrous and non-ferrous ores, fuel and power sources, timber, fish and other natural resources, is to be built up considerably in the coming five years.

We are developing our economy in close co-operation with other socialist countries. The at-

tainment of the principal targets of the five-year plan presupposes the further promotion of economic relations with the countries of the world socialist system.

The Party and the entire Soviet people, Party, local Government, economic, trade-union and other mass organisations are faced with big and complex tasks in carrying out the new five-year plan.

In the fulfilment of the tasks set by the five-year plan, paramount importance is attached to the promotion of socialist emulation, which has become a striking manifestation of the revolutionary creative work of the masses and one of the major forms of their participation in the building of communism. The efforts and energy of the millions participating in this emulation must be directed towards the attainment of the principal targets of the five-year plan, and the greatest advantage taken of exemplary methods and advanced experience.

In this connection a few words must be said about People's Control bodies, which are helping the Party to instil in people a high sense of responsibility for work entrusted to them, to foster in Soviet people the feeling that they are the masters of their country. People's Control must be still more active in the nation-wide drive to enhance the effectiveness of production and capital investments, apply new technologies, improve the quality of goods and strengthen state discipline.

Things must be organised in such a way as to enable socialist emulation, People's Control, production conferences and all other forms of

creative activity of the masses to draw the maximum number of people into the management of production and bring to light and utilise the untapped reserves of the economy.

### III.

## INDUSTRY

Comrades, in the new five-year plan period, industrial production is to increase by roughly 50 per cent.

Emphasis on industrial development in the new five-year period is to be on: improvement of branch and inter-branch structure; priority development of the more progressive and economical industries and manufactures; increase in the share of industries ensuring the technical re-equipment of the national economy and the manufacture of new and better goods; considerable expansion of such new industries as electronics, radio and electronic engineering, atomic power engineering, manufacture of pure and extra pure materials, computers, and synthetic materials; the gearing of industry to fully meet the needs of agriculture and to step up the manufacture of consumer goods. These fundamental structural shifts are in line with the urgent demands of the national economy.

The growing scale of production demands higher quality indicators in industry, a considerable improvement in the use of producer goods, a reduction of relative expenditures of raw materials, components and fuel. This is a task which is to be solved above all by the enterprises and their workers. At the same time, that is also the starting point in determining the basic trends in technical policy.

The rate of technical progress largely depends on the specialisation of production. Many specialised branches of industry have been established in our country, particularly in machine-building and metal-working. But the development of specialised inter-branch plants is still lagging. It is not right to have a machine-building plant make the full range of its components, castings, forgings and tools and accessories. The production of castings is split up among more than 3,000 workshops, mostly operating at a low technical level and, consequently, at a high cost.

We must be firm in changing these practices. In drawing up the five-year plan, the State Planning Committee should make provision for the specialisation of existing plants and the construction of new specialised inter-branch plants and shops. More attention should be paid to extending specialised production of spare parts for machinery and plant. The development of the latter will make for better organisation of the repair of plant, which is now very costly, requiring up to 10,000 million rubles a year.

One of the important tasks of the five-year

plan is the further development of the power and fuel industries. Lenin's idea of the *electrification of the whole country* is the basis of the new five-year plan also. In the five years, the generation of electric power is to go up roughly by 70 per cent. In the development of the power industry emphasis is to be on the construction of large thermal power stations and economical hydropower stations. Several dozen large thermal stations will be commissioned, among them such giants as the Reftinsk in the Urals, and Uglegorsk in the Ukraine, where the first units are to be started during the five-year period. The construction of hydropower stations on the Volga, the Kama and the Dnieper is to be completed. In Siberia, construction of the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station, the world's largest, will be completed. The construction of atomic power stations is to be continued.

The Soviet power industry is being radically remodelled. Large 300,000 kw units will account for the bulk of the new capacities to be installed at the thermal power plants; 500,000 and 800,000 kw power units are also to be commissioned.

It is planned to complete the single power grid of the European part of the USSR, to start the construction of 1.5 million volt D. C. transmission lines from Siberia and Kazakhstan to the central areas and the Urals, and to develop distributing networks linking most of the rural localities and collective and state farms to state power grids. There is to be a considerable increase in power consumption in all branches of

material production. The supply of electricity for domestic needs in towns is to increase 60 per cent, and in the country, by about 200 per cent.

In the new five-year plan period the development of the fuel industry is to be considerably speeded up bringing about a further improvement of the fuel balance: the share of gas and oil in the overall production of fuel is to increase to 60 per cent, as compared with 52 per cent in 1965.

By 1970, the extraction of oil is to be increased up to 345-355 million tons, and of gas, to 225,000-240,000 million cubic metres. The annual increase in oil extraction will amount to over 20 million tons and the increase for gas is to be more than 20,000 million cubic metres. The extraction of oil and gas is to be further intensified. Oil-bearing layers are to be developed artificially, by simultaneous working of well at several levels and by other highly effective methods. The working of several levels as single well units will reduce drilling and, over the five years, save almost 400 million rubles in capital investments.

The bulk of the increase in oil extraction is to come from developed oil areas. But, as other delegates have noted, new large oil and gas areas, Tyumen and Mangyshlak, are also to be developed. Newly discovered oil and gas deposits are to be the basis for large extractive industries in Western Siberia, which by the end of the five-year period will produce as much oil as the Azerbaijan Republic. There is to be a 50 per cent extension of the network of main gas

pipelines and a sharp rise in the carrying capacity of the new gas pipelines through the use of large-diameter piping.

The twin gas pipeline between the Uzbek Republic (Bukhara) and the Urals, and the Igrim—Serov gas pipeline are of great importance for developing the Urals power base and supplying low-cost fuel to the principal towns of the Urals, including Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Nizhni Tagil, Orsk and Serov. The supply of gas has improved living conditions in many towns and changed technological processes at many plants.

In the current five-year period pipelines will carry gas from Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tyumen Region to the country's central areas, for industrial and domestic needs.

Oil refining capacities are to grow by almost 50 per cent. There is to be a further improvement in the quality of oil products. Larger refining units are to be installed. The capacity of the units under construction is to be increased by 50 to 100 per cent. This will help to reduce relative investments, cut the consumption of metal and raise labour productivity.

Intensive development of the oil and gas industry in the new five-year period is to be accompanied by development of the coal industry. The output of coal is to go up by nearly 100 million tons and in 1970 will reach 665-675 million tons.

The mining of coking coals is to proceed as quickly as possible. The coal industry is to supply high grade coals to satisfy all production requirements of the national economy and

consumer needs. All the major coal fields are to be further developed. Mechanisation of coal mining is to be stepped up. In the main, work will be completed on mechanising coal loading in the longwalls, and mechanised complexes will be introduced on a large scale to increase productivity and considerably improve the working conditions of miners. Fuller use must be made of open cast mining. The measures outlined in the draft Directives will help to ensure the planned increase in coal output without increasing the number of workers.

Soviet *metallurgy* has considerable achievements to its credit. In a number of technical and economic indicators, it has surpassed the most developed capitalist countries. The USSR has built the world's most powerful blast and open hearth furnaces, and installations for the continuous pouring of steel, and has considerably improved the technological aspect of smelting.

We must continue persistently to raise the technical level of our metallurgy. In the next five years, we intend to build even more powerful metallurgical units and blast furnaces with a volume of 2,700 cubic metres, large electric smelting furnaces and oxygen converters and powerful mechanised rolling mills. Widespread use is to be made of more productive methods and technological processes in the smelting of metal with the use of oxygen, natural gas, fluxed sinter and iron ore granules. Thus, in 1970 more than one-fifth of all the steel is to be made by the oxygen-converter method. By the end of the five-year period, 60 million tons of

cast iron and 90 million tons of steel are to be oxygen smelted annually.

Extensive measures are to be taken to improve the quality of metal. The smelting of high-grade steels is to be increased several times over. The assortment of rolled stock, piping and metal wares is to be extended. The production of high precision shaped goods, cold-rolled and cold-drawn sheet and high-grade rolled stock, thin-walled steel pipes and wire is to increase. There is to be a 200 per cent increase in the capacities for the production of high-grade cold-rolled transformer steel. There is to be considerable development of the hardening thermal working of metal. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy must accelerate the building of shops for the hot and cold rolling of broad sheets, and sheets from stainless and transformer steel and tin plate at the Magnitogorsk Mill, at the Chelyabinsk, Zaporozhstal, Verkh-Issetsk, and Zhdanov (Ilyich) plants, the construction of rolling mills for the manufacture of broadflanged beams and pipes, up to 1,420 mm in diameter, and the provision of rolling shops with plant for the manufacture of precision shaped goods. This is of great economic importance: suffice it to say that by 1970 the improvement in the quality and extension of the assortment of metals, envisaged in the draft Directives, will be equal to an additional over 5 million tons of rolled stock.

In the current five-year period, the non-ferrous metals industry is to develop at a rapid pace. The production of aluminium is to go up by 90-110 per cent; and copper and zinc, by

60-70 per cent. The output of lead, magnesium, tin, nickel, titanium, and tungsten and molybdenum concentrates and also of precious metals and diamonds is to be expanded considerably. Special importance is attached to the complex and fullest use of ores.

Provision is made for a high rate of development of the *chemical industry*, particularly the manufacture of mineral fertilisers, chemical fibres, plastics and synthetic resins, synthetic rubber and other products of organic synthesis, chemical consumer goods and various articles for everyday use. By the end of the five-year period, the production of mineral fertilisers is to reach 62-65 million tons a year; plastics and synthetic resins, 2.1-2.3 million tons; and chemical fibres, 780,000-830,000 tons. There is to be a considerable increase in the manufacture of synthetic materials for making fabrics, knitted wear and artificial furs. Tyre cord will be almost entirely made from chemical fibres, as will most fishing nets and tackle, filter and other technical fabrics.

It is planned to build a large synthetic fibre mill at Mogilyov to turn out 50,000 tons of lavsan fibre annually.

Facilities are to be installed at the Polotsk chemical mill to make 48,000 tons of polyethylene and 50,000 tons of nitron fibre a year.

The Nizhne-Kama chemical mill, one of the largest producers of high-grade artificial rubber as a substitute for natural rubber, is to be started.

Construction is nearing completion at the Cheboksary chemical mill which is to have faci-

lities to make new type of dyes and highly efficient pest and disease control chemicals.

In the five years chemical output will be considerably increased, but it will still be somewhat lower for some items than previously anticipated. This does not mean neglecting chemistry; it is a realistic approach. The old targets for the chemical industry were not backed up by projects, manufacturing processes, equipment, and the capacities of building organisations. Many chemical plants started in 1965 operated far below capacity, owing to mistakes in projects, defects in plant, construction faults and lack of skilled personnel.

A great deal of attention must be devoted to raising the quality and extending the assortment of chemical goods, and organising the production of new chemical products.

*Engineering* has a decisive role to play in the technical re-equipment of the national economy and the raising of labour productivity.

It can satisfy the requirements of the economy for highly productive machinery. Many engineering plants manufacture great quantities of diverse equipment which is up to or above world technical standards. For instance, productivity of the blooming mills commissioned in 1964 at Krivoi Rog and Chelyabinsk mills considerably exceeds that of similar mills abroad. The world's most powerful hydroturbines and generators for them have been made for the Bratsk and Krasnoyarsk hydropower plants, the latest-type equipment for blast furnaces and the cement industry, and giant excavators are being made. In the last few years, more

than 1,300 sets of modern automatic and semi-automatic lines for metal-working have been built.

However, many plants still continue to turn out technically sub-standard machinery and equipment. Here is an example. The first models of the new TE-10 diesel locomotives made in 1958 were soon followed by improved models with 1.5-2 times the horsepower of the TE-3, now in serial production. That was seven years ago, but the TE-10 are turned out in small amount and nothing has been done to start production of more powerful diesel locomotives. In 1965, the output of TE-10 locomotives was approximately 25 per cent that of the old TE-3 locomotives. The management of the Lugansk, Kharkov and Kolomna works have delayed the production of more powerful new diesel locomotives, and the management of the Kharkov Electrotyazhmash works have failed to supply the necessary electrical equipment. The state of affairs with regard to the production of electric locomotives at the Novocherkassk and Tbilisi electric locomotive assembly plants is no better.

The equipment manufactured at our plants must be up to the technical and economic standards of Soviet and world science and engineering. The task, in particular, is to develop the serial production of highly mechanised and automated complete plant. The equipment produced, chiefly power generating units, blast furnaces and steel smelting plant and installations for chemical plants and oil refineries must be optimally increased in size.

The importance of designing offices must be considerably enhanced by closer contact with plants; better conditions must be provided for creative work by designers, allowing them to display their ability and to assume a greater share of the responsibility for ensuring a high technical standard of design solutions. There should be greater incentives for worthwhile achievements in design work. There must be a permanent reserve of design projects to prevent delays in starting production of new series of machines, equipment and instruments.

The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of the Machine-Tool and Tool Industry must ensure preferential production of forge and press equipment and the most progressive types of metal-cutting lathes, especially high precision, special and building-bloc machines, grinders and honers, automatic and semi-automatic lathes, and also automated lines.

Steps must be taken to bring about a considerable increase in the output of programmed lathes.

The Committee of Standards must work with the engineering ministries to unify and standardise units and parts, machines and instruments and also to standardise technological processes.

The task before us is to carry out the technical re-equipment of instrument-making plants, and increase the output of modern instruments, above all the means of automation, control and regulation of technological processes, instruments for precision measurements. To raise the technical level of the national economy, we must produce more electronic computers, raise

their quality and ensure the extensive use of computers in research, in drawing up estimates and designing and in the management of production.

Taking into account the needs of the national economy, the draft Directives outline the key problems of development in each of the branches of engineering. Provision is made for a considerable growth in the power, metallurgical, chemical, oil, electronics and radio engineering industries. Much is expected of the tractor-building and farm-machine building industries. The motor vehicle manufacturing industry is to be rapidly developed. It is planned to increase the production of lorries by 60-70 per cent, and cars by almost 300 per cent. This means expanding existing plants and constructing a new plant. Our engineering industry, with high technical standards, and qualified personnel, must produce goods which are competitive on the world market.

Special attention should be given to developing branches of the engineering industry turning out plant for the light and food industry. There is to be a considerable enlargement of production capacities in these branches; serial production must be started of up to 3,000 new types of highly productive machines for spinning, weaving and finishing mills, knitted wear, haberdashery and footwear factories and food and meat and dairy plants.

The five-year plan should provide for an increase in the output of devices for mechanising arduous and labour-consuming operations.

There are sizable reserves in engineering for

increasing output at existing plants through better use of equipment, specifically by increasing the number of shifts. It will be easier to attract additional manpower, because the enterprises will be able to earmark part of their profit to build more homes.

In the new five-year plan period, a considerable change will take place in the *timber, pulp-and-paper and wood-working* industry. Up till now, the timber and wood-working industry has been turning out rather a limited assortment of articles, at the same time allowing a great deal of waste.

What most of the enterprises can make of one cubic metre of timber is only about 20-30 per cent of what factories equipped with modern technology produce. Capital investments must be allocated for the development of capacities for the complex processing of raw materials. Better use of raw materials will bring about a large-scale increase in the production of paper, pulp, cardboard, pressed wood and wood-fibre boards, joinery, alcohol, yeast and other goods.

Large timber processing mills are to be built during the next five years, especially in the eastern part of the country. Among them are the Bratsk timber and wood processing complex, the Krasnoyarsk pulp and paper mill, and the first section of the pulp and cardboard mill in Komsomolsk-on-Amur. Siberia and the Far East will have capacities for the manufacture of nearly 2.5 million tons of pulp and almost 1.3 million tons of cardboard.

The attainment of the targets in the

production of cardboard, wood boards and plywood will save the country, in 1970, more than 60 million cubic metres of timber.

The raising of the Soviet people's living standards sets great tasks before industries producing consumer goods.

In the *light industry*, almost 300 large enterprises will be built and more than 100 reconstructed. The annual growth rate in the light industry is to go up 110 per cent. In 1970, it will manufacture 9,500-9,800 million square metres of fabrics, 1,650-1,750 million pieces of knitted goods, and 610-630 million pairs of leather footwear. Special attention is being paid to the development of the knitted goods industry. In the five years, it is planned to build 75 knitted goods factories; more than 100 garment factories, and capacities for the manufacture of 120 million pairs of shoes a year are to be commissioned and many operating footwear factories are to be reconstructed.

Workers in the light industry have the task of renewing most of the items produced. New types of goods must be introduced systematically and offered to the population, thereby creating a demand for them.

Workers in agriculture together with workers in industry must work out the necessary measures to ensure an improvement in the quality of cotton, wool, flax, leather, hides, and other raw materials, and to clearly divide responsibility for the quality of these goods during their production, for their delivery to purchasing centres and industrial enterprises. Accordingly, the plan must provide for allocation of transport fa-

cilities, containers and other necessary items to the agencies involved, so as to exclude spoilage or deterioration of quality.

Workers in the chemical industry must bring about a marked improvement in the quality of chemical fibres, dyes, raw material for artificial leather and films and other chemical goods, and bear strict responsibility for the supply of sub-standard raw materials to enterprises in the light and food industries. Implementation of these measures will enable us to extend the range of consumer goods turned out by industry, to increase productivity of labour, cut costs and improve the quality of goods.

We must ensure a flow of the most diverse and high quality foodstuffs to the population everywhere. Over the five years, the volume of output in the *food industry* is to increase by 40 per cent.

By the end of five-year period, the production of meat from state resources is to go up to 5.9-6.2 million tons, as compared with the 4.8 million tons in 1965; and the output of cheese and dairy products is to go up considerably.

The fish catch is to be increased by 50-60 per cent. For that purpose, the fleet of the fishing industry is to be supplied with large modern fishing vessels, mostly floating plants turning out high quality products. Workers of the fish industry must make better use of their fleet, and work steadily to cut the cost of fish.

The five-year plan should provide for broad development of pond fish farming. There must be an improvement in the protection of the

fish population in rivers and reservoirs. Those guilty of polluting and clogging up rivers, lakes and reservoirs with unpurified drainage waters from industrial and municipal plants should be called to account.

The food industry is now operating in new conditions. The demand for goods is becoming ever more diversified and there is a call for higher standards. The manufacture of all sorts of intermediate products, delicatessen and pre-packaged items should be considerably expanded and the operation of the canning industry improved.

The production of consumer goods is an important and honourable task. Its fulfilment must be under the constant control of Party, Government, trade union, and Komsomol organisations, in fact, of the public at large.

Comrades, introduction at the enterprises of an economic reform approved by the September Plenary Meeting is a most important prerequisite for the fulfilment of the industrial development plan. A number of large enterprises, employing a total of more than 300,000 industrial and office workers, are already working under the new system. During the second quarter, another large group of enterprises, employing almost 700,000 men, is being transferred to the system. This will be followed by the introduction of the new system into certain branches of engineering, the food industry and the textile industry. In early 1967, the total number of industrial and office workers at enterprises operating under the new system is to be almost one-third of the total labour force in industry.

On going over to the new system, the first two groups of industrial enterprises undertook to make an additional 150 million rubles worth of industrial goods and to obtain 56 million rubles of profit over and above the planned figure. Most of the enterprises, which began working the new way in the first quarter, have overfulfilled the increased plan for sales and profits. Revenues to the state budget have increased. The enterprises now have the appropriate funds for boosting production material incentives and social and cultural measures and housing construction. The wages of industrial and office workers have increased.

The new system calls for efficient organisation of material and technical supplies. The State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Material and Technical Supplies and the ministries must improve the work of supply agencies from top to bottom.

The introduction of the new system makes for a substantial improvement in the economic atmosphere at the enterprises, gives the workers a larger stake in higher labour productivity, saving of materials, lower costs and higher quality of goods.

If we make the right use of our reserves—and they are enormous—we can safely say that industry will not only fulfil but overfulfil the targets of the five-year plan. This will be a great victory for our working class, engineers, technicians, designers, and all workers in industry.

## IV. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has an especially important part to play in our country's economic development. It largely determines the growth of other branches of the economy and the working people's rising material welfare.

The Directives on the five-year plan for agriculture are based on the decisions of the March Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The main task for agriculture over the five years is considerably to increase the production of farm and animal produce and to ensure a high and stable growth rate for it. The annual average volume of all farm produce must increase, over the five years ahead, by 25 per cent, as compared with the preceding five-year period.

The production of cereals is to increase at a priority rate. The annual average grain output is to go up by 30 per cent, to 167 million tons.

The annual average production of other farm products is to be increased as follows:

sugar beet, to 80 million tons, as against the 1961-65 average of 59 million tons;  
cotton, to 5.6-6 million tons, as against 5 million tons;  
potatoes, to 100 million tons, as against 81 million tons;  
meat, to 11 million tons, as against 9.3 million tons;  
milk, to 78 million tons, as against 65 million tons;  
eggs, to 34,000 million as against 29,000 million.

Higher yields are the most important means of increasing the production of grain. This calls above all for better farming methods, which must be based on scientific principles. Our country, with its vast territory and diverse natural conditions, cannot, of course, do with stereotyped farming schemes. These are ruled out, and the final say should be with agricultural science, the specialists and farmers working on the state and collective farms.

There must be a considerable increase in the output of grain in the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, the central black soil areas, the Volga area, Kazakhstan, and Siberia. These areas have large reserves for increasing grain crop yields.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the RSFSR and Kazakhstan must devote special attention to the state of affairs in the virgin lands, where the fields are very weedy and considerable areas are being eroded. There, the system of farming must be put in order, and high and stable crops achieved as soon as possible.

One of the new tasks to be solved in the five-year period is to raise agricultural production in the non-black soil area of the Russian Federation, Byelorussia, the Baltic Republics, Polesye and the north-western regions of the Ukraine. They are to carry out large-scale land improvement measures and liming of acid soils, make intensive use of mineral and organic fertilisers, develop grass cultivation and implement other agrotechnical measures. These areas are to yield additional large quantities of milk, meat, grain and other products. Serious attention is also to be devoted to other areas with sufficient humidity. The use of fertilisers in these areas will yield additional considerable quantities of low-cost farm produce, in particular, grain. Thus, all the areas provided with water will be used on a far wider scale than hitherto.

Extensive irrigation work is to be carried out in the arid lands with highly fertile soils: Central Asia, Northern Caucasus, the Volga area and the south of the Ukraine.

Drainage in the areas of excessive humidity and irrigation of arid lands will allow us to intensify farming and together with cereals extend the production of cotton, sugar beet, flax, sunflower, vegetables, fruits, grapes and perennial grasses.

Another important task is to increase the production of animal products and to improve their quality. The chief means of doing this is to create a stable fodder base and so raise the productivity of livestock, the weight and fattiness of animals, milk yields, wool clips, and also to increase the cattle and poultry population.

For this purpose, together with an expansion of the production of cereal feed, perennial and annual grasses, there must be a marked improvement in the use of natural fodder areas. The plan envisages appropriations for large-scale improvement, and this money should be used with the maximum economic effect. There must also be better use of the areas under fodder crops.

Such in broad outline is the production programme for agriculture. To ensure fulfilment of this programme the draft Directives envisage large-scale deliveries of various machines to the farms.

At present, our tractor and farm machinery industries make almost all the machines required for the complex mechanisation of cereal, sugar beet, potato, cotton, and maize production. A system of machines is now being developed for cultivating and harvesting flax, vegetables and other crops and also for mechanising operations in livestock farming.

There is to be a remodeling of existing and building of new plants, in particular, specialised plants to make motors, units, and spare parts. In the next few years, a large tractor works is to be built in Pavlodar (Kazakhstan). Machine-builders must devote special attention to the quality of tractors and combine harvesters, increase speed and h.p.-ratings, and achieve substantial cuts in the consumption of fuel. That is also the way to be followed in manufacturing other farm machines with an eye to zonal conditions.

Workers in the tractor and farm machine-

building industries are to make better sets of machines for crop and animal farming and increase their output, and also to meet in full the demand for tractor and farm machine spare parts.

In the five years, the collective and state farms will receive 1,790,000 tractors, or 60 per cent more than in the preceding five years; 1,100,000 lorries; 550,000 grain harvesters and many other machines and equipment.

Within five years the power facilities per worker in agriculture are to be double the 1965 figure. Steps should also be taken to build up repair facilities for farm machines, and work out measures for the correct use and storage of the vast stock of machinery and equipment going to the farms.

The chemical industry will be increasing its output of mineral fertilisers from year to year. Their supply to the collective and state farms is to double. This will provide all the necessary mineral fertilisers for industrial crops and considerably increase the quantities of fertilisers for cereal and fodder crops. Apart from increasing the production of fertilisers, it is a matter of great urgency to improve their quality and eliminate losses in transit, storage and use.

The combined-fodder industry is to increase output at least by 100 per cent, with large-scale production of high-protein feeds, vitamins, antibiotics and feed additives enhancing the effectiveness of feed.

In 1970, the consumption of electric power in the farmlands will go up to 60,000-65,000 million kwh, that is, 200 per cent above the 1965 le-

vel, and 30 per cent higher than the total electric power consumption in 1940. The electric networks in the countryside are approximately to double, and the share of centralised electric supplies to collective and state farms from state power grids and electric power stations is to be increased. Electric power must become the basis of mechanisation of labour-consuming operations, particularly in livestock farming, and at the same time of improvement of living conditions in the farmlands. The massive use of all sorts of electrical appliances, television and wireless sets, refrigerators and washing machines will make for a much higher cultural level and improve the living conditions of the rural population.

Housing construction, supply of gas to homes, and the building of schools, hospitals and urban-type cinemas is to be considerably extended in the farmlands.

Over the five years, farmers' earnings are to increase by 35-40 per cent, with additional earnings from individual subsidiary farms. Labour on the collective farms is to be rated, organised and paid on lines running ever closer to those of the state farms. Guaranteed monthly remuneration of labour is to be gradually introduced for collective farmers everywhere. The pensions system for collective farmers is to be more akin to that of industrial and office workers.

To improve working and living conditions in the villages and boost the earnings of farmers from work on the collective farms is consistently to implement the historic task of bridging

the gap between urban and rural living standards.

Under the agricultural development programme farm output is to be high and stable. The programme is quite realistic and is to be backed up by large deliveries of machinery and chemical fertilisers, and supply of electric power to the collective and state farms. The extensive measures being carried out by the Party and Government to raise rural living standards, improve cultural and everyday services and give the collective farmers and workers of state farms a greater material stake in highly productive labour will have a bearing on its successful fulfilment. All this creates highly favourable conditions for the projected 40-45 per cent boost in labour productivity on the state and collective farms, a major task in the five-year period.

The measures envisaged in agriculture will cost a great deal, and the plan provides the necessary financial allocations, with more than 41,000 million rubles—roughly double the figure for the preceding five-year period—going to cover the cost of building production facilities (including land improvement) and of machinery paid for by the state.

It should be borne in mind that the programme for boosting agriculture calls for large state investments, for instance, in the tractor and farm machine-building industries, the chemical industry (to increase fertiliser output,) the power industry and other branches catering for agriculture.

In addition to capital investments by the

state, the collective farms are expected, according to preliminary estimates, to invest about 30,000 million rubles in the expansion of their economy.

In the current five years, the average annual incomes of collective farms are to go up by more than 40 per cent, as compared with the average incomes for 1961-65. This is to be ensured by the collective farms increasing their gross and commodity output under the new terms of procurement of collective farm produce and the higher purchasing prices, the lower prices of producer goods supplied to the collective farms and the halving of the income tax on collective farms, as laid down by the March Plenary Meeting.

The growth of collective farm incomes will make it possible to increase the earnings of each farmer depending on each farms' overall economic results achieved, a fact that will be an incentive to collective farmers in making the collective farm and its every branch a more profitable undertaking. This will serve to consolidate the economic basis of the collective farm as a form of socialist agriculture.

The state farms account for a large share of the total farm output, and it is now a most important task to make them more efficient. With that end in view, measures are being worked out to introduce a new system of planning on the state farms and have them operate entirely on a cost-accounting basis. This will tend to consolidate the economic position of the state farms, carry forward their specialisation, reduce

costs, and turn them into model agricultural enterprises.

In the five years, the material and technical basis of purchasing and trading organisations is to be strengthened; the collective and state farms and purchasing organisations will be given more transport vehicles, and the practice of establishing direct ties between collective and state farms and industrial enterprises and shops is to be extended. This will help to deliver vegetables, fruits, melons and other perishable goods to the consumer areas without losses, to improve the supply of fresh farm produce to the population, cut procurement costs, and give sizable additional incomes to the collective and state farms.

Because of the seasonal nature of farming, the manpower available on the state and collective farms is not being fully used throughout the year. It is therefore economic common sense to develop ancillary enterprises for the primary and subsequent processing of farm produce and the manufacture of other products and also to set up diverse industries depending on local conditions in the farmlands. This will also provide income to the collective and state farms and additional earnings to the rural population. The state will give the collective and state farms the necessary assistance in setting up such industries.

Many food plants should be built in the farmlands where the raw materials and manpower are available. It is a good idea for food and light industry plants to set up seasonal branches on the collective and state farms.

A great production programme has been projected for agriculture and the conditions for its successful fulfilment have been created. The task now is to make efficient use of these possibilities and make each ruble invested in agriculture pay.

The Party calls on all collective farmers, workers of state farms, mechanisers and all farm specialists to make the first year of the five-year period a decisive turning point in crop farming and other branches of agricultural production. This will lay a sound foundation for the successful fulfilment of the five-year plan for agricultural development.

## V.

### TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The successful work of industry and agriculture and the strengthening of the country's defences largely depend on the transport system. The well-organised running of trains, boats, buses and airplanes is important to millions of people.

More than 70 per cent of all freight traffic is handled by the railways. They are coping with the growing volume of freight traffic, moreover, without increasing the number of employees. This has been achieved by introducing new equipment and on this basis raising the productivity of labour. At present, 85 per cent of all rail freight is hauled by electric and diesel locomotives. The switch-over to these types of traction has radically changed the work of the railways, their economic performance and the working conditions of the railwaymen.

The draft Directives provide for substantial capital investments in the railways. Their switch-over to electric and diesel traction is to be completed in the main by 1970. Rolling

stock will be supplemented by powerful locomotives and modern big-capacity wagons. Measures will be taken to increase the traffic capacity of many lines—second tracks will be laid, stations enlarged and automatic devices installed.

It is planned to build new railway lines from Kungrad to Makat and from Guryev to Astrakhan, with a total length of more than 1,600 km. The new outlet from Central Asia to the European part of the country will accelerate the development of the very rich oilfields in Mangyshlak Peninsula.

A railway line from Tyumen to Tobolsk and the Surgut area, 650 km long, will be built. This will be of great importance for the development of the oil industry in Tyumen Region and of the area as a whole.

Construction of the Mid-Siberian railway from Barnaul to Kustanai will be completed. This will improve the transport links between the Kuzbas and the Urals and relieve the heavy traffic on the main Siberian trunkline.

Serious attention must be paid to utilising reserves latent in the railways which are considerable, for example, a reduction of idle time of wagons at enterprises, sea and river ports. Much can be done in this respect by the mechanisation of loading and unloading, introduction of self-dumping rolling stock, better design of railway crates and improvement of the condition of railway approach roads at factories. This is an economic problem of no little importance, because outlays on loading and unloading claim about one-third of all transport costs.

Another big reserve is reduction of irrational carriage. Planning and economic bodies must establish optimal transport links between suppliers and consumers, make provision for more even distribution of goods carriage the year round and strive for a proper combination of rail, water, road and other modes of transport.

Freight rates must be revised so that they stimulate an economically justified distribution of goods carriage among different modes of transport and better use of their facilities.

The Soviet merchant marine has received many modern large vessels in recent years. Its cargo-carrying capacity grew 150 per cent during the seven-year period. The merchant marine ensures the independence of our foreign trade from the capitalist freight market.

The development of foreign trade and the increase in coastal shipments make necessary a further expansion of the tonnage of the merchant marine. The draft Directives call for building fast, large vessels with mechanised cargo handling and for substantial work in developing and mechanising ports and building ship-repair yards.

An increase in the number of vessels and an extension of port facilities is also contemplated for the inland waterways. This will greatly contribute to the speedy development of new industrial areas in Siberia and the Far East. The expansion of shipments on the Volga, Kama and Dnieper, and direct traffic between the Baltic, Caspian and Black seas will relieve the load on the railways in the European part of the country

and reduce transportation costs of many bulk freights. In this respect it is very important to ensure the precise, co-ordinated work of railwaymen and rivermen, to extend the combined carriage of goods and to speed up the reloading of freight in ports.

Pipeline transport has been extensively developed; the volume of freight thus handled increased by more than 300 per cent in the last seven years. The cost of transporting oil by pipeline is from 50 to 67 per cent cheaper than by rail. Our country has built very large pipelines, such as the Tuimazy-Omsk-Krasnoyarsk-Irkutsk pipeline, 3,600 km long; the Druzhba (Friendship) oil pipeline from the Tatar Autonomous Republic to Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, with a total length of 4,500 km, and the Almetyevsk-Gorky-Ryazan-Lyubertsy pipeline about 1,150 km long.

Oil and gas pipelines totalling about 37,000 km are to be built under the present five-year plan. This will make it possible in 1970 to handle more than half of the oil shipments over long distances by pipelines and also substantially to increase the use of gas instead of oil and other fuels.

We have set up large specialised organisations for building railways, bridges and pipelines. Well equipped technically and staffed with highly competent specialists, they are carrying on intricate building jobs under difficult conditions in undeveloped areas of our country. Our people highly appreciate the builders' truly titanic labour. We are confident they will cope suc-

cessfully with the new big tasks set them in the present five-year plan.

The draft Directives provide for a sharp increase in the fleet of motor vehicles. Along with general-purpose lorries, it will be replenished by many special vehicles. The average carrying capacity of lorries will be raised. To satisfy the growing needs of the population the production of modern buses and motorcars will be considerably expanded.

Much was done in the last seven years in enlarging motor transport organisations, providing the necessary technical facilities and organising centralised freight carriage. This work must be continued. Today the empty run of lorries makes up almost half their total run, and idle time of vehicles during loading and unloading is excessive. The experience of the motor transport organisations which have gone over to the new system of planning and economic incentives graphically proves that it is quite possible sharply to reduce idle time and empty runs.

A considerable part of the motor vehicles stand idle for a long time while being repaired. To cut this idle time to the minimum, the organisation and technology of repairs must be improved, repair plants and motor transport organisations adequately supplied with spare parts of improved quality, and sufficient quantities of tyres. The State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Ministry of the Automobile Industry and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics must take care of this.

Hard-surface motor roads totaling 63,000 km

are to be built in the next five years. In addition, much can be done by drawing on local revenue sources and the funds of enterprises, collective farms and state farms.

The country's air transport was completely renewed during the seven-year period and now has a large fleet of modern high-speed aircraft. Soviet civil aviation is handling a substantial part of long-distance passenger transport in the country; regular air lines connecting the USSR with 38 countries are in operation. The volume of air traffic is to increase approximately 80 per cent in the present five-year period. For this purpose modern aircraft are to be added to the fleet and new airports built. Civil aviation personnel have much work ahead of them to improve passenger service and extend air freight carriage.

Big tasks have been set workers in the transport services. Successful fulfilment of the five-year plan largely depends on the precise and well-organised work of all links of the transport system. Better use of transport facilities and reduced costs of carriage will promote higher efficiency of social production. Transport workers will undoubtedly make a due contribution to fulfilling the programme for the further advance of our economy.

The draft Directives outline a number of measures for improving all kinds of communication services for the population. It is planned to lay multi-channel cables and radio-relay lines, to develop a single automated network ensuring reliable telephone service and the transmission of information. The number of te-

lephones in homes will approximately double. Powerful radio broadcasting stations will be built to serve remote areas in Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia. The network of TV stations will be considerably extended to relay TV programmes to almost all areas of our country. Communication satellites will transmit programmes of the central TV studios to Magadan Region, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, Yakutia and other remote areas.

The rapid economic and cultural advance and the growing needs of the population demand a radical improvement of all communication services. To achieve this, communication workers must avail themselves of all the opportunities provided by scientific and technical progress.

## VI.

### CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, when capital investments are made on the scale envisaged in the new five-year plan, it is essential to make the most efficient use of resources in construction.

In the last seven years much was done to improve capital construction, and the achievements of the builders and assembly workers are generally known. Now we must concentrate on uncompleted tasks, on shortcomings in planning, designing and organisation of the work, on ways to eliminate these shortcomings.

Dispersion of capital investments over a big number of projects has been, and to this day remains, the most serious shortcoming.

As a consequence many construction projects about to be commissioned are not provided with financial and material resources. In a number of cases building was hampered by the absence of technical documents or their low quality. The supply of construction sites with equipment was not satisfactory.

Designing organisations at times prepared poor designs and made gross miscalculations in estimating the cost of projects. In the case of many projects, especially electric power stations, the original estimated cost was set without serious substantiation and calculations. As a result, the actual cost was much higher, and large additional investments were needed to complete construction. In a number of cases, the designs of enterprises under construction, especially in the chemical and pulp and paper industries, incorporated manufacturing processes, which had not been sufficiently elaborated, and specified obsolete equipment. All this delayed the completion of construction and the attainment of the rated capacity and lowered the output-asset ratio of new enterprises.

There are also considerable shortcomings in the organisation of building work: productivity of labour is still low, the use of machinery and mechanisms is unsatisfactory and there are big losses of labour time.

It must be said that organisations entrusted with planning and regulating capital construction have not coped with their duties.

The targets in capital construction are greatly extended in the next five years. Total capital investments in the economy of the Soviet Union in 1966-1970 are set at 310,000 million rubles, 47 per cent more than was invested in the last five years. The commissioning of fixed assets is to rise about 50 per cent as compared with the previous five years.

Capital investments will notably grow in industries which are decisive for technical pro-

gress in the economy and a rise in the living standard. Appropriations for the chemical industry will increase by almost 100 per cent as compared with the preceding five years; the iron and steel industry, by about 70 per cent; power, engineering and fuel industries, 50 per cent, and light, food and fish industries, 84 per cent.

In addition, capital investments in the technical re-equipment of operating enterprises will also be extended through the utilisation of the production development fund now being set up, and of bank credits.

Fulfilment of the capital construction plans, the exact and unfailing observance of schedules for the commissioning of new plant, is a prime requisite for the carrying out of production plans and the establishment of proper, rational proportions between all sectors of the economy.

One of the main tasks in capital construction is to improve planning and the technical and economic substantiation of investments.

Experience and economic analysis show that it is essential to channel capital investments into the technical re-equipment of operating enterprises and the speediest completion of projects under construction so that the country receives new productive potential in a short time and with the least outlays. Construction of a project must be substantiated by thorough economic calculations.

In formulating capital investment plans a proper balance must be worked out with regard to the main types of equipment and materials

for the needs of capital construction and also of the capacity of building organisations.

Now the five-year plan will be drawn up for all enterprises under construction with a breakdown in yearly targets. This will give construction organisations a perspective of the entire construction period for each project; enterprises will be able to prepare well in advance for work in coming years and order equipment in good time. Construction projects successfully coping with the plan will be financed to the full sum of appropriations for the five years, and it will be possible to commission units in shorter periods.

The personnel of designing organisations are faced with big tasks. Our industry must develop on the basis of the latest production processes, the most progressive materials and the widest use of highly productive machines and automatic devices. Designing organisations must incorporate in projects everything new and progressive that has been developed in the respective fields and utilise the most up-to-date machinery so that newly built enterprises measure up to the latest achievements in science and technology. Designs should envisage such manufacturing processes as to enable each new enterprise to produce more goods and goods of better quality from each kilogram of raw materials than is now obtained at operating factories.

New designs must ensure high efficiency of investments.

Experience demonstrates that in industry it is most advisable to use units of higher capaci-

ty. This yields a big economic effect. For example, building a synthetic ammonia factory having an annual capacity of 800,000 tons equipped with 200,000-ton units is 25 per cent cheaper than building a factory of the same capacity but with 100,000-ton units. In the oil refining industry, doubling the capacity of each plant reduces investments in construction per unit output by 20-25 per cent and doubles labour productivity.

In order radically to improve designs and correctly calculate estimates the responsibility of designing organisations for their work must be raised.

Huge capital investments are to be made in housing construction in the next five years. To make the most efficient use of them, serious shortcomings in designing and building houses must be eliminated.

Architects must pay more attention to providing amenities for the population, improving the layout of flats and the external appearance of houses and public buildings, yet without extravagance.

It is necessary further to industrialise and mechanise building work, to employ as a rule the contract system in construction, persistently and systematically apply advanced methods and efficient building processes and improve the supply system serving construction sites.

The quality of building work must be radically improved and the skill of workers, especially those engaged on finishing jobs, raised.

The building materials industry must expand the production of light and economical walling, attractive and durable facing materials, decora-

tive cement, plate glass, ceramics and plumbing fixtures. In five years the production of cement is to increase from 72 million to 100-105 million tons; production of reinforced concrete prefabricated elements is to rise by 40 per cent; slate, 60 per cent; and window glass, 40 per cent.

The chemical industry must provide construction sites with good, durable paints and other materials. Production of local building materials must be extended in every way.

Comrades, our builders are in the forefront of the work to build the material and technical basis of communism. Big and serious tasks are being set them in the new five-year period, on whose fulfilment the high rates of our economic development and the rapid rise in living standards of the Soviet people will depend. We are sure the many millions of Soviet builders will cope well with these tasks.

## VII.

### RISE IN THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S MATERIAL AND CULTURAL STANDARDS UNDER THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, communist construction and the steady improvement of the people's well-being are inseparable. In mapping out the main directions for the development of the economy under the new five-year plan, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR paid particular attention to measures for raising the people's standard of living. This was one of the pivotal questions when the draft Directives for the five-year plan were being drawn up.

Accelerating the pace of growth in the Soviet people's standard of living—here is the line the Party will steadfastly follow in the current five-year period. Consistent implementation of the decisions taken by the March and September Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU and essential improvement of basic proportions in the economy will ensure fuller use of the achievements registered in developing material

production for satisfying the growing material and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people.

According to the draft Directives, the absolute increment of the consumption fund, i.e., the sum-total of material wealth going for consumption by the people, will be 70 per cent greater in the present five-year period than in the preceding five years. The growth rates of the population's real incomes, retail trade, turnover of public catering establishments and services to the population will be higher than in 1961-1965.

Here are the relevant figures:

	Increase in 1961-65, per cent	Increase in 1966-70, per cent
Real per capita income	20	about 30
Retail trade	34	43.5
Public catering turnover	35	almost 50
Services	90	about 150

As you see, the principal targets of the growth rates of the people's welfare considerably exceed those of the preceding five years.

In the coming five years higher remuneration and improvement in the working and living conditions will be ensured by drawing on two sources: the resources concentrated in the hands of the state, and that part of the income (profit) which will remain at the enterprises in ever increasing amounts in the form of an incentive fund and a fund for social and cultural measures and housing construction. From now on, rises in the wages of factory and office workers will largely depend on the results of operation of the respective enterprise, such as an increase in the volume of goods sold, improve-

ment of its quality, rise in labour productivity and level of profitability and growth in the amount of profit. Broad possibilities are opened up before the personnel of each enterprise.

An increase in the remuneration of labour—*wages of factory and office workers and incomes of collective farmers for their work on the collective farm*—is the decisive link in the planned advance of the people's living standard. This is the primary stimulus of production and the main source of the population's higher incomes.

During the five years average monthly wages of factory and office workers will rise by not less than 20 per cent and amount in 1970 to about 115 rubles; if payments and benefits from the public consumption funds are added, the figure will be about 155 rubles per employed person. Incomes received by collective farmers for work on the collective farms will rise on the average by 35 to 40 per cent. Total remuneration of factory and office workers and collective farmers will grow approximately 40 per cent in the five years.

*The principal feature of our wages policy* is the steady enhancement of the stimulating role of wages in the solution of the major production tasks of the five-year plan. It is essential to combine correctly systematic wage increases with the provision of priority incentives for those workers who make the biggest contribution to expanding and improving production. To achieve this, every worker, engineer, and technician should know by how much his wages will rise from an improvement in production indica-

tors, how large a share he will receive from the additional income of his enterprise.

The minimum wage will go up during the five years. Simultaneously, rates and salaries of factory and office workers in the middle brackets will be raised, which will make it possible to establish more proper correlations in remunerating the labour of various categories of employees. In so doing, more advantages should be given to those working in arduous or harmful conditions, on underground and more exacting jobs.

But we still have groups of workers in the lower brackets. When we speak of them we refer to unskilled factory and office workers and the lower echelon of service personnel. To reduce this category numerically it is necessary to mechanise more widely auxiliary jobs and all kinds of calculating operations and to automate production. Retraining will enable many of these workers to take up skilled jobs. This is a natural process both as regards raising the efficiency of production and also as regards the Party's main objective—improving the people's living standard.

In addition to wage increases, the draft Directives provide for continuing the *abolition and reduction of taxes* on wages of some categories of factory and office workers.

The formation of incentive funds at enterprises will make it possible to enhance the collective interest of all workers in improving the results of an enterprise's operation. Accordingly, the new five-year plan provides for increasing the share of bonuses and lump-sum rewards in

the earnings of factory and office workers. This will make for better combination of the interests of each worker with those of the collective and society as a whole. Bonus systems, taking account of the labour productivity, quality, and individual and collective results of production, should be gradually extended to all categories of workers as the new incentive system is introduced.

In formulating the wages policy, consideration should be given to the specific features of the country's different regions, their climatic conditions, economic development levels and existing retail prices. Special allowances have not yet been extended to all workers in Eastern Siberia, the Far East and in the country's North European regions. This inconsistency must be rectified. At the same time greater privileges will be extended to people working in the Far North and other areas put in the same category.

It is a known fact that in recent years the working class of capitalist countries has won a certain increase of wages in the course of tense class struggle. But these rises largely lose their importance owing to the systematic growth of prices of prime necessities, higher rents and rates of public utility and other services and high cost of medical aid.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries large sections of the working people are doomed to poverty and indigence, not because of insufficient development of the productive forces but because of the social vices inherent in the capitalist mode of production, such as crises, unemployment, ruin of the small producers.

racial and national inequality, discrimination in the payment for work of women and degradation of some economic areas.

The socialist system has removed these obstacles to an improvement in the people's welfare. For the first time in history this system made the people's living standard directly dependent on the development of material production and labour productivity and thereby opened before each working man the way to the ever fuller satisfaction of his material and cultural requirements.

In raising the well-being of the people, alongside an increase in incomes through payment for work, an important role is played by the public consumption funds which in Soviet conditions make it possible faster to improve the living standard of large families and better to satisfy the social and cultural requirements of the population.

The draft Directives envisage an increase of at least 40 per cent of the general aggregate of payments and benefits received by the population from the *public consumption funds*. The increment in these funds will be primarily used for perfecting the pension scheme, the upbringing and maintenance of children in nurseries and kindergartens, improving the public health system and cultural and other services in town and country. In 1970 approximately 60,000 million rubles will be spent for this purpose.

As regards the *pension scheme* for factory and office workers it is planned:

to raise the old age pension minimum for factory and office workers and collective farm-

ers by more than 30 per cent;

to introduce old-age pensions at the age of 50 for some categories of women-workers engaged on more exacting jobs;

to equalise collective farmers with factory and office workers as regards the pension age and procedure for calculating pensions;

to increase the pension minimum for collective farmers who are Group One invalids and to introduce pensions for Group Three invalid collective farmers disabled by an accident on the job or occupational disease.

Another important trend in using the public consumption funds is the *maintenance and public upbringing of children*. The number of children accommodated in state preschool institutions will grow to 12.2 million in 1970, 60 per cent more than in 1965. This will, in the main, meet the urban population's need in these institutions and will considerably extend their services in rural areas. The number of pupils in prolonged-day schools and groups will more than double.

An important socio-economic measure in the new five-year period is the introduction of the *five-day working week* (five workdays and two free days) for factory and office workers, while preserving the existing total length of the working week. This will give the working people more leisure and greater opportunities for recreation, study and improvement of skills. The transition to the five-day week will help raise the productivity of labour and improve the economic performance of enterprises. Two days off a week will make it possible to organise the re-

pair of equipment more efficiently, to cut down idle time, the consumption of fuel and power, etc. A number of textile mills, engineering, chemical and steel works have been working five days a week for some time now, the result being a rise in labour productivity and a cut in production costs.

In the past few years, much has been done to improve *trade*. The sale of staple foods and main manufactured goods has substantially grown. During the past five years more than 4,000 million rubles were spent on the building of shops and other trading establishments and also warehouses and vegetable storages. About 65,000 new shops and 42,000 dining rooms and other public catering establishments were opened and the network of warehouses and cold storages was greatly extended.

But the development of state and co-operative trade still falls short of requirements. The demand for some goods is not satisfied in full and in some places the sale even of goods in ample supply is inadequate. Sales services bringing goods to the consumer's home are insufficiently developed, especially in the countryside, and limited use is made of mobile shops which do not cost much to run and can greatly improve the servicing of the collective farmers and state farm workers.

Improvement of Soviet trade is a major task. State and co-operative retail trade will increase by 45,000 million rubles, i. e., by about 43.5 per cent, in five years.

The plan envisages a considerable increase in the sale of foodstuffs and light industry

goods. The sale of meat and meat products is to rise by 21 per cent; milk and dairy products, 37 per cent; fish and fish products, 71 per cent; sugar, 22 per cent; vegetable oil, 65 per cent; margarine, 95 per cent; vegetables and melons, 44 per cent; fruit and grapes, 30 per cent; fabrics, garments and knitted goods, 38 per cent and footwear, 26 per cent.

The sale of consumer durables and electrical appliances will grow even faster.

Here are some comparative figures:

	Sold in 1961-65	To be sold in 1966-70
Domestic refrigerators (million)	4.7	18.5
Washing machines (million)	10.9	19.0
Radio sets and radiograms (million)	2.15	30.0
TV sets (million)	12.0	27.0
Furniture (1,000 million rubles)	8.0	11.6

Our task is to fully balance goods resources with the effective demand of the population. Workers in trade have not yet succeeded in properly organising the study of consumer demand. This gives rise to errors in the work of the trading organisations, hampers the supply of the population with some goods, and in a number of cases leads to overstocking and big losses. Recently trade organisations have started placing orders with industry, and this has already produced good results. This practice should be applied everywhere, which will increase the influence of trade on the production of consumer goods and improve their assortment and quality.

To improve services and to make trade workers more interested in the expansion of sales a new system of planning and incentives similar to that applied in industry will be intro-

duced in trade.

Public catering has many serious shortcomings. Now staffs of canteens and restaurants can no longer give the shortage of products as an excuse, yet the food is often untasty and service is not up to standard.

Greater attention should be paid to the improvement of public catering. The turnover of public catering enterprises will grow by about 50 per cent in five years. Many cafes, restaurants and other eating places will open. Hot meals should be made available at all factories, building sites, state farms and educational establishments.

Consumer co-operatives will be further developed. They must organise the uninterrupted sale of clothing, footwear, fuel, building materials, household and sports goods, and stationery and consumer durables, expand bread-baking, improve public catering and other services in the rural areas.

Now that identical prices obtain in rural and urban trade, conditions should be created to enable the rural buyer to obtain everything he needs in the local shops as well. This is a task of the consumer co-operatives.

A reduction in state retail prices of consumer goods, above all of children's goods, will be one of the sources for increasing the welfare of the people. This will be done as the production of consumer goods is expanded and the necessary goods and financial resources are accumulated.

It is necessary to improve trade on the collective-farm markets. This will contribute to an improvement of the living standards and an in-

crease in the income of collective farms and collective farmers.

The rise in the living standards of the Soviet people largely depends on an improvement in the *service industries*. We must make them a large technically well-equipped sector of the economy. Favourable conditions are being created for this purpose: there will be a substantial increase in the output of plant, machines and mechanisms for the services, particularly of laundry equipment, dry cleaning, shoe repair and hair-dressing equipment. The supply of materials and chemicals to service establishments will be radically improved. Considerable capital investments are earmarked for the building and equipment of these establishments, and more extensive use should be made of bank credits.

The services will increase by about 150 per cent in five years and in rural localities by more than 200 per cent. Branches and reception centres of service establishments located in nearby towns and district centres will be set up in villages.

Experience shows that outlay on the development of public services is rapidly recouped. It is advisable to transfer service establishments to the new system of planning and economic incentives so as to make the wages of their workers depend on increases in the volume and improvement in the quality of services rendered.

But the main thing is to enlist for the organisation of these services enterprising and competent people who would know how to provide

various amenities: renovate a flat swiftly and well; help move and settle in a new flat; deliver parcels home; repair footwear, clothing and household utensils quickly and at a low cost.

*Housing* is one of the cardinal social problems.

The extent to which the population is provided with housing is an indicator of the living standards, which depends not only on the current national income but also on the level of accumulated wealth, because it takes decades to build up the housing facilities.

In 1966-70 houses with a total floor space of over 480 million square metres will be built in towns, urban-type settlements and state farms. In addition, 2-2.5 million dwelling houses are to be built by the population and the collective farms in the rural areas.

Alongside greater centralised capital investments for housing by the state, enterprises should spend a greater part of their funds for social, cultural and housing purposes on housing construction. Every encouragement should be given to co-operative house-building, the volume of which is to increase by 200-300 per cent; assistance should be given to factory and office workers and collective farmers in building homes with their own money or with the aid of credits.

The construction programme envisaged for 1966-70 will improve housing conditions and, as a result, some 65 million people will move into new houses as compared with 54 million during the preceding five years. This is a sweeping programme, but even this will not fully

solve the housing problem. Unremitting attention should, therefore, be given to the raising of funds for building more and more houses.

The volume of capital investments for the development of public utilities will increase in 1966-70. Centralised water supply system will be installed in a large number of towns and urban-type settlements, and many towns will be supplied with gas. Work will be started to supply gas to homes in rural areas. Electric power will be more widely used for domestic needs.

Comrades, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government are devoting great attention to the *public health services*. In the recent years, the Soviet Union has the world's lowest mortality rate. Our medical men have scored telling successes in combatting many, especially infectious, diseases. That is their great contribution. Over four million medical workers, including 555,000 physicians, are engaged in health protection. The material basis of the public health services has been substantially reinforced.

But there are still many defects in this field. Measures must be taken to raise the standard of medical service, patients must have more care and attention, the network of polyclinics and out-patient wards, sanitary services, medical aid at home, and first aid stations must be expanded and their work improved.

The new five-year plan provides for greater specialisation of medical aid, and expansion of the material and technical facilities in the public health services. A large number of urban and rural district hospitals and polyclinics will be built and more drugs will be produced.

In the five years, steps will be taken to improve prophylactic measures and child health protection, to develop physical culture and sports, to create a more healthful environment— purification of air and water—and to provide better working and living conditions. The sanitary and anti-epidemic services must raise sanitary requirements, notably demands on the managements of industrial enterprises and economic organisations. Virus infections, above all influenza, and also cardio-vascular diseases and malignant tumours must receive special attention. Much has to be done to develop new drugs, antibiotics, effective vaccines and serums, and also to make new medical instruments, appliances and equipment.

We have no doubt that our medical men—scientists, physicians and all medical workers—who are highly esteemed by our people, will fulfil their tasks with credit and score new successes in their field.

The five-year plan must also mark a new stage in *cultural development*. The mighty upswing in material production and the substantial rise in the living standards will create objective conditions for the advance of Soviet socialist culture. Socialist construction continuously multiplies the output of material wealth and makes it available to the whole population, thereby creating the necessary prerequisites for the development of culture and placing it within the reach of wide sections of the people. The craving for culture, the rapid cultural advance in our country, where all power and all public wealth belong to the work-

ing people, is unparalleled, and no capitalist country can match this. That is what Lenin had in mind, when in the early Soviet years he said: "Nowhere are the masses of the people so interested in real culture as they are in our country; nowhere are the problems of this culture tackled so thoroughly and consistently as they are in our country." (*Sel. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 809, FLPH, Moscow, 1961.) Lenin's statement is even more topical today. The next five years must witness a rapid advance of socialist culture.

Eight years ago eight-year compulsory education was introduced in the Soviet Union for all children of school age. That was an outstanding gain of socialism. Now this achievement no longer satisfies the people in our country. We now have to raise education to an even higher level: to complete in the main the transition to universal compulsory secondary education.

Large appropriations will be made for the building of schools, since the number of young people receiving a full secondary education in the next five years will be four times the figure for the preceding five years. Party, Government, and trade union organisations must exercise unremitting control over the building of new schools and the organisation of their work. Industrial enterprises and state and collective farms will undoubtedly give great assistance in the building and equipment of new schools. But the main responsibility for the solution of this really historic task of ensuring universal secondary education should naturally be shouldered by educational workers. Our secondary

school has many achievements to its credit. But there are also serious defects in its work which can and must be remedied in the nearest future. School instruction is still poorly linked with the diverse requirements of modern highly mechanised production. Curricula are changed every year and are overloaded with questions which could well be omitted or replaced by others, more important from the modern scientific standpoint; there are no standard textbooks for a number of subjects. Much remains to be done in fostering in all pupils a sense of self-discipline, order and perseverance. Little attention is still being given to physical training and aesthetic education.

The work of the secondary school has to be greatly improved. Neither effort nor means must be spared to achieve this, for it is the school that moulds the personality. Our schools must give sound knowledge, and bring up young people with the habit for work and a deep sense of civic duty and develop in the youth the inner qualities conforming with the moral code of the builder of communism.

Naturally, the improvement of teaching and instruction in schools is not some sort of campaign or reorganisation scheme, but it entails painstaking work, which has to be carried out without haste and on scientific lines.

Our teachers are doing a job of enormous importance, a truly noble task. We must raise the role and prestige of our teachers. Party, Government and trade union organisations, enterprises, institutions, collective and state farms must create conditions for the fruitful work of

teachers, and help them in their difficult and noble task of educating the rising generation.

In the coming five years, four to five million people will annually leave the secondary and technical schools. Naturally only a part of them can be enrolled in institutions of higher learning. The bulk will take jobs in the economy, and the five-year plan must make provisions that will enable all of them to find their place in life.

The importance of *vocational training*, too, will grow. By the end of the five years enrolment in vocational schools will increase to 1.7-1.8 million people a year. Accordingly, the network of vocational schools will have to be expanded, and their material basis strengthened.

The Soviet economy is very short of workers with a specialised secondary education. About half as many more people will therefore be enrolled in secondary technical schools, the enrolment figure mounting to 1,600,000 by 1970. Measures are to be framed to improve instruction in secondary technical schools and bring it up to present-day needs.

In the 1965-66 academic year, 3,830,000 students are enrolled in Soviet higher educational institutions. By the end of the new five-year plan period, annual admission of students is to be brought up to 940,000, total enrolment rising to about five million.

It is essential that the standard of training be improved. This is insistently required by life, the development of production, scientific and technical progress. The higher and specialised secondary schools must equip their students

with the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and with deep theoretical and practical knowledge. The country expects the higher school to produce good specialists and skilful organisers of production deeply conversant in economics, methods of management and scientific principles of organising labour.

The curricula of higher educational institutions ought to be analysed, and so should the working time of students and teachers; lectures, seminars, practical work, the independent work of students in libraries, laboratories, etc. should be arranged rationally. All facilities ought to be made available to teachers and students for creative work and research.

We have excellent higher schools and research institutes. Our country may be legitimately proud of its outstanding scientists, who have already left their mark in world science, and of its talented young scientists. For all this, we must note that the organisation of the work at research institutes, the selection of personnel, its distribution and the existing economic and moral incentives often do not sufficiently ensure better research work, organisation of new research, bold scientific search, close links with production and the application of scientific and technical achievements in the economy. Research, particularly in the field of natural science and technology, has got to be turned into the most productive sphere of social labour. This is more than a mere wish; it is a feasible demand and it has got to be fulfilled.

Our bourgeois opponents have been saying

lately that the CPSU and the Soviet Government are interested in nothing but the technical sciences and the related branches of natural science. This contention is groundless, because all our activity has a sound scientific foundation and is based on the most advanced theory of social development. Social development and the moulding of the individual are based on Marxism-Leninism which is a science. Marxist-Leninist philosophy has long since become the methodological basis of scientific research in all fields of knowledge. Sociological research based on the materialist understanding of history, which generalises the concrete facts of the life of socialist society, is playing an ever greater part in solving the practical problems of politics, production and education.

Our country has good opportunities for the further development of socialist culture. Our intelligentsia consists of more than 25 million people with a working-class and peasant background. A far-flung system of culture and art institutions has been built up in all the Union and Autonomous Republics. It is a distinctive feature of our time that all sections of the people are taking part in artistic endeavour. Something like 10 million people in town and countryside are taking part in the work of People's Culture Universities, people's theatres, philharmonic societies, song, dance and music groups and other amateur art companies. Book-publishing, cinema, radio and television have been greatly expanded. They are powerful vehicles of ideological and cultural education of people, and we must make the most of them.

The present level of economy and culture, and their further development are paving the way for the solution of a major problem of communist construction—the eradication of distinctions between physical and mental labour and between town and countryside. The coming five years ought to see a big step forward in the solution of those great social problems.

The draft Directives define the material basis for the successful development of Soviet culture and art. The whole ramified system of theatres, clubs, palaces and houses of culture, libraries, museums and other cultural institutions in town and country must serve effectively the communist education of working people, raising their cultural level and helping to develop the gifts and talents with which our people are so richly endowed. Writers, musicians, artists and all other cultural workers ought to make the most of the favourable conditions and opportunities created by the socialist system in meeting more fully the rising spiritual demands of the Soviet people.

The implementation of the measures set out in the draft Directives, designed to improve the living standards and cultural level of the people, will, as I have already said, entail immense expenditure. However, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government consider these measures as the minimum. It depends on us, on the results of our labour and on our skilful management how much farther we shall be able to go even in these five years and how much more we shall be able to do in improving the living standards of the people. If we manage

to surpass the plan targets for growth of production, reduction of costs and greater profitability, the nation will be able to afford additional measures to improve the standard of living.

## VIII.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF THE USSR

Comrades, in the past seven years, the Soviet Union continued to develop economic relations with other countries. Not only has this furthered the growth of the Soviet economy; it has also promoted closer bonds among the countries of the world socialist system, added to its might and strengthened the positions of the young Asian and African national states, that took the road of independent development. The Soviet Union's foreign economic relations have become a factor of enormous international importance, furthering the interests of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Pride of place in our foreign economic relations goes to the fraternal socialist countries. They account for about 70 per cent of the Soviet Union's foreign trade. The division of labour between the socialist countries plays an increasing role in supplying their economies with equipment and raw materials, and enlarg-

ing the supply of consumer goods. It helps them to accelerate technical progress and to raise the efficiency of social production. The international socialist division of labour, practised on voluntary lines on the basis of full equality, is helping us and our friends—the fraternal socialist countries—to advance more rapidly towards our common goal, communism.

The economic relations between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are going to expand still more in the coming five years. Our co-operation in science and technology will grow, and so will our trade. For the first time in the history of international economic relations such large reciprocal deliveries of goods have been co-ordinated by a group of countries five years in advance. The draft Directives provide for the carrying into effect, on a mutual basis, of the Soviet Union's commitments under long-term trade agreements with the fraternal countries.

Co-operation with the socialist countries will help us fulfil the tasks of the new five-year plan. The Soviet Union is going to buy from them over a thousand sets of equipment for enterprises and shops in the chemical, light, food and other industries. Deliveries from the fraternal countries will cover 48 per cent of our needs in sea-going freighters, 40 per cent of our needs in main-line and industrial electric locomotives, about 36 per cent of our needs in railway cars, etc. We shall also purchase large amounts of such consumer goods, as garments, knitted goods, footwear, textiles, food and chemical goods, which will help satisfy the

requirements of our population. In return, the Soviet Union will meet the principal requirements of the CMEA countries in many types of plant and machinery, solid and liquid fuel, raw materials for metallurgical mills, metals, cotton, timber, cellulose, paper and some other important commodities.

Naturally, expanding economic co-operation poses new problems. At present the socialist countries depend on their own production and mutual exchange for 95 per cent of their needs in plant and machinery. Industry and the foreign trade agencies, therefore, bear the great responsibility of ensuring mutual deliveries of commodities of the highest quality within the specified time. We are confident that industry and foreign trade agencies in our own country, and those of our friends, will see to it that this is done.

The draft Directives take account of the interest of the socialist countries in extending specialisation and co-operation in industry. Naturally, socialist co-operation in production is based on strict regard for the interests of its every participant.

We shall have to do our best in the coming five years to extend our scientific and technological co-operation. It is an important trend in the rational use of the resources of the world socialist system to coordinate the efforts of the socialist countries in theoretical and applied research, and in designing and drafting.

All-round development of economic bonds

between the socialist countries is for us a task of cardinal importance, because it accords with the basic interests of each country in particular and the world socialist system in general. Acting on the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government will continue to do their utmost to extend co-operation between the fraternal countries, to increase the economic power of the socialist community and to strengthen its unity.

We attach great importance to extending our economic relations with the independent Asian, African and Latin American countries. These countries, whose population comprises about half of all mankind, have now become the arena of violent struggle against imperialism. Soviet economic co-operation strengthens the economies of the young national states and is an important element in the effort to secure peace and the right to freedom and independent development.

Economically, Soviet co-operation with the developing countries is designed to help the latter solve such cardinal problems as the creation of key industries, the training of technicians and scientists and the strengthening of the positions of these countries on the world market. This co-operation enables the Soviet Union to make better use of the international division of labour. We shall be able to purchase in these countries increasing quantities of their traditional export commodities—cotton, wool, skins and hides, dressed non-ferrous ores, vegetable oil, fruit, coffee, cocoa beans, tea

and other raw materials, and a variety of manufactured goods.

Trade with the developing countries is to expand considerably in the coming five years. It is not only a question of expanding the volume of trade, but also of structural changes that will bring it in line with the changes in the economies of the developing countries. The draft Directives provide for a considerable expansion of the export of plant and equipment to countries building independent national economies. It is essential to ensure a corresponding rise in the export of spare parts and components, and some types of raw materials and other supplies.

The training of national personnel is of the utmost importance for the developing countries. It is no less important than building national industries. The draft Directives envisage the further development of our co-operation in the training of national specialists.

We have faith in the creative capacity of the peoples struggling against imperialism, in the triumph of their just cause, and shall spare no effort to expand our economic co-operation with them continuously.

During the past five years the volume of Soviet trade with the capitalist countries, notably with Finland, France, Italy, Japan, Britain and Sweden, increased by over 50 per cent. But the West's trade relations with the USSR are hampered by artificial barriers. A number of countries still levy high duties on Soviet goods. The United States is trying to obstruct the development of Soviet trade

with other countries. But its attempts are unsuccessful. By doing so, the United States will only gain the unenviable reputation of trying, in the 20th century, to erect barriers to broad international commerce.

The objective requirements of the international division of labour undoubtedly tend to bring the pattern of Soviet exports increasingly in line with the present pattern of our economy and its potentialities. If our trading partners take account of the changes in Soviet economy, we shall be able to increase substantially the size of our purchases in capitalist countries. The draft Directives envisage a further expansion of trade with the capitalist countries. We believe that long-term trade and credit agreements, which reflect the desire to develop stable mutually advantageous trade relations, will boost foreign trade to an even greater extent than they did in the past.

It is becoming more and more obvious in our time that the scientific and technical revolution at work in the modern world calls for freer international economic contacts and creates conditions for broad economic exchange between socialist and capitalist countries. This process, for its part, may have a beneficial effect on the international situation.

In the past five years, foreign trade helped us solve a number of important economic problems. But we are still not making the most of the opportunities that the development of foreign economic relations offers us.

The time has come for us to reappraise the role of foreign trade. All too often, the staffs

of our foreign trade organisations shut themselves up in their own sphere and lose sight of the fact that all their work should pursue the objective of raising the efficiency of our economy. It stands to reason that the long-term plan for foreign trade cannot take account of all possible contingencies and changes that occur on the world market. This makes it doubly important for our foreign trade specialists to know the needs of our economy and suggest the most advantageous purchases and sales. On the other hand, workers in industry often consider foreign trade as secondary. This attitude is wrong and has to be radically changed; industry and the foreign trade bodies must extend their contacts.

The new five-year plan must contain measures that will substantially improve the commodity pattern of our export and import, make them more effective, better the quality of exports, improve trading methods and provide for a better use of imported goods. It is planned to considerably increase exports and to make them more effective. It is therefore essential to give priority to exports of plant, equipment and other manufactured goods, and to increase exports of such raw materials, semi-finished goods and materials which guarantee us good receipts of foreign currency. Our planners, industry, foreign trade bodies and transport agencies will have to work purposefully hand in hand to attain this important economic objective.

In the coming five years industrial development will provide additional opportunities

for foreign trade. Even today many of the country's engineering works produce technically advanced equipment of original design. It is therefore doubly insufferable that this first-class equipment—the fruit of the creative thought and skill of our wonderful engineers and workers—does not reach foreign markets just because due attention is not paid to its proper finishing and technical documentation, due to a lack of servicing and the absence of advertising.

Until recently we tended to underestimate the importance of trading in patents and licences. Such trade is playing an increasingly prominent role in the world today and is developing faster than commerce in industrial goods. Our scientific and technical personnel is able to create—and this has been proved in practice—up-to-date machines and equipment. We can, and must, therefore, assume our due place in the world's licence market. In some cases, we, too, could profit by purchasing licences, rather than developing the problem concerned ourselves. Purchase of patent rights abroad will enable us to save hundreds of millions of rubles on scientific research during the coming five years.

One of the big tasks in the new five-year plan is to increase production of the most effective types of goods for export. Ministries and planning bodies must seriously tackle this task. Workers in industry should study market conditions for their product both at home and abroad, and the Ministry for Foreign Trade

should supply them with the relevant information.

Foreign economic relations are an important sector of our work. The people employed in this field are doing work of national importance, and ought to be helped, and their initiative supported. Successful development of foreign economic relations, and their greater effectiveness, will promote the further upswing of our economy and help the undeviating pursuance of the Leninist Soviet foreign policy.

## IX.

### THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, our Party Congresses have always attracted close attention abroad. The Soviet Union is a great socialist power with a high economic and military potential and immense international weight. Our foreign friends—and we have friends in every corner of the world—regard the new Soviet five-year plan as a guarantee of the further success of the nation that was the first in history to build socialism and has started on the building of communist society. Our class enemies are compelled to reckon increasingly with the successes of the Soviet state.

The force of example of the victorious working class following the path of socialism and communism is one of the key factors furthering the development of the world revolutionary process. We may say legitimately that our economic plans and successes are the best pos-

sible publicity and propaganda for socialism and communism among the many millions of working people in all countries. More than ever before do we appreciate today the depth of perception in Lenin's statement that our socialist state exercises its chief influence on the world revolution by its economic policy. Lenin pointed out that socialism would create a higher productivity of labour than capitalism and viewed the economic competition of the two systems as an historically natural process.

In effect, we entered the economic competition with the capitalist countries after crushing the internal counter-revolution and foreign intervention, when the Soviet people, under the leadership of its Party, began to implement Lenin's ideas on the possibility of building socialism in one country. To be sure, in those days we could not in earnest set ourselves the specific task of surpassing the richest countries of the capitalist world. But as our economic positions gained strength, this task became increasingly realistic.

Steel output figures, for example, indicate the steady growth of Soviet industry. In 1928 we accounted for as little as 3.9 per cent of the world steel output. Today we produce nearly 20 per cent of it. In 1928 Soviet steel output equalled 8 per cent of that of the United States; we were also far behind Britain, France and Germany. In 1965 Soviet steel output amounted to 75 per cent of the US steel output and far surpassed the output of steel in Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany combined.

The capitalist system has organic sores, which cannot be healed. Government economic regulation and other factors on which bourgeois economists pinned their hopes are unable to alter the spontaneous nature of economic development, ensure steady economic growth, eliminate the irregularity of economic development and remove the antagonistic class contradictions inherent in capitalism. Between 1948 and 1961, for instance, the United States suffered four recessions, touched off by over-production. The accretion in industrial output, which was as much as 8-10 per cent in the West European countries in some years, and even 15 and more per cent in Japan, shrank considerably from time to time. A substantial drop in the rate of economic growth has occurred over the last year or two in Western Europe and Japan.

All in all, post-war experience revealed the instability of the economic and, consequently, the political situation in the capitalist world.

As for the Soviet economy we have every reason to note its steady economic development. To implement the tasks of the new five-year plan means to strengthen still more the economic might of our country and to secure further changes on the world scene in favour of peace and socialism.

As we all know, the state of a country's economy also has a bearing on its defence potential. This is doubly true in our times, when weapons are becoming more and more complex and costly, and when their manufacture calls for a high level of scientific and technical develop-

ment. By strengthening our economy, we strengthen the defence potential of the Soviet Union and the might of the whole socialist camp. The revolutionary gains of our people, and those of others, would be in jeopardy if they were not shielded, directly or indirectly, by the immense military strength of the countries of the socialist community and above all that of the Soviet Union.

If at times the imperialists are apprehensive of doing what they would like, they are restrained solely by the knowledge of the risk this entails for them.

The Report of the Central Committee to the Congress gives a comprehensive analysis of the present situation. The world situation today is characterised not only by the further growth of the forces of socialism and progress but also by attempts of world reaction to consolidate its positions and, wherever possible, to assume the counter-offensive and recoup its losses. The aggressive course pursued by the imperialists, especially the US imperialists and their West-German allies, hampers the solution of many urgent problems. In South-East Asia, the USA has embarked on undisguised aggression, which is casting a sinister shadow on the international situation as a whole.

The Soviet Union is giving extensive support to the freedom-loving Vietnamese people. We shall continue to give them assistance in the necessary proportions, until the Vietnamese people bring their heroic struggle against the interventionists to a victorious end.

The US has used the war in Vietnam to be-

gin a new stage in the arms race. Washington is drawing up plans for a further build-up of its armed forces. US Congress has allocated an additional sum of over \$ 13,000 million for the war in Vietnam, with total war appropriations for the next fiscal year mounting to more than \$ 60,000 million.

In the circumstances, we naturally cannot afford to relax our efforts in the sphere of defence. We have to bear in mind what Lenin said on this score. "Having tackled our peaceful construction," he said, "we shall apply all our strength to continue it without interruption. At the same time, comrades, be alert, cherish the defence capacity of our country and our Red Army as the apple of your eye, and remember that we have no right to relax even for an instant in safeguarding our workers and peasants, and their gains."

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government will, as before, consider as their prime task to reinforce our Armed Forces, which exist for the purpose of safeguarding socialism and the peaceful labour of the Soviet people.

The facts show that just as the development of our economy has an increasing influence on the international position of the Soviet Union and on the world situation, so the world situation, in turn, has an influence on our plans, and on the course, rates and prospects of our economic development. If matters depended solely on ourselves, we would surely have made substantial cuts in our military spending and correspond-

ingly greater capital investments in the peaceful branches of the economy and further increases of the share of consumption in the national income. We have said repeatedly, and say again, that we consider the arms race, which the imperialist powers, notably the USA, have imposed upon mankind, as harmful and dangerous. The Soviet Union has done and continues to do, everything in its power to end this senseless waste of human labour, energy and resources.

We reiterate once more that the policy of the Soviet Union is designed to safeguard peace and promote the struggle against all the forces that wish to plunge the world into war. Our main concern is to avert the threat of a new world war. Any initiative genuinely directed at maintaining and strengthening peace will meet with positive response and support on our part.

The Soviet Government declares its willingness to co-operate with all governments that favour, or will favour, an easing of international tension and a strengthening of the security of the peoples.

As before, we shall strive to make the principles of peaceful coexistence determinative in the relations between countries with different social systems. Implementation of the programme for improving the international situation set out in the Report of the CC CPSU would serve this purpose splendidly.

Despite the complexity of the international situation, we Communists look to the future with justified optimism. Today, when our country is in the full bloom of its power, when

socialism has won in so many countries, when we have so many allies and friends, represented by their delegations at this Congress, when the communist movement has spread to all the continents, we have good grounds to say: the aggressors must and shall be curbed; a new world war can and must be averted.

To turn this possibility into reality, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government are advocating an enduring and dependable front of opponents of a new world war. We believe that the broader this front becomes, the more difficult it will be for the enemies of peace to carry through their designs.

All sincere friends of peace—who constitute the vast majority in all countries—can be sure that the Soviet Union will defend to the last the interests of world peace and the security of nations.

We Soviet Communists have always been, and always will be internationalists. When dealing with our internal problems, we bear in mind that our plans and actions must also further new successes of the socialist community, the international working class, and the national liberation movement of the peoples. The realisation of the big programme we are discussing at this Congress for securing a further rise and greater efficiency of the Soviet economy will unquestionably exercise a far-reaching influence on the world situation.

We note with deep satisfaction that many fraternal delegations are devoting so much attention in their speeches here to questions related to the further development of the Soviet

economy. There is every reason to say that they are taking an active part in the discussion of the new five-year plan. This shows that our new economic plan is not only the concern of the Soviet peoples. The Communists of all the fraternal parties, all friends of the Soviet Union and progressives all over the world take it close to heart. On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government I should like to thank warmly the guests present in this hall, the representatives of the fraternal parties, for the lively interest they are showing in the programme of our further economic development and for the good wishes they have expressed as to its implementation.

Comrades, the tasks of the new five-year plan are very great and imposing. Much more is to be accomplished than in the preceding five years. The fulfilment of these tasks will give added impetus to the building of communism, that great goal of the working class, of the whole Soviet people. All the versatile activity of our Party, the vanguard of the builders of communism, is centred on this objective.

To us communism is not an abstract ideal. It is an objective historical necessity. It is the living day-to-day activity of millions of working people in the name of man's happiness, in the name of his welfare and free harmonious development.

The targets of the five-year plan were not set at random. They are based on a generalisation of the practice of building the new society, on a scientific analysis of the objective trends

and needs of socio-economic development in the contemporary stage.

There is no room, and cannot be any, for subjectivism in the choice of the ways in which these tasks are to be implemented, and in setting their proportions. One must not pass off the desired as the existing. Naturally, we should like to solve all the problems that have accumulated in the course of our development as quickly as possible. But each step in their solution has got to be conclusively justified and has to proceed from what has already been achieved, from the real possibilities created by our common labour.

The five-year plan is laying an enduring foundation for stable rates of agricultural growth and the co-ordinated development of industry and farming, those two most important spheres of social production. As a result, we shall be able to bring the working and living conditions in town and country substantially closer together. In this lies the special significance of the five-year plan.

Scientific and technical progress requires well-educated, highly competent personnel that take a creative approach to their work. Our social system offers the most favourable environment for the development of such personnel. Harmonious combination of economic requirements and social opportunities lends itself to the further elimination of basic differences between mental and manual labour.

The new five-year plan is going to be a big step towards the solution of this historical pro-

blem. In this, too, lies the big significance of the five-year plan.

The social homogeneity of our society—a necessary pre-condition for successful progress to communism—is going to gain added strength in the process of the solution of these major problems.

No plan, however well it may be grounded, can be successfully fulfilled, unless the people take its implementation close to heart. The cardinal economico-political task is to set into motion, and give leadership to, the creative energies of the people, to enliven activity and develop initiative, the craving for the new, the high sense of responsibility of every Communist, every worker in all the sectors of the economy.

Comrades, nearly half a century has passed since the day our country embarked on socialist development. We have travelled a difficult and unexplored path. Today, the Soviet Union is a mighty socialist power, advancing together with the other socialist countries towards our common great goal.

Our country owes all its victories to the wise leadership of the Leninist Party, its unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its ability to lean at all times, as Lenin said, on the most wonderful force, the force of the workers and peasants.

Guided by the eternally living, ever creative, revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, our people shall, under the leadership of the Party, win fresh victories in communist construction.

Long live our glorious Leninist Party!  
Long live the great Soviet people, the build-  
er of communism!

*(Alexei Kosygin's speech was heard with great attention and was frequently interrupted by applause.)*

## ALEXEI KOSYGIN'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Comrade delegates, the discussion of the draft Directives for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70 has demonstrated that the outlined programme of the country's economic development is unanimously approved by the Congress delegates and finds warm response among all Soviet people. This programme meets the interests and the vital needs of the Soviet people.

The speeches of the Congress delegates and the suggestions made during the nation-wide discussion of the draft Directives were permeated with concern for finding the best solution to urgent questions of economic development, for ensuring further strengthening of the might of our Homeland and for raising the Soviet people's living standards.

The proposals submitted by Congress delegates are a big contribution to the solution of many problems of our country's economic life. They have been considered by a commission set

up by the Congress. A part of them the commission moves to include in the Directives, the draft of which will be issued to you today for approval. Other proposals, which require study, are to be referred to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the State Planning Committee of the USSR, and the ministries for careful consideration in drafting the five-year plan.

The unanimous approval of the draft Directives is a vivid expression of the unity of the Party and the people in evaluating the general line of building communism conducted by the Central Committee of our Party.

Now we are facing a task of tremendous importance: to compile a single state economic plan for five years on the basis of the Directives. This is a big and responsible job. The State Planning Committee of the USSR, the ministries, the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, the economic and planning bodies must work out the five-year plan with targets for every year and, what is of particular importance, make it known to every enterprise.

This new five-year plan must be drawn up within four of five months to be submitted to the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration.

The work for drafting the plan for five years must be carried out on truly scientific principles with due consideration for new conditions of economic management; no subjectivistic approach to the solution of economic problems can be permitted. This work calls for creative approach, economic justification of the plan's targets and selection of the most effective ways

of developing production on the basis of the latest achievements of science and engineering. Research and designing institutes, scientists, specialists in all branches of the national economy should be drawn into the work for the drafting of the five-year plan. Greater use should also be made of the experience of innovators and foremost workers. It must be remembered that the successful implementation of the measures for developing the national economy and raising the living standards of the people fully depends on the growth of the productivity of social labour, on the effective utilisation of production funds and material resources, on the results of the economic activity of each enterprise. It is necessary to introduce the strictest economy in all sections of national economy, to create the necessary reserves for the utmost fulfilment of the programme, to establish strict control over the expenditure of material and financial resources.

Consolidation of the Leninist principles of economic management will make it possible to tie up closely the plans of enterprises with the interests of their workers. This is of great importance for intensifying the struggle for developing production and improving work indices. Only in these conditions can we accomplish successfully the set programme of raising the material standards of the people and lay the foundation for a further rise in the Soviet people's living standards.

The new plan, its goals and tasks, should be clear to every working man. It is the duty of Party organisations to make clear to every

Soviet man the grandeur of the targets of our new five-year plan, the specific ways and means of fulfilling it.

The Soviet people have begun tackling the tasks of the first year of the five-year plan in an atmosphere of high labour enthusiasm. Strengthening the unity of will and readiness of the broad masses of the working people to carry out the outlined programme, Party organisations must launch a nation-wide movement for the fulfilment of the five-year plan. With fresh force, with still greater labour enthusiasm, the Soviet people, led by our Party, will carry on the struggle for the realisation of the programme, outlined by the 23rd Party Congress, for further development of the national economy, for new successes in building communism in our country.

*(Stormy, prolonged applause.)*

**RESOLUTION**  
**OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET**  
**UNION ON THE REPORT OF THE**  
**CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU**

Having heard and discussed the report of the First Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. Brezhnev, on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has resolved:

*to approve in full and completely the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU;*

*to approve the proposals and conclusions contained in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU.*

In the period under review, the activity of the Party was based on the line defined by the 20th-22nd Congresses and was directed at fulfilling the Programme of the CPSU, at building the material and technical basis of communism, further perfecting socialist social relations and the communist education of the working people.

In this period, notable headway was made in

economic and cultural development and in improving the standard of living of the people. The political foundation of Soviet society—the alliance of the working class and the collective-farm peasants, the friendship of the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union, and the solidarity of all working people with the CPSU—has grown stronger. The membership of the CPSU has increased, and its political and organisational role in Soviet society has grown. The Leninist principles of intra-Party life have taken firm root in the Party.

Guided by Lenin's teaching, the Party has improved forms and methods of economic management, casting aside all that failed to be worthwhile in practice and impeded our advance. The October (1964) Plenum of the CC CPSU has been of cardinal importance for the activity of the Party and the further advancement of our society to communism.

The growth of the economic and politico-military potential of the USSR has given added weight to its international position. The CPSU has always made, and now makes, every effort to safeguard the peaceful labour of the Soviet people; it is working actively for the maintenance of world peace and is waging a determined struggle against imperialist aggression. The USSR is constantly rendering support to the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and making an increasing contribution to the fight of the working people in all countries for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

## I.

1. World development has confirmed the conclusion of our Party and of the communist movement as a whole that the main trend of the historical process in our time is determined by the world socialist system, the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reorganization of society.

In the period under review, the world socialist system has grown considerably stronger; its international prestige has risen, and so has its influence on the destiny of mankind. This period is highlighted by the fact that the relations between the socialist countries and the fraternal parties of these countries became stronger on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of socialist internationalism, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for each other, and the independence of the Parties and states. Relations between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have become more extensive, closer and more cordial in the last few years. Political consultations and exchanges of opinion are being held regularly between the leaders of the fraternal socialist countries.

The economic co-operation of the socialist countries has expanded. The role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is continuously mounting.

The system of contractual relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been enhanced. It denotes the fraternal friendship of our peoples. The military co-operation of the socialist countries has become broad-

er. The mechanism of the Warsaw Pact is being strengthened and improved.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to continue developing and strengthening politico-ideological relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties of all socialist countries in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to promote in every way the cohesion of the socialist community, its might and influence, to extend economic, technical, scientific and cultural co-operation, and to cultivate in Soviet people the spirit of friendship and internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the fraternal countries.

The working-class movement in the capitalist countries is waging major class battles against the monopolies. In a number of countries the proletariat attained new positions for a further offensive against the exploiting system. Over the last few years, good prospects have appeared in some countries for united action by different contingents of the labour movement. Other social strata fighting against the oppression of the monopolies are ranging themselves more and more behind the working class.

The Congress considers it necessary to continue to extend and strengthen the bonds of comradeship and fraternity, the revolutionary solidarity of the Soviet people and Soviet Communists with the working class and all other working people in the capitalist countries, and with their democratic organisations.

The national liberation movement has continued to develop in the period under review. Another 17 countries have won their independ-

ence in the struggle against imperialism. Many of the newly-independent countries have entered a new stage—the stage of struggle for economic independence against the neo-colonialist attempts of the imperialist to regain lost positions and obstruct social progress.

Imperialism does not stand on ceremony, and often goes so far as to use armed force, in interfering in the internal affairs of the liberated countries. Lately the imperialists have stepped up subversion, particularly against the governments of countries where deep-going social reconstruction is under way.

The new way of life in countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke is taking shape in ferocious clashes with the treacherous imperialist enemy and reactionary domestic forces which depend on imperialism for support in their efforts to guide the young states along the capitalist path. However, the peoples are more and more coming to associate the consummation of the national liberation revolution, the elimination of their age-old backwardness and the improvement of their living conditions, with the non-capitalist path of development. Some young states have already embarked on this path, and the Soviet Union bases its relations with them on complete equality, friendship and mutual support.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to continue to support the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and neo-colonialism; to develop all-round co-operation with the newly-independent countries, to promote in every way the consolidation of the anti-imperialist front of the

peoples of all continents, and to extend its contacts with the communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the young national states.

2. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist general line worked out by collective effort at the 1957 and 1960 Meetings, the world communist movement has, in the period under review, consolidated and extended its positions as the most influential political force of our time.

In the period under review, the international activities of the CC CPSU were marked by the determination to enhance fraternal solidarity with the Communist and Workers' Parties, working with them to carry out the general line of the world communist movement and promote the unity of the great army of Communists all over the world.

The Congress considers it necessary to continue the policy aimed at strengthening the world communist movement, promoting united action by all fraternal parties in the struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, for the victory of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

The Congress believes that multilateral and bilateral meetings of fraternal parties, regular exchanges of opinion and comradely discussions of current issues constitute a useful practice, which has proved valuable, proved to be a good way of cementing the unity of the communist movement. Like the majority of the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it desirable to convene a new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties when the conditions are ripe for it.

The Congress approves the line and practical measures of the CC CPSU for adjusting the differences in the world communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

The Congress approves the activities of the CC CPSU and the concrete measures aimed at adjusting differences with the Communist Party of China on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Congress expresses confidence that our Parties and the peoples of our countries will eventually overcome the difficulties and march shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the common great revolutionary cause.

Strict observance of the rules governing relations between Parties, of the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as defined in the 1960 Statement, is an imperative condition for the cohesion of communist ranks. The CPSU opposes hegemonistic trends in the communist movement and advocated true equality and fraternal relations between all Parties along the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The politico-ideological cohesion of the communist ranks, for which the CPSU will continue to work perseveringly, presupposes uncompromising struggle by the Marxist-Leninists against Right and "Left" revisionism. Deviations to the "left" or right of the Marxist-Leninist line are doubly dangerous when associated with nationalism and hegemonistic ambition.

It is most important for the further progress of world communism that the new problems arising in world development and in the prac-

tice of the revolutionary movement should be solved creatively on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

3. The balance of forces in the world keeps changing in favour of socialism, the working-class and the national liberation movement. At the same time, the period under review is marked by an expansion of imperialist aggression and greater activity by the reactionaries. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, the exacerbation of its contradictions, are driving imperialism to greater adventurism and adding to the danger it presents to peace and social progress. More and more frequently, imperialism seeks an escape in armed provocations, all kinds of conspiracies and outright armed interventions.

The period under review has confirmed the conclusion of the Moscow 1957 and 1960 Meetings that the aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. Recent events show that the imperialists have stepped up their subversive activities against countries that have taken the path of social progress. American imperialism is the chief reactionary force of our time, that has assumed the role of world gendarme. It interferes brazenly in the internal affairs of many countries and peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America, scorning their sovereignty, seeking to crush the national liberation movement by force of arms and restore colonial order, and persists in its provocations against revolutionary Cuba. The aggressive nature of US imperialism is demonstrated most clearly by its criminal war against the people of Vietnam. The US aggres-

sors brutally bomb peaceful towns and villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and use napalm, poison gas and other inhuman means of extermination against the population of South Vietnam.

West Germany, where the forces of revanchism and militarism are growing with the encouragement of the US imperialists, has become a dangerous seat of international tension. These forces stubbornly seek access to nuclear-missile weapons in order to use them for their own revenge-seeking aggressive ends.

The international situation imperatively calls for the unity of all anti-war, anti-imperialist forces, and primarily for the unity of the world socialist system, all the contingents of the world communist, working-class and national liberation movement, the peace-loving nations and states, and all champions of peace, irrespective of their political views and world outlook. To prevent a further aggravation of international tension, to secure lasting peace and the free development of peoples, it is essential that broad sections of the people in the peace-loving countries, all political parties and public movements, firmly repulse the aggressors.

4. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds in its foreign policy from the basic interests of the Soviet people and its internationalist revolutionary duty to the fraternal socialist countries and the working people of all countries. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, together with that of other socialist countries, is aimed at securing favourable international conditions for the building of socialism

and communism; strengthening the unity and cohesion, the friendship and fraternity of the socialist countries; supporting the national liberation movements and maintaining all-round co-operation with the young developing countries; upholding consistently the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, firmly repelling the aggressive forces of imperialism and deliver mankind from the threat of a new world war.

To consolidate and protect peace, it is necessary to build up continuously the might of the peace-loving forces, to promote their activity and to secure the participation of the broad masses in the struggle for peace. The socialist countries play a special role in safeguarding the peace. Our Party is convinced that the conclusion of the world communist movement on the possibility to bridle the aggressor and avert a new world war is correct.

The Soviet Union has always favoured, and will continue to favour, normal relations with all countries and the settlement of international issues by negotiation, rather than war. It should be firmly stressed, however, that the principle of peaceful coexistence does not apply to relations between oppressors and oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial oppression.

The CPSU gives full support, and will continue to support, the just struggle for liberation waged by the heroic people of Vietnam. It will continue to give the people political, material and moral support. It is the firm and consistent view of the CPSU, of the entire Soviet people

that an end should be put to US aggression in Vietnam, that US troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam and that the people of Vietnam must be given a chance to settle their domestic affairs on their own.

Considering that the aggressive forces of imperialism are aggravating international tension and creating hotbeds of war, the CPSU will continue to sharpen the vigilance of the Soviet people, and to reinforce the defence potential of the USSR, so that the Soviet Armed Forces be ever ready to defend the gains of socialism dependably and deal a crushing blow to any imperialist aggression.

The Congress fully approves the activities of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the field of foreign policy, and supports the programme of measures proposed in the Central Committee Report, to settle key problems of world politics in the interests of the peoples, to strengthen world peace and international security.

## II

1. The Congress notes with satisfaction that the working class, the collective-farm peasants and the intelligentsia have, in implementing the historic tasks set by the Programme of the CPSU, achieved major progress in economic and cultural development and in improving the people's living standard during the period under review. Having fulfilled the seven-year plan, the country made an important step forward in

building the material and technical basis of communism.

Industrial output has increased considerably. Key sectors of the economy have been technically re-equipped. The power, chemical, oil and gas industries, the engineering and the instrument-making industry are developing at priority rates. The output of foodstuffs, manufactured consumer goods, domestic appliances and goods for satisfying cultural needs has expanded considerably. The greater interest displayed by working people in production, the introduction of new machines, instruments and means of mechanisation and automation in all branches of industry, has made it possible to increase considerably labour productivity. Achievements in science and industry have enabled the Soviet Armed Forces to be equipped with the latest weapons. It is essential to continue to perfect the production of weapons of defence, in order for the Soviet Army to have the most modern, and formidable arms.

The Soviet Union's share in world industrial output has mounted. The Soviet Union has consolidated its positions and scored fresh victories in the economic competition with the chief capitalist countries. The recent period confirmed that extended reproduction in our country, maintained at high and stable rates, is an objective law of the socialist economy.

The living standard of the working people has improved. Major steps have been taken to adjust and raise wages and salaries in all branches of the economy. Taxes have been abolished or reduced for a large section of the working

people, benefits and pensions have been raised for certain population strata, and pensions have been introduced for collective farmers. A seven-hour working day, and a six-hour day for some categories of work, have been set. In the seven years, from 1958 to 1965, the country built as many new dwellings as in all the post-revolution years up to 1958.

Imposing headway has been made in the fields of culture, education and health. The number of people with a higher or secondary education has grown by nearly 50 per cent in the seven years, and the number of scientific workers has more than doubled.

Measures taken by the Party, particularly those taken after the October 1964 and subsequent Plenums of the CC CPSU, are promoting the rapid economic and cultural advancement of all Union Republics, the expansion of economic bonds and mutual assistance between these republics and the further strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. All this again graphically denotes for all the world to see that socialism is the only system which offers the peoples reliable opportunities for all-round development.

The Congress notes that, despite major successes in the development of the socialist economy, some of the targets of the seven-year plan were not reached. The output of some items in the chemical industry, engineering and the fuel industry fell short of the target. There is a lag in agricultural output, which had an adverse effect on the rate of growth of the light and food

industries, preventing the full realisation of planned measures for raising the standard of living.

The rate of growth of production and labour productivity has slowed down somewhat in recent years. The efficiency of production assets and the effectiveness of capital investments have dropped. There were delays in starting up new enterprises in some branches, and many of the newly-built factories have not attained their designed capacity. As a result, the rate of growth of the national income fell short of the seven-year plan target.

The reasons for these negative factors stem from drawbacks in economic management, underrating scientific methods of management and cost accounting, not making full use of material and moral stimuli, certain miscalculations in planning and a subjectivist approach to the solution of some economic problems. The bad harvests in 1963 and 1965 have had an adverse effect on our economic development. It should also be noted that in view of the acute international situation it became necessary to divert additional funds for reinforcing the country's defences.

2. The Congress fully approves the decisions of the March and September 1965 Plenums of the CC CPSU, which exposed the reasons for the drawbacks in economic development and worked out a new approach to economic management. The new system of management creates more favourable conditions for the rational use of the country's gigantic productive forces, for a rapid rise of the nation's wellbeing

and the full utilisation of the advantages of the socialist system.

The Congress instructs Party, Government and economic organisations to pursue consistently the principles of the Party's economic policy, permitting a combination of centralised management for each industry with the extension of the powers of Union Republics, stressing economically efficient methods of management, a radical improvement in planning, an extension of the independence and initiative of enterprises and the enhancing of the employees' material interest in the results of their work. The implementation of the new system of planning and economic stimulation is one of the most important tasks for the immediate future.

Under the new conditions, it is also necessary to lay greater stress on the moral stimuli of production, on strengthening labour discipline, cultivating the attitude that labour is a patriotic duty and instilling in every employee a sense of responsibility for the state of affairs at his factory, building project or office, and to make the most of the vast opportunities for this provided by the new system of economic incentives.

The Congress instructs the industrial ministries to ensure the more rapid application in production of scientific and technical achievements, closer contact between factories and research and designing organisations, and the extensive development of specialisation and co-operation in production. Party, Government and economic bodies must work perseveringly to strengthen state discipline, root out bureaucratic methods

of management and do away with the narrow departmental approach and parochialism.

3. The five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70 is an important stage in the effort of the Party and the Soviet people to build the material and technical basis of communism and further strengthen the economic and defence might of the country. The Congress considers that the main economic task of these five years is to secure a further considerable growth of industry and high stable rates of agricultural development through the maximum utilisation of scientific and technical achievements, the industrial development of all social production, the enhancement of its efficiency and labour productivity, and thereby attain a further substantial rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people.

In the new five-year period it is essential to make better use of all available opportunities for securing higher rates of economic growth. The productive forces built up by the heroic labour of the Soviet people make it possible, while continuing to develop heavy industry, to extend more rapidly those branches of social production which cater directly to the material and cultural needs of the people.

The Congress considers it necessary in the coming five-year period to secure:

a more rapid growth in social production, in the national income and in the real incomes of urban and rural dwellers than in the preceding five years;

an evening out of the rates of growth of pro-

duction of the means of production and production of consumer goods;

a further rapid development of industry, with priority given to the power industry, metallurgy, engineering, the chemical industry and electronics;

a considerable increase in the output of farm products;

an acceleration in scientific and technical progress and a higher efficiency in social production;

further technical re-equipment of transport and communications;

an increase of 50 per cent over the preceding five years in capital investments in the economy, including a 100 per cent increase of investments by the state in agriculture; greater returns per invested ruble and a substantial improvement of basic proportions in the economy through more effective use of the material resources and finances allocated for economic development;

increase in construction, in the capacity of the building industry, a reduction of the time allotted for construction, better-quality construction and assembly at lower costs;

an improvement in the distribution of the productive forces and a comprehensive development and specialisation of the economies of the Union Republics and economic regions; accelerated development of the economy of the eastern parts of the country;

a further strengthening of economic ties with the fraternal socialist countries and the developing states; a development of mutually ad-

vantageous trade with the capitalist countries

4. The Congress attaches prime importance to the development of agriculture on the basis of the economic measures worked out by the March 1965 Plenum of the CC CPSU. The chief means of increasing the output of farm products is to consistently intensify farming on the sound basis of mechanisation, electrification and chemicalisation, coupled with far-flung melioration schemes in areas with an unfavourable climate.

As before, it is the most important task in agriculture to increase the production of grain. Raising the yield per hectare is the decisive condition for speeding the rate of agricultural development in general, and grain production in particular. For this purpose, it is essential that effective measures be taken to enhance soil fertility and the technique of land cultivation both on a nation-wide scale and by each collective and state farm.

A considerable upsurge in the socialised animal husbandry shall be ensured by boosting the output of field-farming and increasing the productivity of natural pastures.

The Congress considers that both the collective and state-farm forms of socialised economy should be further strengthened and promoted in order to attain plan targets for a growth in agricultural output. More importance should be attached to state farms as model socialist enterprises in the countryside. The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to examine the question of setting up collective-farm co-operative bodies in the districts, regions, territories, republics and in the centre.

5. The Congress considers that in the coming five years a further rise in the standard of living must be ensured by raising the wages and salaries of industrial and office workers, increasing the incomes of the collective farmers from the socialised economy, establishing guaranteed payment for labour at all collective farms, increasing cash payments and benefits from public funds, further improving the pension scheme for industrial and office workers and collective farmers, and considerably improving communal services and cultural facilities for both the urban and rural population.

With the growth of the output of consumer goods and the accumulation of commodity and financial resources, measures must be taken to reduce state retail prices for various foodstuffs and manufactured goods, primary for children's goods.

The Congress sets a further expansion of the scale of housing construction and provision of cultural facilities and services in town and country as a cardinal task.

To create better conditions for work and leisure for the people, a working week with two days off without reducing the number of working hours per week, shall be gradually introduced as enterprises become ready to operate under the new system.

6. An extremely important task of Party and economic organisations, of all workers in industry, transport, agriculture and construction is to ensure a high rate of growth of labour productivity through the technical re-equipment of all branches of the economy, broad utilisation of

advanced methods of work and the employment of all potentialities. Scientifically organised production and the application of the latest achievements of science and technology in the economy must create increasingly favourable conditions for the highly productive work of all workers. Economic bodies and Party organisations at enterprises must perseveringly work towards the overall mechanisation of production processes, the consistent reduction of the share of manual labour, a more rational utilisation of manpower and broad application of a scientific organisation of labour.

The Congress considers that Party, local government, economic, trade union and Komsomol bodies must concentrate attention on boosting the efficiency of production, particularly on improving the utilisation of basic assets, on hastening the operation of newly commissioned factories and workshops at full capacity.

The Congress sets as one of the most pressing tasks the radical improvement of the quality of goods, prolongation of the service life of machines, and increasing their reliability, insofar as our industry has already achieved a technical level that enables it to manufacture machines, instruments, apparatus and other items whose technical and economic specifications fully accord with the growing requirements of the economy and the world market.

7. The Congress emphasises that at a time when our country is building communism along a broad front the all-sided education of the new man and the further development of public education and culture are of mounting importance.

Steps must be taken to achieve a marked expansion of the material basis of culture, ensure the improvement of all forms of cultural activity and better the work of clubs, houses of culture and libraries. Steps must be taken to build more stadiums, sports facilities and other amenities, particularly at collective and state farms. This must become a matter for the whole Party, for all its organisations, for local government bodies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and all working people in town and country.

The transition to universal secondary education for young people is to be completed, in the main, in the course of the next five years. The quality and content of general, vocational and polytechnical instruction must conform with modern standards. Schools are called upon to inculcate the principles of communist morals in children, and improve the aesthetic and physical education of the younger generation. Pedagogical science should be further promoted. It is necessary to strengthen the material basis of schools, provide them with modern equipment and make better, more rational use of funds allocated for public education.

The growth of the general cultural and technical level of the people is inseparably linked up with the further development of the higher and secondary specialised school. At the present stage their prime task is to improve the training of specialists. Soviet specialists must be equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, possess knowledge in keeping with the latest achievements in science and technology, have the necessary understanding of economics and be able

competently to solve scientific and technical problems concerning the scientific organisation of labour and management of production.

Fuller use must be made of the press, radio, television and cinema in order to mould a Marxist-Leninist outlook and promote the political and cultural development of all Soviet people. The work of central and local newspapers and magazines and also publishing houses throughout the country must be further improved.

8. The Congress attaches great importance to the development of Soviet science, which is increasingly becoming a direct productive force in society. The work of our scientists must be directed towards the further solution of pressing scientific problems of modern times, towards accelerating scientific and technical progress to the utmost and securing high rates of growth of labour productivity.

In the sphere of social sciences one of the most important tasks of Soviet scientists is to study problems of economics, philosophy, sociology, history and law in close connection with the practice of building communism.

9. The building of communism in the USSR and the all-sided improvement of Soviet socialist society are the basic contribution made by the CPSU and the entire Soviet people towards the world revolutionary process, towards the struggle of all peoples against imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The international significance of communist construction in the USSR is that it enhances the economic, political and defence might of the

whole socialist system and helps to spread and consolidate the ideas of socialism throughout the world.

### III

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union came to its 23rd Congress united and equipped with vast experience in directing communist construction and the home and foreign policy of our country. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and directing force of Soviet society. Armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching, it confidently leads the Soviet people along the road of communist construction, successfully fulfilling its role of organiser and political leader of the entire Soviet people. There is close internationalist solidarity between the CPSU and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary democratic forces.

The 23rd Congress notes with satisfaction that, expressing the will of the Party, the Central Committee resolutely steered a line towards the strict observance of Leninist standards of Party life and principles of collective leadership. In this respect the October and November 1964 Plenums of the CC were of fundamental importance. The Party corrected the mistakes arising from a subjectivist approach to the solution of major economic and political problems, from unjustified reorganisations of the Party, local government and economic apparatus.

2. The Congress approves the measures worked out by the Central Committee for the further improvement of the Party's organisation-

al work, intensifying ideological work among Communists and other people and promoting intra-Party democracy, and considers that these measures must be consistently implemented. Criticism and self-criticism must be further promoted. The development of intra-Party democracy presupposes the simultaneous overall strengthening of Party discipline and increasing the responsibility borne by Communists for the state of affairs in their organisation and in the Party as a whole.

The Congress considers that a scientific approach, team work and efficiency in directing the building of communism and in pursuing the home and foreign policy of the Soviet state, which have become the practice of the Central Committee, must continue to underlie its activities.

3. The Congress notes that the growing prestige of the CPSU increases the desire of Soviet people to tie in their lives with the Party ideologically and organisationally, to become members of the Party. At the same time the Congress considers it a mistake that some Party organisations have violated the principle of individual selection, demanded less of people joining the CPSU. The Congress makes it binding upon all Party organisations to pay greater attention to admission into the Party. Foremost, politically conscious workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, who are active in the building of communism, must be accepted in the CPSU strictly on the terms stipulated in the Party Rules. In the Party's social composition workers must continue to occupy the leading place.

Concern for the purity of the Party ranks, that each Communist should be worthy of being and justify the name of member of the Leninist Party, is a law of Party life, of all Party organisations. The Party will continue to purge itself of unworthy people, of those who infringe upon the Party Programme and Rules, who by their behaviour compromise the name "Communist."

4. The Congress considers that all Party organisations should focus their attention on the drive for the successful fulfilment of the new five-year economic development plan. Party organisations must see to it that the principles of socialist economic management evolved by the March and September Plenums of the CC CPSU, the new principles of planning and economic stimulation of production are consistently implemented. At the same time they must carry on with the usual methods of organisational and educational work, avoid substitution and petty patronage of local government and economic organs.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that the rural district Party committees, which have been reinstated as political bodies with all political rights, have been firmly re-established as militant and authoritative executors of Party policy in the countryside.

Special importance is attached to enhancing the militancy of all primary Party organisations. Party Committees must firmly rely on these organisations and help them to harmonise intra-Party life and carry on mass political work among the people.

5. The Congress emphasises that the grow-

ing scale and complexity of the tasks of building communism require a stricter approach to the selection, promotion and education of personnel. Command posts must be filled by people who are devoted to the ideas of communism, are well-versed in their respective fields, are in constant contact with the masses and are able to organise them to carry out the tasks on hand. Young energetic people must be promoted boldly and their energy combined with the experience of older cadres. The transition to the new system of social economic management makes it imperative for executives to master methods of economic leadership.

6. The Congress attaches great importance to correct organisation of control and verification of fulfilment of the decisions of the Party and the Government. Party organisations must direct the work of People's Control bodies and provide the necessary assistance. The role of the CC CPSU Party Control Committee and the Party Commissions of local Party bodies must be enhanced to make Communists more responsible for implementing Party policy.

7. The Congress underscores the importance of further strengthening the Soviet state, of developing socialist democracy to the utmost. Special attention is attached to enhancing the role of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies to enable them fully to exercise their powers regarding economic and cultural development and seeing that decisions are carried out, to enable them to show more initiative in settling questions pertaining to planning, finances and land, in directing local industries and service and cul-

tural facilities for the population. The Soviets must enhance the responsibility of executive bodies, deputies and functionaries to the people, activate the work of their sessions and submit a broader range of questions for consideration.

The Congress considers that the trade unions must play a bigger role in deciding problems of economic development, that they must participate more actively in drawing up state plans and in the management of production. The duty of the trade unions is to promote socialist emulation on a still greater scale, improve educational work among the people and show more concern for labour and living conditions of industrial and office workers.

The Congress rules that Party organisations must pay special attention to the communist upbringing of Komsomol members and all Soviet young people. The education of Komsomol members and other young people in keeping with the revolutionary, labour and militant traditions of the Soviet people and the Communist Party is one of the key tasks. It is necessary to continue educating young men and women in a spirit of lofty ideological conviction and loyalty to the cause of the Party, in the spirit of love for the socialist Motherland, and preparedness to defend her, of fraternal friendship with the working people of socialist countries, of internationalist solidarity with all exploited and oppressed peoples. The Komsomol must play a bigger part in economic and cultural development, and in the country's political life. The Party element in Komsomol organisations must be strengthened, and more Communists of

Komsomol age should work there and regard their work as a most important Party assignment.

8. The CPSU considers that in many ways continued success in building communism depends upon the scale and level of the ideological and political work of the Party among the people. The effectiveness of the Party's ideological influence is inseparably linked up with its entire activity as the leading force in Soviet society. Ideological work must be centred on educating the people in a spirit of high political consciousness and a communist attitude to work. One of the prime tasks of ideological work is to mobilise the working class, the peasants and intellectuals for an energetic drive for the fulfilment of the five-year economic development plan, for building communist society in our country.

The solidarity of the peoples of the Soviet Union in one fraternal family is a great gain of the Communist Party and Soviet system. The Congress makes it binding upon all Party Committees to continue steadfastly to implement the Leninist national policy, and educate all Soviet people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and respect for the best, progressive national traditions of the peoples of the USSR, in a spirit of friendship with the peoples of all fraternal socialist countries, with the working people of the whole world, to relentlessly combat all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

9. The Congress considers that a vital task of Party organisations is radically to improve

the Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, to bolster their ideological staunchness, particularly that of young Communists. Higher demands must be made of the ideological and political training of higher ranking Party officials.

The entire system of Party education must be raised to the level of the tasks of the present stage of communist construction. The Congress makes it binding upon Party ideological bodies and the corresponding government offices to take resolute steps to improve the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at institutions of higher learning and other educational establishments, to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the training of students and make sure that this training is closely linked up with present-day problems of social development, with the latest achievements in science and technology.

The dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is the foundation of the Party's entire work in the ideological field. In all Party activities great importance is attached to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the experience of building communism, the development of the world revolutionary movement and the struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

10. The Congress attaches great importance to the development of literature and art based on socialist realism. The Party expects artists and writers to create new distinguished works, which would be fascinating for their profound truthful portrayal of life, the force of ideological inspiration, artistic values, and help to instill in Soviet people lofty moral qualities, devotion

to communist ideals, a sense of civic duty, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

Artists' unions must play a bigger role in strengthening the link between art and the life of the people, in enhancing the responsibility of Soviet artists to society for their work, in educating them in a spirit of fidelity to the Leninist principles of partisanship and service to the people's cause.

11. The Congress makes it binding upon Party organisations to secure marked improvement in mass political work. Party policy must be thoroughly and popularly explained, no acute problem should be avoided, heed must be paid to the desires and cultural requirements of the peoples, bearing in mind the higher cultural and educational level of Soviet people. Political agitation must be founded on a well-organised system of information that constantly keeps the people abreast of the country's political, economic and cultural development and the international situation. Party, government, economic and civic leaders must regularly report to the people on matters concerning home and foreign policy, and the work of Party, government and public organisations. A regular account must be made to the people by leaders of the local Soviet and executives of public education and health bodies, trade organisations and service establishments.

A consistent struggle must be waged against indifference to politics, survivals of private ownership mentality and philistine sentiments, against manifestation of a nihilist attitude to the ideals and gains of socialism.

The Congress draws the attention of Party organisations to the fact that ideological work is being conducted in conditions of a sharp class struggle between the two opposing social and political systems in the world arena. The interests of socialism and communism require greater revolutionary vigilance on the part of Communists and all Soviet people, the exposure of the ideological sallies of imperialism against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

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The 23rd Congress of the CPSU has demonstrated the monolithic unity and high militant spirit of the Party, Bolshevik principles and efficiency, intolerance of shortcomings and the preparedness to do everything to successfully carry out the new imposing tasks.

The Congress calls upon all Communists, workers, collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals to mark the coming jubilees—the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—with a nation-wide socialist emulation movement, a movement for communist work, with further achievements in the building of communism with our country's worthy contribution towards strengthening the might of world socialism, and furthering the cause of the victorious development of the world revolutionary movement.

The Congress expresses the confidence that the new plans drawn up by the 23rd Congress will be successfully fulfilled and that our coun-

try will take a further gigantic step along the road to communism.

Forward to the triumph of communism under the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism!

**RESOLUTION**  
**OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET**  
**UNION ON THE CC CPSU DRAFT OF**  
**“THE DIRECTIVES OF THE 23rd**  
**CONGRESS OF THE CPSU FOR THE**  
**FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC**  
**DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE USSR**  
**FOR 1966-1970”**

Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

to endorse the Directives for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70;

to instruct the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers to provide, on the basis of the Directives, the elaboration of the economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70;

to consider, while elaborating the five-year economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70, the suggestions made at Party congresses in the Union Republics, at Party conferences in Territories and Regions, at meetings of

primary Party organisations and at working people's meetings, as well as the suggestions made by individual workers, collective farmers, experts and scientists.

## **DIRECTIVES OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU FOR THE FIVE-YEAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF THE USSR FOR 1966-1970**

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union points out that the Soviet people are following the Leninist general line and solving the historic tasks of communist construction in the USSR set out in the Programme of the CPSU.

In fulfilling the seven-year plan the Soviet people have achieved imposing successes in economic and cultural development and the advancement of science and technology. Fresh progress has been made in building the material and technical basis of communism; the economic potential and defence capacity of the Soviet Union have increased, and the living standard of the Soviet people has risen.

The Soviet Union's international positions have become stronger in the past seven years and the influence of its policy of peace, focussed on the solution of key international problems and, above all, the problem of averting another world war, has increased. Our successes epitom-

mize the vast possibilities of the socialist system and its basic advantages over capitalism; they help consolidate the world socialist community, advance the international working-class and communist movement and proletarian internationalism, and expand the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

The decisions of the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU and those that followed it have a cardinal bearing on the further advancement of Soviet society along the path of communism. The measures taken to improve leadership of the country's political, economic and cultural affairs constitute a new stage in the development of our socialist society.

The decisions of the Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU concerning agricultural development, improvement of industrial management and planning, and enhancement of incentives to stimulate production shape the principal trends and methods of economic development for the coming years.

The economic policy pursued by the Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government expresses the fundamental interests of the people, and corresponds entirely to the Leninist principles of socialist management; it is related to the existing level of productive forces and is based on a scientific analysis of economic relations in Soviet society. The Party considers further improvement of the life of Soviet people to be its most important task.

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU considers that the economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70 will mark a new important stage in

the building of the material and technical basis of communism, and will accelerate improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people. On fulfilling it, the Soviet Union will attain still higher standards in economic competition with capitalism, and will thereby exercise a strong influence on the invigoration of the world revolutionary process.

## I.

### PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE USSR IN 1959-65

The substantial increase in the Soviet Union's economic potential, the rise in the nation's living standards and cultural level, and the strengthening of the country's defensive might is the most important result achieved in the past seven years.

Between 1959 and 1965, the country's basic production assets increased 90 per cent. The national income, used for consumption and accumulation, was 53 per cent higher in 1965 than in 1958. New natural resources were tapped and put to use in the economy. The educational level of the population and the technical proficiency of personnel mounted.

Industrial output rose 84 per cent instead of the 80 per cent envisaged by the seven-year plan. Some 5,500 new big industrial plants went into operation, and power consumption per industrial worker increased 60 per cent.

The Soviet Union is in the van in outer space exploration, nuclear physics, mathema-

tics, electronics, radio engineering, metallurgy, rocketry, aircraft building and other scientific and technical fields.

Priority development has been given to the industries that secure technical progress and raise the effectiveness of social production. Electric power output has increased 120 per cent, the output of engineering and metal-working 140 per cent, that of the chemical industry nearly 150 per cent and the oil industry 120 per cent, extraction and production of gas 330 per cent. The percentage of oil and gas in the country's fuel balance rose from 32 to 52 per cent. The steel output mounted to 91 million tons, which is almost 70 per cent higher than in 1958.

The technical reconstruction of transport has proceeded apace. The share of electric and diesel traction in the aggregate railway traffic rose from 26.4 per cent in 1958 to 85 per cent in 1965. The marine and river fleets increased considerably and were equipped with modern vessels. Marine tonnage grew by 150 per cent. The aggregate length of trunk oil and gas pipelines grew 170 per cent.

Important measures based on the decisions of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU are being taken to develop agriculture, which has been lagging behind industry during the past seven years. These measures are having a beneficial effect on the state of affairs in farming and have enhanced the interest of collective farmers and state farm workers in the results of their labour. The total output of farm produce in 1965 was the highest ever, although the grain har-

vest was less than that in 1964 due to unfavourable weather.

The economies of all the Union Republics have made good progress.

Real incomes of the working people increased thanks to the increase in the national income. The minimum basic wages of factory and office workers were raised, as were rates and salaries for low- and medium-paid employees. Income tax was either abolished or reduced for a considerable section of factory and office workers. Pensions were established for collective farmers. Minimum pensions for some categories of pensioners were raised. Benefits for Great Patriotic War invalids were expanded. The grants and benefits received by the population out of public consumption funds were 74 per cent greater.

Due to the growth of social production and the expansion of cultural and communal services, the number of workers and office employees swelled by 21 million people. The working day was reduced to seven hours or even six hours for some categories.

Consumption of manufactured goods and foodstuffs climbed. Retail sales increased 60 per cent. Sales of foodstuffs and durable goods, such as TV sets, furniture, refrigerators and washing machines, mounted considerably.

House-building is underway on a big scale. New houses with an aggregate floor space of 556 million square metres were built in seven years, which is 90 per cent more than was built in 1952-58 and almost as much as from the October Revolution up to 1958. In the past

10 years about one-half of the country's population moved into new flats or improved its housing. The target for new pre-school establishments was surpassed.

Innovators and inventors have been considerably more active in production and their efforts yielded a saving of more than 10,000 million rubles in the seven-year plan period.

The nations' economic advance could have been still more imposing if the objective possibilities implicit in our social system had been used more fully. During the seven-year plan period serious deficiencies came to light in the development of some economic branches. Seven-year plan agricultural output targets were not reached, and this had an effect on the economic development of the country. Output targets for some heavy industrial items have not been fulfilled. New capacities were started up too slowly; at some factories poor use was made of equipment. Losses of working time are still great. The rate of growth of labour productivity is insufficient. Many factories make products that are technically outmoded and of low quality. Scientific and technical innovations are being put to use in the economy too slowly.

The deficiencies in economic development are largely due to the disparity that has appeared in the past few years between the steeply increased scale of production, the recently discarded methods of economic planning and management, and the system of incentives. The initiative of enterprises was held in check, their rights were restricted and their responsibility lowered. Cost-accounting relations between enterprises

were largely of a formal nature. The operation of objective economic laws was underrated in economic planning and management. Subjectivism, arbitrary changes of proportions in the development of some branches of production and economically unsubstantiated decisions all played a negative role.

The last few years of the seven-year plan period coincided with a rise in international tension, touched off by US imperialism, which launched aggression in various regions of the world. This necessitated allocation of additional funds to strengthen the country's defences.

It is essential to do away with deficiencies in economic development and to make fuller use of the advantages of socialism in the new five-year plan period.

## II.

### THE MAIN TASKS OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1966-70

*The 23rd Congress of the CPSU considers that the new five-year plan is designed to secure a considerable advancement of our society along the path of communist construction, a further development of the material and technical basis, and an expansion of the country's economic and defence potential. The Party believes that the main economic task of the next five years is to secure a further considerable growth of industry and high stable rates of agricultural development through the utmost utilisation of scientific and technical achievements, industrial development of all social production and the enhancement of its efficiency, and greater labour productivity, and thereby to achieve a substantial rise in the standard of living and fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of all Soviet people.*

The targets of the five-year plan must be based on scientifically sound requirements of socialist society, on objective estimates of pro-

ductive resources and potentialities, and must define the ways and means for the most effective development of the economy.

Fulfilment of the five-year plan will require that Party, Government, trade-union and economic bodies consistently carry out the tasks set by the Party for the maximum development of democratic principles of management, coupled with the consolidation and improvement of centralised planned management of the economy. The economic measures provided for in the decisions of the March and September 1965 Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU must be effected in full, and the methods of economic development and management worked out by the Party in the last few years must be developed further.

In drawing up the economic development plan of the USSR for 1966-70 the 23rd Congress of the CPSU considers essential:

*to increase the national income by 38-41 per cent;*

*to secure a rise of approximately 30 per cent in per capita real incomes.* The wages of factory and office workers, and the incomes of collective farmers, shall be increased, higher remuneration for labour being the chief means of enhancing the wellbeing of the people;

*to provide for further measures that will approximate the living standards of the rural and urban population, do away with the socio-economic and cultural distinctions between town and country; strengthen still more the alliance of the working class and the peasants, and the unity of the Soviet people as a whole;*

*to achieve a further rise in the general educational, cultural and technical level, thus reducing the basic distinctions between mental and physical labour;*

*to ensure rational use of manpower in all regions of the country, drawing young people and school leavers into production or training; to make better use of manpower in the countryside all the year round;*

*to develop all aspects of the economies of all the Union Republics.* In distributing production the interest of the country's economy is to be correctly aligned with that of the Republics.

To achieve the above economic and socio-political objectives, it is essential:

1) *to increase industrial output by about 50 per cent in the five years;*

*to provide for the further technical re-equipment of agriculture, the consumer goods industries, building, transport and communications through the development of heavy industry, particularly those which promote scientific and technical progress;*

*to achieve more intensive utilisation of the means of production; to increase the share in the total output of equipment and materials for agriculture, the consumer goods industries and cultural and communal services;*

*to accelerate growth of output of consumer goods and bring closer the rates of agricultural development to the industrial growth rates, and the rates of the production of means of production to those of the production of consumer goods;*

to ensure quicker sales of products in order to secure fuller satisfaction of the demand;

2) *to increase considerably the output of farm products;*

to enhance the material and technical equipment of agriculture, stimulate the material interest of collective farmers and state farm workers in increasing output, intensify agriculture consistently and make farming more effective;

to secure a stable increase in the production of grain and other farm products by raising yields, and to expand output of animal products;

3) *to enhance the efficiency of production through technical progress, improvement of the organisation of labour and production, better use of production assets and capital investments, improvement of the quality of products and stringent economising.*

For this purpose, the new five-year plan shall provide for:

*more rapid growth of labour productivity.*

In the five years power consumption per industrial worker shall be increased 50 per cent, and about 200 per cent in agriculture. Comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production shall be carried through consistently and scientific methods shall be applied more extensively in the organisation of labour;

*wide application of electronic computers* in the planning of the national economy and management of production, in transport, trade and scientific research;

*systematic introduction of technically new, up-to-date products in production, and improve-*

*ment of the quality of products* in all branches of the economy;

consistent *intensification of all branches of production*, greater output, and higher profitability per ruble of production assets;

radical improvement of *capital construction*, considerable reduction of schedules for building and starting up new capacities and fixed assets, and reduction of capital investments per unit of output;

more rational *distribution of productive forces*, and employment of the most promising natural resources in the economy;

ensuring the development of the *water economy* of the country through the integrated use and protection of water resources.

To enhance the efficiency of production broader use shall be made of the advantages of the *socialist international division of labour* and of foreign trade;

4) *to speed up scientific and technical progress by expanding scientific research, applying its results in production and utilising inventions in industry.*

The five-year plan shall provide for:

development of research in theoretical and applied mathematics, which secure broad use of mathematical methods in various fields of science and technology;

development of research in nuclear physics and the physics of solid bodies in order to extend the use of nuclear methods in various fields of science and technology, to develop further the research on controlled thermonuclear synthesis

and to create new radio electronic and automatic devices, structural and other materials;

further exploration of outer space and the use of results obtained to improve radio communication, radio navigation and television, weather forecasting and other practical fields;

expansion of scientific research of the earth's mantle and the natural laws governing the distribution of mineral deposits so as to make better use of natural resources;

elaboration and implementation of measures for the better protection of nature with a view to the more effective utilisation of land, forests, reservoirs, rivers, game animals, fish and other natural riches of the country;

development of chemical research so as to create new, economically advantageous chemical processes and obtain effective substances and materials;

further research into processes taking place in living matter and into genetic laws governing selection of micro-organisms, plants and animals so as to develop new, highly-productive breeds of animals and high yielding varieties of plants; work on genetic problems related to congenital diseases;

further development of scientific research in the field of medicine, the study of human physiology and pathology with the object of preventing and treating malignant growths, cardio-vascular, virus and other diseases;

further development of the social sciences. In the economic sciences, attention shall be concentrated on the further development of the theory of planned economic management based

on a deep-going study and utilisation of the economic laws of socialism; on the definition of the ways and methods of enhancing the efficiency of social production and the use of economic stimuli to develop production;

substantially higher efficiency of scientific research and speedier introduction of its results in production. For this purpose, research personnel and material resources shall be oriented on solving the basic scientific and technical problems yielding the maximum economic effect; experimental and productive facilities of research institutions, schools of higher learning and designing establishments and enterprises shall be improved and provided with the latest research and laboratory equipment;

to enhance the role of higher educational establishments in scientific research work;

to introduce more widely cost accounting in the work of scientific institutions;

5) *to improve the management of the country's economy through undeviating realisation of Party decisions concerning improvement of planning, economic stimulation of production, extension of the initiative and economic independence of enterprises, and the enhancement of the working people's material interest in the results of their labour; to secure a correct combination of centralised planned management and the economic initiative and independence of industrial enterprises.*

For this purpose:

*centralised planned economic management shall be concentrated* primarily on improving the basic national economic proportions, better-

ing the siting of production and on the comprehensive development of economic areas; on securing high output and delivery of key products; on carrying through a unified state policy as regards technical progress, capital investments, wages, prices, profits, finances and credits; on economic control over effective use of production assets, manpower, and material and natural resources.

It is essential to improve decisively the system of material and technical supply and to pave the way for the gradual conversion to planned distribution of equipment, materials and semifinished goods by means of wholesale trade; *methods of managing production shall be improved and the level of economic planning at factories, building sites, collective farms, state farms* and other enterprises shall be raised. To do so it is necessary to enforce constantly the Leninist principles of profitability and cost-accounting, to extend consistently the rights and the economic independence of enterprises, to develop their initiative, principally by material incentives for good results achieved in the interests of society, and to increase the material responsibility of enterprises for plan and contractual commitments. The role of economic levers in stimulating production shall be enhanced. The socialist emulation movement shall be developed in every way and moral stimuli shall be promoted.

As democratic principles of management are extended and the role of employees in managing their enterprises enhanced, it is necessary to instil in every worker a communist at-

titude to labour, respect and concern for social property, and to strengthen labour and state discipline. Modern conditions and the tasks of economic development confront the managerial personnel with new challenges, obliging them to master methods of economic guidance, combat armchair administrating, apply the latest methods in management, use modern computing techniques and seek to cut down the number of office personnel.

The principles of socialist economy shall be strictly and consistently observed, and redundant regulation of the economic and financial activities of enterprises shall be avoided.

The five-year plan shall ensure a further growth of the Soviet Union's defence potential, which will safeguard the Soviet people and the whole socialist community still more dependably from the danger of imperialist aggression, and reinforce the positions of the peace-loving and liberation forces all over the world.

While steadfastly pursuing a foreign policy of peace and working for the implementation of the disarmament proposals, it is essential to keep our Armed Forces supplied with the most modern types of weapons. Growth of the Soviet Union's defence potential is a necessary condition for safeguarding peace and the security of the peoples.

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On the strength of the level achieved in the development of the productive forces and acting on the principal economic and socio-political

tasks of the coming five years the following assignments shall be set for industry, agriculture, transport and communications, capital construction, improvement of the living standards, siting of the productive forces and the economic development of the Union Republics, and the foreign economic relations of the Soviet Union.

### III. INDUSTRY

*The main tasks of industry in the coming five years are to raise the efficiency of production, its technical level, to improve its structure, to introduce technically new goods systematically and speedily, and to improve quality, in order to provide all branches of the economy more fully with more effective means of production—highly productive machines, equipment and appliances, high-quality raw and other materials—and the population with a wide range of goods meeting the mounting needs of Soviet people.*

*1. In the five years the industrial output shall be increased by 47-50 per cent, including a 49-52 per cent increase in the output of industries producing means of production (group A) and a 43-46 per cent increase in the output of industries producing consumer goods (group B).*

*2. The pattern of industrial production shall*

*be improved* on the basis of developing heavy industry.

Provisions shall be made for the priority development of electric power engineering, machine-building, the chemical industry, and metallurgy; for the improvement of proportions within the various industries; for increasing the share of the economically most profitable types of production, meeting society's needs at lower outlays.

The technical basis of agriculture shall be developed in accordance with the decision of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Consignments of means of mechanisation, mineral fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides shall be considerably increased.

The development of the light and food industries shall be accelerated, and production of consumer goods by factories of heavy industry shall also be substantially expanded.

3. *Output of products of technically up-to-date standards and high quality* shall be provided for. Efficiency, economy, dependability and endurance of machines, appliances and equipment shall be enhanced, the power reserve of engines shall be increased, and the weight of machines per unit of capacity shall be reduced. The quality of raw and other materials shall be improved. The range of consumer goods shall be extended and their quality improved.

State standards are to be brought up-to-date to meet the requirements of technical progress, and their role in improving the quality of products shall be enhanced.

Progressive scientific and technical achievements of foreign countries shall be used to the utmost, and international technical cooperation shall be developed.

4. *To develop and introduce highly effective technological processes*—physico-chemical, electro-physical, electronic, etc. Modernisation of operating equipment shall be more widely practised.

5. *The use of equipment shall be considerably improved* and its productivity raised in order to achieve greater output and raise profitability per ruble of the production assets.

The output of operating enterprises is to be systematically increased by eliminating bottlenecks, intensifying production processes, improving the production flow, increasing the replacement coefficient of equipment and eliminating its idling.

The quality of capital repairs of equipment is to be further improved and costs reduced through the more extensive introduction of industrial methods and the development of specialised facilities at repair enterprises.

6. *The level of specialisation and cooperation* among enterprises shall be raised, especially in the engineering industry, by developing cooperation between different industries; unification and standardisation of machine units and parts is to be introduced more extensively, and specialised factories set up to produce them. Economically desirable forms of combined production, which secure the best use of raw materials, shall be developed.

7. *Use of raw and other materials and fuel*

*is to be improved.* Consumption of ferrous rolled stock in engineering and the metal-working industry shall be reduced by approximately 20-25 per cent. The relative consumption of steel in producing rolled stock is to be reduced, and cheap materials and bi-metals are to be substituted more extensively for non-ferrous metals. In the five years, the rates of fuel consumption in industry are to be reduced at least 8-10 per cent, including fuel for generating electricity by 11-14 per cent, and electric power consumption by 6-8 per cent. The output of finished products per unit of raw materials is to be increased. Losses of mineral raw materials during production and processing are to be cut down. Secondary fuel and power resources and secondary and raw materials are to be used more fully.

Provisions are to be made for the development of an efficient system of specialised and highly-mechanised all-purpose warehouses and depots.

8. *During the five-year period labour productivity in industry shall be increased by 33-35 per cent* through technical progress, improved organisation of labour, better working conditions, greater economic stimulation of production and bigger material incentives for the working people. Production costs are to be lowered and all industrial enterprises made to run on a self-supporting basis. Towards the end of the five-year period profits in industry shall be more than doubled.

9. Provision shall be made for the following volume of *output of key industrial products* in 1970:

	1965	1970
Electric power (1,000 million kwh)	507	830-850
Oil (million tons)	243	345-355
Gas (1,000 million cu. m)	129.2	225-240
Coal (million tons)	578	665-675
Pig iron (million tons)	66.2	94-97
Steel (million tons)	91	124-129
Rolled stock (million tons)	70.9	95-99
Steel pipes (million tons)	9	14-15
Mineral fertilisers (in conventional units, million tons)	31.3	62-65
Plastics and synthetic resins (thousand tons)	821	2,100-2,300
Chemical fibres (thousand tons)	407	780-830
Automobile and motorcycle tyres (million)	26.4	38-40
Steam, gas and hydraulic turbines (million kw)	14.6	22-24
Rolling mill equipment (thousand tons)	111	190-210
Diesel locomotives (sections)	1,485	1,500-1,600
Chemical equipment (million rubles)	384	780-830
Oil equipment (thousand tons)	140	210-240
Metal-cutting lathes (thousand)	185	220-230
Forge and press machines (thousand)	34.4	50-52
Automobiles (thousand)	616.4	1,360-1,510
of which:		
lorries	379.6	600-650
cars	201.2	700-800
Tractors (physical units, thousand)	355	600-625
Farm machines (million rubles)	1,446	2,500
Technological equipment and spare parts for the textile industry (million rubles)	251	450-480
Technological equipment and spare parts for the food industry (million rubles)	243	340-370
Instruments, automation systems and spare parts for them (million rubles)	2,078	3,570-3,670
Timber haulage (exclusive of timber haulage by small timberfelling enterprises, million cu. m)	337	350-365
Cellulose (million tons)	3.2	8.4-9
Paper (million tons)	3.23	5-5.3
Cardboard (million tons)	1.45	4.2-4.5
Cement (million tons)	72.4	100-105
Fabrics (1,000 million sq. m)	7.5	9.5-9.8
Knitted underwear and garments (million)	907	1,650-1,750
Leather footwear (million pairs)	486	610-630
Meat (from state resources, million tons)	4.8	5.9-6.2
Fish, whales, sea mammals and sea products (million tons)	5.8	8.5-9

Whole milk products (from state resources, million tons)	11.5	16—17
Butter (from state resources, thousand tons)	1,066	1,160
Cheese and sheep's milk cheese (thousand tons)	308	625—675
Vegetable oil (from state resources, million tons)	2.2	2.95—3.1
Tinned products (1,000 million conventional tins)	7	13—13.5
Sugar (beet-root, million tons)	7.9	9.8—10
Sports, recreation and household goods (1,000 million rubles)	9	15.5—16.5
Wireless sets and radiograms (million)	5.2	7.5—8
TV sets (million)	3.7	7.5—7.7
Household refrigerators (million)	1.7	5.3—5.6
Motorcycles, scooters and scooter-vans (thousand)	721	1,000—1,100
Furniture (1,000 million rubles)	1.8	2.6—2.8

10. The priority growth of the *power engineering industry* is to be ensured by commissioning 64,000,000-66,000,000 kw of new capacities, mainly through the construction of large condenser thermal power stations with a capacity of 2,400,000 kw and more, using chiefly 300,000 kw power units.

The technical and economic efficiency of the projected hydropower stations and those under construction is to be raised through the application of the latest technical designs and the installation of 500,000-550,000 kw hydroturbines.

The necessary preparatory work must be done to enable a large quantity of electric power to be transmitted from the eastern to the central regions. The building of the single power grid of the European part of the USSR is to be completed.

The length of 35 kv power grids and higher shall be increased by approximately 50 per cent, while in rural areas the length of the

grids of up to 20 kv shall be increased by approximately 100 per cent. The electrification of rural regions shall be expanded through the use of centralised sources of electric power.

11. *The oil and gas industry* shall be developed at an accelerated rate. The building of new oil- and gas-producing centres in Western Siberia and Western Kazakhstan, and a considerable increase of the output of oil in the old oil-bearing regions must be regarded as one of the most important tasks. The further application of the most up-to-date methods of developing oil deposits and speeding up the output of oil must be ensured.

Efficient methods of developing gas deposits and stepping up the output of gas must be widely applied, and greater facilities must be provided for the underground storing of natural gas near industrial centres. At least 25,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines with branches must be built. With the purpose of increasing the technical and economic efficiency of gas transportation, provision must be made for the use of large diameter pipes.

12. During the five-year period the volume of primary *oil-refining* must be enlarged and the output of light oil products must be increased by 40-50 per cent, and of lubricants by 40 per cent. The output of diesel fuel with a maximum 0.5 per cent sulphur content must be raised to 80 per cent of total production, and of high-octane motor-car petrol to 55-60 per cent. High-grade additives must be used in the production of all diesel and automobile lubricants.

The output of liquid gases, aromatic hydrocarbons and other raw materials for the chemical industry shall be increased. Extraction of sulphur from natural and by-product gases is to be increased. The production of protein-vitamin concentrates from raw oil must be organised to meet the requirements of animal husbandry.

13. *The production of coal*, particularly for coking, shall be increased. In 1970 open-cast coal-mining is to account for up to 28 per cent of the total coal output. Special attention must be given to developing coal-concentration. The output of high-grade coal is to be raised. The growth of the coal output must be ensured without any increase in the number of workers.

Mines and pits with an output capacity of 165 million tons must be commissioned. Their building schedules and the time necessary to bring them up to their rated capacity must be shortened considerably. In 1970 the output of combustible shale shall be brought up to approximately 28 million tons and that of peat to 92 million tons.

Urban and rural requirements in high-grade fuel must be satisfied fully.

14. *The iron and steel industry* shall develop at a high rate, and particular attention shall be paid to improving the quality of metal, to considerably increasing the range of rolled stock, pipes and metalwares, and to speeding up production processes.

The output of cold-rolled sheet metal shall be more than doubled, the output of high-grade

cold-drawn steel shall be increased by 120 per cent, and of steel wire by 110 per cent, and the production of a wide range of pipes is to be substantially stepped up.

There shall be an increase in the output of thermally and thermo-mechanically processed metal, high-precision shaped rolled goods, electro-technical steels with low voltage losses, bi-metals and metals with anti-corrosion coatings, highly pure metals with pre-set physical properties and highly durable cables.

The preparation of iron-ore raw material shall be improved. The production of iron-ore granules must be organised on a large scale. The output of oxygen-converter steels is to be increased by 400-500 per cent and of electro-steels by 50 per cent; new installations for the continuous pouring of steel shall be placed in operation; oxygen and natural gas shall be applied widely in the production of iron and steel.

Production must be organised of broad-flange beams, as well as of pipes from high-grade steels with the thinnest technically possible walls. The output of bi-metal pipes and pipes with glass-enamelled, plastic and other anti-corrosion coatings must be expanded.

Further progress must be ensured in the development of powder metallurgy and in introduction of cermet articles in engineering and other industries.

Increased procurement of scrap and waste ferrous metal must be ensured. The processing and utilisation of metallurgical slags must be radically improved.

Iron and steel mills must increase the out-

put of consumer goods (enamelled utensils, nails, beds, etc.) and improve their quality.

15. In the *non-ferrous metals industry* provision must be made for the priority development of the production of copper and light-alloy and rare metals. The output of aluminium shall be increased by 90-110 per cent, of copper and zinc by 60-70 per cent; a considerable increase must be achieved in the production of lead, magnesium, tin, nickel, titanium and tungsten, molybdenum and titanium concentrates as well as precious metals and diamonds.

The open-cast mining of non-ferrous metals shall be increased by 50 per cent, and in underground mines, with the utilisation of efficient self-propelled equipment, by 400 per cent.

Fuller extraction of non-ferrous metals from ores must be ensured.

Measures must be taken to master the production of aluminium with greater electric conductivity, wear-resistant copper, new economical shapes of rolled non-ferrous metals, combined processes of casting and rolling copper wire, aluminium bands, pipes, shaped articles and wire.

Specialised factories and workshops are to be organised for the production of materials for the electronic industry.

Enterprises of the non-ferrous metals industry must increase the output of consumer goods by not less than 200 per cent; special attention must be paid to improving the quality of goods through the organisation of specialised enterprises.

16. The scale of *geological surveying* shall

be enlarged and at the same time its efficiency improved and its cost reduced. Prospecting for deposits of oil, gas and coal in the European part of the USSR must be intensified. The increase in the explored reserves of minerals shall be ensured chiefly in areas where their development is most profitable.

17. Provision shall be made for high rates of development in the *chemical* and *petro-chemical* industry. The output of chemical products is to be doubled. There shall be a considerable increase in the output of concentrated and compound mineral fertilisers. Towards the end of the five-year period fertilisers must be supplied to agriculture only in granulated and non-compacting form. The assortment of plant disease and pest control chemicals must be increased and their quality improved.

Greater use of oil and gas shall be made for the production of synthetic goods. The quality of plastics must be improved and the production of up-to-date polymeric materials must be expanded. The production and range of extra-pure chemical products must be enlarged.

The output of synthetic rubber must be increased by 120 per cent, of synthetic fatty acids by at least 200 per cent and of synthetic detergents by nearly 500 per cent. The life service of tyres must be increased by 50 per cent.

Provision must be made for increasing the output of a large assortment of high-quality chemical and other articles for domestic use by 150-200 per cent.

The output of chemicals produced in small quantities shall be extended and there shall be

a renewal and enlargement of the assortment of synthetic dyes, varnishes and paints, as well as all products used for improving the quality of plastics, rubber, fabrics and artificial leather. Provision shall be made for the production of the reagents required for research.

In the chemical and other industries where large quantities of plastic articles are used, sufficient capacities must be built for the processing of polymeric materials into articles for the national economy and for sale to the population.

Capacities for the production of titanium white are to be developed to the maximum.

The output of chemical products must be increased at iron and steel mills and enterprises of the non-ferrous metals, oil and timber-chemical industries through the overall use of the raw materials in these industries.

18. The output of the *engineering and metal-working industry* shall be increased by approximately 60-70 per cent with priority given to the development of the production of equipment for the metallurgical, power engineering, chemical, coal, oil and gas industries. Priority shall also be given to the automobile, tractor, farm machinery, electrical engineering, electronic, radio engineering and instrument-making industries, for the output of metal-working machines using electro-physical, electro-chemical and other highly efficient methods as well as for the production of high- and super-precision lathes.

There shall be an increase in the manufacture of machines and equipment for the com-

prehensive mechanisation of hoisting, transport, loading and unloading operations, for labour-consuming production processes and for warehouse operations.

Measures must be taken to accelerate the development and manufacture of new types of machines and equipment and considerably cut down the time for starting their industrial production and their use in the economy.

The output of machines, equipment and mechanisms intended for operation in low-temperature conditions must be started.

The unit capacity of power and technological equipment must be enlarged. The productivity of new machines and equipment must be increased.

The organisation of highly specialised mass production must be the guiding principle in the building of new engineering plants.

The production of economical automated power units with a 500,000, 800,000 kw and higher capacity must be mastered.

Provision must be made to start the production of improved machines and equipment for large capacity metallurgical units; technological production lines for the large-scale output of ammonia, superphosphate; and polyethylene; installations with a unit production capacity of 6 millions tons a year for oil refineries, and sets of equipment for baring, building and road work.

Measures must be carried out to ensure further improvement of the principal specific indices (consumption of metal, fuel consumption and motor-power reserves) of all new ty-

pes of engines for transport vehicles with a view to surpassing the technical level of the best foreign makes of such engines.

Production must be organised of new types of diesel engines with a 50-200 per cent greater power reserve, lighter weight and reduced consumption of fuel and lubricants.

There must be an increase in the production of motor-cars with a higher cross-country capacity, buses with a larger seating capacity, auto-trains consisting of lorries with trailers and trucks with semi-trailers, as well as specialised vans for consumer goods haulage. The production of lorries with a pay load of 65 tons and more must be mastered.

Provision shall be made for the manufacture of general and multi-purpose machines for comprehensive mechanisation in land cultivation and animal husbandry.

There shall be a substantial increase in the output of modern plant for various light industries. A faster replacement of mechanical looms with automated looms at textile mills must be ensured. An increase in the manufacture of machines for knitwear factories by at least 100 per cent and of dyeing and finishing equipment by 200 per cent shall be envisaged.

The production of equipment for the food industry is to be increased by 50 per cent and for trade and public catering establishments by 70 per cent.

There shall be an increase in the production of the most modern types of machines and equipment for factories producing sports, re-

creation and household goods, as well as for everyday service establishments.

Special attention must be paid to the need for a considerable increase in the manufacture of automation instruments and systems, for an enlargement of their assortment and for an improvement of their efficiency. There must be a considerable increase in the output of semi-conductor devices.

There shall be a substantial increase in the manufacture of computers and programming machines, business machines and machines for the mechanisation and automation of computing and accounting.

The range and variety of the machine tools of higher efficiency are to be increased in the engineering industry. For this purpose provision shall be made for the priority growth of the output of the latest types of metal-cutting lathes and forge and press machinery, especially finishing machines and automatic and semi-automatic machine tools, universal lathe units and automatic production lines, unique equipment for the heavy engineering industry and latest types of foundry equipment.

The production of special bearings made of electric-slag and vacuum alloy steels is to be stepped up.

More enterprises producing tools for the engineering industry are to be built and their specialisation shall be ensured. There must be a considerable increase in the production of abrasive and diamond-tipped tools in the national economy.

There shall be a considerable increase in the

output, improvement of the quality and enlargement of the assortment of consumer goods, sports, recreation and household goods at engineering and metal-working plants.

Specialised bureaus designing technically new consumer goods are to be organised.

19. Provision shall be made for the further development of the *building materials industry*. The output of parts and elements of a higher level of prefabrication is to be increased, and the assortment of building elements and materials put on sale for the population must be enlarged and their quality improved. There must be an increase in the output of plate and sheet glass; of more effective types of plastic, linoleum, ceramics and natural stone finishing materials and elements; asbestos tiles and other types of roofing; non-metal pipes and special reinforced-concrete structures. Production of pre-stressed building elements must be enlarged. Production of local building materials must be considerably increased.

20. The pattern of the *timber, pulp-and-paper and wood-working industry* must be considerably improved through the comprehensive utilisation of timber raw material and a considerable development of chemical and chemical-mechanical processing of timber.

The felling of timber in the forest regions of the North, Siberia and the Soviet Far East must be increased. Production of new types of pulp, paper, cardboard, plywood and pressed-wood boards must be initiated.

Fuller use must be made of sawing and wood-working waste, deciduous timber and fire-

wood for the output of the pulp-and-paper, timber-chemical and hydrolysis industries and for the production of pressed-wood boards and wooden packing.

There must be a considerable increase in the production at prefabricated housing plants of standard dwelling houses, sets of wooden components, fibre and wood particle boards and joinery articles.

Re-forestation and forestry are to be stepped up.

21. The output of the *light industry* shall be increased by approximately 40 per cent.

The most rapid development must be ensured for the manufacture of goods for which there is the greatest demand, i.e., knitwear, goods made of materials with synthetic fibres, of artificial leather and films, all sorts of finishing materials and haberdashery. Special attention shall be paid to developing the production of goods for children.

The quality and design of garments, footwear and other articles must be substantially improved, and the range and variety of other consumer goods constantly enlarged and their design bettered.

There shall be an increase in the output of cotton fabrics with improved finishing, woollen fabrics with admixtures of nitron and lavsan, silk fabrics made of synthetic fibre, flax fabrics with lavsan, knitwear garments of woollen, semi-woollen and volumetric synthetic yarn, elastic hosiery, and footwear of light, porous and leather-like rubber. The demand for these goods is to be satisfied more fully.

Light industrial enterprises shall be modernised through the installation of production lines, up-to-date automatic machines and other highly-productive equipment.

22. The output of the *food industry* shall be increased by 40 per cent. Foodstuffs must be more nourishing and tastier, their range and variety must be enlarged and the packing made more attractive.

Special attention must be paid to increasing the output of children's foods, various ready-to-be-cooked, cooked and other processed and packed food.

A higher rate of development must be achieved in the output of fish products, particularly live and frozen fish, boned fish, cured fillet and other fish products. New fishing areas must be developed and there must be a considerable enlargement of deep-sea fishing and an increase in the productivity of the fish economy in inland reservoirs.

The number of fishing vessels with modern equipment must be increased by approximately 150 per cent. The handling capacity of fishing ports must be raised by 50-60 per cent.

The capacity of refrigerators and freezing storehouses must be increased by 70 per cent.

More meat-and-bone and fish flour, feed yeast and feed vitamins must be produced for animal husbandry.

23. There must be a considerable increase in the output of *sports, recreation and household goods*. The quality and design of these goods must be improved and their reliability and durability must be increased. The units and

parts of household machines and appliances must be standardised to the maximum. The assortment of these goods must be regularly renewed.

Every effort shall be made to step up the production of transistorised radio and TV sets and radiograms. The mass production of colour TV sets must be initiated.

Considerably more furniture must be manufactured and its quality and design improved through the application of modern technology, as well as the use of the latest finishing materials.

A large variety and assortment of sports goods and tourist gear, utensils, kitchen equipment, gardening tools and other household goods must be ensured.

The designing and production of new goods for comfortable everyday life must be accelerated.

The demand of the population and everyday service establishments for spare parts for cars, motorcycles, radio and TV sets, refrigerators and other household machines and appliances must be fully satisfied.

24. The production of high-quality sports, recreation and household goods as well as goods for industrial use must be considerably increased in all the Union Republics at *local industry enterprises*. Artistic handicrafts must be promoted.

25. Bank credits must be widely utilised for the reconstruction of enterprises and the purchase of new plant for the purpose of organising the production of consumer goods.

#### IV.

### AGRICULTURE

*In agriculture the central task is to achieve a considerable increase in the output of farm and animal produce with the object of satisfying more fully the population's growing demand for foodstuffs and industry's demand for agricultural raw materials. The implementation of this task must be founded on the consistent fulfilment of the series of economic measures worked out at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in March 1965.*

During the next five years state capital investments in agriculture must be increased by approximately 100 per cent, the material and technical basis of the collective and state farms must be improved and agricultural workers must be given a greater incentive to develop socialised production more effectively.

1. *Between 1966-70 agricultural output must be increased annually by 25 per cent as compared with the annual average output during the preceding five years.*

The collective and state farms and the Party, local government, planning and agricultural bodies must devote most of their attention to carrying out two extremely important and interrelated tasks, *the need to increase the output of grain and of animal products.*

2. *In achieving an upsurge of all branches of agriculture and a higher standard of living, grain production is of decisive importance.* In line with this, the annual average output of grain must, in the next five years, be raised by 30 per cent throughout the country as compared with the preceding five-year period.

Special attention must be given to developing a stable grain economy and other branches of farm production in the non-chernozem zone.

Rice-growing must be organised on a large scale in the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya and the Amu-Darya, and in the North Caucasus and South Ukraine.

Provision must be made for a radical improvement in economic management in the newly developed regions, bearing in mind the creation of conditions for stable harvests of grain and other crops.

The production of cotton, sugar-beet, oil seeds, flax fibre and other industrial crops, potatoes and other vegetables, tea, fruit, berries and grapes must be considerably increased.

Steps must be taken to ensure a marked improvement in the quality, technical properties and assortment of agricultural raw material designated for industrial processing.

3. *An increase in the yield of all farm crops must be considered as the principal way to step*

*up agricultural production.* To achieve this it is necessary to carry out a series of measures aimed at promoting farming efficiency: rational utilisation of arable land, introduction of proper crop rotation, the planting of the best varieties of grain and other crops, effective use of mineral and organic fertilisers, combating soil erosion and the planting of forest shelter belts.

4. In 1970 the *supply of mineral fertilisers to agriculture* is to be brought up to 55 million tons (in terms of standard mineral fertiliser). The quality of fertilisers and lime supplied must be considerably improved. Provision shall be made for the scientific utilisation of mineral fertilisers at collective and state farms. Steps must be taken to sharply reduce losses of fertiliser in transit and storage. Improved protection services must be provided for agricultural crops, orchards, vineyards and other plantings against pests, diseases and weeds.

Special attention must be paid to the correct utilisation of herbicides, pesticides and fungicides; biological methods of pest and plant disease control must be introduced widely into practice.

5. *In the next five years a comprehensive land-improvement programme must be carried out:*

in the non-chernozem belt of the RSFSR, the Byelorussian SSR, the Baltic Republics, the Western regions and the Polesye regions of the Ukraine, as well as in the Soviet Far East, an area of 6,000,000-6,500,000 hectares of swamp and water-logged land shall be drain-

ed, an area of nearly 9 million hectares shall be technically improved and an area of not less than 28 million hectares of acid soil shall be limed;

an irrigation scheme is to be launched to cover an area of 2,500,000-3,000,000 hectares in arid regions. In addition to enlarging the area of irrigated land in the Central Asian and Transcaucasian Republics, there must be large-scale irrigation in the North Caucasus, the trans-Volga area, South Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Moldavia;

the building of collector-drainage systems, the improvement of the water supply, the planning of watered areas and the technical reorganisation of irrigation systems must be undertaken to increase soil fertility and fully develop the available irrigated areas;

a network of state specialised services and stations must be set up to help collective and state farms drain land, clear trees and scrub, level off lands under irrigation, cut transport costs and utilise peat, lime sour soils, and assemble machines and other equipment at livestock-breeding farms.

*6. The output of meat, milk, eggs and wool must be further increased chiefly by enhancing productivity and increasing the number of livestock and poultry through the greatest possible expansion of feed resources.*

This is to be achieved by:

increasing the production of feed crops, which under the conditions existing in the localities concerned will make it possible to ob-

tain the highest output of feed with the minimum outlay of labour and money;

increasing the productivity of natural fodder land to the utmost and extending pasture-land;

increasing the output of wholesome mixed feeds and protein-vitamin additions, meat bone, blood and fish meals by at least 100 per cent; supplying agriculture with 800,000-900,000 tons of nutrient yeast by 1970; producing 2,000,000-2,500,000 tons of grass meal;

satisfying more fully the requirements of collective and state farms for feed with a high protein content, amino-acids, microelements, vitamins and mineral feed, as well as preserves preventing the loss of nutrient substances in feed.

7. *With the purpose of enhancing the efficiency of public-owned animal husbandry*, steps must be taken to:

increase milk productivity of cows, develop intensive dairy husbandry on collective and state farms and, above all, around large cities and industrial centres;

promote specialised meat animal husbandry to the utmost in regions where this is economically profitable, ensure intensive rearing and fattening of young stock in regions with large dairies and specialised fattening farms;

make more rational use of the pig population, and rear them to a profitable weight;

increase wool clip and meat productivity of sheep, raise the number of head, develop more widely fine-fleeced, semi-fine fleeced and cross-bred sheep husbandry and karakul production;

develop marketable poultry-breeding on an industrial basis by concentrating it at poultry factories and large mechanised collective and state poultry farms;

envisage the development of pond-fish culture, rabbit breeding and beekeeping as additional branches on collective and state farms and, where advisable, the organisation of specialised farms;

enlarge the pedigree stock economy and farms, provide better facilities for cattle breeding farms and artificial insemination centres, organise proper raising and better utilisation of high quality breeding animals;

provide livestock and poultry with premises that conform to veterinary requirements; extend mechanisation at livestock-breeding farms;

improve the veterinary service for collective and state farms;

extend and consolidate the material and technical basis of the biological industry and the state veterinary network.

8. By increasing the technical facilities of agriculture, applying mineral fertilisers, improving and irrigating land, enhancing the efficiency of farming and giving their workers greater material incentives, the collective and state farms have every possibility of substantially increasing the grain crop yield and, on that basis, as was established by the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, every collective and state farm will be able not only annually to fulfil fixed plans but also sell the state steadily in-

creasing quantities of grain over and above the plan at higher prices. Provision must also be made for purchases over and above the plan of sunflower seeds, cotton, flax fibre, milk, wool, eggs and other produce.

The above-plan purchases of grain at higher prices fully accord with the interests of the collective and state farms, and they will raise the incomes of agricultural workers.

9. Agreements signed by collective and state farms with purchasing organisations must be encouraged and strengthened in every way, and the signatories must bear greater responsibility for the fulfilment of agreement commitments for the purchase of planned and above-plan marketable produce. Collective and state farms must have broader direct contact with industrial enterprises as well as with trade organisations, particularly those handling perishable products, so that these products may reach the consumer quickly.

The quality and assortment of procured products and raw materials must be improved, the losses of these products at purchasing and trade organisations must be considerably reduced, and the material and technical bases of these organisations as well as farm-produce processing organisations must be enlarged and strengthened. More well-equipped storehouses and refrigerators must be built.

10. *State centralised investments in agriculture for production building and the purchase of machinery shall total 41,000 million rubles in 1966-70.*

The technical level of building work in the countryside must be raised through the utilisation of pre-fabricated building elements and progressive methods.

The state and inter-collective-farm contracting building and assembling organisations in the countryside must be strengthened.

Provision must be made to satisfy the requirements of the collective and state farms in metal, pipes and building materials for the building of production premises, dwellings and everyday service establishments as well as for exploitation needs in conformity with the volume of building and assembling work carried out by the farms at the expense of centralised and non-centralised capital investments.

11. In 1966-70, in conformity with the decisions of the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, *agriculture must be supplied* with 1,790,000 tractors (including 780,000 plough tractors), 1,100,000 lorries, 900,000 tractor trailers and 275,000 lorry trailers and 550,000 grain harvester combines and other agricultural machinery. Collective and state farms must be supplied with spare parts to tractors, lorries and agricultural machines.

There must be more high-speed tractors, the most up-to-date general-purpose wide-cut and multi-row machines applicable in the various climatic and economic regions, as well as machines carrying out several technological processes simultaneously.

Measures must be taken to raise the level of mechanisation of loading and unloading in field

work, animal husbandry and storage. Agriculture must be supplied with the most economical types of lorries with greater pay-loads and a high cross-country capacity, and considerably larger numbers of lorry and tractor trailers; tip-up lorries, special lorries for the transportation of farm produce, autocranes, tractor loaders and other loading and unloading machines.

There must be a sharp improvement in the utilisation of the fleet of lorries and tractors, and efforts must be made to achieve a further improvement in the technical services for the collective and state farms and also in the engineering services.

The designing, production and delivery of efficient digging, land-reclamation and watering machines, pumps and other equipment must be accelerated.

A marked improvement of the quality, reliability and durability of farm machinery must be ensured.

12. The five-year plan must provide for *greater repair facilities in agriculture* in order to ensure the overhaul of machines, tractors and machine units, as a rule at repair enterprises of the Selkhoztekhnika organisations, and other forms of repair at workshops directly at the collective and state farms.

The workshops of the collective and state farms and the enterprises of the Selkhoztekhnika organisation shall be provided with metal-cutting lathes, repair and technological equipment and instruments; industrial methods must be introduced at these workshops and enterpri-

ses, the quality of the repairs must be improved and their cost reduced.

*13. There must be a sharp rise in the scale of electrification at collective and state farms.* Attention must be given mainly to promoting the comprehensive utilisation of electric power with the purpose of increasing labour productivity and lightening farm labour, and also of improving the everyday services for the rural population.

An increase of approximately 200 per cent in the consumption of electric power in agriculture during the five-year period must be envisaged. There shall be a rise in the share of centralised power supplies to collective and state farms from state power grids and power stations.

*14. On the basis of the increased number of machines available to agriculture, the more intensive utilisation of these machines, better labour organisation and greater material incentives for agricultural workers, a 40-45 per cent increase in labour productivity at the collective and state farms must be envisaged for the five-year period.*

*Production costs* of agricultural produce must be *lowered*, higher profitability of production must be ensured.

*15. Centralised planned management of agriculture must be combined with the promotion of the economic initiative and independence of the collective and state farms.* The state farms must become completely self-supporting and every effort must be made to put each department at the collective farms on a self-sup-

porting basis; the management and specialists of the farms must have broader rights and bear greater responsibility for the results of production activity.

The utmost must be done to promote the economic and operational independence of the state farms and develop *democratic principles of management of collective-farm production*.

The role played by state credits in developing collective- and state-farm production must be considerably enhanced; the collective farms must be enabled to receive credits directly from the banks.

Agricultural workers must be provided with greater incentive to make better use of the basic production assets and increase output, achieve higher labour productivity and economise on material, technical and cash resources.

16. In order to allow for a more efficient utilisation of land, capital investments, machinery and manpower, the *collective and state farms must specialise*, increase their marketable capacity and ensure the correct combination of their various departments.

The collective and state farms must do their own organisational and economic planning; where necessary the size of farms and their fields of specialisation must be made to conform with local climatic and economic conditions.

17. Provision must be made for the development at the collective and state farms, as well as at inter-collective-farm organisations, of *auxiliary enterprises and industries* processing farm produce, or producing building materials,

packing and consumer goods mainly from local raw materials or industrial waste. Where expedient, seasonal branches of the corresponding industrial enterprises must be set up in rural localities. Technological equipment and other machinery must be allocated from state resources, and where necessary the state shall provide raw and packing materials and packing for collective- and state-farm and also inter-state-farm auxiliary enterprises and industries.

18. *The collective and state farms must be provided with more specialists and machine-operators.*

Simultaneously with the training of agronomists and livestock experts, more economists, mechanics, electricians, hydrotechnicians, agrochemists, veterinary surgeons and experts in the protection of plants and other specialists in the field of agriculture must be trained. The economic training and retraining of collective and state-farm managerial staffs and specialists must be organised. They must be given conditions for fruitful work.

19. *Science must be given a greater role in the development of collective- and state-farm production.* There must be more extensive theoretical and experimental research in economy, biology, agrotechnique, animal breeding and mechanisation of production. Research institutions must bear greater responsibility for the scientific substantiation of their recommendations, for the efficient introduction of scientific achievements in the practice of collective- and state-farm production.

The work of compiling soil charts, making a qualitative evaluation of the soil and substantiating the systems of farming in the various climatic and economic zones must be completed at the collective and state farms. Agricultural organisations and research institutions must speed up the elaboration and application at the collective and state farms of the most economical methods of increasing the yield of farm crops and the productivity of livestock and highly efficient methods of utilising machinery and rational use of fodder.

20. *Large-scale work must be undertaken in the countryside to build dwelling houses, schools, kindergartens, nurseries, hospitals, clubs, libraries, cinemas, laundries and bakeries, to improve the efficiency of the trading enterprises in rural localities and enlarge the radio and TV network. In conformity with local conditions concrete measures must be worked out to erase the distinction in the cultural and everyday services in town and country and steps taken to carry out this programme on a broad scale.*

## V.

### TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

*The chief tasks of transport and communications are the fuller satisfaction of the requirements of the country's economy and the whole population in freight and passenger traffic and communications services, the further re-equipment of these important branches of economy and the development and improvement of a single transport network and a single automated system of communications with due account taken of the economic development of new areas.*

The rationalisation of transport systems and the economically expedient distribution of freight among the various kinds of transport is to be ensured. The delivery of freight shall be speeded up and the length of hauls and transport costs shall be reduced. The organisation of freight transfers shall be improved. The overall mechanisation of freight handling shall be developed on a higher level. Means of transport shall be more fully employed, cases of

standstill and empty runs must be reduced in number. Automation and computers are to be widely introduced.

1. The goods turnover of the *railways* shall be increased by 23 per cent. The general trend of railway development shall be in the direction of increasing the traffic and carrying capacity of the railways. The change-over from steam to electric and diesel traction shall in the main be completed.

The speed of trains shall be increased. The further development of stations and junctions, the equipment of lines with automatic interlocking and centralised dispatcher systems shall be ensured and the mechanisation of railway construction work shall be accelerated. A total of 7,000 km of railway line and another 10,000 km of electrified line are to be built.

Productivity of labour on the railways shall increase by 23 to 25 per cent.

2. *Sea-borne freight* is to be increased by about 80 per cent. The merchant marine tonnage shall be increased by about 50 per cent, adding general purpose and specialised vessels.

The handling capacity of the ports shall be increased by approximately 40 per cent. The level of complex mechanisation of loading and unloading operations at ports will be increased to 90 per cent. Ship repairs shall be effected by factory methods and the working capacity of the dockyards increased.

3. The *river fleet* must be able to handle in full all freight available in the vicinity of inland waterways. Primary attention shall be paid to the development of vessels, ports

and dockyards and to improving navigation on the Siberian rivers. Work on the building of a system of deep inland waterways in the European part of the USSR shall be continued. The Volga-Baltic Waterway shall be put to greater use.

The river fleet shall be provided with large-tonnage self-propelled ships, river-boat trains, powerful tugs, and fast passenger vessels.

4. The amount of crude and oil products transported over *pipelines* shall be doubled and about 12,000 kilometres of pipelines shall be built. The continuous pumping of oil products shall be more widely introduced and pipelines shall be further automated.

5. Freight handling by general *road transport* shall be increased by about 70 per cent. The percentage of lorry trains and heavy dump trucks shall be increased. There shall be more motor vehicles for the use of the public.

Passenger traffic on the bus lines shall increase by about 90 per cent. Modern new buses shall be put into service. The building of garages and service stations for the general public shall be extended.

The further construction and rebuilding of roads, especially in the rural areas, shall be ensured. In the next five years hard surface motor roads with a total length of 63,000 kilometres shall be built.

6. About 80 per cent more passengers will be served by the *air transport*—airplanes and helicopters. Some 35 to 40 airports shall be built in airlines of national importance and 200 on local lines. The airports on national main

routes shall be equipped with automatic and semi-automatic traffic and landing radio-electronic control systems.

7. *Urban electric transport* shall be substantially increased. Underground railway lines shall be extended by 85 kilometres, tramway lines by 1,400 kilometres and trolleybus lines by 2,900 kilometres. About fifty per cent of the existing tramway lines shall be reconstructed. Underground rolling stock shall be increased by 1,200 coaches, trolleybuses by 11,000 and tramcars by 10,000.

8. There shall be better *communications* services of all types for the economy and for the general public. Work shall be accelerated to establish a single system of communications that ensures uninterrupted and reliable transmission of all forms of information. Inter-urban telephone channels shall be extended by 150 per cent, and their operational capacity increased by 80 per cent, the network of TV and radio broadcasting stations shall be expanded and artificial earth satellites shall be used for TV and long-distance telecommunications.

## VI.

### CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

*The main task in capital construction is to use invested capital more effectively, ensure that new industrial capacities, dwelling houses and other buildings are ready for use in a short time and with a minimum of expense, and to improve the quality of construction work.*

1. The *total capital* to be invested in the economy of the USSR for the 1966-70 period is fixed at about 310,000 million rubles, which is 47 per cent more than in the 1961-65 period.

From this sum there shall be allotted:

for the development of industry, transport and communication about 152,000 million rubles;

for industrial building and the acquisition of machinery for agriculture—71,000 million rubles;

for housing, municipal and public buildings about 75,000 million rubles.

2. *To make the investment of capital more effective* it shall be directed first and foremost

towards the technical re-equipment of existing plants, the mechanisation and automation of production, greater specialisation, better technology, the removal of bottlenecks and other organisational and technical measures. As a result of this there shall be envisaged a substantial increase in the production capacities and output of existing plants in a shorter period and at less expense than is required for the building of new enterprises. The increased investment for the technical re-equipment of existing plants shall be obtained from the funds for production development and by means of bank credits.

Capital shall first be invested for the completion of building already underway and of projects ready to be commissioned, and in this way the rate at which factories and fixed assets go into production shall be increased.

3. *The planning of investments shall be improved* and building projects shall be technically and economically more expedient. There shall be agreement between the producer and consumer enterprises and also between them and housing, municipal and public building projects on the time limits for commissioning production capacities. Ramified methods of planning and control shall be extensively introduced by the use of computers.

4. *Building shall be made cheaper*, the cost per unit of new capacities shall be less than that of existing capacities, the time required for building shall be reduced to the established standards and production capacities shall go into operation as a complex.

A considerable economy in building materials shall be envisaged; the unit consumption of cement and timber shall be reduced.

The estimated cost of industrial building and the cost of all kinds of building work shall be reduced.

5. *Building work shall be industrialised at a higher level*, for the purpose of converting building into a complex mechanised process of assembling buildings and structures from standard prefabricated parts and elements.

Building organisations shall be equipped with highly productive machinery. The productivity of building machines and equipment shall be increased by 15 to 30 per cent.

The contractor method of building and assembling shall be used to a greater extent. Progressive methods and effective technology shall be introduced into building work. The productivity of labour in building shall be increased by 35 to 40 per cent.

6. *Economic incentives* in building work shall be *increased*. Building organisations shall be given considerable economic independence and profit shall play a greater role in construction, in making building workers materially interested in reducing time limits, improving quality and reducing costs.

7. *The compiling of estimates and the designing of projects shall be improved*. In drawing up building and reconstruction projects the leading achievements in science and technology shall be taken into consideration and investments of capital shall be more effective. Designing organisations, ministries and depart-

ments and also bodies of experts shall bear greater responsibility for the quality of projects and the correct determination of estimated costs. The time required for drawing up projects and estimates shall be reduced.

## VII.

### HIGHER LIVING STANDARDS AND A HIGHER CULTURAL LEVEL FOR THE PEOPLE

*In view of the fact that the main purpose of socialist production is the ever greater satisfaction of the growing material and cultural needs of the people, a further substantial improvement in living standards shall be ensured in the next five years by means of greater labour productivity, by increasing the output of material values and by accelerating the rate of growth of the national income.*

The carrying out of the following basic tasks is envisaged:

*the wages of factory and office workers shall be increased by an average of at least 20 per cent between 1966 and 1970, and collective farmers' incomes in cash and kind from the collective farm shall be increased by an average of between 35 and 40 per cent to bring the payment for the labour of collective farmers close to the payment for the labour of factory and office workers;*

*the consumption of food and manufactured goods by the public shall be increased, and there shall be a greater variety of food and manufactured items. The sale of consumer goods in state and co-operative shops shall rise by no less than 40 per cent. These goods must be of better quality and in a greater assortment;*

*cash payments and benefits accruing to the people from the social consumption funds shall increase by not less than 40 per cent: social security, various grants, pensions, scholarships, payment for holidays, free education and free medical treatment, the provision of free or cheap accommodation in sanatoriums and holiday homes, the maintenance of kindergartens and nurseries and the provision of other social and cultural services;*

*housing construction shall be increased by 30 per cent and its quality improved. In towns, urban-type settlements, and on state farms houses with a total floor space of 100 million sq.m, more than in the preceding five years, shall be built at the cost of the state and by building co-operatives; communal, social and cultural services shall be considerably improved.*

1. *Increased wages for factory and office workers shall be ensured in the main as follows:*

*minimum monthly wages in the national economy shall be increased to 60 rubles, raising at the same time wages and salaries of the medium-paid category of factory and office workers;*

payment for the labour of workers, engineers and technicians and office personnel shall be increased from the material-incentive funds formed at factories that are being transferred to the new methods of planning and economic stimulus. The part played by bonuses and awards in a person's income shall be considerably increased to ensure a fuller combination of the interests of each worker and the interests of the factory and of society as a whole. The increase in income deriving from this source will be the greater, the more significant the contribution made by each collective and each individual worker to the development of production and to its greater effectiveness;

special allowances shall be introduced for factory and office workers at enterprises and organisations in the Far East, Siberia and European North, for whom these allowances have not yet been established. Greater privileges will be offered to people working in the Far North and in areas put in the same category.

In carrying out measures to increase wages, further preference shall be given to the wages of workers engaged in branches where labour is heavy or harmful, in underground work or work of heightened intensity. Forms and systems of payment for labour must be improved and special attention paid to their role as an incentive in increasing the productivity of labour, accelerating technical progress and improving the quality of output.

2. In accordance with the planned growth of social production, the development of science and the extension of the services for the

public *the number of factory and office workers in the country's economy shall be fixed at 91-92 million by 1970.*

3. Planned transition must be ensured for factory and office workers at enterprises, institutions and organisations to the *five-day working week* (five work days and two free days) while preserving the existing total length of the working week, which will ease working conditions for the workers and give them greater opportunities for improving their qualifications and cultural standards, and will also help increase the effectiveness in the utilisation of production assets.

4. Measures shall be taken for the continued *abolition or reduction of taxes* on wages and salaries of some categories of factory and office workers.

5. Modern *safety measures* and devices shall be introduced and *hygiene and sanitation* improved at factories. The output of the machines and devices and also of special clothing and footwear shall be increased and the quality improved, and specialised factories for their manufacture shall be set up.

6. The income of collective farmers deriving from the farm shall be substantially increased by means of greater productivity of labour and the better employment of all labour resources throughout the year. *Monthly guaranteed payment for work of collective farmers shall be gradually introduced conformably to wage levels of state-farm workers* in corresponding operations and with corresponding quotas. The system of payment for the labour of

collective farmers and the system of bonuses in cash and kind shall be improved, making the latter directly dependent on the increase in output and in labour productivity, and also on improvements in quality and reductions in cost of produce. Privately-owned plots of land must also serve as a source of income for the rural population.

7. The further *improvement of the pension scheme* for factory and office workers and for collective farmers is to be envisaged.

The old-age pension minimum for factory and office workers and for collective farmers shall be raised.

Old-age pensions shall be established at the age of 50 for certain categories of women workers in some industries engaged on jobs of higher intensity of labour.

Collective farmers shall be equalled to factory and office workers as regards the pension age and procedure for calculating pensions.

The pension minimum shall be increased for collective farmers who are Group One invalids, and also pensions shall be introduced for Group Three invalid collective farmers disabled by an accident on the job or by occupational disease.

8. The structure of the people's diet shall be improved. *The consumption of meat and meat products is to increase on the average by 20-25 per cent, milk and milk products by 15 to 18 per cent, sugar by about 25 per cent, vegetables and melons by 35-40 per cent, vegetable oils by 40-46 per cent, fruits, including grapes,*

by 45-50 per cent and fish and fish products by 50-60 per cent.

The sale of fabrics, clothing and knitted wear is to increase by 40 per cent; of which knitted wear (garments and underclothes) by 90 per cent.

9. *Shopping facilities shall be improved;* this envisages the more rapid development of trading in rural areas and it shall be relevant to the growth in the incomes of the rural population.

There shall be a universal improvement in the assortment of foodstuffs, first and foremost bakery products, confectionery, macaroni and similar products, milk products, vegetable and animal fats, preserves and other consumer items. There must be a considerable improvement in the quality of potatoes and other vegetables sold to the public by state and co-operative shops.

Special attention must be paid to meeting the demands of the population, especially the rural population, for sports, recreation and household goods and also for building materials. There shall be a considerable increase in the sale of radio and TV sets and radiograms, furniture, domestic refrigerators, cars, mopeds and motor bicycles, timber, cement, roofing felt and asbestos tiles.

There shall be extended trade in items produced from local resources; surpluses of agricultural products shall be purchased from collective farmers by trading organisations; they shall also buy wild fruits, berries, mushrooms and honey. Trading on collective-

farm markets shall be greatly increased and conditions shall be created for collective-farm trade in fruits, vegetables and other produce; the sale of surpluses by state farms directly to the public shall be organised on markets or in shops.

Trade specialists must make a better study of the demand for consumer goods and, in distributing goods to various parts in the country must take into consideration changes in the demand, including those due to seasonal, climatic conditions and also to national special features.

Progressive forms of trade convenient for the public must be introduced on a wide scale—the acceptance of orders for goods, the delivery of orders, the use of samples in doing trade and so on. Trade by post and by travelling salesmen must be developed, especially in the rural areas. The network of shops, especially shops of the consumer co-operatives, and state and co-operative warehouses, refrigerators and stores shall be extended.

Executives of the enterprises producing consumer goods must take timely measures to extend the assortment and improve the quality of these goods, basing themselves on the demands of the population and the orders of the trading bodies.

The active participation of factory and office workers, collective farmers and housewives in the voluntary task of supervising the work of trading and public catering organisations shall be ensured.

10. *In the five-year period the turnover of the*

*public catering establishments shall-increase by about 45 per cent, and they shall themselves produce up to 70 per cent of their goods. The service in dining-rooms, snack bars, cafes and restaurants shall be improved; the number of these establishments shall be increased. Special attention shall be paid to improving catering facilities for factory and office workers, students and schoolchildren in dining-rooms at factories and offices, state farms and educational establishments.*

11. In order to increase the real wages of the people, as the output of consumer goods increases and the necessary reserves are established, measures are to be taken *to reduce state retail prices for certain items of food and manufactured goods*, priority being given to children's goods.

*Currency circulation* is to be further *invigorated* and the purchasing power of the ruble is to rise as an essential condition for interesting the worker in the results of his labour.

12. *Housing construction is to be increased and the people provided with better housing conditions.*

*In 1966-70 dwelling houses with a total floor space of about 400 million square metres shall be built in towns, urban-type settlements and state farms using state investments and the funds of co-operative societies*, special attention being paid to domestic building in the rural areas.

In the rural areas a total of 2-2.5 million dwelling houses are to be built by the population and the collective farms; in the towns,

urban settlements and state farms factory and office workers, with the help of state credits, shall build individual houses with a total floor space of over 80 million square metres.

The building of houses for factory and office workers out of the funds for social and cultural undertakings and for housing construction shall be extended. The building of co-operative houses shall be increased 200-300 per cent and measures shall be taken to encourage it and draw into the building co-operatives ever wider sections of the population. Factory and office workers shall be helped to build individual houses using their own resources and aided by state credits.

The quality of domestic building and the conveniences provided must be of a higher level. Measures must be taken to ensure the conservation, increase conveniences and improve the exploitation of existing dwelling houses.

*Communal services shall be improved.* Centralised water supply systems shall, in the main, be completed in all towns. Gas supply to dwelling houses in towns shall be increased by 50-55 per cent and in rural areas by 20-25 per cent. No less than 1,000 towns and urban-type settlements shall be provided with gas. Electric power shall be more widely used for the domestic needs of the population. The output of electric power for the domestic and communal needs of the urban population shall be increased by 60 per cent and for those of the rural population by more than 200 per cent. All forms of urban transport shall be further developed and there shall be considerable impro-

vement in the service, passenger traffic in the towns increasing by a minimum of 50 per cent.

The appearance of buildings, residential areas, cities, towns and urban settlements is to be improved. The quality of planning and developing towns and urban settlements is to be improved. Sanitation in inhabited areas shall improve, there must be a more resolute struggle against air and water pollution in towns and factory settlements, more must be done to protect natural beauty spots, especially in the suburban zones of big cities.

13. *All forms of communal services shall be improved.* Such services shall be converted into a big mechanised branch of the economy. By 1970 the volume of services available to the public shall increase by about 150 per cent while in the rural areas they shall increase by 200 per cent. Dry-cleaning services shall be increased by 500 per cent, housing repair services by 700 per cent, the repair of household appliances, transport means and furniture by 200 per cent.

The network of enterprises providing services at stationary and mobile workshops and receptions centres is to be further extended. These enterprises shall be specialised and their equipment modernised. In the rural areas branches and reception centres from the services in nearby towns and district centres shall be organised.

It is an important task for those working in this field to ensure better services, improve the quality of the work and do the job in shorter time.

14. There shall be a further *development of education, an improvement in the general educational level of the population and in the quality of the training of personnel.* In the course of the five-year period the introduction of universal secondary education for the youth shall be completed.

The number of pupils in schools and groups with a prolonged day shall be doubled and the number of pupils in evening schools increased by 40 per cent.

The number of children in state pre-school institutions shall be increased to 12,200,000, i.e., 60 per cent more than in 1965. This will, in the main, meet the urban population's requirements and greatly improve the situation for the rural population.

In the five-year period about 7 million specialists with higher and secondary educational qualifications will be trained, which is 65 per cent more than in the 1961-65 period. By 1970 the annual enrolment of students in special secondary schools will be increased to 1,600,000 and in higher schools to 940,000. The training of specialists shall be of a higher quality.

The training of skilled workers for all branches of the economy shall be extended. The enrolment in vocational schools for 1970 shall be increased to 1.7-1.8 million, i.e., 70 to 80 per cent more than the average annual enrolment in the preceding five years.

15. *An improvement in the medical services for the urban and rural population is to be envisaged.* The building of new hospitals provided

with modern medical equipment is to be developed on a broad scale. There shall be an extension of urban and rural district general hospitals and clinics capable of ensuring specialised medical treatment, with special attention paid to the expansion of the network of medical and prophylaxis institutions for the treatment of women and children. By 1970 the total number of hospital beds is to be increased to 2,680,000.

The medical equipment industry shall increase output by 70 per cent. The output of medical instruments, devices, apparatus and other equipment and medical preparations, especially the more effective drugs, for the prophylaxis and treatment of cardio-vascular and mental diseases, tuberculosis, malignant tumours and infectious and virus diseases shall be considerably extended and their use improved. The time needed for industrial production of new medical drugs shall be reduced. There shall be an increase in the output and assortment of patent medicines. The public shall be fully provided with all the necessary medical supplies.

Measures shall be adopted to *further improve sanatorium treatment and better organise holidays for the people*, to extend the network of sanatoriums, boarding houses, holiday homes, tourist hostels, Young Pioneer camps and sports facilities. The number of homes for the aged and for invalids shall be increased.

*The mass forms of physical training and sports is to be made more available to the population:* special attention shall be paid to

developing them in general schools and in special secondary and higher schools.

16. Provisions shall be made to expand the network of institutions of culture and art and substantially to develop *all forms of cultural services for the people*, especially, in the rural areas. The number of theatres, general libraries and clubs shall be increased, and they shall be better equipped. The number of film projectors shall be increased to 160,000, special attention being paid to the extension of the rural cinema network.

Measures shall be adopted for the extensive development of television (including colour TV) which is called upon to play an important part in bringing closer the level of culture of the urban and rural population, and also the population of different parts of the country. Television and radio programmes shall be improved.

The publishing and the printing trades shall be further developed. The printing of books shall be increased by about 25 per cent, journals and magazines by more than 50 per cent and newspapers by about 40 per cent. The printing of books and other publications shall be of a higher quality.

The delivery of letters, newspapers and magazines by post is to be speeded up. The transmission of the texts of central newspapers to the bigger cities by phototelegraph is to be organised so that they can be printed and delivered to the public on the day of their publication in Moscow.

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*Taking into consideration the envisaged increased wages for factory and office workers, the higher incomes in cash and kind envisaged for collective farmers, the reduction of prices in state and co-operative trading establishments and on collective-farm markets and also the extension of consumption, real incomes per capita of the population shall rise by approximately 30 per cent.*

The targets for improving living standards, especially for wage increases, are not the maximum.

The development of initiative on the part of workers in making production more effective, the introduction of new economic management methods, the increased funds for the provision of material incentives made available by the better operation of factories provides for a much greater increase in the real incomes of the people based on the socialist principle of distribution according to work done.

## VIII.

### THE SITING OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY IN THE UNION REPUBLICS

*The task of increasing the efficiency of social production requires a further improvement in the siting of productive forces, complex development and specialisation of the Union Republics and of economic areas, fuller involvement of the able-bodied population in production, and correct co-ordination of planning for each territorial division with the branch principle of managing the country's economy.*

The following basic trends for improving the siting of the productive forces shall be envisaged.

1. *In the Eastern part of the country, where there are cheap fuel, power and raw material resources, there shall be an accelerated development of the extraction of fuels, the output of electric power and of those products of the non-ferrous metal industry and the chemical industry that are especially power-consuming, and also the complete processing of timber. By 1970 the share in the country's coal*

output accruing to parts of the country east of the Urals shall be raised to about 45 per cent (of which up to 77 per cent shall be extracted from open-cast mines); its share of the output of natural gas shall increase to 35 per cent and that of oil to 16 per cent; the area's share in the country's power production shall be raised to 28 per cent, aluminium production to 65 per cent, bauxite to 37 per cent, blister copper to 58 per cent, cellulose to 28 per cent, and cardboard to 31 per cent. In order to provide favourable living and working conditions for the people and to establish permanent contingents of workers in the eastern and northern areas, housing and communal and public buildings shall be erected at rates higher than those obtaining on the average for the country.

2. *In the economic areas of the European part of the country and in the Urals*, where there are big industrial establishments and a big labour force, the further development of the productive forces shall be effected mainly by the reconstruction and better utilisation of operating production capacities, especially by timely replacement of and by fully loading plant, and also by building new factories for the labour-consuming branches of industry. The building of power-consuming factories in these areas, as a rule, is not envisaged and the development of those already existing shall be limited.

3. *In order to make better use of the labour force and effect a more equal distribution of industry*, new factories shall be built mainly in small and medium towns, and the need to em-

ploy both male and female labour shall be considered. In the big cities, industry shall develop by making fuller use of existing production capacities, by reconstructing existing plants on an economically advisable basis and the building of enterprises to serve public needs and the economies of those cities.

4. *Economic relations between areas and Republics shall be perfected*, especially relations between the western and eastern parts of the country. For this purpose some sections of the east-west main railway lines shall be strengthened, the Mid-Siberian line shall be commissioned along its entire length and new lines shall be built to connect Central Asia with the European part of the country. A system of gas pipelines shall be built: Central Asia—Centre, Western Siberia—European part of the USSR.

5. *The siting and optimum capacities of new and reconstructed factories shall be better justified technically and economically* with a view to reducing the social costs of production, including expenditures for power supply, building and communal services and other related branches, and also for the delivery of the product to the consumer.

The planning of the siting of production shall be based on scientifically grounded projects for the development and siting of branches of the economy and on projects for the development of economic areas. The elaboration of the scientific problems of territorial planning and of determining the economic effectiveness of the siting of the productive for-

ces shall be accelerated; manifestations of departmentalism and parochialism shall be eliminated.

*6. There shall be a steep upsurge of the productive forces and a rise in living standards in all Union Republics.*

The basic targets for economic development of the Union Republics for 1966-70 shall be determined as follows.

### **RUSSIAN SOVIET FEDERATIVE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

In industry there shall be priority development of the electric power, ferrous and non-ferrous metal, oil, gas, chemical, engineering, light and food industries.

Overall industrial output is to be raised by about 50 per cent; the engineering and metal-working branches are to increase output by 70-80 per cent. Production of electric power in 1970 shall be fixed at 526,000-532,000 million kwh, the extraction of oil at 271-281 million tons, of gas at 103,000-113,000 million cubic metres, of coal at 373-380 million tons, the production of mineral fertilisers at 31.6-33.3 million tons, of man-made fibres at 510,000-542,000 tons, plastics and synthetic resins at 1,486,000-1,616,000 tons, motor and motor-cycle tyres at 29-30 million, iron at 47-48.5 million tons, steel at 69-71 million tons, rolled steel stock at 52-54 million tons, steel pipes at 8.3-9 million tons, cellulose at 7.6-8.2 million tons,

paper at 4.2-4.5 million tons, cement at 60-63 million tons.

The output of cotton fabrics shall be raised to 5,000-5,200 million square metres, hosiery to 919 million pairs, knitted wear to 743-789 million items, leather footwear to 325-334 million pairs, meat to 3.2-3.4 million tons, whole milk products to 9.6-10.2 million tons, granulated beet-sugar to 3.1-3.2 million tons, vegetable oil to 1.3 million tons, preserves to 5,400-5,600 million conventional cans, radio sets and radiograms to 4.5 million, TV sets to 4.9 million and furniture to the value of 1,400-1,600 million rubles.

In agriculture the most important task shall be an all-round increase in the output of grain, especially wheat, and also rice and other cereals.

The gross yield of grain crops in the RSFSR shall be raised to 110-112 million tons. In the coming five years 600,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under crops, 2,250,000 hectares of water-logged land shall be drained and 4,000,000 hectares of grassland shall be provided with water. Measures shall be taken to ensure a radical improvement in meadowland and pasture and to carry out other land improvement works over an area of 6.3 million hectares; measures shall also be taken for the lime treatment of sour soils.

*In the European part of the country and in the Urals capacities at the Konakovo, Kirishi, Kostroma, Novo-Cherkassk, Karmanovo, Irikinskoye and Reftinskaya thermal power stations and the first aggregates of the Lower*

Kama and Chirket hydroelectric stations shall be commissioned, the building of the Saratov hydroelectric power station shall be completed and that of the Cheboksary power station begun.

The extraction of iron ore at the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly mines shall be increased by 120 per cent. At the Novo-Lipetsk and Cherepovets iron and steel works, the Nizhny Tagil, Magnitogorsk, and Orsk-Khalilovo iron and steel trusts and the Chelyabinsk and Verkh-Iset iron and steel works new capacities will become operational. The working of the big bauxite deposit at North-Onega shall begin; the building of the Urupskoe and Gai ore-refining plants shall be completed. The building of the Kirishi, Rayzan, Novo-Yaroslavl and Volgograd oil refineries shall be completed and they shall begin functioning at full capacity. A second potassium plant shall be built in Berezniki. The capacity of the Bazhenovo asbestos plant is to be increased. The building of textile mills at Cheboksary, Kamyshin, Balashov, Krasnodar, Shakhty, Orenburg and Chaikovsk is to be completed. New enterprises in the light, food and fish industries are to be built. The Almet'yevsk-Gorky (third section) and Yaroslavl-Kirishi oil pipelines are to be built. The construction of the Beloretsk—Chishmy and Krasnodar—Tuapse railways shall be begun.

The accelerated development of productive forces *in the districts of Siberia and the Far East* shall be regarded as an important economic task of the five-year plan.

A powerful industrial complex is to be creat-

ed in Western Siberia to utilise the recently discovered oil and gas deposits and the rich forest lands. The output of oil in Western Siberia must be raised to 20-25 million tons and that of gas to 16,000-26,000 million cubic metres. The organisation of the timber industry complexes at Verkhne-Kondinsk and Tavda shall be begun. A railway from Tyumen to Surgut and an oil pipeline from Ust-Balyk to Omsk shall be built. The building of the Ivdel-Ob and the Tavda-Sotnik railways, the Shaim-Tyumen oil pipeline and the Berezov-Igrim-Serov-Nizhny Tagil gas pipeline shall be completed.

The output of the Kuznetsk coal basin shall be raised to not less than 121 million tons, including raising the output of coking coals to not less than 50 million tons. Reconstruction of the existing coal mines and open pits of the Kuznetsk basin shall be accelerated.

Electric power output in Siberia shall be raised to 141,000-143,000 million kwh. The Krasnoyarsk hydropower station shall be put into operation at full capacity. The construction of the Irkutsk aluminium and Achinsk bauxite plants and the Tuva cobalt plant shall be completed; capacities at the Krasnoyarsk and Bratsk aluminium plants and the Krasnoyarsk factory producing aluminium extrusions shall be built and put into operation at accelerated rates. The Norilsk plant shall be extended by working the rich nickel and copper deposits at Talnakh, and the Kiya-Shaltyr deposits of nephelines shall be developed. Work shall be begun on the exploitation of the Udokan copper ore deposit.

The building of the first section of the West Siberia iron and steel plant shall be largely completed, new capacities at the Korshunovo ore refinery shall be put into operation and the building of a ferrous-alloy plant in East Siberia shall be begun.

Capacities at the Omsk and Angarsk oil refineries and at the chemical plants in Angarsk, Usol, Kemerovo, Omsk and Barnaul shall be expanded. The building shall be begun of an electro-chemical plant in the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the building of a new oil refinery in Siberia shall be envisaged.

The Chernogorsk, Kemerovo, Leninsk-Kuznetsk, Tyumen and Chita textile mills are to begin producing.

The first section of the Bratsk timber industry complex shall be completed and the second section begun, and work shall be started on the Asino, Eniseisk and Chuna timber industry complexes. The construction of the Maklakovo-Eniseisk group of sawmills shall be completed.

Railway communications with the Kuznetsk basin shall be improved, the Khrebtovaya—Ust-Ilim and Reshoty—Boguchany railways shall be built to bring industry to new districts.

The industrial potential of the Far East shall be stepped up at an accelerated rate. There shall be a further increase in the extraction of gold, tin, tungsten, mercury, diamonds and mica. The construction and commissioning of new power-generating capacities shall be speeded up in the Magadan Region to ensure the further rise in the mining of gold, tin and other non-ferrous metals

in the areas of the North East of the USSR. The building of the ore refineries at Solnechnoye shall be completed and those at Khrustalny shall be expanded, the working of new deposits of natural diamonds in the Yakut ASSR and of tungsten in the Primorsky Territory shall be begun. The building of the tin refinery at Deputatsky and the chemical mining enterprise in the Primorsky Territory shall be started. Geological prospecting and surveying shall be substantially increased.

Prospecting and planning for a new iron and steel base in the Far East shall be carried out. The gas deposit at Ust-Vilyui in the Yakut ASSR shall be developed on an industrial scale.

The building of the first section of the cellulose and cardboard plant in Komsomolsk shall be completed and the construction of a big new timber industry complex shall be begun. The building of a power station on the River Zeya shall be stepped up and measures adopted to combat floods.

The catch of fish, whales and marine mammals and the harvest of sea products in the Far East shall be raised to about 35 per cent of the country's total.

The traffic handling capacity of the ports of Vladivostok, Nakhodka and Vanino shall be expanded. Ferry communication shall be established between Vanino and the island of Sakhalin and work shall be begun on the building of a bridge across the River Amur at Komsomolsk-on-Amur.

## UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

The accelerated expansion of the electric power, engineering, gas, chemical and light industries and also the further development of the steel, coal and food industries shall be ensured. Total industrial output is to rise by about 50 per cent.

Production shall be set at the following levels: coal 209-211 million tons; electric power 161,000-163,000 million kwh; pig iron 42-43.5 million tons; steel 48-50 million tons; rolled stock 37-39 million tons and steel pipes 4.7-5 million tons. Production of oil is to increase 100 per cent, gas 50 per cent, precision instruments and automation devices by more than 100 per cent, chemical equipment 80-90 per cent, agricultural machinery 60 per cent and tractors 60 per cent.

The production of mineral fertilisers shall be brought up to 10.9-11.5 million tons; synthetic resins and plastics 227,000 tons; chemical fibres 104,000-108,000 tons; cement 17-19 million tons; fabrics 633-652 million sq. m; knitted goods 285-300 million pieces; leather footwear 117-122 million pairs; vegetable oil 882,000-956,000 tons; granulated beet sugar 5.6-5.7 million tons and preserves to 2,800-2,900 million conventional cans.

Reconstruction of operating Donbas collieries shall be completed. Building of the Kremenchug oil refinery is to be completed and provision made for the construction of another refinery. Development of a combined power grid is to be finished, construction of the Krivoi

Rog, Lugansk, Zmiyev, Tripolye and Burshtyn district electric stations is to be completed and construction started of a new district electric station in the Donbas and of the New Dnieper and Ladyzhin stations.

Building of the Dnieper and second sections of the Severny and Ingulets mining and concentration works shall be completed. The Nikitovka mercury mine, the Irsha mining and concentration and Verkhne-Dneprovka mining and metallurgical works are to be enlarged. Provision should be made for the further development of the engineering industry, chiefly by extending and reconstructing operating enterprises.

The first sections of the Rovno nitrogen fertiliser plant and the Belaya Tserkov industrial rubber goods factory shall be built. Capacity is to be commissioned at the Cherkassy chemical, Yavorov mining and chemical, Novo-Stebnik potash and Kalush chemical and metallurgical works, Crimea soda factory and the Crimea titanium dioxide factory. Building of the South-Sivash magnesite factory is to begin.

Construction of the Chernigov, Cherkassy and Ternopol textile mills is to be completed. Building of factories in the meat-packing, dairy and other food industries is to be accelerated.

Production of wheat, buckwheat, rice, sugar-beet and sunflower seed is to increase. The total grain crop in the Republic shall be brought up to 37-38 million tons.

An area of 650,000 hectares of irrigated lands shall be brought under cultivation. Building of the first section of the system for irrigating and developing lands in the North Crimea

Canal zone is to be completed. Water-logged lands are to be drained and the drainage systems in Polesye and western regions of the Republic are to be reconstructed over a territory of 700,000 hectares. The water supply of cities, industrial communities and enterprises of the Donbas shall be improved.

Electrification of the Moscow—Kiev—Lvov—Chop Railway, reconstruction of the Odessa sea port, building of the first sections of a fishing port and ship repair yards and the second section of a sea port in Ilyichevsk shall be completed.

Development of the health resorts on the Black Sea coast, the Azov area and the Carpathians is to be ensured.

#### **BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Provision shall be made for the further development of the engineering and chemical industries, by utilising the rich resources of common and potassium salts, and also of the light and food industries.

Total industrial output is to rise approximately by 70 per cent, production of electric power by 100 per cent, peat extraction 60 per cent, primary oil refining 340 per cent, production of mineral fertilisers 280 per cent, chemical fibres 220-270 per cent, precision instruments, automation devices and spare parts 80 per cent, cardboard 240 per cent, fabrics 140 per cent, knitted goods 100-110 per cent, meat

30 per cent and dairy products by 60-70 per cent.

An oil-extracting industry shall be developed in the Republic. Building of the Polotsk oil refinery, the Grodno nitrogen fertiliser and the Gomel superphosphate factories, the second Soligorsk potash works and also the Pinsk knitgoods mill shall be completed. The first units of the Lukoml district electric station are to be commissioned and construction of the Berezovka station is to be finished. A third potash works in Soligorsk, the Svetlogorsk cellulose and cardboard mill and the Mogilev synthetic fibre factory, the first sections of the Polotsk chemical works and the Mozyr oil refinery are to be built and new capacity at the Bobruisk tyre factory commissioned. Construction of cotton textile and silk mills shall be started.

Specialisation of the Republic's agriculture in meat and dairy farming, pig and poultry breeding and the production of potatoes and flax fibre shall be furthered. An area of 1.5-1.6 million hectares of water-logged lands shall be drained and about 900,000 hectares are to be cleared of shrubs and young trees.

#### **UZBEK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

The further advance of cotton growing will be ensured since Uzbekistan has been, and remains, the main cotton producer of the USSR. The development of the non-ferrous metals, gas, chemical, light and food industries shall also be ensured.

Total industrial output is to increase by about 60 per cent, the production of gas by 130 per cent, electric power 120 per cent, mineral fertilisers 100 per cent, refined copper 180 per cent, silk fabrics 180-200 per cent, vegetable oil 30 per cent and tinned fruit and vegetables 60 per cent. The manufacture of machines for irrigation and cotton growing shall substantially rise.

The construction of nitrogen fertiliser and artificial fibre factories in Fergana shall be completed. The Altyn-Topkan lead, zinc and copper works is to be enlarged by organising the production of refined mineral fertilisers, the Ingichkinsk tungsten mine is to be expanded and new capacity commissioned at the Uzbek refractory metal plant and the chemical factory in Navoi. A gold mining industry is to be developed. Building of the Tashkent and Navoi district electric stations and the Charvak hydroelectric station shall be finished, and the first unit of the Bekabad district electric station commissioned. More gas is to be supplied to the Urals. A gas pipeline from the Bukhara gas-bearing area to Tashkent, Frunze and Alma-Ata shall be built.

A factory for manufacturing domestic refrigerators shall be erected. Construction of the Namangan mill for the production of artificial silk fabrics from staple fibre is to be completed. Building of a cotton textile mill, cotton spinning mill, shoe and knitted goods factories, two vegetable oil mills, two canneries and a winery shall be undertaken.

Growing of cotton varieties yielding fine-

staple fibre is to increase. An area of 500,000 hectares of newly irrigated lands shall be brought under cultivation. Work on irrigating and developing the Hungry and Karshinsk steppes and the Surhan-Shirabad valley is to be continued. Desalinisation and draining of irrigated lands and improvement of the water supply to irrigation systems with inadequate water resources shall be undertaken. Water must be supplied to 3.5 million hectares of pasture lands. Large-scale cultivation of rice shall be developed in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya. Production of vegetables, melon crops, fruit and grapes for the market is to increase. The breeding of karakul sheep and sheep for meat and fat shall be extended.

#### KAZAKH SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Provision shall be made for the accelerated development of the non-ferrous metals, iron and steel, coal, oil, chemical, light and food industries.

Total industrial output shall rise by about 70 per cent, production of electric power by 100 per cent, refined copper 90 per cent, lead 40 per cent and zinc 90 per cent. Production shall be increased as follows: coal to 68-69 million tons, including 32 million tons strip-mined, oil 15 million tons, iron ore 26 million tons, pig iron 4-4.5 million tons, steel 3.5-4.6 million tons, mineral fertilisers 2-2.2 million tons, cement 6-6.3 million tons, meat 505,000 tons, fabrics 130-143 million sq. m, leather foot-

wear 25-26 million pairs and knitted articles to 97-103 million pieces.

Building of the Jezkazgan mining and metallurgical works and the Leninogorsk zinc plant shall be completed and the Tishinsk lead and zinc and Sayak copper mine, the first sections of the Nikolayevka and Orlovka mining and concentration works and the second section of the Pavlodar alumina factory are to be commissioned. Building of the East Kazakhstan copper smelter and copper electrolytic refinery shall be started.

Construction of the Karaganda iron and steel works shall be largely completed and new capacity commissioned at the Ermakovka ferro-alloys plant and the first section of the Lisakovskoye mining and concentration works. Capacity of the Sokolovskoye-Sarbai mining and concentration works shall be brought up to 30 million tons of ore annually, increasing the production of granules. The construction of the Kachar mining and concentration works is to be started.

New coal-mining capacity shall be commissioned in the Ekibastuz area and construction started of electric stations working on these coals to ensure the power supply of Central and Northern Kazakhstan and to transmit electric power to regions in the European part of the USSR and the Urals. The first sections of the Ermak and Jambul district electric stations shall be commissioned.

Development of a new large oil and gas centre in the Mangyshlak Peninsula is to be accelerated, and the Guryev oil refinery en-

larged. The production of tractors must be started. Provision shall be made for building and commissioning the first section of the Pavlodar and Chimkent oil refineries. A large complex of chemical works is to be developed on the basis of the Karatau phosphorite deposits. New capacity is to be commissioned at the Pavlodar chemical works. Building of the Kustanai artificial fibre factory is to be finished and construction of a rubber products factory started. Development of the building materials and construction industries must be ensured. The Jetygara asbestos works is to be completed.

Provision shall be made for the rapid development of the industries processing agricultural raw materials and producing consumer goods. Construction of the Alma-Ata cotton textile mill and the Jambul leather and footwear factory, the Kustanai mill for producing suitings from staple fibre is to be completed. Seven clothing, five knitted goods and two footwear factories, nine meat-packing and three confectionery factories are to be built. Construction of a worsted mill and a number of other light and food industry factories is to be started.

Production of 21-22 million tons of grain shall be achieved in 1970. Measures for combatting drought and wind erosion of the soil must be taken. Production of potatoes and other vegetables is to increase. An area of 300,000 hectares of irrigated lands is to be brought under cultivation. The production of cotton, sugar-beet, tobacco, fruit and grapes in South Kazakhstan shall be expanded. The rais-

ing of cattle for meat is to be more widely developed and the production of mutton, wool, Persian lamb skins and sheepskins is to increase substantially. Water should be brought to 38 million hectares of pastures and the existing water supply installations of pastureland should be reconstructed on an area of approximately 32 million hectares.

Building of the Irtysh-Karaganda canal is to be completed, and construction of large water works in Northern Kazakhstan continued.

### GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Provision shall be made for the priority development of the electric power, engineering and chemical industries and also for the further expansion of the food and light industries.

Total industrial output is to increase by about 60 per cent, production of electric power by 90 per cent, lorries 100 per cent, mineral fertilisers 100-120 per cent, silk fabrics 40 per cent, knitted goods 60-70 per cent, wine and spirits 50 per cent and tinned fruit and vegetables by 150 per cent.

The first sections of the Inguri, Vartsikh and Namakhvan hydroelectric stations shall be commissioned, and the capacity of the Tbilisi district electric station brought up to 960,000 kw. The building of collieries in Tkibuli and Tkvarcheli and of the second section of the Rustavi nitrogen fertiliser factory shall be completed. The Madneuli copper concentration works, a factory for mathematical control ma-

chines, two knitted goods factories and nine factories for the primary processing of tea leaves are to be built.

A further growth in the production of tea, grapes, citrus fruit and tobacco shall be ensured—chiefly by increasing yields. Sixty thousand hectares of irrigated lands are to be brought under cultivation. Land-reclamation work shall be carried out on 90,000 hectares in the Colchis lowlands.

Provision shall be made for the further development of the health resorts and the establishment of a food supply basis for them.

#### **AZERBAIJAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

The further development of the oil, gas and chemical industries, and also of the engineering, light and food industries shall be ensured.

Total industrial output is to increase approximately by 60 per cent, production of electric power by 40 per cent, mineral fertilisers 110-130 per cent, knitted goods 120-140 per cent, leather footwear 50-60 per cent, tinned fruit and vegetables 230 per cent and wine and spirits 90 per cent.

Oil production shall be brought up to 23.5 million tons and gas to 8,000 million cu.m. Provision shall be made for the further working of offshore oil fields.

Building of the Kirovabad alumina factory, the Ali-Bairamly district electric station and cotton spinning and cotton weaving mills shall be completed. New capacity is to be commis-

sioned at the Sumgait chemical works. Building of a new thermal electric station, the Shakhor and Terter hydroelectric stations, the Filizchai polymetallic works, a cement mill and a cotton textile mill shall be started. A factory producing tools for fitting and assembly jobs, two knitted underwear factories, an artificial leather factory, five canneries, four tobacco fermentation factories and also wineries are to be built.

Provision shall be made for a further increase in the production of cotton, tobacco, grapes and fruit. Development of large facilities for the growing of early vegetables is to be ensured. The land in the Kura-Araks lowlands and the Mugan steppe should be improved, for which purpose, desalination shall be carried out on an area of about 200,000 hectares. Sixty thousand hectares of newly irrigated lands are to be brought under cultivation.

#### LITHUANIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Provision shall be made for the development of the instrument-making, electrical engineering, radio, electronic, machine tool and also the chemical, food, fish and light industries.

Total industrial output is to rise approximately by 70 per cent, production of electric power by 70 per cent, electric motors 300 per cent, precision instruments and automation devices by more than 100 per cent, cement by 70 per cent, fabrics 150-180 per cent, knitted goods 110-120 per cent, milk products 70-80 per cent and cheese 100-110 per cent. Mass pro-

duction of TV sets and domestic refrigerators shall be organised.

Construction of the Lithuanian electric power station, the Kedainei chemical factory, a fuel equipment factory in Vilnius, TV factory in Shauliai, a domestic refrigerator factory and also a cotton textile mill and a knitted goods factory are to be completed. Construction of an oil-processing plant is to be started. The first section of a ship repair yard in Klaipeda for the repair of fishing vessels, a volumetric yarn mill, a factory for artificial soft leather and a sugar refinery are to be built.

Development of dairy farming, breeding of pigs for bacon, poultry breeding and an increase in the production of flax fibre and potatoes shall be ensured. An area of 670,000 hectares of water-logged farmlands is to be drained.

#### **MOLDAVIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Alongside the further development of the key sector of industry, the food industry, expansion of labour-consuming branches of the engineering industry and the light industry shall be ensured.

Total industrial output shall rise approximately by 70 per cent, production of electric power by 120 per cent, tractors for orchard and vineyard tillage and beet cultivation by 330 per cent, tinned goods by 120-130 per cent and wine and spirits by 40 per cent.

Building of the Moldavian electric power

station with a capacity of 1.2 million kw is to be completed. New wineries, seven canneries, a sugar refinery, three fermentation factories, and a domestic refrigerator factory are to be commissioned, and the capacity of the Rybnit-sa cement mill enlarged. The construction of a cotton textile mill shall be started.

Production of grapes, fruit, vegetables, tobacco, sugar-beet and sunflower seed shall be increased, primarily by raising yields. The establishment of irrigation systems shall be continued and 100,000 hectares of irrigated lands brought under cultivation.

#### LATVIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

The further development of the engineering, especially radio and instrument-making, and also of the chemical, knitted goods, fish, dairy and meat industries shall be ensured.

Total industrial output is to be increased by about 50 per cent, production of electric power by 120 per cent, chemical fibre by 50 per cent, furniture by 50 per cent, knitted goods by 70-80 per cent and butter by 30 per cent.

Construction of the Pliavinas hydroelectric station with a capacity of 825,000 kw shall be completed, and building of the Riga hydroelectric station started. The Bolderaya factory for the comprehensive processing of wood, a factory for the manufacture of textile haberdashery, a knitted garments factory, a chemical pharmaceutical factory and factories for the production of drains shall be built.

The development of meat and dairy farming, the breeding of pigs for bacon, poultry breeding and an increase in the production of flax fibre and potatoes shall be ensured. An area of 520,000 hectares of excessively moist lands shall be drained.

### KIRGHIZ SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Further development of the non-ferrous metals, electrical equipment, light and food industries shall be ensured.

Total industrial output is to increase by about 60 per cent, production of electric power by 70 per cent, cement 80 per cent, granulated beet-sugar 30 per cent and fabrics 190-210 per cent. Capacity shall be commissioned at the heat and power plant in Frunze, and construction of the Toktogul hydroelectric station continued. The Mailisai electric bulb factory, a window-glass factory, the Osh cotton textile mill and a knitted garments factory are to be built. Construction of a cotton cellulose factory is to begin.

Breeding of fine-fleece and semi-fine fleece sheep shall be extended. The production of sugar-beet, cotton, tobacco, meat, wool, milk and fruit is to rise.

Construction of the Kirov reservoir is to be completed and work to regulate the flow of the rivers Alamedin and Isfara shall be carried out. Construction of an irrigation network covering 60,000 hectares and the supply of water to 260,000 hectares of pasture lands shall be ensured.

## TAJK SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Provision shall be made for developing of the electric power industry, power-consuming branches in the chemical and non-ferrous metals industries, and the food and light industries.

Total industrial output is to increase by about 80 per cent, production of electric power by 210 per cent, domestic refrigerators by 800 per cent, fabrics by 60 per cent, knitted goods by 190-210 per cent and tinned fruit and vegetables by 100 per cent.

The first units of the Nurek hydroelectric station, the Vakhsh nitrogen fertiliser factory and the first section of an aluminium plant and the Jizhikrut mining and metallurgical works are to be commissioned. Construction is to be started on an electro-chemical works, and the Termez—Kurgan-Tyube—Yavan railway is to be built. Construction of a cotton textile mill, knitted garments factory and winery is to be completed. A cannery, clothing and shoe factories are to be built.

An increase in the production of cotton, grapes, fruit, silk cocoons and the further development of orchards and breeding of sheep for meat and fat shall be ensured. Irrigation and development of new lands in the Yavan-Obikiik valley shall be completed. Building an irrigation network on an area of 90,000 hectares shall be provided for.

## **ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Provision shall be made for the further development of the non-ferrous metals, chemical, precision engineering, light and food industries.

Total industrial output is to rise by approximately 80 per cent, production of electric power by 130 per cent, mineral fertilisers by 270 per cent, precision instruments and automation devices by 70 per cent, silk fabrics by 80 per cent, knitted goods by 80-90 per cent, wine and spirits by 100 per cent and tinned fruit and vegetables by 90 per cent.

Construction of the Yerevan heat and power plant and the Tatev hydroelectric station shall be completed. The Shamskaya hydroelectric station is to be built and put into operation. New capacity is to be commissioned at the Razdan thermal electric station. Capacity of non-ferrous metals enterprises is to be enlarged. Construction of the Razdan mining and chemical works is to be completed in the main.

An increase in the production of grapes, fruit, vegetables, essential oil-bearing plants and tobacco shall be provided for. The further development of irrigated farming is to be ensured.

## **TURKMEN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Provision shall be made for the further development of the oil, gas, chemical and light industries.

Total industrial output is to be increased approximately by 60 per cent, production of

electric power by 40 per cent, cement by 150 per cent and fabrics by almost 100 per cent. The production of oil is to be brought up to 15 million tons and gas to 12,600-15,500 million cu.m.

New oil and gas deposits are to be developed, with gas to be supplied to the country's central areas. A Bairan-Ali—Ashkhabad—Bezmein gas pipeline is to be built. Construction of an oil refinery and a plastics factory shall be started. Reconstruction and expansion of combined mining and chemical enterprises shall be completed. The first unit is to be commissioned at the district electric station in Mary. A textile mill, an oil and fats factory, a footwear and clothing factories and a meat-packing plant are to be built.

Provision shall be made for a considerable increase in the production of cotton, especially fine-staple varieties. Breeding of sheep which yield Persian lamb skins shall be further developed. An area of 90,000 hectares of newly irrigated lands shall be brought under cultivation, the condition of the existing irrigated lands improved and water supplied to 5.1 million hectares of seasonal pasture lands.

Development of the land in the areas of the first and second sections of the Kara-Kum Canal shall be completed, and construction of the canal continued.

#### **ESTONIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Provision shall be made for the further development of the electric power, shale, shale-

chemical, engineering, light, fish and meat and dairy industries.

Total industrial output is to rise by about 50 per cent, production of electric power 80 per cent, shales 30 per cent, mineral fertilisers 50 per cent, knitted goods 80-90 per cent and cheese 70-90 per cent.

The first units at the New Baltic district electric station and capacity for the mining of 10 million tons of shale annually shall be commissioned. Construction of a nitrogen fertiliser factory in Kohtla-Jarve is to be finished and new capacity commissioned at the Maardu chemical works and the Kiviylil shale-chemical works. A building materials factory utilising shale ash and also a hydrolysis yeast factory are to be erected. The Tallinn engineering works, the Volta factory and a woollen mill are to be reconstructed. Building of a knitted goods factory and an artificial leather factory is to be started.

Meat and dairy farming, the breeding of pigs for bacon and poultry breeding are to be developed. An area of 240,000 hectares of excessively moist lands shall be drained.

## IX.

### FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

*In the sphere of foreign economic relations the important tasks of the five-year plan are:*

further development of the economic relations of the Soviet Union with the socialist

countries and utilisation of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour on the basis of the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and fraternal mutual assistance in the interest of strengthening the world socialist system;

extension of economic co-operation with the developing countries by increasing trade and rendering them economic and technical assistance in strengthening their independent national economy;

development of trade with the other foreign countries.

The five-year plan shall envisage:

1. *In the development of economic co-operation with socialist countries:*

an increase in trade between the USSR and other socialist countries, the implementation of coordinated measures for further improving the composition of exports and imports and raising, on this basis, the economic efficiency of foreign trade;

further development of an economically efficient, stable specialisation and co-operation in production between the interested fraternal countries, in the first place, in the engineering, chemical, steel and electronic industries;

expansion of scientific and technical co-operation, improvement of its methods, expansion of mutual technical information, exchange of scientific and technical achievements and licences;

development between member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

of new rational forms of economic co-operation in industry, transport, trade, credit and financial relations and international foreign exchange settlements;

wider standardisation of articles and the application of progressive standards for goods delivered by the socialist countries on the basis of co-ordinated specialisation and co-operation in production;

further development by joint effort of the fuel, power and raw-material producing industries to satisfy, on mutually acceptable terms, the needs of the interested countries in power and raw materials.

*2. In economic relations with the developing countries:*

intensification of foreign trade relations and economic co-operation with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America;

expansion of trade with the developing countries, above all by increasing exports of the machinery and other manufactured goods they need for building up their national economy and also through a corresponding increase of imports of agricultural produce, industrial goods and raw materials from these countries;

the rendering of technical assistance to the developing countries in creating their national industry, agriculture, scientific and design organisations and construction facilities, modern means of transport and communication, in carrying out geological prospecting and in training specialists and skilled workers.

*3. Further expansion of foreign trade with*

*the industrially developed capitalist countries,* which display a willingness to develop trade with the Soviet Union.

\* \* \*

To make fullest use of the advantages of the international division of labour, raise the economic efficiency of foreign trade and better satisfy the needs of Soviet people in goods, provision shall be made for:

improving the composition of Soviet exports by increasing the share of machinery, equipment, instruments, means of transport and communication and other finished goods of the manufacturing industry;

improving the composition of imports by buying abroad primarily the kinds of raw and other materials and finished goods whose production in our country involves bigger outlays and capital investments, and also by increasing purchases of the most up-to-date equipment which helps accelerate the development of progressive sectors of the economy;

expanding considerably trade with foreign countries in patents and licences;

creating, on the basis of a profound study of foreign markets, new specialised production and developing existing production in order to expand the output of export goods, meeting the demands of the world market, especially as concerns the engineering industry;

extending international sea, air and other carriage of goods and passengers by Soviet

transport facilities, extending the provision and exchange of other kinds of services and also developing foreign tourist travel.

\* \* \*

The 23rd Congress of the CPSU instructs the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers to provide, on the basis of the Directives, the elaboration of the national economic development plan for 1966-70 by branches and Union Republics with a division of assignments for each year of the five-year period so that every enterprise shall have its own five-year plan. The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit the draft new five-year plan to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Framing the new five-year plan is a serious and responsible task requiring much constructive work and an organic blending of economically-based centralised targets with local initiative. The five-year plan, based on scientific calculation, will provide clear guide-lines for the work of each collective and enable enterprises to operate on a long-term basis, with greater confidence and rhythmically ensuring a steady rise in the efficiency of production.

Fulfilment of the new five-year plan is the vital cause of the millions, of all Soviet people, of their initiative, reason and will. A greater sense of responsibility, better discipline and greater independence are required of all collectives, of each worker.

Successful fulfilment of the five-year plan is most intimately connected with a further enhancement of the role of Party organisations

in the ideological education of the working people, with an advance and improvement of the organisational work of Communists aimed at stimulating the creative initiative of the masses. Party organisations are called upon to analyse in a businesslike way what has been accomplished and what had to be done for raising the efficiency of production, to sum up the positive experience and the proposals of the working people, wider to disseminate everything valuable and progressive, giving every support to innovators, inventors and front-rankers. It is necessary resolutely to combat any manifestation of conceit, complacency and indifference, to be intolerant of departmental limitedness and a parochial approach, boldly to stimulate criticism of shortcomings, implacably uprooting red tape wherever and in whatever form it is displayed.

Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, Ministries of the USSR and the Union Republics and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have a responsible part to play in organising the fulfilment of the five-year plan. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies must make wide use of the powers given them, actively participate in economic affairs, watch over the proper use of manpower resources and natural wealth and cut short manifestations of a narrow departmental approach. The Soviets have the great task of expanding trade and manufacture of consumer goods, of developing cultural and other public services, building roads and improving towns and rural communities.

The trade unions must in every way devel-

op socialist emulation for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, work for the introduction of new technology, the scientific organisation of labour, growth in labour productivity, profitability of production and for improvement of the quality of goods, and constantly care for bettering the labour conditions of workers and other employees.

Communists, deputies of the Soviets, active trade unionists and Komsomol members must extensively explain the aims of the five-year plan and its distinctive features, revealing the importance of the labour contribution of each collective and each worker to accomplishing the national economic tasks, demonstrating that the successful fulfilment of the five-year plan targets will directly affect the living standards of each Soviet family, improve the well-being of all the people. People's control must play a big part in carrying out the plan.

The Party talks to the people in the language of truth, concealing and embellishing nothing, it shows both the achievements and the difficulties of our development. The Communist Party is strong by virtue of its close bond with the people and selfless service to the interests of the working people. The Party knows no higher appraisal of its activity than the people's approval and support of its undertakings.

The Party is convinced that all Soviet people will acclaim with enthusiasm the new five-year plan and translate its delineations into reality.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union expresses confidence that workers, engineers and technicians, collective farmers and agricultural specialists, workers in science and culture by their labour, energy and initiative will bring to light additional potentialities for overfulfilling the plan.

Fulfilment of the five-year plan will be of great international importance. The growing economic potential of the Soviet Union and rise in efficiency of socialist production, the further advance of the Soviet people's living standard, development of socialist democracy and successes of the Soviet national policy—all this will still more increase the magnetic force of socialism's ideas, will promote further changes in the balance of class forces in the world in favour of socialism, the strengthening of all the revolutionary forces of our age and consolidation of their unity. Expansion of the Soviet Union's economic, trade, scientific and cultural ties with the other socialist countries will strengthen fraternal friendship and co-operation between them and facilitate the successful accomplishment of the tasks confronting the entire socialist community.

The Soviet Union, like the other socialist countries, has regarded and is regarding as its internationalist duty to give support to the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation, to young developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America upholding their political and economic independence.

The fundamental interests of the working people of the world demand the curbing of the forces of imperialism, above all American im-

perialism and reaction, demand struggle against intervention of the aggressors in the internal affairs of peoples and a relaxation of international tension. The most urgent task is to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Accomplishment of the assignments set forth in the Directives will be a weighty contribution to the strengthening of general peace and security and promote the further introduction in international relations of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

Fulfilment of the five-year plan will furnish fresh proof of the fact that the Soviet people are discharging their internationalist duty to the fraternal socialist countries, the international proletariat and the world liberation movement.

The forthcoming five-year period will be marked by two notable events. Next year the Soviet people, all working people will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and in the last year of the five-year period, the birth centenary of the great Lenin.

The socialist revolution in our country which triumphed under the banner of Leninism ushered in a new era in the history of mankind which will lead to the victory of communism.

The enthusiastic labour and the creative genius of the Soviet people are confidently blazing the trail into the radiant communist future. The new five-year period will be an important step forward on this road.

**RESOLUTION**  
**OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET**  
**UNION ON PARTIAL CHANGES IN**  
**THE CPSU RULES**

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves to introduce the following changes in the CPSU Rules:

1. In order to further improve the qualitative composition of the new membership of the CPSU and to raise the responsibility of Party organisations for the admission into the Party of new members, to establish that:

a) young people, up to the age of 23 inclusive, join the Party only through the Leninist Young Communist League. Members of the LYCL joining the CPSU submit a recommendation of a District Committee or a City Committee of the LYCL which is equivalent to the recommendation of one Party member;

b) those recommending to the Party must have a Party standing of not less than five years;

c) a decision of the primary Party organisation on admission to the Party is regarded adopted if not less than two-thirds of the Party members attending the meeting have voted for it.

2. Proceeding from the tasks of further strengthening Party discipline and raising the

responsibility of Communists for the fulfilment of the duties prescribed by the Rules:

a) to add to the introductory section of the Rules a clause to the effect that the Party purges itself of individuals who violate the CPSU Programme, the Rules, or by their behaviour compromise the lofty title of Communist;

b) to establish that a decision of a primary Party organisation on the expulsion of a Communist from the Party takes effect after endorsement by a District Committee or by a City Committee of the Party;

c) to abolish the transfer of a Party member to the status of candidate member as a Party penalty.

3. Bearing in mind the proposals of many Party bodies and Communists, and taking into account the fact that during elections the composition of Party Committees is regularly renewed with due regard for concrete local conditions and businesslike and political qualities of members, and that the regulations on these questions did not justify themselves in practice, to regard as inexpedient the further retention in the Rules of the CPSU the principles which determine the norms of renewing and changeability of the composition of Party bodies and secretaries of Party organisations. In this connection paragraph 25 should be deleted from the Rules. An addition should be made to paragraph 24 that during elections of all Party bodies, from the primary organisations to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the principle be observed of the systematic renewal of their composition and continuity of leadership.

4. To supplement the section of the Rules concerning primary Party organisations with a new paragraph which should establish that the Party Committees of primary organisations numbering more than 1,000 Communists may, with the permission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of a Union Republic, be granted the rights of a district Party Committee in issues concerning the admission to the CPSU, registration of Party members and candidates, and examination of cases of violating Party discipline by Communists. Inside these organisations, if necessary, Party Committees may be organised in shops, while the Party organisations of production sections may be granted the rights of a primary Party organisation. The Party Committees which enjoy the rights of a district Party Committee are elected for a term of two years.

5. To supplement paragraph 57 of the Rules with a clause that in state farms Party Committees may be established if there are 50 Communists.

6. Bearing in mind the Party organisations' suggestion to the effect that the CPSU Rules should determine in a more differentiated way the terms for the convocation of meetings in primary Party organisations, depending on the conditions of their work, structure and membership, to establish that in the primary Party Organisations which have up to 300 members and where there are shop organisations, general Party meetings should be held at least once every two months.

7. To establish in the Rules that Commu-

nist Party Congresses in all Union Republics should be held at least once every four years.

8. To make provisions in the Rules that in the period between Party Congresses the Central Committee may, when it deems necessary, convoke an All-Union Party Conference to discuss urgent issues of the Party's policy, while the Central Committees of the Communist Parties in the Union Republics may convoke republican Party conferences.

The order of conducting an All-Union Party Conference is fixed by the CPSU Central Committee, while that of republican Party conferences, by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics.

9. To make provisions in the Rules that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union elects: a Political Bureau for guiding the work of the Party between Plenums of the Central Committee; a Secretariat for supervising the current work, mainly in the field of personnel and organising check-ups on the carrying out of Party resolutions. The Central Committee elects the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The clause stipulating that the Central Committee establishes a CPSU Central Committee Bureau for the RSFSR, in paragraph 39 of the Rules, should be omitted.

10. Mention about economic councils in paragraph 59 of the Rules should be omitted.

**STATEMENT  
OF THE 23rd CONGRESS OF THE CPSU  
CONCERNING US AGGRESSION IN  
VIETNAM**

Giving voice to the will and feelings of the Soviet Communists, of the entire Soviet people, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wrathfully condemns US brutal aggression against the fraternal people of Vietnam.

By their bloody war in Vietnam, the American imperialists are striving to suppress the national liberation struggle of the peoples of South Vietnam and the other peoples of South-East Asia, and infringing openly upon the sovereignty of a socialist state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Trampling upon the elementary standards of international law, the US militarists are using most savage and inhuman means of warfare. US planes raid North Vietnamese towns and villages, destroying factories, dwellings, schools and hospitals and sowing death among the civilian population.

Nearly a quarter of a million US troops are taking part in the criminal war against the

South Vietnamese patriots. By involving in their aggression their allies in military blocs, the US imperialists are creating grave threat to the security and sovereignty of other countries, interfering brazenly in the affairs of Laos, endeavouring to exert political and military pressure on Cambodia, and adding heat to international tension.

The ruling quarters of the United States are trying to disguise the true nature of their acts with hypocritical claims of defending "freedom," counter-acting "communist expansion," and the like. However, nobody can believe this lie. By its aggression in Vietnam, the United States has covered itself with shame, which it will never be able to live down. The Vietnam adventure undertaken by US imperialism is severely denounced by all progressive, democratic forces of the world. Increasingly broader sections of the world public are joining the campaign in support of the just cause of the Vietnamese people. Protests against the aggressive war in Vietnam are mounting in the United States itself. The moral and political isolation of the aggressors is becoming more and more obvious.

The Soviet Communists and our entire people admire the courage and fortitude of the Vietnamese patriots. They are sure that no atrocities committed by the interventionists will ever break the will of the Vietnamese people, who are waging a sacred and just struggle for freedom, independence and unity, for the right to decide their own destiny. Their heroic and just struggle will go down in history as a mag-

nificent model of unbending courage, tenacity and the will to win.

The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and the international working-class and communist movement have always rendered the Vietnamese people extensive and all-round assistance and support. On behalf of the whole Party, of all Soviet people, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union firmly demands that the US aggression against Vietnam be stopped and all interventionist troops be withdrawn from that country. Any continuation of this aggression, which the US militarists are trying to spread to other South-east Asian countries, is fraught with most dangerous consequences for world peace.

The Congress resolutely declares: in "escalating" the disgraceful war against the people of Vietnam, the aggressors will meet with increasing support of Vietnam by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. The people of Vietnam shall be masters of their entire land. Nobody will ever succeed in extinguishing the torch of socialism held high by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers that the Vietnamese question can be solved only on the basis of the recognition of the just demands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The United States must forthwith cease bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other aggressive acts against the DRV.

The armed forces of the United States and its allies must be withdrawn from the territory of South Vietnam.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam must be recognised as the sole lawful representative of the South Vietnamese population.

The US Government must cease any and all interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam and undeviatingly observe the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union solemnly declared its fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people, the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and calls on all Communist and Workers' Parties to work still more persistently for united actions in the struggle against US aggression in Vietnam and in rendering effective aid and support to the fighting Vietnamese people.

The Soviet people also express their solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, and demand that the United States strictly observe the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962.

It has never been more important for the socialist countries and all Communist Parties to display their sense of internationalist responsibility to the full extent and to join together in united actions, rallying all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in order to frustrate the imperialist aggression.

May all the Communists of the world, all champions of progress and democracy, all hon-

est men and women who cherish peace, justice, freedom and independence of the peoples, raise their voice in protest and act still more vigorously against the aggressive actions of the US imperialists in Vietnam! May the movement of protest against US aggression, in support of the struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence, freedom and the salvation of their country, spread still more in all parts of the world!

The forces of peace and progress, once united in a single front, can and must thwart US aggression in Vietnam.

Hands off Vietnam!

The just cause of the Vietnamese people is sure to triumph!

## COMMUNIQUE ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENARY MEETING

A Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, elected by the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was held on April 8, 1966.

The Plenary Meeting elected the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, composed as follows:

Full Members of the Political Bureau—  
Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, G. I. Voronov, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. Y. Pelse, N. V. Podgorny, D. S. Polyansky, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. E. Shelest.

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau—  
Comrades V. V. Grishin, P. N. Demichev, D. A. Kunayev, P. M. Masherov, V. P. Mzhavanadze, S. R. Rashidov, D. F. Ustinov and V. V. Shcherbitsky.

The Plenary Meeting elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrades Y. V. Andropov, P. N. Demichev, I. V. Kapitonov, A. P. Ki-

rilenko, F. D. Kulakov, B. N. Ponomarev, A. P. Rudakov, M. A. Suslov, D. F. Ustinov and A. N. Shelepin were elected Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting elected Comrade A. Y. Pelse Chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee.

## LEONID BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE 23rd CPSU CONGRESS

Comrades, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concluding its work. Undoubtedly, it will take a worthy place in the history of our Party and our country. I think that I will express the general opinion of the delegates and the participants if I say that we all are satisfied with the course and results of its work. The Congress discussed in a business-like manner all the aspects of the report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Directives on the new five-year plan. We have collectively worked out the Party's political line for the next few years.

In the centre of our attention were most important questions of policy, economy, ideology and the Party's organisational activity raised by life itself, by the experience of communist construction.

The Congress has determined the main directions of our domestic policy and economic activity in the next five-year period. The essence of this policy is to ensure the achievement of new targets in the building of communism in

our country, to achieve a sharp increase of the efficiency of the entire social production, the steady growth of the material welfare of the working people and the further strengthening of our country's defence potential. In this five-year period we are to ensure a stable growth of agricultural production and a high pace of industrial development. All this will raise our planned economy to a new level.

The other important result of the Congress is that it has determined the foreign policy line of our Party and the state. The Congress has instructed the Central Committee and the Soviet Government to continue pursuing a foreign policy aimed at creating the most favourable conditions for the building of communism, strengthening the socialist system and giving all-out support to the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, and for the consolidation of peace and prevention of a new world war, for the assertion of Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

And, finally, the third important result of the Congress is that it has adopted decisions aimed at further strengthening the Party both in the organisational and ideological-political respects. These decisions will contribute to the raising of the vanguard role of Communists and their responsibility for the work entrusted them, to the further development of intra-Party democracy, expansion and consolidation of the contacts of Party organisations with the broadest popular masses. They will help the Party to bring up its cadres better, to solve more suc-

cessfully the complicated tasks of directing all the processes of communist construction.

The basic provisions of the October (1964), March and September (1965) Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee have found reflection and further development in the decisions of the Congress. The delegates of the Congress unanimously approved the decisions of these Plenums and confirmed their importance in asserting the correct, genuinely realistic, business-like style of work in all the life of the Party. We can state with satisfaction that this style of work also reigned at the Congress itself. Our Congress was marked by a business-like and principled approach, by a striving to assess soberly both the successes and the shortcomings. It was held in an atmosphere of a thoughtful and creative approach to the solution of the complex questions of the life of the Party and the country.

The 23rd Congress has again demonstrated the Party's monolithic unity on all questions of domestic and foreign policy. This expressed itself not only in the unanimity of the nearly 5,000 delegates but also in the fact that throughout the whole work of the Congress we constantly felt the profound interestedness, full support and active participation in our work of the entire Party and the entire Soviet people.

This is proved by the tremendous amount of mail addressed to the Congress, the stream of greetings and good wishes sent to it, by the lively discussions of Congress materials at plants, construction projects, collective and state farms, in educational establishments and

offices. This is also proved by the general upsurge of labour enthusiasm in the country. The Congress has received many thousands of reports on labour victories from workers, collective farmers and representatives of the intelligentsia. An unusual report sounded these days at the Congress as a herald of our future victories. It came from the Universe. The first sputnik of the Moon transmitted to the Earth the melody of the revolutionary Party Anthem of all Communists—the Internationale.

Comrade delegates, allow me to thank warmly on your behalf all the collectives who have sent greetings to the Congress, who have gladdened the Party with labour victories that are a worthy beginning of the new five-year plan. Allow me to wish them new big successes.

Comrades,

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always regarded and regards itself now as a constituent part, as one of the detachments of the international communist and working-class movement. Precisely for this reason we have always deemed it to be our duty to report on our work not only to the Communists and people of our own country, but also to the fraternal parties, the working class of the world. At the 23rd Congress too the CPSU adhered to this tradition.

Delegations of 86 Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as of National-Democratic and Socialist Parties of the world, took part in the Congress. We hope they have got a complete

idea of the deeds of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of our plans and problems.

For our part, we have had an opportunity to hear speeches by our comrades-in-arms, by our foreign friends. Listening to these speeches, we have felt particularly keenly how the successes of world socialism, of the revolutionary and liberation movement are growing and multiplying. Listening to these speeches, we saw once again that our class brothers all over the world hold that the successful building of communism in the Soviet country constitutes the main support to their revolutionary struggle, the main contribution to this struggle. All our Party is deeply grateful to you, dear comrades, for this assessment. It encourages the Soviet Communists and all the Soviet people to new accomplishments.

We also highly appreciate the fact that the fraternal parties, whose delegations took part in the work of the Congress, unanimously approve the principled Marxist-Leninist line of the CPSU in the world communist movement. Our Party's efforts aimed at strengthening the unity of communist ranks met full understanding and support of the representatives of fraternal parties who have spoken from this rostrum. The united will of the Communists to achieve a cohesion of the international communist movement, of all the revolutionary forces of the world in the face of the class enemy sounded convincingly in their speeches. This strengthens confidence that the cause of unity will win. On its part, our Party reiterates its unswerving determination to conduct further

the struggle for the unity of communist ranks on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The militant revolutionary solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people fighting against American imperialism, that sounded with such force at our Congress, has left an indelible impression on us all.

Comrade delegates, allow me on your behalf to thank warmly the foreign delegations for the big contribution they have made to the work of the Congress. The presence of our good friends gave us a new opportunity to feel the strength of revolutionary proletarian solidarity, it showed again that the bonds of brotherhood, trust and friendship linking the Communists and revolutionaries of all countries are inviolable and unbreakable.

Allow me also to express our sincere gratitude to the numerous organisations, enterprises, institutions and individuals in various countries of the world who have sent their greetings and sincere wishes to the 23rd Congress of our Party. We convey our militant, comradesly greeting and wishes of success to all Communists, to all fighters for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism.

Comrade delegates, the Central Committee you have elected has asked me to thank you for your trust. We are well aware that this trust places a huge responsibility on us, obliges us to devote all our energies and capabilities to the implementation of the Congress decisions, the Programme of our Party.

There is big and far from easy work ahead of us. Great efforts, Bolshevik persistence and

boldness, creative efforts of all the Party and all the people will be required to solve successfully the task set by the Congress.

We are looking into the future with confidence and optimism. It is well-founded optimism. It is based on a realistic evaluation of our huge potentialities, on the inexhaustible strength of our Party, of all the people.

We have created highly developed productive forces, the correct use of which will ensure accelerated advance to communism already in the coming few years.

We have a mighty Party, which has accumulated a wealth of experience in guiding the society during the half-century-long history of Soviet power, during the years of socialist and communist construction.

We have fostered excellent personnel in all branches of production, science and culture. The Soviet working class, collective-farm peasantry, and people's intelligentsia heartily support the policy of the Party, regarding its plans as their own vital cause.

We have many reliable and true friends abroad. We can and must utilise the valuable experience of the building of a new society in the fraternal socialist countries. Our work and struggle have the support of Communists, of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the whole world.

Our Party, founded and reared by the great revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, has traversed a glorious road. Lenin taught us that the main source of the Party's strength, the earnest of its victories lies in the unbreakable

ties with the people, in the ability to inspire and organise the masses of working people to the struggle for communism. The Party can win if it excellently masters the laws governing social development, the laws of class struggle, the laws of building a new society, if it unswervingly advances to its aim and is guided by the theory of scientific communism.

We Communists, true successors and continuers of Lenin's cause, will always treasure his behests, the militant traditions of our Party and the working class, the entire international communist movement.

Mobilising all our strength and energy we will confidently advance further to new victories of our great communist cause.

Concluding the work of the Congress, we can firmly say that by uniting the efforts of the entire Soviet people the Party will solve the grandiose tasks set by the 23rd Congress.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin!

Long live the heroic Soviet people, builders of Communism!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the world system of socialism, the international communist movement, all the revolutionary forces of our epoch!

Long live the great cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and may it triumph!

Forward to new victories of communism under the banner of Marxism-Leninism! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

