

DOCUMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS

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Congress
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XXVth Congress
of the CPSU

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REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PARTY IN HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY

Delivered by Leonid BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the CC CPSU, at the 25th Congress

February 24, 1976

Comrade delegates,
Esteemed guests,

It is five years since the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union convened in this hall. A mere five years. But how eventful they were. For Communists, for our entire people, it has been a period of events and undertakings of truly immense significance.

The world is changing before our very eyes, and changing for the better. Our people, our Party have not been passive onlookers of these changes. No, we are active participants in them. The labour of the Soviet people, who are building communism, and the activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state on the international scene are contributing palpably to the cause of social progress. Are we not entitled to take pride in this and feel deep gratification over the impact of our ideas, the effectiveness of our policy and the constructive energy of our people?

The previous, 24th Congress set a number of major fundamental tasks. Today, knowing how these tasks were put into effect and what results were achieved, we can confidently say: the course we chose was correct.

In home policy, faithful to Lenin's behest of giving top priority to improving the condition of the masses, the Congress set the task of assuring a considerable rise of the people's living standard and cultural level. It also showed the way to achieve this by considerably raising the efficiency of social production on the basis of scientific and

technical progress, and accelerating the growth of labour productivity.

Following this course, we have reached new frontiers in the building of the material and technical basis of communism. The might of our Motherland has grown. Soviet people are better off materially and richer spiritually. For us this is unquestionably the most important.

Soviet society's moral and political unity and the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our country have grown still stronger. Our socialist democracy has made further strides, and all aspects of the life of our society have become fuller and brighter. Soviet people have become still more active in labour, in management, in public and state affairs. And what can be more pleasing than to see the people's energy unfold and their creative forces grow.

In the domain of foreign policy the 24th Congress advanced a Peace Programme. Its main purpose was to achieve a turn in international relations with reliance on the might, unity and dynamism of world socialism, on its closer alliance with all progressive and peace-loving forces—a turn from cold war to peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a turn from explosive tensions to detente and normal, mutually beneficial co-operation. We followed the behest of the great Lenin, who called for the greatest possible number of decisions and measures "that would certainly lead to peace, if not to the complete elimination of the war danger" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 386).

In this respect, the achievements of the past five years are of truly everlasting significance. Everything possible has been done to assure peaceful construction in our country and the fraternal socialist countries, to assure peace and security for all the peoples. The foreign policy of the Land of Soviets enjoys the respect and support of many millions of people all over the world. And we shall continue this policy with redoubled energy, working to bridle the forces of war and aggression, to consolidate world peace and assure the peoples' right to freedom, independence and social progress.

Thus, comrades, by fulfilling the decisions made five years ago we have achieved many things. How did we manage to do it? That is no secret. We have been moving forward steadily, from congress to congress, to our great

goal—to communist society, and the closer we come to it, the greater is the energy of the masses. Our Party, too, has grown and become stronger in working for the materialisation of the 24th Congress decisions. The efficiency of its organisations is greater, and its members are more active and display more initiative. Our people have a deep understanding of the Party's policy and support it without reservations, with all their hearts. They support it by their deeds, by exemplary labour, by the countrywide scale of socialist emulation. As a result, the unity of the Party and the people has become still stronger and conditions have been created to mark the coming five years with new achievements in all spheres.

It is down in our calendars that 1976 is the 59th year of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Those are not mere words. The present achievements of the Soviet people are a direct projection of the cause of the October Revolution. They are the practical embodiment of the great Lenin's ideas. Our Party is and always will be faithful to this cause, to these ideas!

I

THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE CPSU

1. Further Strengthening of Friendship and Co-operation with Socialist Countries. The Historic Successes of the Socialist World, Growth of Its Might and Influence

Comrades,

In the present conditions our Party's activity on the international scene is exceptionally broad and varied. In shaping our foreign policy we now have to reckon, in one way or another, with the state of affairs in virtually every spot on the globe. But, naturally, the closest to us Communists, to our minds and hearts, is that part of the world where communist ideals—freedom from exploitation and oppression, full power of the working people, development of socialist democracy, flowering of culture and increase of the well-being of the broad masses, equality and fraternity of all peoples and nationalities—are being embodied in practice. It is natural, therefore, that our Party's Central Committee and the CC Political Bureau have throughout the period under review, as before, devoted attention first and foremost to relations with the socialist states. There has hardly been a Political Bureau meeting that did not deliberate questions related to strengthening the unity and developing co-operation with the fraternal countries, and consolidating our common international positions.

And these positions are growing stronger from year to year. No impartial person can deny that the socialist countries' influence on world affairs is becoming ever stronger and deeper. That, comrades, is a great boon to mankind as a whole, to all those who aspire to freedom, equality, independence, peace and progress.

In socialist countries, the past five years have seen

steady progress and confident advance to developed socialist society, to communism. Along with their further political consolidation, there has been rapid growth of social production and a rise in their peoples' material and cultural standards.

The ties between socialist states are becoming ever closer with the flowering of each socialist nation and the strengthening of their sovereignty, and elements of community are increasing in their policy, economy, and social life. There is a gradual levelling up of their development. This process of a gradual drawing together of socialist countries is now operating quite definitely as an objective law.

Of course, much depends on the policy of the ruling parties and their ability to safeguard unity, to combat isolation and national exclusiveness, to honour the common international tasks, and to act jointly in performing them.

Thanks to their unity, solidarity and mutual support, socialist countries have succeeded in fulfilling major tasks in the past five years, achieving what they had long been working for.

First of all, mention must be made of the victory of the Vietnamese people. Imperialism's biggest post-Second-World-War bid to destroy a socialist state by armed force and crush a national liberation revolution suffered failure. The heroism and selfless dedication of the Vietnamese people, together with unremitting support from the socialist countries and the world's progressives, proved stronger than the armies of interventionists and their henchmen. The cause of freedom and independence triumphed.

The Soviet people take pride in having rendered considerable aid to Vietnam in its struggle against the imperialist invaders. Having won independence and national unity at a high price, the people of Vietnam are now working arduously to restore their country and are building the socialist future. Vietnam's victory has opened new horizons for all of Southeast Asia. It was a glorious victory, and will be inscribed forever in the history of the peoples' struggle for freedom and socialism.

In Vietnam's wake freedom was won by Laos and Cambodia. We Soviet people send our most ardent fraternal greetings to the Communists, patriots and all working people of these countries, and wish them further success in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The worldwide recognition of the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, its entry into the United Nations, and the international confirmation of the inviolability of the western frontiers of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia are an outstanding result of the concerted efforts of socialist states. Now the Munich diktat has been invalidated once and for all in legal terms as well. The most important results of the liberation struggle of the European peoples during and after the Second World War have been formalised. Conditions have been created for stable peace and good-neighbour co-operation in Europe and beyond it.

Socialism has taken deep root in Cuban soil. The efforts of US imperialism, still clinging to its policy of diplomatic and economic blockade, have been to no avail. On the contrary, Cuba's international situation has improved and her prestige has grown. The Cuban Communists' Congress, the Party's programme platform and the country's new constitution show that the first socialist state in the Western hemisphere is making steady progress. We rejoice fraternally over the achievements of our Cuban comrades and heartily wish them complete success in their efforts to assure the flowering of the socialist Republic of Cuba.

In its relations with the socialist countries, the CPSU firmly follows the tested rule of conducting affairs in the spirit of true equality and interest in each other's successes, of working out decisions that meet international, as well as national, interests. No matter what problems arise, we believe that they must be resolved in the spirit of strengthening friendship, unity and co-operation. That is how we shape our relations with the fraternal socialist states—Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The main basis of our close co-operation, its soul and the guiding, organising force, is the indissoluble militant alliance of the *Communist parties of socialist countries*, the identity of their world outlook, their aims and will. The Central Committee, its Political Bureau, we can say with assurance, have all these years devoted unflinching attention to strengthening our fraternal friendship with these parties. And we can say with deep gratification that the fraternal parties have done likewise.

Today, the ties between the fraternal parties present an impressive picture of deep, varied and systematic contacts between thousands upon thousands of fighters for the common cause, builders of socialism and communism—from Party leaders to officials of local Party committees and Party branches at factories and collective farms. These ties ensure valuable exchange of experience, help us to advance with greater confidence, and add to our common strength. It is one of our Party's most important tasks, the Central Committee holds, to assure their continued all-round expansion.

I report to the Congress with deep satisfaction that the leaders of the Communist parties of the socialist community maintain constant contact. There have been many friendly multilateral meetings of General and First Secretaries of Central Committees in recent years. Three of them took place in the Crimea. There have also been meetings during Party congresses, in particular, last year in Budapest and Warsaw. Regular multilateral and bilateral meetings enable us to consult on all major problems that arise, to share in each other's joys and sorrows, as the saying goes, and jointly chart our further advance.

On the whole, complete unity and fruitful co-operation are the hallmark of our relations with most parties of socialist countries. A few parties, as we know, have particular views on a number of questions, but the overall tendency is unquestionably characterised by a growing cohesion of socialist countries. We value this tendency highly, and shall, as before, promote it in every way. This requires joint efforts by the fraternal parties on the basis of the tested principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, equality and comradely co-operation.

The *Warsaw Treaty* Political Consultative Committee is an important form of co-operation among leaders of our parties and countries. The Treaty dependably serves the interests of peace and socialism. The significance of the initiatives advanced by our Political Consultative Committee in recent years is self-evident. Many of them have been the basis for decisions taken by major international forums or are reflected in a number of important bilateral interstate acts.

We are firmly against the world's division into opposing military blocs and the arms race. Our attitude on this score is well known. But we must make it clear that as long as

the NATO bloc continues to exist and as long as militarist elements continue their arms drive, our country and the other signatories of the Warsaw Treaty will continue to strengthen this political-military alliance.

Comrades, the socialist countries are playing an ever more prominent part in the world economy as well. The socialist community has now become the world's most dynamic economic force. In the past five years the industry of its member countries grew four times as swiftly as that of the developed capitalist states. In 1975 the industrial output of the countries of our community was more than double that of the Common Market countries.

The Party Central Committee devoted unremitting attention to questions of *economic co-operation* with the socialist states, to its further development on the basis of mutual advantage and socialist internationalism. There have been many new developments in this field in the past five years.

The CC Political Bureau attaches special importance to the long-term programme of socialist economic integration adopted by us jointly with other CMEA countries in 1971. This programme, comrades, raises co-operation among socialist countries to a much higher level than ordinary promotion of trade. For example, it means joint development of natural resources for common benefit, joint construction of large industrial complexes to meet the needs of all the partners, and co-operation between our countries' enterprises and whole industries planned for many years ahead. Implementation of this Comprehensive Programme has already significantly deepened our economic interaction, and made our economies mutually complementary to a greater extent to the considerable advantage of all concerned.

Trade, too, is growing at a good rate. Our turnover with the CMEA countries has more than doubled in five years. At present it has climbed to an impressive annual total of 26,000 million rubles.

On the basis of what has been achieved we can now take the next step. The present priority is to work out and fulfil special long-term programmes. Their purpose is to meet by common effort the rapidly growing needs in energy, fuel, and basic primary materials, and to satisfy more fully the demand in food products and manufactured consumer goods, to raise the level of engineering, and expedite de-

velopment of transport. These are our immediate common objectives.

Of course, there are bound to be difficulties in such a big and new undertaking. We have repeatedly discussed these questions at our Central Committee plenary meetings and in the Political Bureau. The matter is not only one of considerable mutual economic advantage, but also of tremendous political significance. It is a matter of strengthening the material basis of our community. This is the angle from which the CC Political Bureau approaches it. We hold that strict and precise fulfilment of the measures collectively planned by the fraternal countries, of our commitments to them, is the sacred duty of the State Planning Committee, the ministries, departments, production associations and enterprises, and of all those involved in this field. Let me express my confidence that our comrades will treat these matters with the due sense of responsibility and with complete understanding of their extraordinary importance for the socialist community and the successes of world socialism.

Our *ideological co-operation* with the parties of the fraternal countries has expanded substantially in recent years. Our parties' leading workers engaged in ideological and international activities meet at regular intervals, and not from time to time. Many scientific trends are now being developed by the collective effort of scholars of socialist countries. There is also useful co-operation between the mass information media—radio, television and the press. This is helping us to raise the ideological and educational level of each of our parties' work and to act more successfully in the ideological confrontation of the two social systems. This is highly important in the present conditions, because problems of the ideological struggle are acquiring ever greater prominence, and the truth about socialism is a mighty weapon in this struggle.

Already today socialism exercises a tremendous influence on the thinking and sentiment of hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It assures working people freedom, truly democratic rights, well-being, the broadest possible access to knowledge, and a firm sense of security. It brings peace, respect for the sovereignty of all countries and equal interstate co-operation, and is a pillar of support to peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. And the immediate future is sure to provide new evidence of

socialism's boundless possibilities, of its historical superiority over capitalism. Along with the other fraternal parties, the CPSU will continue to do everything in order to enhance the appeal of the example of victorious socialism.

Relations with China, of course, are a special and separate question. The policy of its present leaders is openly directed against the majority of the socialist states. More, it merges directly with the position of the world's most extreme reaction—from the militarists and enemies of detente in the Western countries to the racists of South Africa and the fascist rulers of Chile. This policy is not only entirely alien to socialist principles and ideals, but has also, in effect, become an important aid to imperialism in its struggle against socialism.

Peking's frantic attempts to torpedo detente, to obstruct disarmament, to breed suspicion and hostility between states, its efforts to provoke a world war and reap whatever advantages may accrue, present a great danger for all peace-loving peoples. This policy conducted by Peking is deeply opposed to the interests of all peoples. We shall continue to repulse this incendiary policy, and to protect the interests of the Soviet state, the socialist community, and the world communist movement. Now it is far too little to say that the Maoist ideology and policy are incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist teaching; they are directly hostile to it.

In its relations with China, our Party firmly adheres to the course charted by the 24th Congress. This course has been proved correct by facts. We shall continue the struggle against Maoism—a principled and irreconcilable struggle.

At the same time, we should like to repeat once again that in our relations with China, as with other countries, we adhere firmly to the principles of equality, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and non-use of force. In short, we are prepared to normalise relations with China in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. What is more, we can say with assurance that if Peking returns to a policy truly based on Marxism-Leninism, if it abandons its hostile policy towards the socialist countries and takes the road of co-operation and solidarity with the socialist world, there will be an appropriate response from our side and opportunities will open for developing good relations

between the USSR and the People's Republic of China consonant with the principles of socialist internationalism. The matter rests with the Chinese side.

2. Greater Co-operation with the Liberated Countries. Their Increasing Role in World Development

Comrades, the Soviet Union's ties with countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence or, as they are also called, the developing countries, have multiplied and grown stronger in the period under review. Particularly important is the fact that the political content of our ties has grown richer.

The more vigorous co-operation with the developing countries was doubtlessly facilitated by serious changes in their home affairs and international policy.

What have the main trends of change been in many of the liberated countries in recent years? Shifting of the centre of gravity in industrial development to the state sector, abolition of feudal landownership, nationalisation of foreign enterprises to assure the young states' effective sovereignty over their natural resources, and formation of their own personnel. In short, far-reaching progressive changes are taking place in that part of the world, despite difficulties. This is certainly a process of historical importance.

A complicated process of class differentiation is under way in many liberated countries, with the class struggle gaining in intensity. It is taking different forms. New progressive changes have occurred in the economy and the political life of the socialist-oriented Arab, African and Asian countries. But there are also countries where development follows the capitalist way.

Some regimes and political organisations that have proclaimed socialist aims and are carrying out progressive changes have come under strong pressure from home and foreign reaction. The recent rightist campaign against the government of Indira Gandhi, and the attempts to undermine the social and political gains of the Egyptian revolution are examples of such developments.

Or take the People's Republic of Angola. As soon as it was born, this progressive state became an object of a foreign intervention, the handiwork of imperialism and the South African racists, the mortal enemies of independent Africa, and also of those who undertook the unseemly role of their henchmen. That was why Angola's struggle for independence was supported by the world's progressive forces, and the success of this struggle testified once again that nothing can crush the peoples' aspirations to freedom.

The Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated processes taking place within the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It is an immutable principle of our Leninist foreign policy to respect the sacred right of every people, every country, to choose its own way of development. But we do not conceal our views. In the developing countries, as everywhere else, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.

Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions.

Glancing at the picture of the modern world one cannot help noticing the important fact that the influence of states that had only recently been colonies or semi-colonies has grown considerably.

It may definitely be said about the majority of them that they are defending their political and economic rights in a struggle against imperialism with mounting energy, striving to consolidate their independence and to raise the social, economic and cultural level of their peoples.

The foreign policy of the developing countries has become visibly more active. This is seen in many trends—the political course of the non-alignment movement, and the activity of the Organisation of African Unity and of the various economic associations formed by the developing countries. It is quite clear now that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve just—that is, equal—economic relations. It is also clear

that their already considerable contribution to the common struggle for peace and the security of the peoples is quite likely to become still more substantial.

From the rostrum of our Congress we again emphasise that the Soviet Union fully supports the legitimate aspirations of the young states, their determination to put an end to all imperialist exploitation, and to take full charge of their own national wealth.

A few words about our relations with the *Arab countries*. Good mutual understanding has arisen between us and Syria in the past five years. We act in concert on many international problems, first and foremost that of the Middle East. The treaty of friendship and co-operation we have concluded with Iraq, on which our relations are based, represents an important development. Our co-operation with Algeria and South Yemen is expanding and growing deeper. Significant steps have been taken to build up Soviet-Libyan ties. The friendly contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organisation have grown stronger.

Of late, certain forces are making persistent attempts to undermine Soviet-Egyptian relations. As far as the USSR is concerned, we remain faithful to the fundamental line of strengthening them. This is reflected in the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and Egypt, which we regard as a long-term basis for relations conforming with the interests not only of our two countries, but of the entire Arab world.

All these years, the Soviet Union has consistently supported the Arab peoples' struggle to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression. Our country helped—and effectively, as the October 1973 war showed—to build up the military potential of the countries opposing the aggressor, that is, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. We supported the Arab political struggle both within the United Nations and outside it.

There is no war in the Middle East at present. But neither is there peace, let alone tranquility. And who would venture to guarantee that hostilities do not erupt anew? This danger will persist as long as Israeli armies remain in the occupied territories. It will persist as long as the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians driven from their land are deprived of their legitimate rights and live in appalling conditions, and as long as the Arab people of Palestine are denied the possibility to create their national

state. For Middle East peace to be lasting, the security of all the states of the region, their right to independent existence and development, must also be guaranteed. Is it not clear how serious a responsibility is assumed by those who, in pursuance of egoistic aims, are making a Mid-East settlement the object of political manoeuvre and use separate partial agreements to delay, or even entirely place in question, genuine solutions?

As regards the Soviet Union, its position is a constructive and principled one. As the co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the USSR is prepared to co-operate in all efforts to reach an effective settlement of the conflict. We are prepared to participate in international guarantees of the security and inviolability of the frontiers of all Middle East countries either in the UN framework or on some other basis. Incidentally, it is our opinion that Britain and France, too, could participate in such guarantees along with the USSR and the USA. This would only help matters.

We are for creating conditions that would facilitate the development of our relations with all Middle East countries. We have no prejudices against any of them. Finally, we are also prepared to participate in a search for a solution to such a problem as ending the arms race in this region. But it stands to reason that this must be tied in closely with a general settlement in the Middle East. To take up the problem before such a settlement is reached would place the aggressor on a par with his victims.

In the period under review the Central Committee devoted much attention to developing normal, and wherever possible also friendly, relations with the Asian states.

To begin with, a few words about our many-sided co-operation with *India*. We attach special importance to friendship with that great country. In the past five years Soviet-Indian relations have risen to a new level. Our countries have concluded a treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation. And even this short period has clearly shown its tremendous significance for our bilateral ties, and its role as a stabilising factor in South Asia and the continent as a whole.

Close political and economic co-operation with the Republic of India is our constant policy. Soviet people appreciate and, more, are in solidarity with India's peace-

loving foreign policy and the courageous efforts of her progressive forces to solve the country's difficult socio-economic problems. We wish the people and government of India complete success in these efforts.

Events showed that the Soviet Union's approach to the problems of South Asia was correct. We welcomed the termination of the India-Pakistan armed conflict in 1971 and the important changes which occurred then and which were conducive to normalising relations between the states of that part of the world. We are pleased to note that we were to some extent able to contribute to this positive process.

Speaking of our relations with the Asian states in general, we must mention our good neighbour, Afghanistan, with which we have recently extended the almost half-century-old treaty of neutrality and non-aggression. Let me also mention Turkey, co-operation with which is gradually spreading from the sphere of chiefly economic to political questions.

The Soviet Union intends to continue its active participation in the search for ways of consolidating peace and security on the Asian continent, and of developing equal co-operation there as well. We shall work for this through bilateral contacts, and also on a multilateral basis. We have repeatedly set forth our views on this score and stressed our readiness to treat with the utmost attention any proposals prompted by a concern for lasting peace and security in Asia, and for assuring them by collective effort.

Much has also been done in the period under review to further friendly ties with the *African states*. In the first half of the seventies that continent saw the concluding phase of the downfall of the colonial system. The Soviet Communists warmly acclaim the victory of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique and Angola, which crowns many years of heroic struggle for independence. The CPSU has always sided with these peoples and rendered every possible support to the embattled patriots. And today we are pleased that our interstate relations with these countries are developing in a spirit of sincere friendship and mutual understanding.

Ties with our long-time friends, such as the Republic of Guinea and the People's Republic of the Congo, have continued to grow closer in recent years. Our close relations

with the Somali Democratic Republic were strengthened still further by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and co-operation. And our good relations with Nigeria, Africa's biggest country, have expanded.

We are doing and will continue to do everything to develop and strengthen friendship with those who really want it. We and the vast majority of the states that arose on the ruins of the colonial system are united by a deep common allegiance to peace and freedom, and aversion to all forms of aggression and domination, and to exploitation of one country by another. This community of basic aspirations is rich and fertile soil on which our friendship will continue to grow and flourish!

3. Development of Relations with the Capitalist States

Struggle to consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence, to assure lasting peace, to reduce, and in a longer term to eliminate, the danger of another world war has been, and remains, the main element of our policy towards the capitalist states. It may be noted that considerable progress has been achieved in this area in the past five years.

The passage from cold war, from the explosive confrontation of the two worlds, to detente was primarily connected with changes in the correlation of world forces. But much effort was required for people—especially those responsible for the policy of states—to become accustomed to the thought that not brinkmanship but negotiation of disputed questions, not confrontation but peaceful co-operation, is the natural state of things.

A big part here was played by the fact that our Party succeeded in accurately defining the main practical tasks of consolidating international security, and presenting them at its 24th Congress in the Peace Programme. The very first foreign-political actions of Soviet power, based on the platform of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, showed the peoples of the world, as Lenin put it, "the only correct way out of the difficulties, chaos, and danger of wars" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 357). Invariably mindful of this platform, and acting on Lenin's behests and the half-century's experience of its foreign policy of peace, our Party advanced the Peace

Programme at its 24th Congress. This Programme showed the realistic way to end the cold war and set clear objectives in the struggle to replace the danger of wars with peaceful co-operation.

Facts have borne out the Programme's timeliness and realism. And though world peace is by no means guaranteed as yet, we have every reason to declare that the improvement of the international climate is convincing evidence that lasting peace is not merely a good intention, but an entirely realistic objective. And we can and must continue to work tirelessly in the name of achieving it!

Permit me to dwell on the concrete directions of the work done by our Party to put the Peace Programme into practice.

First of all about *Europe*. Here the changes towards detente and a more durable peace are, it seems, especially tangible. And, of course, this is not accidental. It is in Europe that socialism's positions and the impact of the agreed policy of the socialist states are the strongest. The 24th Congress set the objective of assuring European security through recognition of the territorial and political realities that resulted from the Second World War. And that was the direction in which our Central Committee worked.

The co-operation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries with *France* developed successfully on this basis. Since the negotiations with President de Gaulle, Soviet-French summit talks have become a tradition. In the course of a series of meetings—first with President Pompidou and then with President Giscard d'Estaing—the positions of the two countries drew closer on a number of foreign-political questions, and diverse Soviet-French ties and contacts became more active. This was broadly supported by the French people, the majority of the French political parties. We highly value our relations with France and are prepared to extend the areas of accord and co-operation.

A significant shift occurred in *USSR-FRG* relations on the basis of the 1970 Treaty. They have been normalized, and this on the only possible basis—abandonment of the ill-founded intentions to tear down the existing European frontiers. Now the FRG is one of our major partners in our mutually beneficial business co-operation with the West. Our talks with Chancellor Brandt in Oreanda and Bonn, and likewise the negotiations in Moscow during the visits

of Chancellor Schmidt and President Scheel, made it possible to improve mutual understanding and enabled us to further co-operation with the FRG in the economic and other fields.

The settlement with regard to *West Berlin* was one of the complicated questions. It will be recalled that crises upsetting the situation in Europe erupted over that city. But the four-power agreement concluded in the autumn of 1971, together with the agreements and understandings reached on a number of issues by the governments of the GDR and the FRG and the West Berlin Senate have, essentially, relieved the tension. We value the co-operation achieved in the matter with the United States, France and Britain. Conditions have been created to turn West Berlin from a source of disputes into a constructive element of peace and detente. All sides must only show true respect for the agreements reached. Unfortunately, some of their signatories are doing far too little in this respect. We shall insist on strict and complete observance of all understandings. The Soviet Union favours a tranquil and normal life for West Berlin.

On the whole, our relations with the West European countries may be described as positive. This also applies to our relations with Britain and Italy. We value and also want to develop and enrich our traditional good-neighbour relations with Finland, and our ties with the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Belgium and other West European states. The restoration of relations with Portugal and improved relations with Greece were, of course, a reflection of the big and welcome changes in the political climate on the continent. By and large, no state in the West of Europe has stayed out of the broad process of normalising relations with the socialist countries.

Comrades, in the interests of detente and lasting peace in Europe the 24th Congress of the CPSU called for ensuring the convocation and success of a *European conference*. Now this has become reality. Last August in Helsinki the leaders of 33 European states and those of the United States and Canada signed the Final Act of the Conference, whose work had lasted two years, and the political preparations for which took ten years.

The results achieved are well worth the expended energy. The participants in the Conference have collectively reaffirmed the inviolability of the existing frontiers. A set of

principles has been worked out for governing interstate relations conforming fully—in letter and spirit—with the requirements of peaceful coexistence. Favourable conditions have thus been created for safeguarding and consolidating peace on the entire continent.

In many ways, the results of the Conference are projected into the future. Perspectives for peaceful co-operation have been outlined in a large number of fields—economy, science, technology, culture, information, and development of contacts between people. Some other measures, too, have been defined to promote confidence between states, covering also the military aspects. The main thing now is to translate all the principles and understandings reached in Helsinki into practical deeds. This is exactly what the Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do. Recently we made certain proposals for expanding all-European co-operation in a number of important spheres. We shall continue to apply our efforts in this direction, and expect the same approach from all the other participants in the European Conference.

Thus, comrades, there are gains, and substantial ones, in the matter of building peaceful relations in Europe.

But we should not overlook the negative aspects. There still exists in Europe, for instance, such a complex and dangerous source of tension as the Cyprus problem. We are convinced that sensible consideration for the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus will—given unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and barring attempts to impose outside solutions alien to Cypriots—pave the way to a settlement of this acute problem to the advantage of peace, security and tranquility in Europe.

There are also certain difficulties in our relations with a number of European capitalist states. They evidently derive from the reluctance of influential circles in these states really to reject cold-war psychology and consistently follow a policy of mutually beneficial co-operation and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

In the FRG, for example, the course of normalising relations with the socialist countries is being attacked by Right-wing forces who essentially cling to revenge-seeking positions. And, evidently, their pressure is affecting certain aspects of the Bonn Government's policy. Far from pro-

moting mutual confidence and international co-operation a considerable section of the mass media in Western countries is inciting distrust and hostility towards the socialist countries. Certain quarters are trying to emasculate and distort the very substance of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki, and to use this document as a screen for interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, for anti-communist and anti-Soviet demagoguery in cold-war style.

In short, much persevering effort has still to be made to achieve truly lasting peace in Europe and to make the detente irreversible. The Soviet Union will apply these efforts in close co-ordination with the fraternal socialist states, with all the peace-loving and realistic forces in Europe. Before us, comrades, is the great aim of making lasting peace the natural way of life for all the European peoples.

Comrades, the turn for the better in our relations with the *United States of America*, the biggest power of the capitalist world, has, of course, been decisive in reducing the danger of another world war and in consolidating peace. This has beyond question contributed to the improvement of the international climate in general, and that of Europe in particular. Acting in complete accord with the guidelines set by the 24th Congress, we have devoted very great attention to the objective of improving relations with the United States.

As a result of the negotiations with US President Nixon in Moscow and Washington, and later of the meetings with President Ford in Vladivostok and Helsinki, important and fundamental mutual understanding has been reached between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States on the necessity of developing peaceful equal relations between the two countries. This is reflected in a whole system of Soviet-US treaties, agreements and other documents. Unquestionably the most important of these are "The Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America", the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War, and the series of strategic arms limitation treaties and agreements. What is the main significance of these documents?

In all, they have laid a solid political and legal foundation for greater mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and USA in line with the principles of peaceful

coexistence. To a certain extent they have lessened the danger of nuclear war. Precisely in this we see the main result of the development of Soviet-US relations in the past five years.

There are good prospects for our relations with the United States in future as well—to the extent to which they will continue to develop on this jointly created realistic basis when, given the obvious difference between the class nature of the two states and between their ideologies, there is a firm intention to settle differences and disputes not by force, not by threats or sabre rattling, but by peaceful political means.

In recent years our relations with the United States have been developing in many areas. There is a frequent exchange of delegations, including parliamentary, and cultural exchanges have become more active. Many Soviet-US agreements have been concluded, envisaging expansion of mutually beneficial co-operation in various economic, scientific, technical and cultural areas. Most of them have already come into force and are being put into practice to the obvious benefit of both sides, and, more important still, of mutual understanding between the Soviet and US peoples.

The essentially positive development of Soviet-US relations in recent years is, however, complicated by a number of serious factors. Influential forces in the United States, that have no interest either in improving relations with the Soviet Union or in international detente as a whole, are trying to impair it. They portray the policy of the Soviet Union in a false light and refer to an imaginary "Soviet threat" to urge a new intensification of the arms race in the USA and in NATO. We may recall that there have also been attempts to interfere in our internal affairs in connection with the adoption by the USA of discriminatory measures in the field of trade. Naturally, we could not and will not suffer that sort of thing. That is not the kind of language one can use with the Soviet Union. By now, I think, this is clear to all.

It is no secret that some of the difficulties stem from those aspects of Washington's policy which jeopardise the freedom and independence of peoples and constitute gross interference in their internal affairs by siding with the forces of oppression and reaction. We have opposed and will continue to oppose such actions. At the same time

I want to emphasise once more that the Soviet Union is firmly determined to follow the line of further improving Soviet-US relations in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the agreements reached and commitments taken, in the interests of both peoples and peace on earth.

Our relations with Canada are ever richer in content; we believe that their prospects are good. Ties with the Latin American countries have expanded visibly. We support their wish to consolidate political and economic independence, and welcome their greater role in international affairs.

The development of our relations with Japan follows a generally positive direction. The Soviet Union trades extensively with that country. A number of mutually beneficial economic agreements have been concluded. Contacts between political and public personalities have become much more active, and our cultural ties are growing. However, in connection with questions relating to a peace settlement, certain quarters in Japan are trying—sometimes with direct incitement from without—to present groundless and unlawful claims to the USSR. This, of course, is no way to maintain good-neighbour relations. As we see it, good-neighbourliness and friendly co-operation should be the rule in Soviet-Japanese relations, and that is what we are working for. I should like to express the hope that Japan will not be induced to take the road onto which those eager to reap advantages from Soviet-Japanese differences would like to push her.

The improved international climate has created a favourable atmosphere for *invigorating economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation*.

Soviet economic and scientific-technical ties with the capitalist countries have expanded considerably and changed in quality during the period under review. I shall later deal with this at greater length.

The volume of our cultural exchanges with other countries has increased approximately 50 per cent in the past five years.

In all this, comrades, we see a materialisation of détente, an important area of our Party's general work to develop peaceful ties among the peoples.

Efforts to end the arms race and to promote disarmament have been and remain—as the Peace Programme requires—one of the main trends in the foreign-political acti-

vity of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government. Today, this objective is more vital than ever. Mankind is tired of sitting upon mountains of arms, yet the arms race spurred on by aggressive imperialist groups is becoming more intensive.

The main motive for the arms race given by its advocates is the so-called Soviet threat. They invoke this motive when they want to drag through a larger military budget, reducing allocations for social needs, and when new types of deadly weapons are being developed, and when they try to justify NATO's military activity. In fact, of course, there is no Soviet threat either to the West or to the East. It is all a monstrous lie from beginning to end. The Soviet Union has not the slightest intention of attacking anyone. The Soviet Union does not need war. The Soviet Union does not increase its military budget, and, far from reducing, is steadily augmenting allocations for improving the people's well-being. Our country is consistently and staunchly fighting for peace, and making one concrete proposal after another aimed at arms reduction and disarmament.

The Soviet Communists are proud of having undertaken the difficult but noble mission of standing in the front ranks of the fighters striving to deliver the peoples from the dangers ensuing from the continuing arms race. Our Party calls on all the peoples, all countries, to unite their efforts and end this perilous process. General and complete disarmament has been and remains our ultimate goal in this field. At the same time, the Soviet Union is doing all it can to achieve progress along separate sections of the road leading to this goal.

An international convention on banning and destroying bacteriological weapons, based on a draft submitted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, was drawn up, signed and has entered into force. In effect, it is the first real disarmament measure in the history of international relations. It envisages removal of a whole category of highly dangerous mass annihilation weapons from the military arsenals of states.

The sphere of operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has expanded. Recently, other large states, including the FRG and Italy, have become party to it. But further effective measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons all over the planet are

still a most important objective. The USSR is prepared to co-operate with other states in this matter.

Let me refer specifically to the current Soviet-US negotiations on further strategic arms limitation. We are conducting them in an effort to carry out the 1974 Vladivostok accord and to prevent the opening of a new channel for the arms race, which would nullify everything achieved so far. An agreement on this issue would obviously be of very great benefit both for the further development of Soviet-US relations and for building greater mutual confidence, and for the consolidation of world peace.

Since we attach the utmost importance to the whole of this problem, we have persistently and repeatedly proposed to the United States that the two sides do not stop at just limiting the existing types of strategic weapons. We thought it possible to go farther. Specifically, we suggested coming to terms on banning the development of new, still more destructive weapons systems, in particular, the new Trident submarines carrying ballistic missiles and the new strategic B-1 bombers in the United States, and similar systems in the USSR. Regrettably, these proposals were not accepted by the US side.

But we have not withdrawn them. And need we say how beneficial their implementation would be for strengthening mutual confidence. Furthermore, both sides would be able to save considerable resources, and use them for productive purposes, for improving people's life.

Let me add one more thing. Of late, pronouncements have been proliferating in many countries against any of the powers setting up military bases in the region of the Indian Ocean. We are in sympathy with these pronouncements. The Soviet Union has never had, and has no intention now, of building military bases in the Indian Ocean. And we call on the United States to take the same stand.

Certainly, the time will come when the inevitable association of other nuclear powers with the process of strategic arms limitation will arise on the agenda. And those which would refuse would assume a grave responsibility before the peoples.

On our country's initiative the UN General Assembly has in recent years adopted a number of important resolutions on questions of restraining the arms race and banning development and manufacture of new types of mass annihilation weapons, of new systems of such weapons.

The task is to have these resolutions implemented. Frankly, this is not easy to achieve, because a number of major states are still obviously reluctant to end the arms race. The opponents of detente and disarmament still dispose of considerable resources. They are highly active, operating in different forms and from different angles. Though imperialism's possibilities for aggressive action are now considerably reduced, its nature has remained the same. This is why the peace-loving forces must be highly vigilant. Energetic action and unity of all the forces of peace and goodwill are essential.

Therefore, special importance attaches to the proposal supported by the vast majority of UN member countries to convene a World Disarmament Conference.

Political detente needs to be backed up by military detente. The Peace Programme advanced a clear aim: to reduce armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The Vienna negotiations on this issue have already been going on for more than two years. However, there has been no visible progress. For only one reason: the NATO countries refuse to give up trying to use the negotiations to secure unilateral military advantages. For some reason the West wants, even demands, concessions prejudicial to the security of the socialist countries. Yet we have not noticed any inclination on the part of the NATO bloc to make similar concessions to the other side.

Recently, the socialist states submitted new proposals in Vienna in an effort to get matters off the ground. For a start, we are prepared to accept a reduction of only Soviet and US troops in the course of this year, while the strength of the armed forces of the other participants in the negotiations remains "frozen" and will not be subject to reduction until the second stage in 1977-1978. We have also made perfectly concrete proposals concerning reduction by both sides of the number of tanks, nuclear-weapons-carrying planes and missile launchers along with a definite quantity of nuclear ammunition for these delivery vehicles.

Our proposals are based on the only realistic approach of preserving the existing relation of strength, in effect one of equilibrium, in the centre of Europe. Their implementation will not prejudice the security of either side. And it is to be hoped that all this will evoke the right response of the Western countries and it will at last be

possible to go from discussion to actual measures for reducing armed forces and armaments.

The 24th Congress set this objective: renunciation of the use and threat of force in settling disputed questions must become the rule in international relations. Later, this principle was reflected in a number of treaties concluded by the USSR with other countries. It is included in the Final Act of the European Conference. To make the danger of war recede still farther and to create favourable conditions for progress towards disarmament we now offer to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. Its participants, naturally including the nuclear powers, would undertake to refrain from using all types of weapons, including nuclear, in settling disputes that may arise between them. The Soviet Union is prepared to join other states in examining practical steps leading to the implementation of this proposal.

A great role and responsibility devolve on the mass public movement to consolidate peace. The past five years saw such milestones in the growth of this movement as the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow, the Brussels Assembly of Representatives of Public Opinion for European Security, and the World Congress of Women in Berlin. Our Party and the public in our country took an active part in all these events. In future, too, we shall not spare strength in drawing the broad popular masses into the efforts of consolidating peace.

In its foreign policy, the Soviet Union intends to search patiently and consistently for more new ways of expanding peaceful, mutually advantageous co-operation between states with different social systems, and more new ways leading to disarmament. We shall continuously augment our efforts in the struggle for lasting peace.

4. Programme of Further Struggle for Peace and International Co-operation, and for the Freedom and Independence of the Peoples

Comrades, assessing our country's international situation and world conditions, the Party's Central Committee considers that *further struggle for peace and the freedom and*

independence of the peoples now requires first of all fulfilment of the following vital tasks:

— While steadily strengthening their unity and expanding their all-round co-operation in building the new society, the fraternal socialist states must augment their joint active contribution to the consolidation of peace.

— Work for the termination of the expanding arms race, which is endangering peace, and for transition to reducing the accumulated stockpiles of arms, to disarmament. For this purpose:

a) do everything to complete the preparation of a new Soviet-US agreement on limiting and reducing strategic armaments, and conclude international treaties on universal and complete termination of nuclear weapons tests, on banning and destroying chemical weapons, on banning development of new types and systems of mass annihilation weapons, and also banning modification of the natural environment for military or other hostile purposes;

b) launch new efforts to activate negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Following agreement on the first concrete steps in this direction, continue to promote military detente in the region in subsequent years;

c) work for a switch from the present continuous growth of the military expenditure of many states to the practice of their systematic reduction;

d) take all measures to assure the earliest possible convocation of a World Disarmament Conference.

— Concentrate the efforts of peace-loving states on eliminating the remaining seats of war, first and foremost on implementing a just and durable settlement in the Middle East. In connection with such a settlement the states concerned should examine the question of helping to end the arms race in the Middle East.

— Do everything to deepen international detente, to embody it in concrete forms of mutually beneficial co-operation between states. Work vigorously for the full implementation of the Final Act of the European Conference, and for greater peaceful co-operation in Europe. In accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence continue consistently to develop relations of long-term mutually beneficial co-operation in various fields—political, economic, scientific and cultural—with the United States of America,

France, the FRG, Britain, Italy, Canada, and also Japan and other capitalist countries.

— Work for ensuring Asian security based on joint efforts by the states of that continent.

— Work for a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

— Consider as crucial the international task of completely eliminating all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, infringement of the equality and independence of peoples, and all seats of colonialism and racialism.

— Work for eliminating discrimination and all artificial barriers in international trade, and all manifestations of inequality, diktat and exploitation in international economic relations.

These, comrades, are the main tasks, the attainment of which, as we see it, is essential at present in the interests of peace and the security of peoples, and the progress of mankind. We consider these proposals an organic projection and development of the Peace Programme advanced by our 24th Congress, *a programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples*. We shall direct our foreign-policy efforts toward achieving these tasks, and shall co-operate in this with other peace-loving states.

Permit me to express confidence that the lofty aims of our policy on the international scene will be received with understanding and win the wholehearted support of all the peace-loving, progressive forces, and all honest people on earth.

5. The CPSU and the World Revolutionary Process

Comrades, this is an epoch of radical social change. Socialism's positions are expanding and growing stronger. The victories of the national liberation movement are opening up new horizons for countries that have won independence. The class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression, against the exploiting order, is gaining in intensity. The scale of the revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist movement is steadily growing. Taken as a whole, this signifies development of the world revolutionary process.

Such is the onward march of history. New generations and social strata, new parties and organisations are joining the revolutionary process. We are witnessing precisely what Lenin wrote about in his time: "As man's history-making activity grows broader and deeper, the size of that mass of the population which is the conscious maker of history is bound to increase" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 524).

Development of the socialist countries, their greater might, and the greater beneficial influence of their international policy—this is now the main direction in mankind's social progress. Socialism's power of attraction has become still greater against the background of the crisis that has erupted in the capitalist countries.

Our Party's 24th Congress stressed that "adaptation to the new conditions does not mean capitalism's stabilisation as a system. *The general crisis of capitalism is continuing to deepen*". The developments of recent years bear this out convincingly.

It was precisely during these years that an economic crisis erupted in the capitalist world, the intensity and scope of which even bourgeois politicians admit to be comparable only with the crisis of the early thirties. It spread simultaneously to all the main centres of the capitalist world economy. It is characteristic that a crisis of such force should afflict the highly developed state-monopoly economy which emerged in the postwar period. Capitalism did its utmost, so to speak, to keep in step with the times, to apply various methods of economic regulation. This made it possible to stimulate economic growth, but, as the Communists foresaw, it could not remove the contradictions of capitalism. The sharp cutback in production and the growing unemployment in most of the capitalist countries intertwine with such serious convulsions of the capitalist world economy as the monetary, energy and raw-materials crises. Inflation has made the crisis processes especially acute. Impelled by the continuously growing military expenditure, it has attained dimensions unprecedented in peacetime.

Inter-imperialist rivalries and discord in the Common Market and NATO have grown sharper. The greater power of the international monopolies has made the competitive struggle still more ruthless. The governments of capitalist countries are making repeated attempts to moderate the

contradictions and come to terms on joint anti-crisis measures. But the nature of imperialism is such that each endeavours to gain advantages at the expense of others, to impose his will. Differences surface in new forms, and contradictions erupt with new force.

This shows that the present crisis is unusual. Now everyone can see that one of the main myths created by reformists and bourgeois ideologists has collapsed—the myth that present-day capitalism is able to avert crises. The instability of capitalism is becoming more and more apparent. Promises to make capitalism “sounder” and to create a “welfare society” within its framework have obviously failed. A heavy burden has fallen on the masses. The rising cost of living is inexorably reducing people’s real incomes. Even according to official UN figures more than fifteen million people in the developed capitalist countries have been flung out of factories and offices, and subsist with their families on allowances. In addition, millions are compelled to work a short day or two-three days a week.

The working class retaliates in the proletarian spirit by intensifying the struggle against big capital, the main culprit of social calamities. The strike wave, which involves diverse sections of working people, has risen to the highest level in the past several decades. The strength and prestige of the working class are greater, and its role of vanguard in the struggle for the interests of working people, the true interests of the nation, has increased. A leftward shift is observed in the trade unions. In a number of countries unity of action of workers’ and other democratic parties is shaping up steadily, and their positions are stronger.

The politico-ideological crisis of bourgeois society is more acute. It afflicts the institutions of power and bourgeois political parties, and undermines elementary ethical standards. Corruption is increasingly open, even in the top echelons of the state machinery. The decline of intellectual culture continues, and the crime rate is rising.

It is farthest from the Communists’ minds to predict an “automatic collapse” of capitalism. It still has considerable reserves. Yet the developments of recent years forcefully confirm that capitalism is a society without a future.

Powerful blows were struck at some of the centres of international reaction in the past five years. There were

revolutions in Chile and Portugal during this period, the revolutionary liberation forces in Peru achieved important success, the fascist military government in Greece fell, and the Franco regime in Spain began to totter.

The Portuguese revolution wiped out one of the last fascist regimes of our time and caused the collapse of the last of the colonial empires. It was forcefully confirmed once more that revolution is a mighty lever of social renovation, that it releases the vast energies of the people. And though today the interlacement of political forces brought into motion by the anti-fascist revolution still presents a motley, often contradictory, picture, one thing is absolutely clear: the people of Portugal are for laying dependable foundations for the country's democratic development, for social progress.

The Soviet Union is categorically opposed to all interference in Portugal's internal affairs. Like any other people, the people of Portugal have a right to take the road of their own choice. Permit me from this rostrum to express the wholehearted solidarity of the Soviet Communists, of all Soviet people, with the revolutionary people of Portugal, its Communists, and all democrats.

The revolution in Chile was a striking expression of its people's ardent desire to liberate themselves from the oppression and exploitation of their own bourgeoisie and foreign monopolies. It was headed by people of great honesty and humanism. It rallied the broad masses for building a new life. But the conspiracy of Chilean reaction, planned and paid for—as is now well known—by foreign imperialism, caught the revolution unawares. The fascist military dictatorship drenched the country in blood. Tens of thousands of the working people's finest and most loyal sons and daughters were killed, tortured to death, or imprisoned. A dark night of terror descended upon the country. But the temporary defeat of the Chilean revolution does not detract from its historic achievements, from the significance of its experience.

The Chilean tragedy has by no means invalidated the communist thesis about the possibility of different ways of revolution, including the peaceful way, if the necessary conditions for it exist. But it has been a forceful reminder that a revolution must know how to defend itself. It is a lesson in vigilance against present-day fascism and the intrigues of foreign reaction, and a call for greater interna-

tional solidarity with all those who take the road of freedom and progress. Here, at our Congress, on behalf of all Soviet people, we again demand: "Freedom for Luis Corvalán! Freedom for all prisoners of the fascist junta!"

The recent experience of the revolutionary movement provides graphic evidence that imperialism will stop at nothing, discarding all semblance of any kind of democracy, if a serious threat arises to the domination of monopoly capital and its political agents. It is prepared to trample upon the sovereignty of states and upon all legality, to say nothing of humanism. Slander, duping the public, economic blockade, sabotage, bringing about hunger and dislocation, bribes and threats, terrorism, assassination of political leaders, and fascist-style pogroms—such is the armoury of present-day counter-revolution, which always operates in conjunction with international imperialist reaction. But all this is ultimately doomed to failure. The cause of freedom and progress is unconquerable.

The growth of the influence of Communist parties in the capitalist world is an auspicious development of the past five years. Their numerical strength has grown by nearly one million, including almost 400,000 in Western Europe. The number of people voting for Communists in parliamentary and local elections has greatly increased.

The successes of the world communist movement are borne out by the fact that many items of the programme of anti-imperialist actions advanced by the 1969 Meeting have been fulfilled. Along with the Communist parties of other countries, we can now say that the road and the main objectives of the struggle had been defined correctly, and that joint work for the good of the peoples has evoked a broad response among the masses and is yielding useful results.

Communists of different countries follow each other's work with interest and understandable attention. Differences of opinion and approach to some questions may arise among them from time to time. Hostile propaganda has repeatedly sensationalised this. But Marxists-Leninists approach such questions from internationalist positions, concerned about strengthening the unity of the whole movement, and discuss the emerging problems in a true comradely spirit in the framework of the immutable standards of equality and respect for the independence of each Party. Certainly, there can be no question of compro-

mise on matters of principle, of reconciliation with views and actions contrary to the communist ideology. This is ruled out. Doubly so, because both Right and ultra-Left revisionism is by no means idle, and struggle for the Marxist-Leninist principles of the communist movement and against attempts to distort or undermine them is still the common task of all.

In their struggle, Communists proceed from the general laws governing the development of the revolution and the building of socialism and communism. Reflected in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and confirmed in practice, these laws were collectively and comprehensively formulated at international conferences of fraternal parties. A deep understanding of these general laws, and reliance on them, in combination with a creative approach and with consideration for the concrete conditions in each separate country, have been and remain the inalienable and distinctive feature of a Marxist-Leninist. And we can say this with assurance: a concession to opportunism may sometimes yield a temporary advantage, but will ultimately do damage to the Party.

We should like to lay special emphasis on the importance of proletarian internationalism in our time. It is one of the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately, some have begun to interpret it in such a way that, in effect, little is left of internationalism. There are even people who openly suggest renouncing internationalism. In their opinion the internationalism substantiated and promoted by Marx and Lenin is outmoded. But as we see it, to renounce proletarian internationalism is to deprive Communist parties and the working-class movement in general of a mighty and tested weapon. It would work in favour of the class enemy who, by the way, actively coordinates its anti-communist activities on an international scale. We Soviet Communists consider defence of proletarian internationalism the sacred duty of every Marxist-Leninist.

In the period under review our Party has extended its ties with the fraternal parties. We have built up an extensive exchange of delegations with them, and participated in inter-Party conferences on political and theoretical problems.

Regional conferences of Communists play a significant role. And there were many of those in the past several

years. Special mention should be made of the Havana Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, also attended by the Communist parties of the USA and Canada. The Communist parties of Europe are also preparing for their conference. Many parties are calling for a new world conference of Communist and Workers' parties. The CPSU supports this idea in principle. But when and how it is to be put into effect will, of course, be decided by common consent.

Having gathered at our Congress, we Soviet Communists send militant greetings and wishes of success to our comrades and like-minded people abroad. And first and foremost we address our word of solidarity to Communists fighting in difficult underground conditions. We salute all fighters for the working people's cause, all those who expose their lives to danger each day and, defying all trials, remain faithful to their ideals and duty. Hundreds, even thousands, of freedom fighters are held in prisons and concentration camps in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Indonesia, Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, South Africa, and other countries. Many Communists have laid down their lives for the revolutionary cause.

We should like to make the following proposal at our Congress: to erect a monument in Moscow to the heroes of the world communist and working-class movement, selfless fighters for the people's happiness who fell at the hands of the class enemy. This will symbolise our Party's unflinching loyalty to the great cause of proletarian internationalism.

In accordance with the guidelines of the 24th Congress we continued to extend our ties with *progressive non-Communist parties*—revolutionary-democratic, and also left-socialist. Our contacts with the socialist and social-democratic parties of a number of countries, including Finland, Belgium, Japan, Britain and France, have noticeably expanded. We appreciate the progress made in this domain, and shall continue to work in the same direction.

Certainly, there can be no question of any ideological convergence between scientific communism and the reformism of the social-democrats. There are still too many among the social-democrats who base their entire activity on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. There are even parties which discipline their members for communica-

ting with Communists. We shall combat these things, because they only play into the hands of reaction.

However, we can be and are united with social-democrats, conscious of their responsibility for peace, and all the more with social-democratic workers, by a common concern for the security of the peoples, a wish to contain the arms race, and to repulse fascism, racialism and colonialism. It is precisely on this plane that we displayed and will continue to display initiative and goodwill.

Now that detente has become reality, the question of how it influences the class struggle often arises both in the international working-class movement and among its opponents.

Some bourgeois leaders affect surprise and raise a howl over the solidarity of Soviet Communists, the Soviet people, with the struggle of other peoples for freedom and progress. This is either outright naivety or more likely a deliberate befuddling of minds. It could not be clearer, after all, that detente and peaceful coexistence have to do with interstate relations. This means above all that disputes and conflicts between countries are not to be settled by war, by the use or threat of force. Detente does not in the slightest abolish, nor can it abolish or alter, the laws of the class struggle. No one should expect that because of the detente Communists will reconcile themselves with capitalist exploitation or that monopolists will become followers of the revolution. On the other hand, strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states and respect for their independence and sovereignty, are one of the essential conditions of detente.

We make no secret of the fact that we see detente as the way to create more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction. This only confirms that socialism and peace are indissoluble. And when we are rebuked for this, we can hardly help thinking that those who rebuke us are not sure that capitalism can survive without resort to aggression and threats of force, and without encroaching on the independence and interests of other peoples.

As for the ultra-leftist assertions that peaceful coexistence is the next thing to "helping capitalism" and "freezing the socio-political status quo", our reply is this: every revolution is above all a natural result of the given society's internal development. What is more, life itself

has refuted the inventions about the "freezing of the status quo". Suffice it to recall the far-reaching revolutionary changes in the world in recent years.

That is how things stand with respect to the relationship between detente and the class struggle. Faithful to the revolutionary cause, we Soviet Communists are fighting and will continue to fight for peace, the greatest of all boons for all peoples and an important condition for the progress of mankind in our time.

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Comrades, to sum up, the Central Committee is entirely justified in reporting to the Congress that the international position of the Soviet Union has never been more stable. We have entered the fourth decade of peace. Socialism's positions have grown stronger. The detente has become the leading trend. That is the main outcome of the Party's international policy, and Soviet people can be proud of it.

The international activity of the CPSU involves the whole people. It rests on the economic and defensive might of the country, on its spiritual potential, and on everything created by the labour of the Soviet people. Behind its successes are the experience and knowledge, the spiritual energy and strenuous work of many representatives of the Party and the state: members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, CC Secretaries, members of the CC, a large number of staff workers of the Central Committee apparatus, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, of other ministries and departments, leaders and workers of republican Party Central Committees and territorial and regional committees, comrades from city and district committees, and primary Party organisations in towns and villages. I think I shall not be wrong in saying that most of the delegates to our Congress have in one way or another worked in the international sphere. Our parliamentarians and the local and central Soviet bodies, the trade unions, public organisations, workers in science and culture, and, of course, the press, radio and television are doing important work in this domain. Thousands of Soviet people are doing work abroad—as staff

members of embassies and other missions, geologists and builders, doctors and teachers, metallurgists and chemists, transport workers and other specialists.

To all these comrades the Central Committee expresses its sincere appreciation for their profound understanding and conscientious performance of their internationalist duty.

Proceeding from what has been achieved, we shall now define our new tasks in the international arena. We derive confidence in the success of the projected programme from the entire Soviet people's support of the Party's line. That is the main guarantee of success of our policy. This policy serves the basic interests of all peoples. Such a policy has a great future!

II RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD AND THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Comrades, permit me now to go over to questions of the Party's domestic policy, notably its economic policy. This is one of the decisive areas of the struggle for communism, and the main effort of the Party and the people is being concentrated on it.

Extensive material that allows an assessment of what has been accomplished in the period under review and of the tasks confronting the country today is contained in the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980". Moreover, the delegates will hear a report by Comrade A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. For that reason the Report of the Central Committee will deal only with the most essential questions relating to the results of and prospects for economic development.

1. Results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan

Speaking of the overall results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the main thing is that the dedicated work of the Soviet people and the guiding, organising activity of the Party have ensured a steady growth of the economy. The principal socio-economic targets of that five-year plan have been achieved.

The results of the five-year plan are especially impressive if we evaluate them from the point of view of how the country's economic might has grown in these years and what the absolute increments are.

In this respect the Ninth Five-Year Plan has no equal. We have achieved a higher growth of industrial output, capital investments and state appropriations for new measures to raise the people's living standard than in any other preceding five-year period. The list of major products of which the Soviet Union is now the world's biggest producer has become even more impressive. In recent years steel, petroleum and mineral fertilisers have been added to the list which includes coal, iron ore, cement and some other items.

The volume of industrial output, as envisaged in the Directives of the 24th CPSU Congress, has increased 43 per cent during the five-year period. This is a signal achievement of our working class, scientific and technical intelligentsia and production executives.

I should like to make special mention of the scale of capital construction. More than 500,000 million rubles have been invested in all branches of the economy and this has made it possible to increase our basic production assets by 50 per cent. And this took only five years. Compared with 1965 these assets have practically more than doubled. To the economic potential which had taken nearly half a century to build we have been able to add as large a potential in only ten years. Such is the great advance of developed socialist society. Such is the scale of our achievements.

It is important to evaluate the results of the five-year period from yet another angle, namely, how the key tasks set by the Party have been carried out.

What must be mentioned first are the successes in fulfilling the task which the 24th Congress of the CPSU defined as being of paramount significance, the task of *raising the living standard of the people*. The history of our country knows of no comparable far-reaching social programme as the one that has been put into effect in the period under review.

Suffice it to recall that the funds allocated for the implementation of new social measures were equal to the total sum invested during two preceding five-year periods. The per capita real incomes have increased by almost 25 per cent. In order to give an idea of the changes

taking place I shall cite only one fact: compared with 1965, in 1975 the number of people with a monthly income of 100 rubles and more per member of the family has grown eight and a half times. This figure is evidence of a fundamental change in the living standard and way of life of tens of millions of people.

The housing of 56 million people has been improved during the five-year period. The allowances and benefits paid out of the social consumption funds have grown by 40 per cent. Pensions and allowances for factory and office workers and for collective farmers, and scholarship grants for students have been increased. Major positive changes have taken place in the conditions of the working people's life in rural localities. A substantial improvement of the people's life has thus been achieved during the period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Another cardinal problem in whose solution we have made headway is the *development of agriculture, its technical re-equipment and the strengthening of the economy of collective and state farms.*

The Party, its Central Committee and Political Bureau have given agriculture unflinching attention. Life itself has confirmed the enormous importance of the policy initiated by the CPSU Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting in March 1965. The enlargement of agriculture's material and technical basis and the extensive organisational and political work that has been conducted in the countryside have contributed to the promotion of crop and livestock farming.

The delegates to this Congress know that during the past five years agricultural development has proceeded in an extremely difficult struggle against the elements. Of these five years only one, 1973, was a good year, and two years, 1972 and 1975, witnessed an unprecedented drought. In no other five-year period has our countryside been confronted with such adverse conditions.

The situation was substantially alleviated owing to the determined measures taken by the Party and to the hard and, it would be no exaggeration to say, heroic work of the collective and state farms in response to the call of the Central Committee. By and large, agriculture continued increasing its output. Compared with the Eighth Five-Year Plan period, the average annual output was larger by 13 per cent. The annual grain output increment averaged

14 million tons. There was a growth of the output of meat, milk and other livestock products. We cannot fail to say a good word about our cotton- and rice-growers. Practically every year of the five-year period was marked by striking headway in the output of cotton and rice.

During the Ninth Five-Year Plan period considerable progress has also been made in resolving such a basic problem as *enhancing efficiency in production*. The most general indicator of this is the accelerated growth of labour productivity. It has accounted for 84 per cent of the increment in industrial output, 78 per cent of the increment in construction and the entire increment in agriculture. This is the result of the higher qualifications of the working people and of an increase in the amount of technical equipment available to industry and agriculture. The economy received 9,300,000 graduates of vocational and technical schools and more than 9 million specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education. Nearly 40 per cent of the basic production assets in industry and 56 per cent in agriculture have been renewed during that period.

A higher efficiency has been achieved through the priority development of the power, oil and gas, chemical, electronics, and engineering industries, and of the means of automation. The output of these industries is a sort of catalyst speeding up the conversion of the entire economy to the most up-to-date technical and technological basis.

Another important problem that we have tackled on a large scale during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period was that of *satisfying the country's fuel, energy, metal and primary materials requirements*. We are confronted with this problem not because there is a physical shortage of natural resources but because their reserves are limited in the settled areas close to industrial centres. To get our oil, gas, coal and ore we are now moving ever farther East and North. In West Siberia alone oil output reached almost 150 million tons and the gas output was approximately 38,000 million cubic metres in 1975. What has been done and what continues to be done in that forbidding territory is a feat in the true sense of the word. And to those hundreds of thousands of people who are accomplishing that work the Motherland pays the tribute of admiration and deep respect.

The orientation and character of our economic development have thus been fully consistent with the fundamental

guidelines and Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. *Under the leadership of the Communist Party a further major advance has been made during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period in building the material and technical basis of communism, in raising the people's living standard and ensuring the country's security. Such is the political result of the Party's economic work during the period between the 24th and the 25th Congresses. Such is the cardinal result of the heroic labour of the Soviet people.*

Our Congress has every reason to express its sincere gratitude to everybody—Communists and non-Party people, men and women, labour veterans and young people—to everybody whose work has made our Motherland more beautiful and more powerful than it has ever been.

It has long been noted that the continuous succession of days that resemble one another, that routine, day-to-day work—and all of us are engaged in this work—often prevents us from fully appreciating the significance and scale of what is taking place around us. Even spaceflights have become customary and commonplace, to say nothing of the commissioning of new factories or, say, the settlement of new residential districts. That is, probably, as it should be. Indeed, comrades, that is as it should be. For every morning tens of millions of people begin another and most ordinary working day: they take their places at machine tools, go down into mines, drive out to the fields, bend over microscopes, computations and charts. They most certainly do not think of the greatness of their work. But in carrying out the plans charted by the Party they, and nobody else, are raising the Soviet Union to new and ever higher summits of progress. And in calling ours a time of great accomplishments we pay tribute to those who have made it such—we pay tribute to the working people.

Needless to say, in looking back over the years we see not only achievements but also difficulties, shortcomings and unresolved problems. With the self-criticism typical of Communists these were analysed exhaustively at plenary meetings of the Central Committee, at Party meetings and conferences and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics.

I have already spoken of objective difficulties. Crop-failure years could not help affecting the output of farm products and certain consumer goods, and the rate of growth of the national income.

But it was not only a matter of objective reasons, and this must be stated frankly. We have not always and everywhere worked in a manner required by our own decisions. The improvement of planning, the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the policy of intensifying production proceeded slower than planned. Some production capacities were not commissioned, while others were not brought up to their rated output level, on schedule. Despite the fact that this question was raised repeatedly and insistently, the application of scientific and technical achievements is still a bottleneck in many branches. We have not yet put an end to breaches of planning, technological and labour discipline.

All this cannot, of course, eclipse the fine positive achievements of the past five years. But it is important, comrades, to recognise these shortcomings in order to combat them with greater determination.

We are now at the threshold of a new major stage in the life of the Party and the country. The Tenth—and one might say jubilee—Five-Year Plan period has commenced. A profound analysis in the spirit of exactingness required by the Party of the results of economic activity must serve as the mainspring of new experience, new creative quests and new energy.

2. The Party's Economic Strategy and the Fundamental Features of the Tenth Five-Year Plan

Comrades, as we have already noted, the 24th Congress set the fundamental guidelines on basic issues of economic policy in a developed socialist society. It is the job of the 25th Congress to specify them with reference to the next five years and for a longer term. In terms of the principal objectives and the basic orientations of economic activity the Ninth and Tenth Five-Year Plans are what may be described as an integral whole. I mean the long-term orientation of the Party's economic policy, in which we see, to use Lenin's words, "the general plan of our work, of our policy, of our tactics, of our strategy" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 501).

Just as any other strategy, the Party's economic strategy begins with the formulation of tasks, with the identification of fundamental, long-term aims. The most important of these has been and remains a steady rise of the people's living standard and cultural level. Economic strategy also covers a precise determination of the means, of the ways of attaining the set aims. These are the dynamic and balanced growth of social production, the enhancement of its efficiency, the speeding up of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labour productivity and the utmost improvement of the quality of work at all levels of the national economy. From this ensues the principal task of the Tenth Five-Year Plan as it has been formulated in the document of the Party's Central Committee on the guidelines for national economic development.

In accordance with the decisions of the preceding Congress the work of drawing up the Tenth Five-Year Plan was conducted in parallel with the elaboration of the primary guidelines for the country's long-term economic development up to the year 1990. Needless to say, the orientations for fifteen years cannot and should not be of the same mandatory nature and as detailed as the five-year plans. They pursue a different purpose, namely, to determine well in advance the character and magnitude of the tasks facing us, to concentrate efforts on fulfilling them, see possible problems and difficulties more clearly and facilitate the preparation and implementation of programmes and projects extending beyond the five-year period.

Much work remains to be done on concrete long-term targets and assignments. But from the estimates that have already been made it follows that in 1976-1990 the country will roughly double the material and financial resources it had in the preceding fifteen years. New possibilities are thereby being created for the solution of the basic socio-economic problems set in the Party Programme and by the last few congresses. This concerns, notably, *a further rise of the Soviet people's well-being, an improvement of the conditions of their work and everyday life, and considerable progress in public health, education and culture, in fact everything that helps to mould the new man, the harmoniously developed individual, and improve the socialist way of life.*

During the past fifteen years per capita real incomes have approximately doubled, while the total volume of

material benefits and services has increased approximately 2.4 times. This gives an idea of the scale of the tasks that can be set for the next fifteen years. More and more high-quality foods and consumer goods will be made available to Soviet people with each five-year period. Much will also be done in resolving other major social problems, notably the housing problem.

An essential advance in these areas has been planned for the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. Permit me to remind you of some concrete figures.

During the next five years it is planned to increase the wages of factory and office workers by 16-18 per cent, and the incomes of the collective farmers from the socialised economy by 24-27 per cent. The benefits and allowances to be received by the population from the social consumption funds will grow by 28-30 per cent. Over 31,000 million rubles, or 6,000 million rubles more than in the previous five years, are to be allocated for the development of the food, light and services industries.

It is planned to increase the volume of retail trade by 60,000 million rubles. It should be emphasised that with the creation of the necessary conditions and the accumulation of resources the Party will continue its policy of ensuring stable state retail prices of basic commodities and reduce the prices of certain types of goods.

In drafting the guidelines, the Central Committee gave special attention to housing construction. The target for the next five years is 550 million square metres of housing. We shall strictly require that designers and builders improve the layout of flats and build good, high-quality and handsome houses. At the same time, provision is made for a substantial increase in the production of furniture, household appliances and crockery. In a new flat everything must be pleasing to the eye. In precisely this way—comprehensively and all-sidedly—we strive to resolve the housing problem.

No social task is more important than concern for the health of Soviet people. Our achievements in this area are universally known. But we must also see the problems in this field. They are linked with the improvement of the organisation of medical care, the enlargement of the network of hospitals and polyclinics and the growth of the output of medical equipment and highly effective medicines. They are also linked with further progress of medi-

cal science and with an energetic drive against the most dangerous diseases. Much has to be done to improve mother and child care and enlarge the network of health resorts, holiday homes and holiday hotels.

Regrettably, the work of some medical institutions still evokes justified criticism from the people. The Ministry of Public Health must draw the proper conclusions from this. Large allocations are being made for the promotion of the health services during the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. They must be used properly and in full. It is the direct duty of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the territorial and regional committees and the local Soviets to focus attention on these questions.

The Party's concern for the working people is also manifested in the measures for the further promotion of education and culture—I shall come to these questions later.

In putting forward a broad social programme the Party acts in the belief that its fulfilment will help to enhance the labour activity of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, and serve each person as a further incentive to work better. There is no need to explain how important this is. For the growth of production, an increase in output and an improvement of quality are the main and decisive conditions for raising the people's standard of living.

The pivot of the Party's economic strategy both for the Tenth Five-Year Plan and for long-term development is a *further build-up of the country's economic might, an enlargement and basic renewal of production assets and the maintenance of a stable, balanced growth of the heavy industry as the foundation of the economy.*

This imposes enormous tasks on the industries that must meet the country's growing requirements in metals, fuel, energy, chemical products, timber and building materials.

A particularly great responsibility devolves on the industries, including the engineering industry, that must supply all branches of the national economy with up-to-date machines and equipment. In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period the total output of the engineering industry is to increase by more than 50 per cent. At the same time, its structure must improve and become more flexible and receptive to technical innovations. This requires heighte-

ned attention to the development of the machine-tool, instrument-making, electrical engineering and electronics industries.

The elaboration of far-reaching integrated programmes for two or three five-year periods, such as programmes for the development of the fuel and energy complex, metallurgy and leading branches of the engineering industry, is becoming increasingly important for the development of the heavy industry as, indeed, of other branches of the national economy. Such programmes can be drawn up, closely co-ordinated, provided with resources and linked up in time only on a long-term basis. They must, naturally, take into account the continuous progress of Soviet and world science and technology and the possibilities for economic co-operation with other states. Further, they must make provision for a better distribution of the productive forces in the country and the need for developing new regions, particularly regions with large resources of primary materials and fuel.

Development is to be continued, in particular, of the West Siberia complex. In the long term it will be able to account for nearly one-half of the Soviet Union's oil and natural gas and a considerable proportion of its synthetic rubber and plastics.

It is planned to begin a fundamentally new stage in the development of East Siberia's productive forces. The Sayan complex alone, which will receive its energy from the Sayano-Shushenskaya Hydropower Station, the largest in the world, will comprise a number of industrial centres specialising in metallurgy and the engineering industry.

The Baikal-Amur Railway, which is under construction, will be of great importance. It seems that the first builders broke the age-old silence of the virgin taiga only recently. Today the work is at its height. Traffic has been opened ahead of schedule along the Bam-Tynda line, 70 bridges have been completed, nearly 1,200 kilometres of motor roads have been built and the builders are stepping up the pace of the work.

Allow me, on behalf of the Party's 25th Congress, to extend heartfelt congratulations to the heroic teams of trail-blazers, whose labour is placing colossal natural wealth in the service of the Motherland and giving new life to vast areas of Siberia, the North, Central Asia and

the Soviet Far East. We wish them success, comrades, in their difficult work which is vital to the country.

Comrades, in order to carry out successfully the diverse economic and social tasks facing the country, there is no other way than that of promoting the *rapid growth of labour productivity and achieving a steep rise of efficiency in all areas of social production*. Emphasis on efficiency—and this must be repeated again and again—is the key component of our entire economic strategy.

In the 1980s the fulfilment of this task will become especially pressing. This is chiefly due to an aggravation of the problem of labour resources. We shall have to rely not on enlisting additional labour power but solely on increasing labour productivity. A sharp reduction of the proportion of manual labour and comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production are becoming an indispensable condition of economic progress.

Further. The country's energy and primary materials requirements are growing steadily, and their production is becoming more costly. Consequently, in order to avoid excessive increase of investments it is necessary to achieve a more rational utilisation of resources by, among other things, reducing the materials intensiveness of production and by the employment and thrifty expenditure of cheaper and more effective materials.

Lastly, with the development of the national economy and the growth of towns and industrial centres ever larger funds will be required for environmental protection—in the current five-year period alone 11,000 million rubles are being allocated for this purpose. The trend towards increasing these allocations will continue. In view of the rapid rate of growth of the economic potential and the people's living standard, the funds for environmental protection can only be obtained by raising production efficiency.

Also it must not be ignored that in the coming period we shall have to allocate more resources for speeding up the development of transport, communications and the system of material supplies—of all that is called the infrastructure. In the past we simply could not give due attention to many of these spheres, in particular, to the construction of roads and storage facilities. We shall now have to engage in this work and do it seriously.

All this raises many questions. Enormous work has to

be done. Essentially, it is necessary to achieve deep-going qualitative changes in the economy's structure and technical level, and radically change its very make-up. This is what the Party's guideline for promoting efficiency means in practice.

In this area, too, a large role is to be played by the new five-year plan which has been called a *five-year plan of efficiency and quality* for a very good reason. This is one of its main specific features.

Of course, we are not forgetting about quantity, either. The Soviet economy of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period will be an economy of truly immense scale. For instance, it is planned to increase the national income to 457,500 million rubles by 1980, in other words, to increase it by 96,000 million rubles. Industrial output is to grow by nearly 197,000 million rubles and exceed the 720,000 million ruble mark.

At the same time, in some areas provision is made for a somewhat slower growth rate than under the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The explanation for this is that to some extent it is a reflection of the difficulties of the preceding years. But this is a temporary and not the most important factor. The main thing is that in this five-year period we have endeavoured to provide for a more balanced and proportionate development of the economy and create better conditions for improving the quality indicators of work. The orientation of all branches of the economy, of the work of every ministry and enterprise towards a fundamental improvement of efficiency and quality is, comrades, the most important thing today.

We interpret the problem of quality in very broad terms. It covers all aspects of economic work. High quality means a saving of labour and material resources, a growth of export potentialities and, in the long run, better and fuller satisfaction of society's requirements. That is why better quality of output must be the aim of the entire mechanism of planning and management, the entire system of material and moral encouragement, and the efforts of engineers and designers and the skill of workers. It must receive the unremitting attention of Party organisations, the trade unions and the Komsomol.

In the Tenth Five-Year Plan the line towards efficiency is expressed by the fact that greater labour productivity is to ensure approximately 90 per cent of the increment

in industrial output and the entire increment in agricultural production and in construction. By and large, this is to account for 85-90 per cent of the increase of the national income as against 80 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

In the light of the aforesaid shortcomings such as losses of working time and idling, lack of rhythm in work, lax labour and technological discipline and the large fluidity of personnel at a number of enterprises are particularly intolerable. Material and financial resources must be used more rationally and thriftily. These questions were accentuated at the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting last December. However speedily our society's wealth may grow, strict economy and thrift remain a cardinal condition of national economic development and of the rise of the people's living standard.

It is our high Party duty to keep strict account of and effectively use every ruble, every hour of labour and every ton of output, and put an end once and for all to mismanagement and carelessness, for we economise for the sake of what is dearest to us, for the sake of our Motherland's wealth and might, of the welfare and prosperity of our people.

It is planned to achieve the economic development targets set out in the Tenth Five-Year Plan with a smaller investment growth rate than during the past five years. The aggregate amount of investments will be very considerable—about 630,000 million rubles. But they will be increased by 24-26 per cent as against 42 per cent during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. We believe this to be expedient, for we consider it important to shift the emphasis to a fuller utilisation of existing equipment and capacities. This is the crux of the policy of intensifying the economy.

Year after year, on account of inadequate utilisation of production capacities we fail to receive many thousand millions of rubles' worth of output. These are, so to speak, direct losses. But perhaps as much is lost because far from all ministries and departments actively promote specialisation, redistribute funds in favour of intersectoral industries, and build factories specialising in the manufacture of tools, equipment, standard units and parts. The repair facilities are scattered beyond all measure. These tendencies lead to a considerable waste of all kinds of resources.

We get a situation where many economic executives tend to provide themselves with almost everything on their own, believing this to be more reliable, because "outside" contractors may let them down. Such an attitude springs from the fact that planning and contract procedures are still being violated at many levels. But this must be combated by tightening discipline and not by encouraging the tendency towards a subsistence economy and departmental parochialism. I am certain that the Party and the Central Committee will be able to stop this harmful tendency, will do everything necessary to this end.

As regards capital construction, the important task today is to concentrate on projects that are to be completed in 1976. And they must be placed in operation not at the end of the year but strictly in accordance with the planned deadline. This also applies to the deadlines for achieving the rated indices at newly commissioned enterprises.

The morrow will require more radical measures. The very approach to planning and utilising capital investments must be changed and the planning of operating industries and of new construction must be ensured as an integral whole. Investments must be allocated to ministries and departments not generally, not for new projects but for the planned increment in output. Material and financial resources must be channelled, first and foremost, for the technical re-equipment and reconstruction of operating enterprises, where production capacities can be enlarged without new construction or with smaller capital outlays per unit of output.

Speedy and economical construction on the most up-to-date technical basis are the components of high efficiency in capital construction, and we are confident that this is exactly how the multimillion army of builders will work.

Comrades, just as all the other five-year plans, the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be a programme for the development of all the republics, peoples and nationalities of our great socialist Motherland. Soviet society's economic and social progress means the progress of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Central Asian and Baltic republics and Transcaucasia. The integral economic organism that covers the entire country is the solid material foundation of friendship and co-operation among peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee notes with satisfaction that the draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980" was discussed constructively and in an atmosphere of political activity everywhere, in all the regions, territories and republics. It showed once again the working people's vital interest in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party. A total of 7,600,000 people took part in discussing the draft, submitting more than a million proposals and suggestions. A special commission set up by the Political Bureau of the CC will consider the suggestions made by the working people in order to take them into account in the work on the five-year plan.

The unanimous support of the Communists and of all Soviet people for the Party's economic policy and dedicated work from the very first months of the first year of the new five-year period are a major condition for the successful fulfilment of the new five-year plan. To carry out the Party's directives effectively and give priority to the interests of society, the state and the people—that and that alone is how each Communist, each person, who has our common cause at heart, must work.

3. Key Problems of Economic Development at the Present Stage

Comrades, a number of concrete key problems deserving special consideration at this Congress can be singled out among the basic orientations and specific features of the economic policy I have spoken of. Let us consider them in greater detail.

ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

The priority task is still to speed up scientific and technical progress. Its significance, you will recall, was strongly emphasised at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. We Communists proceed from the belief that the scientific and technical revolution acquires a true orientation consistent

with the interests of man and society only under socialism. In turn, the end objectives of the social revolution, the building of a communist society, can only be attained on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress.

In fulfilling the Congress decisions we have achieved a notable growth of the scientific and technical potential. The front of scientific research has been extended. The creative work of hundreds of thousands of inventors and production rationalisers is growing in scale. Many scientific-production associations and entire industries have reached advanced technical standards. Many kinds of equipment and individual types of machines produced in our country and a number of technological processes are up to the finest world achievements.

However, this is far from being the case everywhere. There are still some products that figure as "new" in reports but are actually new by the date of production and not by their technical level. This is particularly true of the products of a number of enterprises manufacturing building and road machines, equipment for light industry and the food industry, building materials, foundry equipment and some other items. Much remains to be done to embody scientific achievements quickly not only in individual, albeit the most brilliant, experiments and exhibit models but also in thousands upon thousands of new kinds of products, from unique machines to everything that contributes towards improving the working and living conditions of people. The practical application of new scientific ideas is today as important as their development.

What I have said should not, of course, be interpreted as a diminution of interest in fundamental science. People are right when they say that there is nothing more practical than a good theory. We are perfectly well aware that the high-tide torrent of scientific and technical progress will exhaust itself if it is not constantly nourished by fundamental research.

It is the Party's policy to continue showing tireless concern for the promotion of Science and for its headquarters, the Academy of Sciences, whose 250th anniversary was widely marked last autumn. In it is concentrated the flower of our science—venerable scholars, founders of scientific schools and trends and the most talented young scientists blazing new trails to the pinnacles of knowledge. The Party highly values the work of the Academy and will

enhance its role as the centre of theoretical research and the coordinator of all scientific work in the country.

On assignment from the Party Central Committee and the Government academic institutes, jointly with the ministries and departments, drew up the draft Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technical Progress and Its Social and Economic Effects for 1976-1990. It is necessary to continue the work on this programme for it is an organic part of current and long-term planning, giving the orientations without a knowledge of which the economy cannot be managed successfully.

We attach great importance to the work of scientists and experts working in branch research institutes and design organisations and directly ensuring the integration of science with production.

The success of the scientific and technical revolution and its beneficial effect on the economy, on all aspects of society's life, cannot be ensured through the efforts solely of scientists. It is increasingly important to draw all the participants in social production and all the links of the economic mechanism into this historic process.

The revolution in science and technology requires radical changes in the style and methods of economic work, a determined struggle against sluggishness and red tape; it requires true respect for science and the ability and desire to take advice from and reckon with science. It requires an improvement of planning and economic incentives in order to create the conditions that can in full measure expedite the passage of new ideas all along the line from invention to mass production and erect a reliable economic barrier to the manufacture of obsolete products.

These are all tasks of profound concern to the Party. And in our entire economic construction perhaps no tasks today are more urgent and important.

THE FURTHER PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE AS A TASK OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

Comrades, there is considerable work to be done in agriculture. In this area the Party sets two interrelated aims. The first is to secure a reliable supply of food and agricultural primary materials for the country and always

to have adequate reserves for this. The second is to make steady progress in levelling up the material, cultural and everyday conditions of life in town and countryside, this being our programme requirement.

Both these aims are of fundamental economic and political importance. Both determine the content of the Party's guidelines, which are a creative development of the Leninist agrarian policy. These guidelines are entirely consistent with the basic interests of the collective-farm peasantry and the working class, have stood the test of time and received nationwide approval. This means that they are correct. This means that the Party will continue to abide by them.

We are realists, and we are quite well aware that a qualitative reorganisation of agricultural production requires time, labour and huge investments, especially because for a number of mainly objective historical reasons we have only in the recent period begun to allocate large sums for this branch. Of the 320,000 million rubles invested in agriculture during the entire period of the Soviet power, 213,000 million rubles were invested during the past two five-year periods.

Investments in agriculture have been concentrated in three principal areas:

Mechanisation. During the past ten years the collective and state farms have received more than three million tractors, 900,000 harvester combines, 1,800,000 trucks and special-purpose vehicles, and many thousand million rubles' worth of other farm machinery; the power-to-worker ratio in agriculture has doubled.

Land improvement. A total of 6,400,000 hectares of irrigated land and over eight million hectares of drained land have been put to practical use. Other important measures have been taken to improve land.

Chemicalisation. In the period from 1966 to 1975 there was a 180 per cent increase in the use of fertilisers and a more than 100 per cent increase in the use of plant protection chemicals.

All this has made it possible to create a durable and solid foundation for turning agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy. Already today we are getting tangible results out of this. During the past two five-year periods the grain yield has grown by 40 per cent.

Labour productivity in the social economy has risen by 58 per cent. On the whole, the output of farm products per capita has grown by nearly 25 per cent, and this despite a population growth of 23 million.

Comrades, while giving what has been achieved its due we clearly see that in order to provide agriculture with the machinery, fertilisers and electric power needed under present-day conditions very much still remains to be accomplished. For that reason the task is to continue implementing the policy charted by the Party with unrelaxed perseverance. That is exactly what we are doing. In the new five-year period it is planned to allocate 172,000 million rubles, or 41,000 million rubles more than in the past five years, for agricultural development. I am confident that the delegates to the Congress and the entire Party will support this line of the Central Committee.

During the tenth five-year period the collective and state farms will receive 467 million tons of fertilisers as against the 307 million tons they received in the ninth five-year period. Supplies of machinery and equipment, which will be more modern, efficient and diverse, will increase by 50 per cent. This will enable us, in the main, to complete the comprehensive mechanisation of grain farming and achieve a steep rise of the level of mechanisation in other branches of farming and also in livestock farming.

There is to be an increase in the volume of land reclamation. To what has already been achieved, to the more than 25 million hectares of irrigated and drained land in the country it is planned to add another nine million hectares in the next five years. Large-scale land improvement is to be started in the Non-Black Soil Zone. Large new irrigation systems are to be built in the south and southeast of the European part of the country and in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This is a very important task. On irrigated land the leading farms are growing harvests that are three or four times larger than those on non-irrigated land. By utilising their experience and training personnel similar results must be achieved everywhere.

As you know, it is planned to increase the average annual output of farm products by 14-17 per cent as compared with the past five-year period. The most pressing task is to secure a growth of grain production. This is an important sector of the work of rural Communists and of all collective farmers and state-farm personnel. The average an-

nual grain crop must be increased by at least 35 to 40 million tons. This is within our power. During some years of the past five-year period we brought in such harvests. If we set all reserves into motion even more can be achieved.

While accentuating the task of increasing grain production we cannot relax our attention to other crops. There must be a considerable increase in the production of sugar-beet, cotton, vegetables and fruit. There are no "trifles" here—onions cannot be replaced by potatoes, and vegetable oil by tomato juice; the Soviet citizen should have everything on his table, and it is the farm workers' immediate duty to see to it.

There is much to be done in livestock farming. It is necessary to speed up the application of intensive methods, raise productivity and increase the livestock and poultry population. I should like to re-emphasise that feeds remain the foundation for the promotion of livestock farming. For that reason large-scale measures must be taken to increase the yield of fodder crops and improve meadowland and pastures. It is necessary to speed up the switchover to modern technologies of stocking, processing and utilising feeds and more actively enlarge the mixed-feeds industry.

Comrades, within the framework of the Party's line towards a steep rise of farm production each five-year period has its own features despite the continuity of the basic orientations of the work. Today, with the strengthening of agriculture's material and technical basis the task of enhancing its efficiency and improving all quality indicators assumes full proportions.

This requires, above all, a higher sense of responsibility and more initiative and concern on the part of our cadres for obtaining the largest possible returns from the financial and material resources allocated by the state, so that better use is made of the internal reserves of the collective and state farms. Such reserves are available.

This is most eloquently demonstrated by thousands upon thousands of our foremost workers. Many of them are in this hall. Among the delegates to the Congress there are Terenty Semyonovich Maltsev, Alexander Vasilyevich Gitalov, Tursunoi Akhunova, Mikhail Ivanovich Klepikov, Leida Peips, Nikolai Vasilyevich Bochkarev and other nationally known skilled agricultural workers. It is good that the number of such workers is growing. By their work they are proving that efficient, skilled work makes

it possible to achieve outstanding results even under bad weather conditions.

But we should not have and do not have the right to close our eyes to the fact that there are still cases of negligence towards the land and of inefficient use of machines and fertilisers. This must be stated from the Congress rostrum in order to heighten the sense of responsibility of all the people engaged in agricultural work.

The experience of Moldavia, a number of regions in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and some other republics shows that specialisation and concentration of production on the basis of inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration open up great possibilities for the rapid growth of production, an appreciable increase of labour productivity and a reduction of costs. This means that this policy must be pursued more vigorously. Organisational work, planning and the utilisation of economic levers must give every impetus to this progressive process.

Further, in order to enhance efficiency in agriculture we must, while working on many specific tasks, concentrate attention and resources on those tasks whose fulfilment ensures the quickest and largest returns. There is much food for thought here. In this context I should like to speak of some urgent problems that are being raised by life, by Soviet and world practice.

One of them is the development of selection and seed-growing. Experts estimate that modern, well-organised seed-farming makes it possible to increase yields by at least 20 per cent. This spells out additional tens of millions of tons of grain and other farm products. This also holds true of the development of new breeds of dairy and meat livestock and poultry. Good pedigree stock means not only an increase of the output of livestock farming but also a huge saving of feeds, and a tangible reduction of labour and material outlays in agriculture.

Today, when we are rapidly building up the production of mineral fertilisers it is important to use them rationally. For this, alongside a system of measures designed to reduce losses in transporting and storing fertilisers and to ensure an improvement of their quality, it is necessary to organise a correctly and smoothly functioning agrochemical service, a service that would make it possible to

achieve a maximum crop increment with due account for the specifics of each farm.

The countryside is receiving large quantities of machines and sophisticated equipment. This means that the task of improving the engineering and technical servicing of collective and state farms is becoming urgent.

In recent years much headway has been made in assigning skilled personnel to agriculture. However, at the medium and lower levels this problem remains acute. The training level of heads of sections, teams and livestock farms must be raised. In some republics and regions there is a shortage of machine operators and workers of other mass trades, and the state pays a high price for that. This important sector of the work requires the closest attention.

The level that agriculture has reached, particularly the level it is to reach in the coming years, requires an improvement of the organisation and management of agricultural production. This is a difficult job, and there are no ready-made formulas. But it must be done, for the success of our efforts largely depends on the correct organisation of production and management.

This concerns the branches of agriculture itself and also the problem of co-ordinating its development with the industries that supply the countryside with machines, fertilisers and mixed feeds, handle construction, and procure, receive, store and process agricultural produce. In this area we frequently come across departmental isolation and miscalculations in planning, which result in considerable losses.

The time is evidently at hand when we must improve, and fundamentally at that, the economic and production co-operation of agriculture with those industries that are directly linked with it, and ensure an integrated, state approach to the promotion of the entire agro-industrial complex.

Comrades, we builders of communism must approach agriculture from yet another angle, from that of protecting the natural environment. This is a problem that confronts not only industry. The labour of the farmer and livestock-breeder essentially involves the utilisation of nature, our natural environment, for the satisfaction of man's requirements.

However, there are different ways of using nature. One can leave in one's wake barren, lifeless expanses that

are inimical to man—the history of mankind knows many such examples. But, comrades, it is possible and necessary to improve nature, to help it unfold its vital forces more fully. There is a simple expression, “flowering region”, which everybody knows. This is the name given to lands where people’s knowledge, experience, attachment and love for nature have indeed worked miracles. This is our, socialist way. Consequently, we must regard agriculture as a huge, constantly operating mechanism of protecting and cultivating living natural resources. And nature will repay us a hundredfold.

The Party regards the further development of agriculture as a key task of the state and the people. All branches of the economy must make a worthy contribution to its fulfilment.

Workers of the fields and livestock-breeding farms are in the forefront of the struggle to translate the Party’s agrarian policy into life. Their job is not easy and they work, as people say, from sunrise to sundown. All the more reason for all of us, the Party and the people, to be grateful to them. Allow me, on behalf of the Congress, to wish them success in the fulfilment of the truly immense tasks ahead.

INCREASING THE OUTPUT OF CONSUMER GOODS AND IMPROVING TRADE AND EVERYDAY SERVICES FOR THE POPULATION

Comrades, a rise of the people’s living standard is inseparable from an increasingly fuller satisfaction of their demand for the most diverse goods and services. By itself a growth of cash incomes does not yet mean a real rise of the living standard. Besides, the shortage of some goods and the limited volume of services diminish the possibilities for providing material incentives for labour. That is why in parallel with the rapid growth of agriculture the Party attaches such great significance to developing the industries known as Group B.

If we assess the development of these industries with the former traditional yardstick we have every justification to speak of considerable successes. Nearly a thousand

new enterprises of light industry and the food industry have been built during the past five years. There has been a substantial increase of the sale of foodstuffs and, particularly, consumer goods to the population. A considerably larger supply of goods of everyday use, household appliances and durables has become available.

Nonetheless, the Central Committee feels that the situation in the Group B industries cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The matter is not only that because of the shortage of agricultural primary materials caused by crop failures it was not possible to reach the planned targets in the output of a number of items in light industry and the food industry. We must speak of this question in broader and sharper terms. You remember that at the 24th Congress it was stated that there had to be a radical change in the attitude towards everything linked with the satisfaction of man's everyday requirements, that a fundamental change had to be ensured in both the quantity and quality of goods and services. It must be admitted that it has not proved possible to cope with the full volume of the task. We have still not learned, while ensuring a high rate of development in the heavy industry, to promote Group B and the service industry at a faster rate.

The responsibility for this is borne by many. It must be stated directly that inadequate concern for light industry, the food and service industries has been shown by our central planning and economic organs. We are justified in demanding an answer from the ministers entrusted with the guidance of these industries and from those who have not carried out their commitments to commission new capacities on schedule and have failed to provide these industries with efficient equipment and high-quality primary materials. In short, far from everybody has been able to surmount completely the attitude to the production of consumer goods as to something secondary and ancillary. Not everybody has yet understood that this is a matter of tremendous political and economic importance directly linked with the fulfilment of the Party's programme directives.

From this we must draw the conclusion that in continuing to increase investments in the Group B industries and the industries serving them, in trade and in the service industry it is necessary to be more demanding of those who plan and manage this sector of the economy.

The Party has no intention of abandoning the course it has adopted. We regard the present plan assignments to the Group B industries as minimal. In drawing up annual plans it is necessary to provide for an accelerated growth of these industries. In the production of consumer goods there are large reserves and this gives the widest scope for initiative by republics, territories, regions, enterprises and ministries.

Huge reserves lie in the improvement of the quality and range of products. Last year, for instance, the output of leather footwear totalled nearly 700 million pairs, almost three pairs per person. And if the demand for footwear still remains to be satisfied it is not because the quantity is not large enough but because there is a shortage of high-quality, fashionable footwear. The situation is approximately the same as regards many kinds of fabrics, garments, haberdashery, household appliances, furniture and other goods. The problem of quality, concern for the consumer and for his requirements is even more acute in trade, public catering and everyday services.

The state of affairs in these branches, the quality of planning and organising production, the methods of training personnel and the conditions of their work must receive constant and close attention from Party, Soviet and economic organs. Is it possible to hope for a stable growth of Group B and an improvement of the quality of goods and services without applying the achievements of modern science and designing in this sphere, without strengthening the technical basis of light industry, the food and service industries and trade? Obviously not.

The production of consumer goods at heavy industry enterprises will remain of considerable importance. The Party will strictly discipline those executives who under various pretexts fail to carry out the plans assigned to them for the output of such commodities.

Altogether nearly 40 million people, including over one and a half million Communists and three million members of the Komsomol, are employed in the consumer goods and service industries, in trade and in public catering. In addressing them I should like to say: Comrades, in many ways the well-being and mood of the Soviet people depend on you, on your work. Remember this. Work better, with more initiative, emulating foremost workers. The Party calls upon you to do this, and expects this of you.

DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Among the key economic problems the promotion of foreign economic relations acquires growing importance. This is a direct result of the rapid growth of our economy, of the far-reaching changes taking place in the world and of the success of the policy of peace and detente.

We regard foreign economic relations as an effective means helping to carry out political and economic tasks. The might and cohesion of the community of socialist countries have been growing stronger through economic integration. Co-operation with the developing states is facilitating the restructuring of their economy and social life on progressive principles. Lastly, economic, scientific and technical ties with the capitalist states are consolidating and broadening the material basis of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

A specific feature of our times is the growing utilisation of the international division of labour for the development of each country, regardless of its wealth and economic level. Like the other countries, we strive to use the advantages of foreign economic relations to utilise additional possibilities for the successful fulfilment of economic tasks and saving time, for enhancing production efficiency and speeding up scientific and technical progress.

There are other, broader aspects of foreign economic activity. Global problems such as primary materials and energy, the eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, environmental protection, space exploration and the utilisation of the resources of the World Ocean are already sufficiently important and urgent. In the future they will exercise an increasingly perceptible influence on the life of each nation and on the entire system of international relations. The Soviet Union, like other socialist countries, cannot hold aloof from the solution of these problems which affect the interests of all mankind.

Such, comrades, are the main political and economic motivations that determine the Party's policy of promoting and deepening foreign economic relations.

During the ninth five-year plan period we achieved much more than was planned. Between 1970 and 1975 the volume of foreign trade increased from 22,000 million to

51,000 million rubles. Complete sets of equipment were imported for nearly 2,000 projects in the various industries, particularly in light industry, the chemical, automotive, and food industries. Two-fifths of our imports consisted of consumer goods and primary materials for their manufacture.

Our exports have also increased rapidly and they consisted not only of primary materials but also of many kinds of machines and equipment, including atomic reactors, power generators, aircraft and machine tools. The Soviet Union took part in building hundreds of industrial projects abroad.

A substantial increase of foreign trade is planned for the tenth five-year period. I have already spoken of the main orientation of our foreign economic relations—those with socialist countries. I shall now deal with some general questions relating to the promotion of economic relations with the capitalist world.

The first of these is the enhancement of the efficacy and an improvement of our foreign trade structure and balance. Estimates show that various kinds of primary materials will remain an important item of our exports. All the more is it important to increase the share of the most profitable primary materials and ensure a more thorough processing of the primary materials we are selling. Moreover, in our export there must be a substantial increase in the share of the output of the manufacturing industry. To this end it is necessary to enlarge the output of goods in demand in foreign markets and make them more competitive. As regards import policy it must be aimed to a larger extent than before at fulfilling the principal tasks of the economy and making it more efficient.

Another important question is that of promoting new forms of foreign economic ties that go beyond the framework of conventional trade, greatly enlarge our possibilities and, as a rule, yield the greatest effect. I have in mind, among other things, compensation agreements under which new enterprises, belonging entirely to our state, are built in co-operation with foreign firms. We are granted credits, equipment and licences and we pay for this with part of the output of these or other enterprises. For the time being agreements of this kind cover mainly industries producing primary materials and semi-finished products. But it is perhaps time to expand the sphere of their operation, so as

to include the manufacturing industry and look for new approaches to co-operation in production.

The broad development of compensation agreements requires an enhancement of the responsibility of those who take part in carrying them out: not only foreign trade organisations but also industrial ministries and enterprises, particularly builders. Without building and bringing capacities up to their rated level and producing high-quality products on schedule there can be no question of benefits from production co-operation.

Our foreign economic policy is co-ordinated with the fraternal countries. Acting in the spirit of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has, on behalf of the governments of its member states, offered to establish official relations with the European Economic Community. The EEC Council of Ministers has been given the draft of an Agreement on Principles of Mutual Relations envisaging the creation of favourable conditions for equal co-operation between the two organisations and between their member states. We are prepared for this.

In foreign economic relations are intertwined politics and economics, diplomacy and commerce, industrial production and trade. Consequently, the approach to them and their guidance must likewise be comprehensive, linking up the efforts of all departments and our political and economic interests. This is exactly how this important issue is regarded by the Party's Central Committee.

RAISING THE LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM TO MEET NEW REQUIREMENTS

Comrades, Lenin pointed out that when a correct policy and a sure course have been worked out success depends chiefly on organisation. We have such a policy and such a course. Consequently, the decisive link becomes organisation, in other words, the further improvement of economic management in the broadest sense of the word.

In recent years this question has been repeatedly discussed by the Party's Central Committee and the Government. A number of decisions have been passed and certain

practical results have been achieved. In particular, general management schemes for a number of industries have been worked out and approved and more production and industrial associations are being set up. Today, when we have considerable experience and when orientations for our advance have been more clearly delineated, we can and must speed up the restructuring of the economic mechanism. That is the general task. In order to cope with it we shall have to chart and put into effect an integral system of measures embracing the basic aspects of economic management

First and foremost, it is necessary to ensure a fundamental *improvement of planning*. Our country was the first to begin planned economic management. Dozens of countries have learned and continue to learn this complex art from us. But we, too, are now faced with the task of raising the level of planning and bringing it into conformity with the new scale and make-up of our economy, with the new requirements of the times.

The tasks in this area are obvious. They cover the concentration of labour and resources for the fulfilment of the most important state programmes, a more skilful combination of branch and territorial development, long-term and current problems and the maintenance of a balanced economy. Much has to be done by planning and economic bodies to carry out these tasks. This gives a wide field for the efforts of economic science, for applying modern scientific methods, including economico-mathematical methods, and for the use of automated data management systems.

Managerial and, above all, planning activity must be directed towards *ultimate economic results*. This approach becomes particularly urgent with the growth and sophistication of the economy, when the end results increasingly depend on innumerable intermediate elements, on an intricate system of intra-branch and inter-branch links. In this situation it is easy to miss the main thing, the end results, in the pursuit of intermediate results which by themselves do not decide the matter. And vice versa, without paying due attention to some intermediate elements the end, cumulative effect of large efforts and investments may be undermined. Regrettably, we still encounter such situations everywhere.

For instance, in order to satisfy the demand for smart, high-quality clothes the state makes large outlays and in-

creases the output of cotton, wool and synthetic fibres. But the end result is in many ways depreciated on account of the poor quality of finishing machines and dyes and the backwardness of the textile and sewing industries. From year to year the country increases the output of steel. But what the consumer ultimately needs is not steel but specific articles made of it. And he will get these articles only if the range of rolled stock is extensive, the quality of the metal adequate and the level of the engineering industry high. Similarly, an increase of the output of crude oil will yield little so long as a large share of it is burned as fuel oil instead of being used for producing more valuable kinds of fuel and petrochemical products and for increasing export resources.

It is important not only to remember that the end purpose of production is to satisfy various social requirements but also to draw practical conclusions from this. One of them is unquestionably to give the consumer—whether this concerns primary or other materials, machines, equipment or consumer goods—broader possibilities for influencing production. In this respect many elements of the economic mechanism must be essentially improved.

Another area of the work is *more skilful use of economic incentives and levers*: cost accounting, profit, prices and bonuses. In other words, it is necessary to improve the entire system of basic indicators for the assessment of the work of ministries, associations and enterprises, above all the efficiency and quality of their work. These indicators should link the interests of the worker with the interests of the enterprise, and the interests of the enterprise with the interests of the state, inducing them to adopt (and, of course, carry out) demanding plans, economise on resources, reduce cost prices and, at the same time, master the manufacture of new articles more quickly and produce the required range of high-quality goods.

It is necessary to close all the loopholes that still allow slack executives to remain in the front ranks despite breaches of contract commitments and low-grade output and despite their poor utilisation of reserves. For this we must have an effective system of material and moral incentives in combination with strict and mandatory sanctions for breaches of planning and contract discipline.

The system of wages and rate-setting is to be improved in the light of the economic and social tasks confronting

the country. Those state organs that are directly responsible for this important sector of work must be given a larger role.

Another, very important link in the improvement of economic management is the *improvement of the organisational structure and methods of management*. We shall have to reinforce both principles of democratic centralism simultaneously. On the one hand, centralism must be developed and a barrier thereby raised to departmental and parochial tendencies. On the other, it is necessary to promote democratic principles and local initiative, to relieve the upper echelons of management from petty matters and ensure speed and flexibility in decision-making.

Life compels us to stop and think of many other problems. For instance, we have justifiably made a high assessment of what has been accomplished in West Siberia. But with better organisation these achievements could have been more impressive. Here is what happens. In West Siberia there are four departmental river flotillas and a host of building and supply organisations engaged in essentially the same work. In Moscow they are placed under at least ten ministries and departments. As you can see, there are many cooks here. And there are also many shortcomings. Fragmentation and poor concentration lead to unwarranted outlays and losses and retard the fulfilment of important tasks.

These facts lead us to the conclusion that the time has come to settle the question of improving the methods of comprehensively resolving interbranch and territorial problems that are of major importance to the state. In this area there must be unified, centralised programmes covering all phases of work—from designing to practical execution. It is important that in each case there should be specific bodies and concrete persons bearing the full measure of responsibility and co-ordinating all the efforts within the framework of one programme or another. Further, it is necessary to resolve the problem of setting up a system of managing groups of kindred branches (for instance, fuel and power, transport, output and processing of agricultural produce, and so on). In parallel, the role and responsibility of ministries must be enhanced and the work of setting up production associations completed and their activity improved.

To put it simply, the essence of organisational issues is

that each, having the necessary rights and bearing full responsibility within these rights, should do his work. This elementary rule is, at the same time, the rock-bottom basis of the science and practice of management.

The time factor must be taken fully into account in the entire work of improving management. In planning, this means an accurate account, in addition to money and resources, of the time required to complete various projects and the choice of the alternatives that will yield the quickest return. In providing incentives, this means encouraging the saving of time and strict sanctions for wasting time. In organisation, this means eliminating superfluous links and bureaucratic procedures and ensuring speed in the adoption of decisions.

The Central Committee is against hasty, ill-considered re-organisations of the managerial structure and of the established methods of management. It is necessary to measure the cloth not seven times, as the saying goes, but eight or even ten times before cutting. But once we have done the measuring, once we have understood that the existing economic mechanism has become too tight for the developing economy, we must fundamentally improve it. That is the immediate duty of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee and the central economic bodies.

It is becoming an urgent matter to draw up recommendations on these questions, especially as we are justified, more, obliged, to regard the measures to improve economic management as a major reserve, whose utilisation will help to carry out the Tenth Five-Year Plan successfully and yield an effect already in the immediate future.

* * *

Comrades, never before has our country had such an enormous economic, scientific and technical potential. Never before have we had such a huge army of trained personnel. Never before have we been able to draw upon such vast experience of economic construction which has been creatively interpreted and generalised by the Party.

All this is invaluable capital created by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people, who are led by the Leninist Party. Comrades, all of us are responsible for how this ca-

pital is used, for how fully the colossal new potentialities that allow setting the country tasks of an unparalleled magnitude are put into effect.

Ahead of us there is great and difficult work. But there is no doubt that our Party and our people will cope with it with honour and add yet another stirring page to the chronicle of the building of the first communist society in the world.

III

THE PARTY IN THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Comrades, the results of the past five-year period provide convincing evidence that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been following the Leninist line. It has lived up to its role of the political leader of the working class, of all the working people, of the whole people. The Party has once again demonstrated the power of its scientific prevision and the realism of its policy, and its capability of directing the energy of the masses towards the fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction.

Our Party holds high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, fulfilling with honour its historical mission and tirelessly working for the triumph of communist ideals.

1. The Party's Further Development. Questions of Cadre Policy

In the period under review, the Party continued to grow and gain in strength. On the basis of observance of the Leninist rules of Party life and the principles of Party leadership, the ideological and organisational unity of the Party ranks has been further consolidated.

Since the 24th Congress, nearly 2.6 million men and women have been admitted into the CPSU. At present the

Party has 15,694,000 members. Of them 41.6 per cent are workers, 13.9 per cent collective farmers, nearly 20 per cent intellectuals in the technical fields, and over 24 per cent workers in science, literature, the arts, education, public health, management and the military spheres.

In characterising *the growth of the Party and the work to improve its qualitative composition*, I should like to consider the following fundamental points. Under developed socialism, when the Communist Party has become a party of the whole people, it has in no sense lost its class character. The CPSU has been and remains a party of the working class. We are deeply pleased with the fact that 58 per cent of those now joining the Party are workers. This is natural and is a reflection of the leading role of the working class in the life of society.

In the period under review, more than 11 per cent of those joining the Party were collective farmers. The steady admission of collective farmers into the ranks of the Party is in line with the interests of further consolidating the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Of those who are accepted as candidates for Party membership, roughly nine per cent are foremen, shift engineers, section chiefs, agronomists, zootechnicians and others directly involved in the process of production. Thus, altogether almost 80 per cent of those joining the CPSU are men and women engaged in the sphere of material production, the decisive sphere of social life.

The percentage of Party members among specialists in the national economy, teachers, doctors and workers in science, literature and the arts has grown substantially. Today roughly one in four or five specialists is a Communist. That is good. After all, the Soviet intelligentsia has a very considerable role to play in implementing the scientific and technical revolution, in raising the people's cultural standards and in fulfilling all the tasks of communist construction.

The overwhelming majority, or more than two-thirds, of new Party members come from the Young Communist League. The growing influx of young people into the CPSU shows very well that the Party's vital forces are inexhaustible, and that our young generation is deeply committed to the ideals of communism.

In the past 30 years, the membership of the CPSU has

increased nearly threefold. The growth of its ranks will quite obviously continue. Such is the objective tendency stemming from the whole course of social development under socialism, and the growth of the Party's leading role and prestige. However, the CPSU does not press for numerical growth. It admits only those who have proved in practice that they are joining the Party, not for the sake of obtaining some advantages but to work selflessly for the benefit of communism, as Lenin put it.

And the farther we advance, the bigger the tasks tackled by the Party, the more concern we should display about replenishing its ranks with fresh forces, drawing on those who have won the recognition of their primary Party branch, of their collective, on those who have shown themselves to be active in production and in social life. For this purpose, there is need to enhance the importance of the period of candidacy for Party membership. There is need to take a most scrupulous approach to the all-round testing of the political qualities and capabilities of candidates for Party membership, to their Marxist-Leninist education. We should not forget that every Communist must have a high ideological level, and be an active Party fighter and a front-ranker among the builders of communism.

The CPSU has been doing everything to enhance the prestige of Party member, in accordance with Lenin's precepts. An important role in this was played by the exchange of Party cards carried out under a decision of the 24th Congress. There are good grounds for saying that the aims of the exchange have been attained. It has helped to invigorate the activity of Communists and Party organisations in the struggle to fulfil the tasks before them.

One important result of the exchange is that the Communists have become more exacting to each other, and that an atmosphere of intolerance of any breaches of the Rules has been created in the Party branches. The Party organisations acted on the premise that the exchange of cards was not a Party purge. At the same time, they took scrupulous care to see that no one unworthy of the lofty title of Communist should remain in the Party. Almost 347,000 persons did not receive the new Party cards in the period of the exchange. They are those who allowed themselves departures from the rules of Party life, committed breaches of discipline and lost touch with their Party branches.

Comrades, our Party is now a great and mighty organism. It includes 14 Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, 154 territorial committees and regional committees, 10 area committees, 4,243 city and district committees, and 390,000 primary branches, including 150,000 branches at enterprises in industry, construction, transport and communications, collective and state farms and other production units. You are very well aware of the importance of having all the units of the Party working smoothly, actively and purposefully. This can be achieved only through unfailing application of the Leninist rules of Party life and principles of Party leadership, and the principle of democratic centralism. The Party has always displayed a highly principled approach, standing up for these principles and combating any breaches of them. In this context, the decisions of the 20th Party Congress, whose twentieth anniversary now falls due, were highly important. A key role in strengthening and developing the Leninist rules and principles of Party life has been played by the decisions of the October 1964 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the 23rd and the 24th Congresses of the Party. The consistent development of inner-Party democracy and the growing demands being made on every member of the Party—these Leninist principles are not a thing of the past. This is the basis for the development of the Party in our day as well.

The fulfilment of the directives set by the 23rd and the 24th Congresses on the questions of Party development has helped to give greater depth to inner-Party democracy and collective leadership, and to develop the forms of Party organisation and methods of activity. All of this has been most forcefully expressed in the report and election campaign held before the Congress.

Suffice it to say that the report and election meetings in the primary Party branches were attended by more than 94 per cent of the Communists, with one in four of those attending taking part in the debate. The meetings, conferences and congresses were keynoted by efficiency, a high level of activity and maturity of the Communists, and a high level of criticism and self-criticism. The Communists gave a principled appreciation of the work of the elective Party organs in implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress and determined the tasks for the future.

The course of the report and election campaign was

extensively dealt with in the press, and on the radio and television, thus, in effect, turning the Party committee reports to the Communists into reports to the working people. There is much profound meaning in this. The Party has no secrets from the people. It is vitally interested in having all the Soviet people know about its undertakings and plans, and in having them express their own views on these matters.

At the meetings, conferences and congresses, the Communists demonstrated the monolithic unity of the Party ranks, giving complete and unanimous approval to the Party's general line and the practical activity of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau.

Comrades, the dynamic development of Soviet society, the growing scale of communist construction, and our activity in the international arena insistently require a steady *raising of the level of Party guidance of economic and cultural development, the education of our men and women, and improvement of organisational and political work among the masses.*

In the period under review the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee have worked with great intensity.

In this period the Central Committee held 11 plenary meetings to decide on the key questions in the life of the Party and of the whole country. The December Plenary Meetings in 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975 were of special importance. They equipped the whole Party with a concrete analysis of important economic problems and brought to the fore the tasks which required the maximum concentration of efforts. Foreign policy questions were considered at several plenary meetings. Thus, the Plenary Meeting in May 1972 discussed the problems facing us at that highly responsible and, one could say, crucial moment in the struggle for detente. You will recall, comrades, that at the time we were expecting the first visit by a US President; however, the war in Vietnam was at its height. That was no simple situation. As the whole of the subsequent period showed, the decisions taken by the Plenary Meeting were principled and realistic, and set the right course. The examination of various questions of our state's external economic activity by the Plenary Meeting in April 1973 was highly important.

The activity of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was dynamic and efficient. Since the 24th Congress it has held 215 meetings. The Political Bureau regularly considered various questions relating to industry, agriculture and capital construction, and improvement of administration and management on every sector of the state and economic apparatus. Special attention was given to the fulfilment of the measures outlined by the 24th Congress for raising the people's living standards. There was regular discussion of the basic problems involved in improving inner-Party and ideological work. The Political Bureau gave much attention to various aspects of the country's external political activity and strengthening of its defences.

The Central Committee Secretariat, which has held 205 meetings in the intervening period, constantly dealt with the activity of the Party organisations and the selection and placement of cadres. Much more attention than before has been given to control and verification of the fulfilment of adopted decisions.

The Central Committee has made a careful study and summing-up of the experience of local Party organisations. It discussed the activity of a number of Central Committees of Communist Parties of Union Republics, territorial and regional committees, and city and district committees to establish how they exercised Party guidance of the economy and carried on organisational, political and ideological-educational work. The experience of labour activity by the masses has also been thoroughly analysed. Many valuable initiatives of Party organisations, collectives and individual working people in Moscow and Leningrad, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, the Urals and Byelorussia, Central Asia and the Baltic area, the Transcaucasus and Moldavia were approved and recommended for extensive application across the country.

The decisions taken by the Central Committee, and its Political Bureau and Secretariat, adopted as a result of circumstantial and collective discussion, provided the Party organisations with a clear orientation and lucid directives, which helped to improve their work.

Comrades, letters from the working people are an important link between the Party and its Central Committee, and the masses. Their number has been steadily growing as

a reflection of the Soviet people's growing social involvement. They express support for the Party's policy and voice opinions on many basic questions concerning the life of the Party and the state.

The Central Committee is being regularly informed of everything that deserves notice in the letters of the working people. The most important proposals and opinions are considered by the Central Committee's Political Bureau and Secretariat, and are taken into account in the drafting of decisions and laws. Many of them have also been used in preparing the material for the present Congress.

In the Party's general undertakings, great importance attaches to the activity of the *republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district Party organisations*. The work of the Party's key units—the regional and territorial committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics—has been growing ever more fruitful and meaningful from year to year. It is no exaggeration to say that they bear the main responsibility for implementing the Party's policy in the localities. We must give due credit to the persistence and purposefulness with which they have organised the implementation of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and worked to utilise our economic and political potentialities in order to bring about an upswing in every branch of social production and make it more efficient. They deserve much credit for their vigorous efforts to develop massive popular initiatives. It is indicative that in the past few years local Party organs have been putting forward many more major concrete proposals of all-Union importance than ever before.

The level of Party guidance directly depends on how much vigour and initiative is displayed by the *primary Party branches*, which make up the basis of our Party.

The primary Party branches are in the forefront of economic and cultural construction, working in the very midst of the people. The whole of their active effort helps combine the Party's policy with the vital creativity of the masses, promoting the successful fulfilment of economic-political and ideological-educational tasks.

In the period under review, the CPSU Central Committee has discussed reports on the work of a number of Party organisations at enterprises in industry, agriculture and

construction, in scientific and educational institutions and ministries. Its decisions specifically emphasised that the primary Party branches must now exert an even more active influence on raising the effectiveness of production and accelerating scientific and technical progress, constantly seeking to create an atmosphere of concerted effort and creative quest in every collective, to educate our people and improve their working and living conditions.

The Party's guiding and mobilising role is not an abstract conception. It is life itself, it is our day-to-day practice. But the Party's role as organiser and inspirer of the masses is most evident at difficult moments. I have already mentioned how difficult 1972 was. At that time, we pitted our strength, our organisation and our will against the elements. The people were rallied and inspired by the Central Committee and the local Party organisations. A real battle for the grain harvest was started. Workers from the cities, men of the Soviet Army and students took an active part in this battle side by side with the collective and state farmers.

At that time, I happened to visit the areas of the country that were crucial for the success in the struggle for the harvest. The people were having a very hard time. But they were working with remarkable enthusiasm and energy. They did everything that was possible. Indeed, they did what many believed to be impossible. When one saw this one could not help feeling a sense of great pride for our Party and for our remarkable people.

Comrades, the *Leninist style of work* is an important condition for success in the Party's leadership. The Leninist style is a creative and scientific approach to all social processes, one which eschews subjectivism. It implies a high degree of exactingness with respect to oneself and to others, rules out any self-complacency, and is opposed to any manifestations of red tape and formalism.

In this connection, I should like to consider the question of criticism and self-criticism. We have had serious and principled discussions of this subject at the plenary meetings of the Central Committee. This was done because with the growth in the scale and complexity of the tasks we have to tackle, an exacting, critical approach to all matters acquires especial importance.

In its resolution, "On the State of Criticism and Self-

Criticism in the Tambov Regional Party Organisation", the Central Committee raised a number of questions which are of importance for the whole Party. It drew attention above all to the very substance of the method of criticism and self-criticism. What is it? It is that every aspect of the activity of this or that organisation, of this or that individual should be given an objective evaluation. It is that the existing shortcomings should be subjected to all-round analysis in order to eliminate them. It is that there should be no liberalism towards shortcomings or to those who allow them. Trust and respect for people should go hand in hand with a high exactingness towards those responsible for assignments. This is a law of Party work, and not only of Party work but of the whole of our work. Of course, comrades, every instance of incorrect response to criticism must evoke a sharp and swift response from the Party organs.

When we say "sharp response" we do not, of course, mean any sharpness of expression, but the substance of the matter. The value of criticism lies in its authenticity, and in the social importance of the questions being raised. For its part, the value of self-criticism is determined by its sincerity, and a readiness instantly to start correction of mistakes and shortcomings.

Alongside the questions of criticism and self-criticism, the Central Committee also considered another problem, that of control and verification of adopted decisions. This has been repeatedly dealt with at meetings of the Central Committee's Political Bureau and Secretariat. This was dealt with in a special letter circulated by the Political Bureau to all Party organisations, and also in a number of decisions taken by the CPSU Central Committee.

There seems to be no need here for any special comments. It is obvious that adopted decisions must be fulfilled. After all, they are the decisions of the Party, they are its collective will and the concentrated experience of the masses. However, now and again some decisions are not fulfilled, or are fulfilled improperly or incompletely, because of lax control.

Now and again, when some decision is not fulfilled, a second and at times even a third decision is adopted on the same matter. In content they seem to be good. But the point is that they deal with something that should have al-

ready been done. So one cannot help asking: does not the new decision on an old subject turn out to be a kind of concession, an expression of liberalism? Does this not reduce the standard of exactingness? It is time to put an end to this practice!

Control and verification of fulfilment of adopted decisions are a key aspect of organisational work. They are the duty of every Party and government worker and manager, of every Party organ and of every primary Party branch. Here, it is necessary to enhance the role of the Secretariats of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the territorial and regional Party committees, the Councils of Ministers of the republics, the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, and of the collegiums of the Ministries and departments.

Much important work in this field is also being carried on by the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee, and the Party commissions of the local Party committees. In the period under review, they have raised a number of key questions of general importance concerning the struggle for strict observance of Party and state discipline.

In the verification of fulfilment, much importance attaches to the organs of the people's control. The Party organisations should make better use of their potentialities, and help them in every way to exercise their functions.

I say all this just now not because some sort of alarming situation has developed in our Party concerning the fulfilment of adopted decisions or the state of criticism and self-criticism. No, I want to make a different point. Un-deviating practice of the Leninist style of work is a premise for the successful activity of all Party, Government and economic bodies, and for the realisation of all our plans.

Of course, neither the Party nor the nature of its activity are immune to change. At every stage, the Party's work is filled with new content. It is natural, therefore, that the new tasks which the 25th Congress is to set forth will still require scientifically based improvement in forms and methods of Party work.

Cadre policy is a powerful instrument by means of

which the Party exerts an influence on the course of social development. In the past few years, many young and promising comrades who have shown themselves good and capable organisers in practical work have been promoted to leading posts. In the struggle to fulfil the Ninth Five-Year Plan and implement the tasks of domestic and foreign policy, our cadres have gone through an important school of political seasoning and have acquired a wealth of experience.

The modern leader must organically combine within himself the Party approach and well-grounded competence, a sense of high discipline and initiative, and a creative approach to his work. At the same time, on every sector the leader must take account of the socio-political and educational aspects, be sensitive to the needs and requirements of people, and set an example in work and in everyday life.

Much significance attaches to the selection for Party work of politically mature, active specialists in the national economy who have experience in working with people. In the period under review, a number of measures have been taken in this direction. At present, 99.5 per cent of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties, and the territorial and regional committees of the Party have a higher education, and more than 70 per cent of them have engineering, technical and agricultural training. It is a good thing that virtually all of them have worked as secretaries of primary Party branches and city and district Party committees. Among the secretaries of city and district committees 99.2 per cent have a higher education, with 60 per cent of them specialists in industry and agriculture. This line should be further pursued with even greater persistence.

A thoughtful and considerate attitude to our cadres has been firmly established in the Party. An end has been put to the unjustified reshuffling and frequent replacements of cadres, a matter that was raised back at the 23rd Congress. Cadres are moved when this is made necessary by the interests of the matter at hand and the need to fortify this or that sector of our work. That is not to say, however, that on the pretext of securing cadre stability it is possible to leave in leading posts those who fail to pull their weight, as the saying goes, and to cope with their

duties. It is all the more impossible to leave in leading posts those who display irresponsibility and live on their old merits, believing that their post will of itself assure them of prestige and respect.

He who has lost his ability to make a critical assessment of his activity, he who has lost touch with the masses, who breeds toadies and bootlickers, and who has lost the trust of the Communists cannot be a Party leader. I think that the Congress will support such an approach.

In its approach to the organisation of the training and retraining of cadres the Party takes into consideration the growing requirements, and does everything that is necessary to help them raise their theoretical level, deepen their knowledge, and master the modern achievements in science, technology, and organisation of production and management. In the period under review, 40,000 persons have been trained in the Party's educational institutions alone. Over 230,000 Party and government workers have taken retraining courses. Economic executives and specialists improve their qualifications in various institutes, departments, at the Institute of Management of the National Economy, and extension courses, where more than one million men and women are trained every year.

We must continue improving all this work. We should apparently give thought to ways of raising to a new and higher level the training of leading Party cadres, especially those on the ideological front, to ways of steadily raising the ideological, theoretical and business standards of the comrades who are already engaged in leading Party work. The activity of the central Party educational institutions should be further improved. Here, we should both recall the experience of the past and also give thought to new and modern forms of training high-skilled cadres. The important thing is to provide the Party with an even more extensive reserve of experienced and theoretically mature comrades.

The Party puts a high value on its cadres, has trust in their creative potentialities, and displays concern in fostering and educating them. There is no doubt that our cadres, fully aware of their responsibility to the people, will continue to give all of their strength, knowledge and experience to the communist cause.

2. The Party's Work in the Field of Ideological Education

Comrades, the strength of our system derives from the consciousness of the masses. Accordingly, the Party believes it to be its constant concern to foster communist consciousness and readiness, determination and skill in building communism. In the period under review, *a major aspect of all our work has been the ideological education of our people, and the problems arising in the moulding of the new man, a worthy builder of communism.*

The CPSU has based its effort in communist education, like the whole of its revolutionary transforming activity, on the sound foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism is the only reliable basis for formulating the right strategy and tactics. It gives us an understanding of the historical perspective, helps us to determine the lines of our socio-economic and political development for years ahead, and correctly to find our orientation in international developments. Marxism-Leninism derives its power from its constant and creative development. That is what Marx taught. That is what Lenin taught. Our Party will always be loyal to their precepts!

Everyone knows that practice is the criterion of the validity of any theory. The revolutionary struggle of the working class and of all the other working people, and all the practical activity of the Communists have convincingly proved the validity of the theoretical tenets and principles expressing the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

In accordance with the guidelines set by the 24th Congress, a great deal has been done in studying the key problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party's documents sum up the vast experience in building the new society and contain an analysis of the latest processes in international development. Important achievements have been made in the philosophical, economic and historical sciences, and in the study of social and political problems.

At the present stage in the country's development, the need for further creative elaboration of theory, far from diminishing, has, in fact, been growing. Fresh opportunities for fruitful general theoretical, fundamental, and applied research arise in inter-disciplinary areas, notably in

the natural and the social sciences. These should be fully used.

The Party and the state will benefit from research into problems connected above all with the all-round development of production and management of production, and recommendations making it possible to enhance substantially its effectiveness.

In-depth research into questions relating to the development trends of our society and its productive forces is highly necessary. This applies, for instance, to the character and content of labour under developed socialism and to changes in the social structure. Improvement of distribution according to work, the combination of moral and material incentives, the socialist way of life and the development of our multifaceted culture—consideration of all these problems requires a pooling of the efforts of scientists working in various fields. There is also need for a further study of the problems relating to the development of our state system, and the forms and methods of our educational and ideological work. In this context, much attention should be given to the study of public opinion.

Soviet scientists should not lose sight of the problems of environment and population growth which have recently assumed such a serious aspect. Improvement of the socialist use of natural resources and the formulation of an effective demographic policy are an important task facing a whole complex of natural and social sciences.

The importance has been steadily growing of scientific research into the cardinal problems of world development and international relations, the revolutionary process, the interaction and unity of its various streams, the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for socialism, and the contest of forces on the main issue of our day, the issue of war and peace.

The tasks facing our social science can, apparently, be fulfilled only if there is the closest possible connection with life. Scholastic theorising will merely act as a brake on our advance. Connection with practice can alone make science more effective, and that is now one of the central problems.

Speakers at the 24th Congress emphasised the importance of establishing a creative atmosphere in scientific work. This task remains as important today as it was yesterday.

It goes without saying that the creative comparison of views should proceed on the basis of our common Marxist-Leninist ideological platform. The important thing is that there should be consistent observance of the Party principles in science, with resolute rebuffs to the Right-opportunist and "Leftist" views voiced by our ideological adversaries abroad.

Comrades, since the 24th Congress a number of resolutions have been adopted by the Central Committee summing up the experience in ideological work and defining the main lines for its improvement. Thus, a resolution on the work of the Tashkent City Party Organisation considered various aspects of the Marxist-Leninist education of the Communists. The question of a coherent system of work with ideological cadres was broadly dealt with in the resolutions "On the Selection and Education of Ideological Cadres in Byelorussia's Party Organisation" and "On Measures for Improving the Training and Retraining of Journalist Cadres".

As a result, in the period under review, the activity of local Party organisations in this sphere has markedly increased. They have been giving more attention to the urgent questions of ideological education, going deeper into its content and tying it in more closely with economic and cultural construction.

On the whole, we have advanced in the sphere of ideological education. But that gives us no grounds for complacency.

Take our internal life. Tangible changes occur every day. New generations embark on their careers in life. The socio-economic conditions are being renewed by the development of science and technology. The people's growing awareness and the fact that they are better informed make ever greater demands on all our work among the masses. Here we still have some shortcomings and outstanding problems.

The positive changes in world affairs and the detente create favourable opportunities for the broad spread of socialist ideas. But, on the other hand, the ideological contest between the two systems is becoming ever more acute, and imperialist propaganda ever more subtle.

There is no room for neutralism or compromise in the

struggle between the two ideologies. Here there is a need for constant political vigilance, active, efficient and convincing propaganda, and timely rebuffs to hostile ideological subversion.

Thus, present-day conditions produce new tasks for the Party's ideological activity. The practice of the Party organisations suggests the way for us to follow to make it more effective. This involves a complex approach to the whole matter of education, that is, ensuring a well-integrated ideological, political, labour and moral education, taking account of the specific features of various groups of working people.

In the sphere of ideological education, much importance attaches to *political enlightenment*. Here we have done a great deal. Consider the following fact by way of example. Within the Party education system alone, nearly 20 million persons, including over seven million non-Party people, are studying. Our young people who are still at school—schoolchildren and students—are learning the fundamentals of political knowledge. The mass-scale study of Marxism-Leninism is a most important feature of the development of social consciousness at the present stage.

Today, as the Party is entering a new phase, it is important to display special concern for the content of Party education and the enhancement of its theoretical level, without relaxing our efforts to involve in Party studies ever greater masses of Communists and non-Party people. The main task before the whole network of Party education in the forthcoming period is to make a deep study of the decisions of the Party's 25th Congress. And the first thing that we have to do is to help the young Communists and all those who are preparing to join the Party to gain a good knowledge of the Congress material. To bring home the ideas of the Congress to every Communist and to every Soviet man and woman is an honorary duty not only for propagandists, lecturers and speakers but also for all our Party activists. This work needs all their knowledge, all their skill of persuasion, their strength of spirit. All of this is a precondition for the steady translation into life of the Congress decisions.

In the intervening period, the Party organisations have made a great effort to promote the patriotic education of the working people and also to strengthen the international-

ist consciousness of the masses. In this context, a tremendous role was played by the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the USSR and the 30th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War.

All of us, comrades, remember the enthusiasm and feeling with which our people marked those momentous anniversaries. The solid unity of all the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities of our country grew and was tempered in the labour exploits of the past half century, and in the military exploits in the Great Patriotic War. This unity and cohesion of all the Soviet people, their loyalty to their great country, and the internationalist brotherhood of the peoples marked these anniversaries. Therein lay their vast political and educational importance.

One of the Party's most important tasks has been and remains the cultivation in the minds of the working people, the young generation in the first place, of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of pride in the Land of Soviets, in our Homeland, and readiness to stand up in defence of the gains of socialism.

In its resolutions on the work of the Party organisation in the Lvov Region and of the Tbilisi City Committee, the Central Committee drew the attention of Party organisations to the shortcomings in the matter of internationalist education. Today, we can note with satisfaction that the right conclusions from this have been drawn. The Party organisations have started to conduct the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people with more initiative and greater scope. Individual instances of nationalism and chauvinism, the non-class approach to the evaluation of historical events, departmental attitudes, and attempts to extol patriarchal ways are being successfully combated. These efforts have met with profound understanding and support among the working people, and have had a positive impact on the continued consolidation of the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of our country.

In speaking of educational work, comrades, we must mention the great role which the Soviet Army plays in this sphere. The young men who join the army have no experience in life. But they return from the army with schooling in self-control and discipline, and with technical and vocational knowledge and political training.

Our army has been fostered in a spirit of profound loyalty to the socialist Homeland, to the ideas of peace and internationalism, to the ideas of friendship of the nations. That is where the Soviet Army differs from any bourgeois army. That is precisely why the Soviet people love their army and take pride in it.

It is concrete deeds, of course, that are the measure of success in the political education of the masses. The communist ideological spirit is an alloy of knowledge, convictions and practical action.

The current upswing in socialist emulation is a graphic result of the close *combination of political and labour education*.

The whole country has responded to the splendid movement for adopting supplementary plans exceeding the set targets. The initiative displayed by the Likhachov Motor Works in Moscow in accelerating the introduction in production of scientific and technological innovations and increasing the output of top-quality products has had a broad response. The collectives of the Dynamo Works in Moscow and of the Motor Works in Gorky and Minsk have set an example in raising labour productivity on the basis of every worker's individual creative plans.

Take the response to the call issued by the workers of Leningrad to fulfil five-day targets in four days! There has been support everywhere for the emulation started on the initiative of the teams led by Gennady Smirnov, Vladimir Murzenko and Mikhail Chikh to extract at least 1,000 tons of coal daily from one coalface; for the experience of working on the basis of the cost-accounting contract concluded by Nikolai Zlobin's team of builders, and for the movement to boost labour productivity and improve quality started by the distinguished textile workers Yelena Amosova, Alevtina Smirnova, Valentina Pletneva, and Valentina Bobkova, among others.

The remarkable thing is that from the very first days of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, a socialist emulation campaign has got under way across the country under this slogan: "Raise the effectiveness of production and quality of work for the further growth of the economy and the people's welfare!"

The important thing, comrades, is that none of the good initiatives should fall by the wayside. A few years

ago this call was voiced at enterprises in Gorky: "Not a single lagging worker by your side!"

That was not only a production slogan but also a moral rule. At first, it was broadly picked up but, unfortunately, it has now been forgotten here and there, despite the fact that its adoption everywhere could yield important results for the whole country.

We are all happy to see how deeply the Leninist ideas of socialist emulation have taken hold. We take pride in the fact that the Communists are in the forefront of the emulation, which exerts profound influence on economic practice, on the country's socio-political life and on the moral atmosphere. Our common militant slogan is to do our utmost to develop still further socialist emulation and the movement for a communist attitude to work.

Communist education implies constant perfection of the public education and occupational training system. This is especially important today, under the scientific and technical revolution which tends to change the nature of labour, and, consequently, also of men's training for work. We have been doing a great deal in this respect. But what has been and is being done still falls short of solving all the problems in this sphere.

It is obvious, for instance, that there is a need for further and serious improvement of the whole system of general education, secondary schools in the first place. In modern conditions, when the volume of knowledge a man needs tends sharply and rapidly to increase, it is no longer possible to rely mainly on the assimilation of a definite sum of facts. It is important to develop in a young person the ability to augment his knowledge independently, and to find his bearings in the torrent of scientific and political information. Much remains to be done in this field. Of course, this work should be approached with great care and thought, without uncalled-for changes or hasty decisions. What does this require? Apparently, it requires an improvement in the training of teachers, an adjustment of the methods of instruction to the requirements of life, and provision of schools with modern study aids, including visual aids.

Here, at the Congress, it is fitting to recount the measures taken by the Party organs in the economic education of

the working people. An extensive system of economic education was set up on the basis of the decisions of the 24th Congress. More than 42 million people have already taken advantage of it; 36 million are studying at the present time. This work should be continued. In advancing this economic education, we should see to it that it promotes to the utmost throughout the country the spread of advanced experience in labour organisation and the application of scientific and technological achievements in production.

Comrades, nothing adds so much to the stature of the individual as a constructive attitude to life and a conscious approach to one's duty to society, when matching words and deeds becomes a rule of daily behaviour. It is the *task of moral education* to help people develop such an attitude.

Unfortunately, we still come across some who, though they have a knowledge of our policy and our principles, do not always apply them in practice, do not work to implement them, and take a conciliatory attitude to breaches of the rules of socialist community living. Any gap between the word and the deed, whatever its form, also does harm to economic construction, but especially to moral education.

We have achieved a great deal in improving the Soviet people's material welfare. We shall continue consistently to pursue this task in the future as well. But it is necessary that the growth of material opportunities should be constantly accompanied by a growth in our people's ideological, moral and cultural level. Otherwise we may have relapses into the philistine, petty-bourgeois mentality. This should not be lost sight of.

The higher the level of our society in its development, the more intolerable are the still occurring departures from the socialist rules of morality. Acquisitiveness, proprietary tendencies, hooliganism, red tape and indifference to one's fellow humans run against the very grain of our system. In combating such phenomena, there is a need to make full use of the opinion of the working collective, criticism in the press, methods of persuasion and the force of the law—all the instruments at our disposal.

In the period under review, much attention in the activity of the Central Committee was given to various questions pertaining to the raising of ideological level, co-ordination and efficiency of the *mass media*. As a result,

their information and propaganda impact on the development of the economy, science and culture and on the whole life of society has grown still more.

In the recent period, Soviet press printings and the number of publications have increased. More than 400 newspapers and 113 journals and magazines have been newly launched. According to the subscription figures, now every family gets an average of more than four periodicals—a high indicator. At the same time, it is well known that the supply of a number of publications falls short of the rapidly growing demand. Here, thought should be given, among other things, to increasing the production of news-print and paper. There is hardly any need to argue that this is more than an economic question. There is also need to accelerate the renewal of the material and technical facilities of the newspapers, journals and radio and television.

The Party organisations must exercise day-to-day and practical guidance of the press and enhance its ideological level and efficacy. Unfortunately, some still tend to underestimate the social importance of the press. There are also some who gladly accept praise but pay no heed to criticism and are unable to draw the right conclusions. The Party committees will have to correct those who seek to brush off meaningful criticism and remain indifferent to the important problems raised in the press and to the working people's letters which it carries.

Comrades, everyone probably remembers that the 24th Congress gave serious attention to questions of *literature and art*. While commending all the vivid and talented works, the Congress noted some of the extremes which were likely to lead some writers and artists along a path lacking in creative prospects.

Today we can say that the approach of the 24th Congress to questions of literature and art has been fully justified. The intervening period has been characterised by a further intensification of the activity of all creative intellectuals, who have been making an ever more tangible contribution to the construction of communist society, which is the endeavour of the whole Party and of the whole people.

This positive and vivifying process has naturally been reflected in the new works of socialist realism which have been created in our country over the past few years. These

works respond more frequently and, what is even more important, more deeply to the basic and essential ideas which animate the country, and which have become part and parcel of the personal histories of Soviet men and women.

Take the "production topic", as it was once plainly designated. Today, it has acquired a truly aesthetic form. Together with the characters in fiction and drama, we care strongly about the success of the steelworkers or the director of a textile mill, the engineer or the Party worker. Indeed, even a seemingly particular issue like the award of a bonus to a team of builders becomes the subject of heated discussion as a matter of broad social significance.

The Soviet people's feat of arms in the Great Patriotic War is another important topic in the arts which in the recent period has been dealt with in truthful and impressive works. War veterans experience the emotion of joining the protagonists of novels, stories, films and plays in retraversing the frontline roads in the hot flames of battle and the bitter cold of the snows, and bow in veneration before the strength of the spirit displayed by their living and dead comrades-in-arms. Through the miraculous effect of art, the younger generation feels involved in the exploits of its fathers or of the young girls who died in the quiet dawn to gain immortality in the fight for the freedom of their Homeland. Such is true art, which recreates the past and helps to foster the Soviet patriot, the internationalist.

Another topic to which our literature and art have devoted much effort also deserves to be mentioned. It is the topic of morality, of moral quests. Though there have been some failures here, the achievements have been greater. It is to the credit of our writers and artists that they seek to bring out the best human qualities, like firmness of principle, honesty and depth of emotion, always in line with the sound and solid principles of our communist morality.

Another source of inspiration for our artists, writers, and poets has been the important and lofty topic of the struggle for peace, for the liberation of the peoples, and the internationalist solidarity of the working people in this struggle.

The intellectuals engaged in the arts have become more exacting with respect to their own and each other's works, and drab and mediocre stories and plays, to say nothing of ideological mistakes, are being duly assessed without re-

gard for personalities. All of this largely goes to the credit of the writers' and artists' unions and their Party organizations.

The spreading movement in which our theatres and literary and art journals give encouragement and guidance in artistic matters to workers at factories and collective farms and on construction projects such as the Baikal-Amur Railway and the Kama Motor Works, should be welcomed without any reservation. Amateur art groups, literary associations and people's theatres are directed by experienced masters. Thus an invigorating process is under way in which, on the one hand, art is being enriched with a knowledge of life, and, on the other, millions upon millions of working people are being introduced to cultural values.

The Party approach to questions of literature and art combines tact with respect to intellectuals working in the arts, assistance in their creative quest, and a principled stand. The main criterion in evaluating the social importance of any work of art has naturally been and still is its ideological direction. That is precisely the Leninist attitude taken by the Central Committee and other Party organs, which have been doing a great deal in this sphere of ideological activity. If some officials take an oversimplified approach and try to resolve matters relating to aesthetic creativity and diversity of form and individuality of style by issuing decrees, the Party does not ignore such cases and helps to rectify the situation.

Soviet writers, artists, composers, and workers of the stage, screen and television, all those whose talents and professional skills serve the people and the cause of communism deserve our deep gratitude. We are happy to see a young generation of creative intellectuals emerging on the scene with ever greater confidence. Real talent is rare. Talented works of literature and art are part of the national heritage. We know that the well-turned phrase, the play of colour, the expressiveness of stone and the harmony of sound which inspire our contemporaries will leave in the hearts and souls of our descendants a memory of our generation, of our epoch, with its anxieties and accomplishments. Let us, therefore, wish our workers in culture, whether members of the Party or not, success in producing fresh works worthy of our history, of our present and our future, of our Party and people, of our great Homeland.

3. Some Questions of Party Guidance of State and Social Organisations

Comrades, an important line of our whole work in communist construction is the all-round development of the political system of Soviet society. This means improvement of the socialist state system, further development of socialist democracy, consolidation of the legal basis of the life of the state and society, and invigoration of the activity of social organisations.

In carrying on this work, the Party and the Central Committee have always started from the premise that a developed socialist society has been built in our country and is gradually growing into a communist society, from the premise that our state is a state of the whole people, expressing the interests and the will of the whole people. We have always started from the premise that we now have a fully shaped new historical community, the Soviet people, which is based on the solid alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, with the working class playing the leading role, and on the friendship of all the big and small nations of our country. We have sought to promote the all-round development of the activity of state agencies and social organisations, stimulating their initiative in every possible way.

In the sphere of state construction, the Party devotes special attention to the *work of the Soviets*. In accordance with the proposals put forward at the 24th Congress, we have adopted a Law on the Status of the Deputy, clearly defining the rights and duties of deputies, and also the duties of state and social bodies with respect to deputies. This has yielded tangible results. On the initiative of deputies to the Soviets, many important matters are now raised and decided. Let me say that the proposals being put forward by the deputies on the basis of instructions from their electors reflect the requirements and needs of our people and of our life as a whole.

You will recall that some time ago laws were adopted on the initiative of the Political Bureau for extending the rights and material capabilities of rural, village, district and city Soviets. The experience gained in the period under review shows that this was done quite correctly. We might say that the work of the local Soviets has now

acquired a new dimension. I think that the delegates will also support the proposal for the adoption of laws defining the competence of the territorial, regional and area Soviets.

Another matter we have constantly dealt with is *improvement of our legislation and consolidation of socialist law and order*. The framing by Party and Government organs and the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the republics of laws on some of the key problems concerning our life are of major socio-political importance. A considerable role in this effort has also been played by the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose activity has in general been markedly invigorated in recent years.

We have adjusted our legal regulations to the new level to which our society has risen. Legal provisions have been prepared for spheres of life which had earlier remained outside the framework of legal regulation, like protection of the environment, including bodies of water, the earth, the air, and so on. It is a very good thing that we now have well-grounded legislation making it possible to carry on purposeful work for the protection of nature.

The Political Bureau recently instructed the appropriate agencies to prepare proposals for further improving labour and administrative law and certain other laws in order to take account of the new phenomena in the life of our society.

Much also remains to be done to improve the legal regulation of economic activity. Our laws in this sphere should more effectively secure the fulfilment of the tasks of improving output quality and ensuring economy. They should be more effective in countering cases of defrauding the state, doctoring accounts, theft of socialist property, undue zeal in giving priority to local interests, etc.

The time has evidently come to issue a code of laws of the Soviet state. This will help to enhance the stability of our whole law and order. It will make our laws more accessible to all Soviet citizens.

It is quite natural, comrades, that we have been devoting and will continue to devote constant attention to improving the activity of the *militia, the procurator's office, the courts and the organs of justice*, which guard Soviet legality, the interests of Soviet society and the rights of

Soviet citizens. The Party and the state have a high appreciation of the difficult and noble work done by the men and women in these institutions, and have shown concern to provide them with well-trained and worthy cadres.

The *state security organs* have reliably safeguarded Soviet society from the subversive activity of the intelligence services of the imperialist states, and all types of foreign anti-Soviet centres and other hostile elements. The activity of these organs is geared to the requirements stemming from the international situation and the development of Soviet society. Our CHEKA men cherish and carry on the traditions initiated by Felix Dzerzhinsky, that knight of the revolution.

The state security organs carry on all their work, which takes place under the Party's guidance and unflagging control, in the light of the interests of the people and the state, with the support of broad masses of working people, and with strict observance of constitutional rules and socialist legality. That is the main source of their strength, and the main earnest of the successful exercise of their functions.

All these years, the Party has given due attention to *strengthening our country's defence capability and perfecting the Armed Forces*. We are able to report to the Congress that we have done a great deal in this area. The equipment of the Armed Forces with modern weapons and materiel has been improved, and the standard of military and ideological training of our men has been raised. On the whole, comrades, the Soviet people can rest assured that the fruits of its creative labour are provided with reliable protection.

Nor should there be any doubt in anyone's mind that our Party will do everything to have the splendid Armed Forces of the Soviet Union provided, in the future as well, with all the necessary means for fulfilling their responsible task of standing on guard over the Soviet people's peaceful labour and acting as the bulwark of world peace.

Comrades, social organisations are an integral part of the Soviet political system. Altogether they involve nearly the whole of the country's adult population, and that is a significant fact. Our social organisations are one of the important channels through which citizens are enabled to participate in running the affairs of society.

Take the *trade unions*, the largest social organisation,

with a membership of over 107 million. The work of the trade unions directly furthers the exercise of democracy in production, the basic sphere in which man's creative efforts are applied.

The trade unions have the task above all of protecting the rights and interests of the working people, and actively dealing with everyday, social questions. But they would be unable to do much in this sphere if production did not develop, and if labour discipline and labour productivity did not rise. It is precisely because our trade unions are dedicated to the working man's interests that their duty is to show concern for boosting production.

In the life of our society, the trade unions have an important role to play, and this puts many duties on them. The trade unions have to organise their work in such a way as to make it more fully conform with their rights and the degree of their responsibility. Take the following question. Everyone knows that a few years ago the sectoral management of industry was re-established and has been undergoing improvement. The concentration of production has been growing, and production associations are being set up. However, none of this has yet been duly reflected in the work of the trade unions. We have to settle the question of the structure of trade unions in production; to make it accord more fully with the structure of management in industry, the question of the forms and methods of trade union activity in production associations, and the question of the powers of the governing bodies of sectoral trade unions.

In the recent period, the role of the trade unions on the collective farms has been growing. There is need to help make them more of a mass organisation which will be of considerable importance in tackling the tasks of boosting agriculture and improving the collective farmers' working and living conditions. All of these are very serious tasks. They need to be fulfilled.

Many kind words have been and are being said about our *Leninist Young Communist League*. And this, comrades, is quite justified. The 35-million-strong army of YCL members is a reliable helper of the Party and its direct and militant reserve. Whatever the tasks the Party has set, the YCL has always tackled them with the enthusiasm of youth.

Let us recall the many good initiatives of the YCL

over the past five-year period, and its many fine achievements! The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway, the high priority YCL construction projects; in the five-year period there were 670 of these, involving more than half a million young men and women. The YCL has taken charge of 1,200 land-improvement and rural construction projects in the Non-Black Soil Zone of the Russian Federation. And we all know of the eagerness with which young people seek to join the student building teams! These teams have been doing very important work. In the Ninth Five-Year period they have done a volume of work worth roughly 5,000 million rubles. Nor is it possible to overrate their importance as a school of labour education.

The labour glory won by the YCL is firmly established. But, comrades, we must understand that life itself keeps setting before the YCL growing demands. After all, it is in the YCL that young people are actively brought into conscious participation in communist construction. It is no easy task to foster such consciousness, especially considering the fact that one has to deal with young people whose character has yet to mature. They are prepared to respond sincerely and whole-heartedly to any good initiative. But encounters with formalism and a bureaucratic approach to educational work tend to extinguish their fervour. Our task is, however, not only to keep this fervour alive, but also to encourage it. We want our young people to retain their enthusiasm, their mental alertness and their youthful energy for the rest of their lives. This should be promoted by the YCL, this should be its important concern.

The Party trusts that the YCL members and other young people will inscribe many more brilliant pages in the chronicle of communist construction!

When considering our people's great endeavours, one must also emphasise the important role which Soviet women play in them. In many ways, our Homeland owes its achievements and victories to our women's dedication and talents. Indeed, in the fulfilment of the important tasks which our Congress is to outline for the future in every sphere of social life our fine women will undoubtedly make a great contribution. The Party considers it to be its duty to display constant concern for our women, improving their condition as participants in the labour process, as mothers and educators of children, and as housewives.

Comrades, critics abroad frequently seek to distort the meaning of the measures taken by the Soviet state for the purpose of consolidating our legality and law and order. Any reference to the need to tighten up discipline and enhance responsibility of citizens to society is depicted over there as a violation of democracy. What can one say about this?

Indeed, in our concern for the all-round development of the individual and of the rights of citizens, we have also given due attention to the problems of strengthening social discipline and fulfilment by all citizens of their duties to society. After all, democracy is inconceivable without discipline and a sound public order. It is a responsible approach by every citizen to his duties and to the people's interests that constitutes the only reliable basis for the fullest embodiment of the principles of socialist democracy and true freedom for the individual.

Let us recall Lenin's idea that everything is moral in our society that serves the interests of communist construction. Similarly, we can say that for us the democratic is that which serves the people's interests, the interests of communist construction. We reject everything that runs counter to these interests, and no one can persuade us that this is the wrong approach. We know exactly where we are going as we improve our political system. We are fully convinced that the course we have chosen is the right one.

Today, we know not only from theory but also from long years of practice that genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, and that socialism is impossible without a steady development of democracy. We see the improvement of our socialist democracy as consisting above all in a steady effort to ensure ever fuller participation by the working people in running all the affairs of society, in further developing the democratic principles of our state system, and in creating the conditions for the all-round flourishing of the individual. This is the direction in which the Party has worked and will continue to work in the future.

Comrades, socialism is a dynamically developing society. We have not marked time for a single day, we have been constantly advancing. That is why the work done to improve the political system of our society has a profound social meaning and significance.

I repeat, a great deal has been done. And the time has now come to sum up what has been accomplished. That is our premise in preparing the draft of a *new Constitution of the USSR*. This work is being done thoroughly, without any haste, so as to consider every problem that arises with the greatest possible precision, and then to place the draft for discussion by the whole people. But here, at the Congress, I should like to say a few words about some of the important points by which we are guided in this work.

The draft of the new Constitution should evidently reflect the great victories of socialism and formalise not only the general principles of the socialist system, expressing the class substance of our state, but also the basic features of the developed socialist society and its political organisation.

The nature of the tasks connected with the building of the material and technical basis of communism makes it necessary to give a more detailed definition in the Constitution of the principles governing the management of the national economy. At the same time, it is also expedient to reflect the role of the state in the spiritual life of society and in ensuring the conditions for the development of science, public education and culture. In this way we shall emphasise the humanistic character of the socialist state, a state which sets itself the goal of building communism in the interests of the working man, in the interests of the people as a whole.

One of the basic features of the draft of the new Constitution will be the further consolidation and development of socialist democracy.

The idea is to establish a stricter system of accounting by all executive agencies to the elective organs of power. Furthermore, it is envisaged that draft all-Union laws are to be submitted for discussion by the whole people; such discussion is already our practice, but it remains to be given legal expression.

Of course, this is an enumeration of only some of the basic points, but I think that what has been said gives an idea of the lines on which the work is being carried on.

We have started from the premise that the new Constitution should establish and define in precise terms the supreme goal of our state. And this supreme goal is to build a communist society.

Comrades, at our Congress we shall sum up the results of five years of intensive labour. These results are good. We shall discuss our plans for the coming five-year period. These plans are demanding but realistic and well thought-out.

Let us now approach everything that has been done, and everything we intend to do with a broader historical gauge.

Soon, in another eighteen months, we shall be marking the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Six decades is less than man's average lifespan. But in that period our country has travelled a way equalling centuries.

We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never known before. It is a society with a crisis-free, steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations and genuine freedom. It is a society governed by the scientific materialist world outlook. It is a society of firm confidence in the future, of radiant communist prospects. Before it lie boundless horizons of further all-round progress.

The Soviet way of life is another major result of the road we have traversed. The atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship, cohesion and the friendship of all big and small nations in the country, which gain in strength from day to day, and the moral health which makes us strong and steadfast—these are the radiant facets of our way of life, these are the great gains of socialism that have become the very lifeblood of our reality.

Finally, there is Soviet man, the most important product of the past 60 years. A man who, having won his freedom, has been able to defend it in the most trying battles. A man who has been building the future unsparring of his energy and making every sacrifice. A man who, having gone through all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, combining ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, culture, knowledge, and the ability to use them. This is a man who, while an ardent patriot, has been and will always remain a consistent internationalist.

In the eyes of the peoples of the whole world, the Land of Soviets is by right regarded as the bulwark, the stan-

dard-bearer of peace. We have done and will continue to do all we can to safeguard and consolidate peace, and to rid mankind of new destructive wars!

Indeed, we are aware that not all the problems have yet been solved. We have a better knowledge than all our critics of our shortcomings, and are aware of the difficulties. And we have been successfully overcoming them. We know and see the ways leading to the further development and improvement of our society.

We have not yet attained communism. But the whole world sees that our Party's activity and its aspirations are aimed to do everything necessary for the welfare of man, for the sake of man. It is this supreme and humane goal of the Party that gives it kinship with the people, creates firm and indissoluble bonds between it and all Soviet people.

The Soviet people are aware that wherever there are difficulties the Communists are always there, in the forefront. The Soviet people are aware that whatever happens, the Communists will not let them down. The Soviet people are aware that where the Party acts, success and victory are assured! The people trust the Party. The people wholeheartedly support the Party's domestic and foreign policy. This augments the Party's strength and serves as an inexhaustible source of energy.

And the Communists, for their part, are aware that the people who have entrusted them with the country's leadership, are a people of exceptional industry, courage, stamina, a people of generous spirit, talent and intellect. They are a people that will not flinch in time of ordeal. They are a people that take close to heart every minor failure in their gigantic undertaking. They do not boast of their achievements, but neither do they belittle them. They are responsive to the joys and sorrows of other peoples, always prepared to help them in their struggle for justice, freedom and social progress. The Soviet people are a truly great and heroic people.

Comrades, the Soviet country and our people have travelled a difficult but glorious path. I think that everyone of us Communists, asked whether he would choose any other path, would say—no. Our path is the path of truth, the path of freedom, it is the path of the people's happiness.

The decisions to be adopted by our Congress will give

a mighty impetus for fresh endeavours. To fulfil them is a matter of honour for every Communist, for every Party organisation, and for our whole Party.

So, comrades, let us advance onward to the lofty goals for which we strive!

Long live our Leninist Communist Party, a party of scientific communism!

Long live our people, the builder of the first communist society in the history of mankind!

May the friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries, the international cohesion of the Communists and of all the forces of social emancipation and national liberation grow stronger and develop!

Long live just and lasting peace!

Long live communism!

SUMMING-UP BY LEONID BREZHNEV

March 1, 1976

Comrade delegates,

Among those who have taken part in the discussion of the Report of the Party's Central Committee are representatives of all the Republics—Central Committee Secretaries, Regional Party Committee Secretaries, workers, collective farmers, and members of our intelligentsia. In their speeches they dealt with a broad range of questions of the Party's domestic and foreign policy. There is no doubt that the new Central Committee which we are to elect will make a careful study of the views and opinions expressed here and will take account of them in its work.

And now, speaking about the general tenor of the debate, I should like to single out three points, which I believe to be most important.

First of all, we may note with great satisfaction that all the delegates to the Congress who have spoken from this rostrum have unanimously approved the political line and the practical work of the Central Committee.

The course for the future mapped out in the Central Committee Report has also received full support.

This means, comrades, that our multimillion-strong

Party, whose will here we all express, has come to its 25th Congress close-knit and united ideologically and politically.

We must remark on the exceptionally constructive, businesslike and principled character of the debate.

A serious analysis of the results of the past five-year period; thoughts on the present and the future of the Party and the country; meaningful and interesting proposals concerning many problems of our development; a critical and exacting approach to one's own activity—that, I would say, is the principal characteristic of the speeches delivered here.

This means that a creative style of work worthy of Communists prevails at the Congress as in the whole Party. Expressions of devotion to proletarian internationalism, words about the friendship of the peoples and the struggle for peace rang out loud and unanimous. This is our policy and we shall not depart from it.

I must note the tremendous optimism of those who spoke here, their confident and purposeful tone. This is the result of their strong confidence in the success of our cause. This is the result of the feasibility of our plans, a result of their understanding that when the Party charts its goals relying on its collective wisdom, and sets itself and the whole country tasks, these goals will be attained, these tasks will be fulfilled.

I am grateful to all the comrades who have given a high assessment of the Report. Kind words have also been spoken here by our foreign friends about our Central Committee, our Political Bureau and about myself. However, we shall be quite right in regarding the successes achieved as being the result of collective work, of the joint efforts of the Party's governing bodies and of all the Party committees and organisations.

We shall be quite right, we shall act as befits Leninists if, in acknowledging what has been achieved, we shall concentrate our attention on the shortcomings which we still have, on tasks still to be carried out.

I think the delegates to the Congress will agree that that is the kind of approach which will best promote

the growth of the political activity and creative energy of the Communists and our whole people.

Allow me to end here. I think that the character and the content of the debate on the Central Committee Report make it unnecessary for me to make a lengthier summing-up.

**RESOLUTION OF THE 25TH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
ON THE "REPORT OF THE CPSU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF
THE PARTY IN HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY"
DELIVERED BY L. I. BREZHNEV**

Adopted unanimously on March 1, 1976

Having heard and discussed the Report of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Party's immediate tasks in home and foreign policy, the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

1. Wholly and fully to approve the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

2. To approve the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU and to propose that all Party organisations should be guided in their activity by the provisions and objectives set forth by L. I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee's Report.

GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1976-1980

**Report Delivered by Alexei KOSYGIN,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR**

March 1, 1976

Comrade delegates,

With great enthusiasm and full unanimity our Congress today has adopted the decision to take guidance in the entire multifaceted activity of the Party from the theses and tasks advanced by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, in the report to the Congress. This decision equips the Party with a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist programme of creative activity in all spheres of the life of Soviet society, since the report has given an all-round elaboration of the fundamental and topical problems of the Party's economic and social policy at the modern stage and defined the main orientations of the internal and external policy of the CPSU for the long term. This Party document represents an outstanding contribution to the theory and practice of communist construction.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has presented to the Congress its draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980". In accordance with the Party's economic and social policy, the draft sets out a programme for the further construction of the material and technical base of communism in our country.

The five years since the Party's last Congress have fully confirmed that the political line charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is scientifically based and highly effective. New major successes have been achieved in the

national economy. The level of communist consciousness has risen, and the working people's production and social activity has increased. The socialist state has been consolidated and the fraternal co-operation of the peoples of our multinational Homeland has been further developed. The unity of the Party and the people is indissoluble.

In international affairs, the Soviet people are deeply gratified by the all-round extension of ties and co-operation with the countries of the socialist community and the consolidation of their cohesion and unity. The ties of friendship have become stronger between the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, including Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and also between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The successful implementation of the basic provisions of the Peace Programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the Party is of tremendous importance for our country and for all the peoples of the world. The further consolidation of the positions of world socialism, the major positive changes in the international situation, and the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and many countries having a different social system are due to the vigour and peaceable and class character of the Soviet Leninist foreign policy. Thanks to the efforts of the USSR, the other countries of the socialist community and all the other peace-loving nations and states, the relaxation of tensions in the world has gained in scope.

The successes of the past few years are inseparable from the Party's ever greater leading role in the life of our society and its growing international prestige.

The Congress resolution, speeches by delegates on the Report of the CPSU Central Committee contain a high appreciation of the activity of the Central Committee and of its Political Bureau in the period under review. Speakers have expressed full approval of the course charted by the Party for the period ahead. Voicing the opinion of the entire Party, delegates to the Congress have unanimously noted that the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, headed by the outstanding political figure of our time, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid

Ilyich Brezhnev, have displayed great energy and singleness of purpose in formulating and successfully implementing, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the whole of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy.

Fresh confirmation of this comes from the Central Committee's draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980", which is presented for consideration by the Congress, and which, as everyone knows, has been extensively discussed in the Party organisations, at meetings of the working people and in the press. This has been a truly nationwide discussion of the various aspects of our economic and social policy and the prospects and ways of development of our country's national economy. Our socialist society derives its strength from the consciousness of the masses, who "can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously", as Vladimir Ilyich Lenin put it (*Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 256). Lenin's idea was most forcefully borne out in the discussion of the draft "Guidelines" in which the working people expressed their views on an extensive range of complicated and vital questions of communist construction, displaying great concern for the success of the common undertaking of the Party and the people, which is based on a profound understanding of the tasks before us. This is a vivid and convincing example of the effectiveness of socialist democracy, and one of its basic advantages over bourgeois democracy. Such a discussion is altogether inconceivable in any country of the capitalist world even if only because of the limited class character of bourgeois democracy and the lack of political and socio-economic aims uniting the whole of society.

The discussion of the draft "Guidelines" was everywhere closely connected with the problems arising before the enterprises, construction sites and collective and state farms. Among the questions discussed was the need for ministries, departments and other economic agencies to devote more attention to eliminating the shortcomings in the organisation of production, and improving the use of production capacities; the need for the most rapid development of modern machinery, tools and instruments, and especially of farm machinery systems was most sharply emphasised.

Among the proposals for developing agriculture, the main stress was laid on raising labour productivity, increas-

ing crop and animal yields, improving the work of scientific institutions and agricultural bodies in the field of selection, as well as securing the efficient use of machines and equipment, mineral fertilisers and other resources allocated to agriculture.

Many proposals referred to the need for improving the quality of products, especially consumer goods, and extending their range. Critical remarks were also made concerning individual aspects of planning, organisation of capital construction and material and technical supplies.

The proposals and additions submitted in the course of the discussion of the draft "Guidelines" will be closely considered when the document is being finalised and when the five-year plan is elaborated, and should also be taken into account in the practical activity of the Party and Government, of the economic and planning agencies, and all ministries and departments.

The Soviet people have wholeheartedly approved the new programme document presented by our Party for the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, thereby expressing unanimous support of its economic and social policy.

I

RESULTS OF THE USSR'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

What are the main economic results of our country's development over the past five years? As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has said, "the main thing is that the dedicated work of the Soviet people and the guiding and organisational activity of the Party have ensured a steady growth of the economy. The principal socio-economic targets of that five-year plan have been achieved".

The people's living standards have risen. Socialist production has been developing at a high rate and scientific and technical progress has accelerated. All the Union Republics have scored great successes in boosting their economy and culture, and in building up our Homeland's economic strength. The country's defence capability was maintained at the required level. The orientation and character of our economic development have been in complete accord with the fundamental guidelines and Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. In terms of the absolute increment of industrial output, capital investments, and state appropriations for new measures designed to raise the people's living standards, the Ninth Five-Year Plan period has been the best five-year period in our country's history.

Soviet society has furthered the build-up of the material and technical base of communism. The country's economic potential has grown considerably as a result of the fulfilment of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, and has virtually doubled in the past 10 years. This can be seen by comparing the essential indices of the USSR's national economic develop-

ment in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period with those of the Eighth and Seventh Five-Year Plan periods.

	9th Five-Year Plan period (total volume for 5 years in thous. mln. roubles in 1965 prices)	Total volume for 5 years of 9th Five-Year Plan period in % of total in	
		7th Five-Year Plan period (1961-1965)	8th Five-Year Plan period (1966-1970)
National income used for consumption and accumulation	1,563	186	134
Industrial output	2,308*	218	145
Agricultural output	455	137	113
Capital investments	501	203	142
Commissioning of fixed assets	468	202	144
Retail trade turnover	933	206	140
Payments and benefits to population out of social consumption funds (in current prices)	392	225	143
Cash incomes of population (in current prices)	1,178	213	142

* In prices of July, 1967.

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, delivering the Central Committee's Report, spoke with great warmth and sincerity of the remarkable labour victories scored by our working class, collective-farm peasantry and intelligentsia, and expressed, with the wholehearted approval of all the delegates, the deep gratitude of this Party Congress. The people's labour exploits accomplished under the Party's leadership for the prosperity of the socialist Homeland are the most majestic, splendid and crowning result of the five-year period, of all the achievements of our economy, amounting to a great political triumph.

The results of the country's economic development are most fully characterised by its national income, the source of mass consumption and growing national wealth. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan period the national income was 34 per cent higher than in the Eighth. Of the total, 75 per

cent went into consumption and the rest into accumulation. The current consumption fund and the accumulation resources allocated for housing, the construction of schools, hospitals, cultural, educational and sports facilities, and utilities and other services for the population, came to more than 80 per cent of the national income used directly for the purposes of raising the people's well-being. The share of the national income going into consumption was higher than in the preceding five-year period.

Allow me to deal with the principal results of the *social programme* charted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

In the ninth five-year period, the task was to raise the living standards of the entire population, while concentrating on raising those of the working people in the lower-income brackets. Accordingly, a substantial rise in the people's living standards has been achieved. In the five years the average monthly cash wages of industrial and office workers increased by 20 per cent, to 146 roubles, and this, together with the payments and benefits from social funds, added up to 198 roubles a month. A considerable advance was effected in the living conditions of the working people in the countryside. In the five years, the remuneration of labour among collective farmers increased by 25 per cent.

Over the five-year period, the minimum wages and the rates and salaries of middle-bracket industrial and office workers in the branches of material production throughout the whole country, and some categories of workers in the non-productive sphere were increased. Old-age and disability pensions for industrial and office workers, collective farmers and servicemen, and the stipends to students of higher schools and specialised secondary schools and technical colleges have been increased, and other measures have been implemented.

Comrades,

Real per capita income in our country has doubled roughly every 15 years. In other words, in the course of a man's life-span, socialist society moves to a qualitatively new stage of consumption several times.

From 1971 to 1975, retail trade increased by 36 per cent, while state retail prices of basic foods and manufactured goods remained stable. The sales of meat, meat products, eggs and other products increased at a faster rate.

The sales of furniture, television and radio sets, sewing and washing machines, refrigerators, watches, and other consumer durables were very large. Nearly one million cars a year, or seven times more than in 1970, were sold to the population.

The ninth five-year period is the fourth consecutive five-year period of intensive and mass housing construction. From 1971 to 1975, more than 11 million flats and individual houses, totalling 544 million sq. m. of housing space, were built. This helped to improve the housing conditions of 56 million Soviet citizens, and to advance, in the main, to distribution of new housing according to the one-flat-one-family principle. On the whole, over the past four five-year periods more than 2,000 million sq. m. of housing were built. This scale is unprecedented in history.

Furthermore, our social programme provides for diverse measures designed to improve working and living conditions, education, medical services and environmental protection. One of the achievements of the Ninth Five-Year Plan period was that the transition to universal secondary education was in the main completed.

The implementation of the social programme was ensured by high growth rates and improved quality indices of material production—an enhancement of the role of labour productivity in the increment of the national income, acceleration of scientific and technological progress and further improvement of the structure of social production.

Compared with 1970, total *industrial output* increased 43 per cent in 1975, this being in accordance with the Directives of the Party's 24th Congress.

The five-year plan targets for the total output in heavy industry have been surpassed. At the start of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period our country is well provided with fuel, primary materials and basic construction materials. In 1975 the country produced 491 million tons of oil, 289,000 million cubic metres of gas, 701 million tons of coal and 1,038,000 million kwh of electric power. The swift growth of the fuel and energy base has ensured the satisfaction of the national economy's requirements and also the fulfilment, in the main, of contract commitments for the supply of fuel to foreign countries. A total of 141 million tons of steel was smelted in 1975. We produced 90 million tons of mineral fertilisers and 122 million tons of cement.

During the past five years the engineering industry has increased production 73 per cent and this has made it possible to raise the mechanisation, automation and technical level of production. There has been a substantial increase in the manufacture of machine tools, forge and press equipment and automated production lines. The output of motor vehicles has more than doubled and the production of farm machines has increased 78 per cent, of instruments and means of automation 90 per cent and of computers 330 per cent.

Nearly a thousand enterprises of the light and food industries have been built during the past five years. Our industry is manufacturing an ever larger quantity of diverse consumer goods. Altogether, the output of consumer goods rose 37 per cent, and of items of cultural and everyday use and household appliances 60 per cent.

The Party's long-term comprehensive programme for the development of *agriculture* has been consistently carried out during the past five years. Its material and technical base has been broadened, large-scale land improvement is in progress and specialisation in agricultural production is being promoted. More than 131,000 million roubles, or over a quarter of the total capital investments in the economy, were appropriated for these purposes. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan period the countryside was supplied with 1,700,000 tractors, 449,000 grain-harvesters, 1,102,000 trucks and a large quantity of other machines and equipment. All this, in combination with the dedicated labour of agricultural workers, has made it possible, despite the extremely adverse weather conditions during the past five-year period, to increase the average annual output of agricultural produce 13 per cent over the level achieved under the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The annual average output of grain has increased by 14 million tons and of raw cotton by 26 per cent. However, by and large, the output of farm produce fell short of the five-year plan target, and this could not help affecting the growth rate of the food and light industries.

The most important element characterising the present situation in our agriculture is the continued process of far-reaching economic changes planned by the Party 10 years ago. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin pointed out that the main thing in the socialist restructuring of the entire way of life in the countryside was "the material basis, technical

equipment, the extensive use of tractors and other farm machinery and electrification on a mass scale" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 217).

In the light of these requirements what is the picture in our socialist countryside? Let me give you a few facts. Today almost all our collective and state farms are electrified and obtain their electricity mainly from state-operated power stations. Last year the countryside consumed 250 per cent more electric power than in 1965 and 50 per cent more than the entire Soviet Union on the eve of the war. The total capacity of the tractor, combine harvester and truck engines in agriculture has grown during the past 10 years approximately by 80 per cent, and the power-to-worker ratio in agriculture has more than doubled.

The life of the rural population has changed beyond recognition. Today electricity is used by 99 per cent of the collective-farm households and the homes of state-farm workers and employees. Many tens of thousands of rural population centres now use gas. The majority of the rural population can now enjoy television. Almost every other working rural inhabitant has a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education (before the war the proportion was only one in every sixteen). The incomes of the rural population are growing at a rapid rate. The conditions of their life are in many ways drawing closer to those of the urban population. The countryside is receiving ever larger quantities of such items of cultural and everyday use as radios, television sets, refrigerators and so on.

The fundamental changes that have taken place in the life of the countryside cannot be measured solely by statistics. For their magnitude and social effects these are deep-going socio-economic transformations. They mirror the qualitatively new stage in the development of socialist social production, the beginning of which was laid by Lenin's co-operative plan. These transformations are the result of the Party's well-considered agrarian policy directed towards achieving a radical technical reconstruction of agricultural production, the intensity of which will grow in the coming period.

The marked growth of the country's production potential may be regarded as one of the most important results of the fulfilment of the Directives of the 24th Congress.

More than 500,000 million roubles were invested in *capital construction* under the Ninth Five-Year Plan. This has resulted in the renewal of nearly 43 per cent of the economy's fixed production assets, including 56 per cent in agriculture. The total fixed production assets have increased 50 per cent.

There has been an acceleration of scientific and technological progress and an enhancement of efficiency in social production during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. The number of new types of machines, equipment and instruments, whose serial production has been started by our industry, has doubled. Labour productivity has risen 23 per cent signifying a saving of the labour of 20 million workers.

All types of *transport and communications* have been developed during the Ninth Five-Year Plan period in accordance with the Directives of the Party's 24th Congress. There has been an improvement of these services for the population. The freight turnover of all modes of transport has increased 36 per cent.

However, during the past period we were unable fully to solve a number of problems and remove some bottlenecks in the national economy. This is particularly true of capital construction. In some industries the assignments for putting production capacities into operation have been fulfilled 60-80 per cent. At the same time, there have been many instances of investments being scattered among innumerable projects. The reason is that many ministries and departments are trying to solve the problems involved in the development of industry chiefly by investing in new projects rather than making fuller use of operating fixed assets and consistently pursuing a policy of intensifying production.

A narrow departmental approach is often adopted in solving economic problems and the necessary integration is not ensured. There still are quite a few shortcomings in many sectors of economic management.

Despite the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, we are not satisfied with the present rate of applying scientific and technological achievements in production. Certain scientific institutions do not yield the expected returns.

As a consequence of the existing shortcomings in work, the national economy suffers large losses, annually fail-

ing to receive products worth many billions of roubles. In this connection considerable attention is given in the draft "Guidelines" to measures aimed at eliminating shortcomings and consolidating and promoting positive trends in the economy.

During the past five years the Soviet Union has made headway in the economic competition with the industrialised capitalist countries. Our industrial output has grown at an average rate of 7.4 per cent annually, while, for example, in the United States of America and the Common Market countries the growth rate has averaged 1.2 per cent. This is not a temporary trend. Even over a longer period, from 1950 to 1975, that is, in 25 years, the annual rate of industrial growth in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the CMEA member countries, was over 100 per cent higher than in the industrialised capitalist countries—9.6 as against 4.6 per cent.

As a result, even before the Ninth Five-Year Plan period we were producing more pig iron, iron, manganese and chromium ore, coal and coke, cement, potassium salts, phosphate primary materials, tractors, diesel and electric locomotives, cotton, wool, flax and some other items than any other country, while during the past five years steel, oil and mineral fertilisers have been added to the list.

Since the latter half of 1974 the capitalist world has been in the grip of a grave economic crisis. This is an organic disease of the capitalist system aggravated by the protracted militarisation of the economy and the growth of military spending, severe inflation, the dislocation of the monetary-financial mechanism and the undermined trust in capitalist currencies, and the energy crisis which is a crisis of the economic structure. In the capitalist countries unemployment has reached a high level and the struggle of the working people for their rights is mounting.

In the context of growing internal contradictions and the ensuing uncertainty in the West nobody can say what prospects await the economy of the capitalist world. In any case, one sees no optimism even in most of the official prognostications. It is indicative that the present difficulties are making even bourgeois economists reflect on the vices of the capitalist system as a whole, on its inability to cope with the tasks of present-day development,

let alone find an answer to the requirements of social and economic progress which confront the world in the last quarter of the 20th century.

The socialist world gives the answer to the basic questions of social development. The recent congresses of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries, the 25th Congress of our Leninist Party and the preparations that are under way for congresses in a number of other countries eloquently show that the socialist community has clear prospects for development based on the steady growth of its planned economy. We announce our aims and creative plans, our policy for many years in advance publicly, to the whole world, because all our plans meet the interests of the broad masses of the working people, the interests of peace and social progress. We have solved and shall solve our problems, whatever their magnitude, in the interests of society as a whole, and we are confident in the success of the great cause of communism.

II THE MAIN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TASKS OF THE TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan are defined in the CPSU Central Committee's draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980" submitted to the 25th Congress.

The cardinal task of the five-year period is to consistently implement the Communist Party's policy of promoting the people's living standards and cultural level on the basis of a dynamic and balanced development of social production and enhancement of its efficiency, the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the growth of labour productivity and the utmost improvement of the quality of the work in every sector of the national economy.

The Tenth Five-Year Plan is a new stage in the Party's long-term course of socio-economic development and construction of communism's material and technical base in the conditions of the unfolding scientific and technological revolution. It is a new stage in the development of socialist social relations and the Soviet way of life, and also in assuring our country's security.

In accordance with the main objective of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, our plans, the efforts of the Party and the people will be directed at assuring the all-round progress of the economy, its comprehensive and harmonious development, and the improvement of the Soviet people's well-being.

The main emphasis in the economic plans will be on furthering the intensification of production on the basis

of scientific and technological progress and on the utmost thrift. The Party's Central Committee and the Government have devoted great attention to enhancing the role of the intensity factors in economic growth in the past; in the tenth five-year period this will acquire cardinal significance.

This will be a five-year period of determined efforts to implement the programme of agricultural growth. "Today with the strengthening of agriculture's material and technical basis," Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has stressed, "the task of enhancing its efficiency and improving all quality indicators assumes full proportions."

International economic co-operation will play a greater role in achieving the objectives of the five-year period. The economic plans will be oriented to a further deepening of socialist economic integration and fuller use of the advantages of the international division of labour.

The substance of the Tenth Five-Year Plan is expressed in the concise but all-embracing formula worked out by the Party—this five-year period emphasises quality and high efficiency in the name of the further economic growth and improvement of the people's well-being. The main thing now is to effect a decisive turn to a more efficient use of the mighty technical and production potential created in our country in order to increase the national income and the production of the end product used directly in meeting the needs of the population and economy.

We have achieved high and continuously growing output indicators in steel, oil, cement, fertilisers and other products. But the use of primary and other materials in the manufacture of finished products is still in many cases insufficiently effective. Therefore, quality indicators, such as lower per unit consumption of primary and other materials and fuel, fuller use of production capacities, and higher consumer qualities of all products and manufactured goods, have acquired a determining significance in our economic plans.

The economy of our developed socialist society with its huge production, scientific and technological potential has enabled us to make ever broader use of the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system and, in particular, to elaborate in the draft "Guidelines" a broad *programme for social development and raising the living standard of the people.*

As before, the Party's *incomes and consumption* policy is based on the proposition that the principal means of raising the people's income is the growth of remuneration according to labour, which accounts for three-quarters of the total accretion of incomes. The purpose of such a policy is not only to increase public consumption according to plan, but also to enhance the stimulating role of wages and salaries and the earnings of collective farmers, making these more dependent on the end results and higher efficiency of production.

Average wages and salaries of workers and employees will increase 16-18 per cent in the coming five years, rising to at least 170 roubles in 1980. The stimulating role of wages and salaries will be enhanced by the projected improvement of the wage rate system. The increase of minimum wages and salaries, and of the wages and salaries of the medium-income categories in the non-production sphere will be completed in the tenth five-year period, and a new stage will be launched in raising minimum wages, salaries and pay rates for workers and employees.

The Party's policy envisages a steady elimination of the essential socio-economic and cultural distinctions between town and country. In the coming five years collective farmers' incomes from social production are to rise 24-27 per cent, that is, they will grow more rapidly than the average wages of workers and employees. Earnings on collective farms will increase in accordance with the growth of labour productivity and the system of reimbursement will be improved by assuring equal pay for equally difficult, hard and intensive work on collective farms and at state agricultural enterprises.

In the five years, payments and benefits from social consumption funds will rise 28-30 per cent, mounting to at least 115,000 million roubles in 1980. A number of new social measures is planned, which will be financed out of these funds. One of these will be to afford women partly paid leave to attend to their infants until they are one year old. Of the other measures mention must be made of higher minimum old-age pensions for factory and office workers, and also for collective farmers, the introduction of pensions for former members of collective farms working in other branches of the national economy and an additional allow-

ance to first-group disability pensions for collective farmers.

The five-year plan envisages a high growth rate in trade; the turnover will increase 27-29 per cent. The population's effective demand for food and manufactured goods will be more fully satisfied. The supply of consumer durables will increase at an especially high rate, though even now TV sets, refrigerators and many other household appliances are in broad use in the everyday life of the urban and rural population.

The incomes are guaranteed by maintaining stable state retail prices for basic consumer items, and reducing the prices of some types of goods as the necessary conditions are secured and commodity stocks built up. This is one of the achievements of our planned economy, which is safeguarded from the influence of the inflation gripping all capitalist countries.

In the new five-year period mass-scale *housing development* will continue in the country. The Party regards improvement of the housing conditions of the working class, peasants and the intelligentsia as one of the main tasks in improving the people's well-being. As much as 545-550 million square metres of housing will open for tenancy during this period, the quality of house building will be raised and the amenities and planning of homes improved. On the whole, nearly 100,000 million roubles will be invested in housing and public utility construction. As before, most of the dwellings will be built by the state. At the same time, we shall encourage the development of housing co-operatives and individual house building in the smaller towns, workers' townships and rural areas.

Housing development has an immediate bearing on expanding the network of kindergartens and nurseries. Allocations for building child institutions will be directed first of all to areas with high female employment in social production, industrial centres and the new towns, especially in the east of the country.

In drawing up the five-year plan, the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the state planning committees of the Union Republics, and the building ministries should pay special attention to assuring a correct ratio between housing and public utility construction, preventing delays in laying water and gas mains, and in opening public transport lines and shopping facilities.

The humanism of our system, of our socialist society, is always, even in hard times, strikingly manifested in the concern shown *for the working conditions, health, and for raising educational and cultural standards* of Soviet people. Major social measures are envisaged in these fields in the tenth five-year period as well. To create more favourable conditions for highly productive labour and a broad use of the working people's creative abilities, we shall continue the course of furthering the mechanisation and automation of production processes and gradually eliminating hard and unattractive manual labour.

The role of social factors in expanding production and raising its efficiency will increase substantially in the new five-year period. The personnel's level of proficiency, a businesslike and constructive environment and a sound social and psychological climate in the collective, concern for the living conditions of staff members and creation of cultural institutions and sports facilities at enterprises—all this makes the life of people more interesting and meaningful and has a beneficial effect on the results of production.

In the domain of health protection one of the main tasks in the new five-year period is to raise the quality of the medical services, to improve the organisation of the work of doctors and middle-echelon medical personnel, and to raise the efficiency of medical institutions. These measures, coupled with an extension of the network of hospitals and polyclinics, health-building and sports centres, rest homes and holiday hotels will help to more fully meet the needs of the population in skilled medical assistance and to improve vacation facilities and disease prevention work.

A further development of the general school is envisaged in this five-year period. An ever larger number of young workers will be trained in technical schools, where vocational instruction is combined with a complete secondary education. More specialists will be trained for the national economy, especially in new fields of science and technology. The material resources and the academic process will be improved in educational establishments of all categories, so that the rising generation should be given increasingly thorough and lasting knowledge and educated in the spirit of communist consciousness and morality.

During the tenth five-year period, much will be done to satisfy the Soviet people's diverse spiritual requirements. More books and other printed matter will be published, television will reach new areas, all varieties of art and literature will be further developed and the material base of cultural establishments will be consolidated.

The supreme goal of the Party's economic policy is the ever fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's material and cultural requirements. This is the purpose of our plans, while simultaneously being an important premise for the further growth of production and its efficiency.

Comrades, the draft "Guidelines" provide for *further growth in the scale of production and balanced development of the national economy.*

The major indicators of the development of Soviet economy in the Tenth Five-Year period have been defined as follows:

	1975 thous. mln. rou- bles	1980 (estimate) thous. mln. roubles	Increase in 1976-1980	
			thous. mln. roubles	% as com- pared to 1975
National income (prices of 1973)	362	449—462	87—100	24—28
including:				
consumption fund	266	337—344	71—78	27—29
accumulation fund	96	112—118	16—22	17—23
Industrial output (prices for July 1, 1967)	523	710—729	187—206	35—39
including:				
Group "A" production	380	524—540	144—160	38—42
Group "B" production	143	186—189	43—46	30—32
Agricultural output (average annual volume in five years; prices of 1965)	91	104—106	13—15	14—17

The absolute increase of output in the key branches of the national economy in the new five-year period will be considerably greater than in the preceding five years: each percentage point of increase will have greater weight. Thus, a one per cent increase in industrial output stands for over 5,000 million roubles' worth of increase in volume,

or 40 per cent more than in the ninth five-year period, and 110 per cent more than in the eighth.

The tenth five-year period is another major stride in boosting the country's production potential and in consolidating the economic might of the Soviet state.

In order to fulfil the tasks set in raising the technical level of social production and ensuring the dynamic and efficient development of the whole economy, there is a need for considerable accumulations and a rapid growth in the production of the means of production: instruments of labour, chemical products, fuel and metals. Accordingly, *heavy industry* output is to go up by 38-42 per cent.

As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev said at the December Plenary Meeting, the priority growth of heavy industry does not mean that attention to the all-round expansion of consumer goods output is to be relaxed. In the five years, industry is to increase the output of consumer goods by 43,000-46,000 million roubles, as compared with an increase of 39,000 million roubles in the ninth five-year period. It is also indicative that the current consumption fund in the national income will grow faster than the accumulation fund, going up by 27-29 per cent by 1980, an increase of 71,000-78,000 million roubles over 1975.

The growth in the share of the consumption fund is an indicator of the growth of the end results of social production and of its rising efficiency. At the same time, it is convincing evidence of our socialist state's policy of peace.

In orienting national economic development to intensification, we must watch most scrupulously over the maintenance of *national-economic and sectoral proportions*. Consonant with this task is the continuation of the line towards a substantial *redistribution of accumulations in favour of agriculture*. From 1961 to 1970, capital investments in agriculture for the building of production facilities came to 110,000 million roubles, whereas from 1971 to 1980 they are to reach 260,000 million roubles. Their share in the total capital investments in the national economy is to go up from 18 per cent to 23 per cent. The five-year plan should contain a clear definition of the complex of measures for the mechanisation and accelerated chemicalisation of agriculture, and extension of land improvement works, combined with consistent efforts aimed at the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production.

The balanced development of the national economy should also be largely ensured by a rational *policy of capital investments* and resolute improvement of the whole practice of construction.

New construction should, as a rule, be started if it ensures the introduction of fundamentally new scientific and technical achievements. A growing share of capital investment should go into the technical re-equipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises. This will help substantially to increase the share of inputs into equipment, the active part of the fixed assets, to speed the start-up of production capacities, and more swiftly to switch to the production of new items at operating enterprises.

In the current five-year period and over the long term, *the country's reliable supply of raw material resources* has an important part to play in ensuring balanced economic growth. The Soviet Union has the largest, and frequently unique, deposits of valuable minerals. However, the dynamic development of the national economy results in a rapid growth of requirements in various types of mineral raw materials. Our plans will, as a rule, provide for a faster growth in proved mineral deposits, as compared with the pace of their extraction, in order to maintain production supply at an adequate level. This will help us, in future too, to guarantee the national economy against any shortages of energy and raw materials, and also against any attendant disproportions. The use of raw materials will simultaneously be improved.

The *rational use of manpower resources* is one of the main conditions for the proportional development of the Soviet economy during the tenth and subsequent five-year periods. The more dynamic the national economy, the faster the change in its sectoral and territorial structure, the more acute is the task of co-ordinating the development of material production and the non-production sphere with the availability of manpower resources. It should also be borne in mind that in the 1980s there will be a decline in the natural growth of manpower resources.

Consequently, in the interests both of the country's current and longer-term development, there is a need for an *all-round intensification of production, an acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and a growth in labour productivity* as the key factors in raising the efficiency of production and the people's living standard. The important

thing is to increase the returns from every unit of material, manpower and financial resources, and make efficient use of production assets. That is why these questions need to be thoroughly discussed at every enterprise, construction site, and state and collective farm, being duly included as items of socialist emulation. The solution of these problems is ultimately the most important thing for the successful fulfilment of the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The Party's economic policy is based on the assumption that if the national economy is to develop along the path of intensification, the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution need to be organically tied in with the advantages of the socialist economic system. *Science* has an important role to play in the fulfilment of this task.

Our planned economic system makes it possible to apply a *unified technical policy* in order to accelerate the intensification of social production. This should help to co-ordinate all the lines of scientific and technical development.

Among the lines of scientific and technological progress which have a special part to play in the tenth five-year period and which determine the perspectives of long-term economic development the following may be emphasised:

in the production of instruments of labour—raising the unit capacity of machines and assemblies, switching from the development and introduction of individual machines to the development and introduction of machine systems covering the whole technological process, mechanisation and automation of labour-intensive areas of production, above all in industries where considerable numbers of workers are engaged in arduous manual labour, and also in underground and health-hazardous operations;

in the improvement of technological processes—development of progressive technology involving a small number of operations (for instance, furnaceless metallurgy, spindleless spinning and shuttleless weaving) and technology helping to make maximum economies in primary raw and other materials and fuel, and to protect the environment;

in the power industry—stepped-up development of nuclear power plants, construction of hydroelectric power stations (taking into account the needs of irrigation) and superpowerful thermal electric power stations operating on low-cost coal; the development of powerful and more economical turbogenerators;

in the production of materials—increasing the production of high-grade steels, especially with the use of electroslag and vacuum melting methods; extension of the assortment of rolled stock, increase in the share of aluminium, titanium, and polymers in the overall output of structural materials, and the production of synthetic materials with pre-set properties.

Together with the improvement of established technological processes, reserves are to be built up in fundamentally new equipment and technology. Research into and development of problems which determine the future of the economy should be intensified. In the power industry, for instance, there is a growing need to carry on research into problems arising from the direct conversion of thermal, and subsequently also of atomic, energy into electric energy. Our scientists will also work to speed the solution of problems like controlled thermonuclear reaction and superconductivity.

The efficiency of social production is not only a scientific-technological or production-economic problem but also a major social problem. It is up to everyone engaged in the national economy to observe strict *economy*. In present-day conditions, special importance attaches to Lenin's idea that communism begins with the working people's day-to-day concern for every pood (16 kg) of metal and grain, and for higher labour productivity. The Report of the Central Committee to the Congress puts this as follows: "However speedily our society's wealth may grow, strict economy and thrift remain a cardinal condition of national economic development and of raising the people's living standard."

Social scientists are expected to do much in elaborating the key national-economic and social questions.

The technical policy to be pursued during the tenth five-year period is to create conditions for increasing output per rouble of fixed assets, in other words, the *growth of the product-asset* ratio. Over the five years, an increase of output from the available fixed assets by only one per cent would yield an additional national income equal to the cost of housing for 2-2.5 million families. The task in the new five-year period is to improve the use of the existing production capacities, raise the shift ratio where it is expedient, and reduce idle time of equipment.

In order to reduce the *material intensiveness of produc-*

tion in every industry we envisage an important swing to material-saving designs and technologies. The task is to bring about a more thorough and comprehensive processing of raw material resources, non-ferrous metal ores and timber in the first place, and also priority manufacture of equipment which helps to save fuel and raw materials and other materials. The plan also provides for the extended manufacture of intermediate and other products in a form which does not require considerable subsequent treatment.

And, of course, special attention should be given to the *growth of labour productivity*. For the national economy as a whole it is to go up by roughly 27 per cent, as compared with the 23 per cent from 1971 to 1975. This is tantamount to saving the labour-power of 26 million workers. You will realise that the task is a big one. In order to fulfil it, we intend to raise the assets-per-worker level in industry by 37 per cent and in agriculture by 59 per cent. The higher productivity of social labour should account for 85-90 per cent of the national income growth. The growth of labour productivity alone will help increase the volume of building and assembly operations, extend production in agriculture, and in a number of major industrial centres, like Moscow and Leningrad; at the existing enterprises, output should, as a rule, be increased with the same or smaller number of workers. It is equally important resolutely to improve labour organisation, to eliminate losses in working time, and to improve production discipline.

The draft "Guidelines" map out the ways for *further improvement of planning and management, of the whole economic mechanism*. You will recall that the 24th Congress of the CPSU devoted much attention to these questions. Since then, definite work has been done to fulfil the Congress decisions. But the further improvement of organisation and management in accordance with the objective requirements of our development continues to be a pressing task. As Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has emphasised, "we are ... obliged to regard the measures to improve economic management as a major reserve, whose utilisation will help to carry out the Tenth Five-Year Plan successfully".

In the new five-year period, the task of the planning agencies, ministries and departments, the task of economic science is substantially to enhance the role of the plan's quality indicators, by raising the efficiency of social production.

Of course, the system of quality indicators requires that many economic questions should be reflected and presented in the plan in forms other than those we have used up to now. The measures aimed to raise the quality of products must be comprehensive and cover improvement in the quality of primary raw materials and other materials, perfection of technology, and better finishing of the end product and preparing it for consumption. There should be a steady effort to find indicators helping to intensify the influence of the plan in raising the technical level of production and its quality, accelerating the rate of labour productivity growth, and assuring a more economical use of fixed assets and material and financial resources. All of this should be envisaged in the five-year economic development plan and in the plans of ministries, associations and enterprises.

The organic link-up of all the sections of the plan and of all the branches of material production with advanced *science* must permeate the whole plan. The plan will provide for advances both in fundamental research and in the solution of applied problems bearing directly on scientific and technological progress. One of our cardinal tasks is the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical achievements in production. Without this, the economy can no longer successfully advance along the path of intensification and quality improvement.

For the new five-year plan we have elaborated for the first time concrete programmes to resolve the key scientific and technical problems which determine the whole complex of necessary work, including measures for the introduction of new machinery in industry. The targets they envisage must be backed up with resources, and tied in with the plans for production, capital construction and material and technical supply. The State Committee for Science and Technology must ensure systematic control over the fulfilment of these programmes.

The formulation of comprehensive programmes on the key scientific, technical, economic and social problems must become an important aspect in the improvement of planning. The comprehensive programmes will help to concentrate resources, within the framework of the overall national-economic plan, on solving the key problems and successfully resolve inter-sectoral questions. In the tenth five-year period, the State Planning Committee of the USSR should elaborate comprehensive programmes in line with the secto-

ral and territorial aspects of the national-economic plan. Among the priority tasks is the elaboration of a programme for developing the production base of the nuclear power industry, a programme for mechanising manual and arduous physical labour, and programmes for shaping large-scale territorial and production complexes.

We have already done much preparatory work for the compilation of the new five-year plan. The draft "Guidelines" present a number of questions of national economic development in more concrete terms than was the case before the preceding five-year period. The plan for 1976, the first year of the tenth five-year period, has been approved. Planning agencies now take less time to draw up the five-year plan with a break-down by years, while simultaneously drawing up the economic development plan for 1977. This is of fundamental importance because it will help to overcome one of the major shortcomings in our planning, namely, the practice of drafting national-economic plans over a lengthy period, as a result of which planning agencies, and consequently also the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, ministries and departments and all the economic management organs in the country tended to relax their control over plan fulfilment, a fact to which the Report of the CPSU Central Committee draws serious attention.

Proceeding from the new tasks set in the draft "Guidelines", the State Planning Committee of the USSR must give more attention to working out the basic proportions in the development of the national economy, to producing a balanced plan, drawing up comprehensive programmes, solving problems of economic regionalisation and the location of productive forces, and determining ways of raising the efficiency of social production. If it is to tackle this work creatively and in depth, the State Planning Committee must be released from many of its current concerns, which could be handled by the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, ministries and other agencies.

In the tenth five-year period, the line worked out by the Party for improving the *organisational structure of management* is to be continued. The general schemes for the management of some industries have already been approved. In these industries, production and industrial associations are being set up, chief administrations have been abolished, and the number of tiers in management has been reduced. At the beginning of 1976, there were 2,300 production

and scientific-production associations, accounting for 24 per cent of industrial output. The establishment of production associations in industry is to be completed in the tenth five-year period. These associations are a qualitatively new phenomenon in the management of industrial production. They are not a mechanical agglomeration of enterprises, but a coherent production-economic complex in which science and production form an integral whole and specialisation and co-operation are extensively developed.

In the tenth five-year period, general schemes for management in capital construction should be worked out and introduced. They should envisage a gradual switch of construction ministries to the two- and three-tier systems of management, and the establishment of large-scale specialised building and assembly associations. There is to be an extensive development of inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration in agriculture, and the establishment of large-scale specialised enterprises and associations on that basis. The relevant regulations governing their activity need to be worked out and adopted.

The establishment of production associations in industry, the amalgamation of building and assembly organisations, inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration in agriculture are in line with the specific features of the present stage in the development of the economy and help to improve the organisational structure of the national economy and management.

One of the main aims in the further improvement of the economic mechanism must be consistent orientation to bettering the end results in production and construction: the fulfilment of delivery plans in accordance with contracts, making operational completed projects, and a more efficient use of material, manpower and financial resources. Special emphasis should be laid on the scrupulous fulfilment of targets for co-operated deliveries, something that largely determines the smooth operation of the whole of industry and the efficient use of production facilities.

For this purpose we plan to complete the switch of associations and enterprises engaged in mass and large-volume production to direct and long-term ties, basing their relations on long-term economic contracts, and also to make the size of economic incentive funds and bonuses more dependent on the fulfilment of delivery plans in accordance with contracts and orders. Practical realisation of this task

requires that important changes be made in the work of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its agencies, and of ministries and departments, all of which must bear greater responsibility for meeting the needs of the national economy.

In the light of the new situation and the new tasks, *other aspects of our economic mechanism* will also be improved. The establishment of production associations makes it possible to enhance the role of stable (five-year) economic rates and standards, like charges for assets and other payments into the budget, rates of profit distribution, and formation of the payroll fund.

It should be noted that the growing role of economic levers in the planned management of the national economy over the past few years has markedly increased the stake of enterprises and associations in the better use of production resources and higher profitability. In the ninth five-year period, nearly 500,000 million roubles of profit were received, and this is 50 per cent more than in the eighth five-year period. This has helped to extend and consolidate the revenue sources of the USSR State Budget, and to improve their structure, and also to increase the influence of the budget in improving the financial results of the activity of enterprises and associations. Over 100,000 million roubles from the profits and other sources of enterprises and associations went into the formation of economic incentive funds. These were used to develop and carry out the technical re-equipment of production, to pay bonuses and rewards, and to improve the amenities of working people's social and everyday life.

Still larger funds are to be allocated for these purposes in the tenth five-year period. The task is to see that they are used with high efficiency, that at every enterprise and association their size should directly depend on the results achieved in intensifying production, raising labour productivity, improving quality and accelerating technical progress. Another important point is that these resources at enterprises and associations should be used for the purposes for which they are earmarked, instead of being diverted to other needs.

With an overall improvement of economic profitability indicators, we still have quite a number of enterprises and lines of production continuing to operate at a loss. In 1975,

18 per cent of enterprises in industry failed to fulfil their profit plans.

In the effort to raise the efficiency of economic activity, the wages and bonus system should play an ever greater part. There is to be a more extensive application of progressive forms of material incentives, in particular, remuneration of labour for end products or completed projects, systems without the use of job orders, and stimulation of greater output of high-quality products with a fewer number of workers. Bonuses should promote, more than they do at present, the boosting of labour productivity, the speediest bringing of enterprises to their rated capacities, improvement in the use of the existing equipment, introduction of new equipment, economic use of primary materials and other materials, and higher quality of products.

In order to consolidate the profit-and-loss accounting system, there is also a need to make the financial and credit mechanism more efficient. At present, every second rouble of circulating assets in industry comes from credit, with the share of credit in agriculture, trade and other branches being even higher. The task in the tenth five-year period is to raise the role and efficiency of credits in the rational use of production resources, in accelerating labour productivity growth, cutting production costs and using reserves in production. Credit relations must be more broadly developed in the sphere of construction, in particular through the extension of long-term credits to customers. This will help to stimulate the reconstruction and re-equipment of operating enterprises, especially for the purpose of expanding the production of consumer goods and extending services to the population.

The further improvement of monetary circulation in the country and the stability of the purchasing power of the Soviet rouble are to be ensured through the balanced development of the national economy, the growing turnover of goods and the stability of prices.

In improving the economic mechanism, the Party has always attached importance to the development of *initiative and socialist enterprise* among economic cadres. What the modern Soviet economic executive should be concerned with is the active use of new scientific and technical approaches, advanced methods in the organisation of labour and management, the creative quest for reserves in production and thorough consideration of the changing requirements and

demand. He must have a sense of innovation, be aware of the lines of perspective and take his decisions with a Party approach and with full knowledge of his business and, of course, act as an educator in the collective and as an organiser of production.

In order to raise the responsibility of economic executives for the fulfilment of state assignments and contractual obligations and for high standards of workmanship, there is a need more broadly to develop criticism and self-criticism, improve control and verification of fulfilment, and steadily to cultivate the Leninist style of work in every echelon of economic management.

The lofty aims set by the Party before the country in the tenth five-year period give rise to many new phenomena in the life of our society. This is especially characteristic of mass *socialist emulation* and the movement for a communist attitude to work, which have become effective methods used by the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia to influence every aspect of economic activity. Prior to the Congress workers in industry, construction, transport, agriculture and all the other branches of the economy started a broad emulation campaign for raising the efficiency of production and standards of workmanship in order further to boost the economy and increase the people's well-being.

A very important condition for the fulfilment of the five-year plan tasks is that there should be expanding emulation between the enterprises supplying primary materials and other materials and accessories and the factories making finished products. This enhances the overall impact of the emulation movement on the fulfilment and overfulfilment of economic tasks and allows for an improvement in quality at all stages of production—from primary materials to the end product.

In their decision on the nationwide socialist emulation movement the Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of the YCL set the important task of providing the necessary conditions for the successful fulfilment of socialist commitments and upwardly revised plans. This devolves considerable responsibility on planning and supply organs, ministries and departments, which must quickly and competently respond

to the initiatives of work collectives undertaking bigger commitments.

A characteristic feature of the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be the greater involvement of our national economy in the international division of labour and the further transfer of *external economic co-operation* to a long-term basis. For that reason enhancement of the efficacy of external economic relations is likewise becoming one of our major tasks. In order to carry out this task we intend to expand the country's export potential systematically on the basis of traditional goods and also of new types of products. For this the Soviet economy has very large potentialities, and the ministries and departments must adopt a state approach to the implementation of this important task and systematically institute measures designed to increase output and improve the quality and competitiveness of our exports. Since foreign trade has become a major branch of the national economy the problem arises of setting up a number of export-oriented industries to meet the specific requirements of foreign markets. This could help to increase the benefits of foreign trade and enhance its useful effect on the national economy as a whole.

In the sphere of imports the main thing is that their development should facilitate to the maximum the acceleration of technological progress, serve the purpose of ever more fully satisfying the Soviet people's demand for various goods and conform to the economic strategy laid down in the state plan. This must be an object of constant attention on the part of not only the central planning and foreign trade organs but also of all the other ministries and departments, which, in taking decisions on matters relating to foreign trade, must likewise be guided by criteria of economic efficacy.

The expansion of external economic relations with all countries is consonant with our Party's policy in international affairs.

We shall continue devoting paramount attention to promoting and strengthening co-operation *with socialist countries*. The 20-year Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration and the Co-ordinated Plan for Multilateral Integration Measures, first adopted by CMEA at its session in the summer of 1975, are becoming increasingly important for our co-operation. Some key economic problems must be solved by common, concerted efforts on

the basis of long-term special programmes for co-operation, whose elaboration is to be started by the socialist countries in the immediate future. The utmost expansion of co-operation and specialisation in industry is a major task. The ministries and departments must give it their closest attention.

Our trade with the fraternal socialist countries is of a special nature and reflects the durable economic links established in the course of socialist construction and mutual co-operation. These links, whose dependability is guaranteed by the political unity and friendship of the countries of the socialist community, serve as a means of obtaining the primary materials and other materials, equipment and scientific and technical know-how needed for the rapid and steady growth of the economies of all the fraternal countries.

The Soviet Union wishes its co-operation *with the developing countries* to take the form of a stable and mutually advantageous division of labour. These aims are served by the treaties and agreements on long-term economic co-operation signed in recent years with a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries. We shall expand co-operation with the developing countries on democratic and just principles and help them to strengthen their economic independence.

In the conditions of detente new qualitative aspects are being acquired by our economic relations *with the developed capitalist countries*, relations that can develop successfully on the basis of the principles set forth in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We shall continue the practice of signing large-scale agreements on co-operation in the building of industrial projects in our country and on the participation of Soviet organisations in the building of industrial enterprises in Western countries. Compensation agreements, especially those covering projects with a short recouperment period, various forms of industrial co-operation and joint research and development are promising forms of co-operation.

Of course, our trade and economic relations will develop faster with those countries which will show a sincere desire for co-operation and concern to ensure normal and equitable conditions for its development. Only in this case is it possible to maintain really broad and durable economic relations, which will be reflected in our economic plans.

Comrades, the social and economic tasks set in the draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy

of the USSR for 1976-1980" are fully consistent with the Party's policy at the present stage of communist construction. The further raising of the people's living standard, the intensification of production and the improvement of the quality of work are, at the same time, long-term tasks that will continue to be worked upon also beyond the limits of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. Society will always be faced with them as with the problems of development and progress generally. As regards the Tenth Five-Year Plan period its specific is that precisely during these years we must do everything possible to complete the transition to the priority use in our economy of intensive, qualitative factors of the growth of social production.

III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION THROUGH THE ENHANCEMENT OF EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY

In accordance with the socio-economic tasks of the five-year period the draft "Guidelines" contain a programme for the further promotion of material production, an improvement of its structure and attainment of a higher quality and technical level of products. As to the scale of the total growth of social production the Tenth Five-Year Plan period will greatly exceed any previous five-year period.

During the next five years industrial output is to increase 35-39 per cent. Heavy industry will entirely retain its decisive importance, particularly in the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. Output in the Group "A" industries is to grow by 38-42 per cent. Here are some data on the growth of output of major products of heavy industry (see Table on page 146).

Important tasks have been set for every branch of industry. Arduous as they are, the planned tasks are realistic and, given skilful management, can be overfulfilled.

The *engineering industry*, above all the production of implements of labour, which is to grow by about 60 per cent during the next five years, plays a role of paramount importance in raising the technical level and improving the quality indicators of all branches of material production. Provision is made for the priority growth of the atomic, metallurgical and chemical engineering industries and also of some branches of the electrical engineering, radio electronics, machine-tool and instrument-making industries. The foundation will thereby be created for great qualitative

	Volume of production		Increment in the 10th Five-Year Plan period	
	1975	1980 according to the draft "Guidelines"	absolute	per cent of 1975
Electricity—thous. mln. kWh	1,038	1,340—1,380	302—342	29—33
Coal—mln. tons	701	790—810	89—109	13—16
Oil (including gas condensate)—mln. tons	491	620—640	129—149	26—30
Gas—thous. mln. cu m	289	400—435	111—146	38—50
Steel—mln. tons	141	160—170	19—29	13—20
Rolled ferrous metals (finished)—mln. tons	98.6	115—120	16—21	17—22
Metal-cutting lathes—mln. roubles	1,492	2,245	753	50
thous. pcs	232	245	13	6
Forges and presses—mln. roubles	397	680	283	71
thous. pcs	50.5	58	7	15
Mineral fertilizer (conventional units)—mln. tons	90	143	53	59
Synthetic resins and plastics—thous. tons	2,840	5,396—5,964	2,556—3,124	90—110
Chemical fibres and threads—thous. tons	955	1,450—1,500	495—545	52—57
Cellulose—thous. tons	6,840	9,230	2,390	35
Cement—mln. tons	121 *	143—146	22.1—25.1	18—21

* Not including the output of enterprises of inter-farm organisations.

changes in the development of all branches of the national economy.

A unified technical policy makes a number of general demands on the engineering industry, demands that have already been mentioned. They orientate our industry to the accelerated development of machinery embodying the latest discoveries and inventions and yielding a high economic

effect. I should like to emphasise once again that in the five-year plan we shall have to provide for special assignments for the production of machines that drastically reduce manual work and ensure higher labour productivity in all industries. The output of means of mechanisation of arduous, labour-consuming work in building, cargo handling and warehouse operations is to be approximately doubled.

The tasks are complex but we are able to cope with them. The lathe stock of our engineering industry has been considerably renewed. According to the statistics for recent years, the number of machine tools aged up to ten years comprised roughly 57 per cent of the total, and press and forge equipment 55 per cent. This is more than in many of industrially developed countries of the West. During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period there is to be a faster rate of output of automated foundry, press and forge and welding machines, production lines and sets of equipment for the production of high-precision blanks. Production is to be organised of blank-making equipment with the use of new, including combined methods (such as electric-slag casting, cast-stamping, weld-stamping, powder metallurgy and so on), making it possible to produce shaped blanks close in size to the end product and thereby manufacture articles with practically no losses in metal.

Automated production lines that can be quickly readjusted for the production of items of various sizes are to be manufactured for large-scale and mass production industries. As a result, in future it will be possible to master the manufacture of new models of motor vehicles, tractors and other machines and equipment more quickly and with considerably smaller inputs.

I shall deal briefly with the most important tasks facing some branches of our engineering industry.

The creation of a branch manufacturing machines for atomic power stations was started during the past five years in our *electrical machine-building industry*. Atomic machine-building is to develop at a faster rate in the coming years. In addition to the manufacture of 1,000-megawatt reactors the industry is to develop complete sets of atomic power unit equipment with 1,500 megawatt reactors. The power machine-building industry is to manufacture turbines and generators with a capacity of 500, 800 and 1,000-1,200 megawatts and steam-gas installations with a capacity of up to 250 megawatts.

During the next five years the *farm machines industry* will manufacture nearly 50 per cent more machines than in the past five years. For agriculture it will increase the output of more powerful, 300 and 150 hp tractors. There is to be a considerable increase in the manufacture of the self-propelled Kolos, Niva and Sibiryak grain combine harvesters, whose production was started during the past five years and whose capacity is to be from 50 to 100 per cent higher than that of the combine harvesters produced formerly. Provision has been made for measures ensuring a further enhancement of the reliability and longevity of machines and an improvement of their operational characteristics. The serial production of sets of trailer implements for powerful tractors is to be started and there is to be an increase in the output of machinery for the cultivation and harvesting of cotton, sugar-beet, potatoes and other vegetables, and also of sets of equipment for large livestock-breeding farms and complexes. Our farm machines industry will have to master the manufacture of new equipment for feed storing and preparation. This is an important and essentially new task, the implementation of which will make it possible to organise work in such a way that livestock will be given only processed or prepared feeds. This will greatly enhance their effectiveness.

The production of *equipment for the metallurgical industry is to be expanded*. For this purpose we are allocating 140 per cent more funds than during the past five-year period. There is to be a considerable increase in the output of rolling equipment, continuous steel pouring installations, oxygen converters with a capacity of up to 400 tons, more than doubling labour productivity, and new automated pipe-welding and pipe-rolling mills. The development of the heavy engineering industry will help to satisfy our internal requirements and carry out our commitments for the delivery of metallurgical equipment to other countries. There must be a substantial expansion of the production of ore extraction and concentration equipment, well-drilling equipment and means of transporting oil and gas.

In order to supply industry with up-to-date equipment, to introduce the latest technological processes on a broad scale and use systems for inspecting the quality of output it will be necessary to develop the manufacture of modern high-speed computers, instruments, radio-electronic apparatuses and laser and other up-to-date equipment. This

confronts the *radio-engineering, electronics, instrument-making and precision machines industries* with important tasks. During the five-year period the output of instruments and means of automation is to grow 60-70 per cent.

In the *chemical and oil machines industries* it is planned to begin and master the output of promising types of equipment and apparatuses for new highly economical technological processes in the chemical, oil, gas and pulp and paper industries. The output of basic types of equipment is to grow by 50-60 per cent.

Many fundamentally new types of *equipment* are to be developed for the *light and food industries*. Instead of spindle spinning machines and shuttle looms mass production is to be started of new spindleless spinning machines that reduce labour consumption 50-60 per cent, and shuttleless looms that cut labour consumption 33-50 per cent while considerably diminishing the noise level. The production of automated complexes is to be started for automated enterprises of the food industry.

The fuel and energy complex. The Soviet Union is the only major industrial state in the world that depends for its economic development on its own fuel and energy resources. This is an essential advantage of our economy and an extremely important condition for its stable growth, but in order to make full use of this advantage it is necessary to ensure the rational and economical utilisation of resources. During the next five years the foundation will be laid for ensuring the growth of our energy potential mainly on the basis of hydropower, atomic fuel and cheap coal. As regards oil and gas, the increment in their output will be increasingly channeled for technological requirements. Accordingly, with the commissioning of new power capacities totalling 67-70 million kilowatts the contribution from atomic and hydropower stations will increase from 22 per cent in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period to almost 40 per cent. Coal will play a greater role in supplying the country, particularly its eastern regions, with fuel and electric power.

During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period there will be a considerable expansion in the use of Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk coal for the production of electric power, while some of the large thermal power stations in the Urals and the Volga area will be switched from the use of fuel oil to coal. For this we are planning the further development of the coal industry, especially an increase in the output of

coal by the open-cast method in the Ekibastuz, Kansk-Achinsk, Kuznetsk and the South Yakutia basins. The technical re-equipment of mines will be continued, productivity increased and working conditions improved by comprehensively mechanising and automating the country's operating coal basins. Open-cast mining, which is the most economical method, will account for 60 per cent of the total increment in the country's coal output. Compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan period the output of gas will increase approximately 50 per cent, while its consumption for technological purposes will grow by about 100 per cent. Oil processing will increase 25-30 per cent.

The remoteness of the main sources of gas from the consumption centres and the harsh natural conditions along the routes of the gas pipelines make it vital to create large underground capacities for storing gas for use in winter. This will require considerably smaller outlays and make it possible to save a large quantity of metal and ensure an uninterrupted supply of natural gas to power plants, chemical industries utilities and other services. For that reason the plans must provide for the extension of underground gas storage facilities and the building of new ones in the Moscow and Leningrad regions, in the Ukraine, in the Soviet Baltic republics and Transcaucasia.

A more effective solution of the problem of the fuel and power pattern of the European part of the USSR and the Urals is of special importance. In order to satisfy this huge region's rapidly growing fuel and electric power requirements it will be necessary to launch a programme for the building of atomic power stations with an aggregate capacity of 13-15 million kw and, at the same time, speed up the construction of large thermal power stations in the coal-rich areas of Siberia and Kazakhstan with the purpose of transmitting electricity from them to the Integrated Power Grid of the European part of the Soviet Union.

By 1980 the implementation of the measures aimed at improving the structure of the fuel and power pattern and more rationally utilising all kinds of fuel and power must yield a saving of over 150 million tons in terms of conventional fuel. These measures will make it possible to ensure a normal supply of power for the country and create the conditions for the stable growth of all branches of the national economy.

The intensification of the economy and the enhancement of its efficiency make high demands on branches such as the *ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical and chemical industries*, which supply the economy with construction materials. They will have important tasks to fulfil in the new five-year plan period.

In the ferrous metallurgical industry the output of the most economical kinds of metal products is to increase 50-100 per cent and there is to be a growth of the output of high-grade steels. The industry will be technically re-equipped by introducing up-to-date steel-smelting processes—oxygen-converter and electric smelting—the building of blast furnaces, each with a capacity of 5,000 cubic metres, large converters with a capacity of up to 400 tons, highly efficient automated rolling mills and other large-capacity units. The Oskol Electro-Metallurgical Combine, which will produce steel through the direct reduction of iron ore, without blast-furnace processing, will be put into operation.

In the non-ferrous metallurgical industry provision is made for the continued growth of the output of aluminium, copper, nickel, titanium and other vital products. Considerable funds are earmarked for this industry to overcome the lagging behind of its raw material supply base. At the same time fuller use is to be made of untapped production potentials, especially through a more exhaustive extraction of useful components from primary materials and the comprehensive processing of these materials.

Extremely important tasks are planned for the *chemical industry*. In 1980 the output of mineral fertilisers is to reach 143 million tons, or nearly 60 per cent more than in 1975. The production of the most up-to-date kinds of polymer materials is to be more than doubled. The production of synthetic rubber and fibres is to grow at a rapid rate. This development of the chemical industry presupposes the eradication of the considerable intrabranched imbalances, and the technical re-equipment of factories through the installation of equipment with a large unit capacity and the introduction of new technological processes.

In the timber, woodworking and pulp and paper industries the main task is to raise the level of mechanisation in timber-felling and improve the use of felled timber. The necessary measures will be included in the economic development plan. With an increase of only 2 per cent in

the felling of timber, the production of chip and wood-fibre boards is to increase 60-85 per cent, of pulp 35 per cent and of furniture 40-50 per cent. Provision is made for the further development of production and an improvement in the quality of newsprint and printing paper.

In the building materials and construction elements industry the task is, first and foremost, to increase the output of prefabricated elements and units needed to switch construction to continuous processes of entirely mechanised assemblage of buildings and structures on a more massive scale.

The scale of economic activity in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period and the specifics of the modern technological processes used in industry, particularly in branches such as metallurgy and the chemical industry, require special measures to *protect the environment*. Large allocations are envisaged in most industries for these purposes. New methods and means of controlling the ejection of noxious waste into the atmosphere are to be used and provision is being made for the comprehensive and rational use and protection of water and forest resources. All industries are to be switched to the utilisation of recycled water. For instance, in the chemical industry, despite the considerable growth of production, the discharge of industrial effluent into rivers and lakes and the ejection of noxious waste into the atmosphere will be reduced, while the utilisation of fresh water for industrial purposes in 1980 will remain at the 1975 level. The rational use of water, a valuable natural resource, is a major economic problem. Our country has large water resources, but they are very unevenly distributed. The water requirements are growing very rapidly, but the projects for inter-regional rechannelling of water will require not only considerable investments but also a long time. For that reason more attention must be given to measures aimed at reducing the consumption of water. There are large potentials for saving water resources in agriculture, where exceptionally large quantities of water are used for irrigation. These potentials must be utilised. At the same time, during the Tenth Five-Year Plan period we must begin research into a major problem such as the redirection of part of the flow of Northern and Siberian rivers to the Volga basin, Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

The priority growth envisaged for Group A industries in the draft "Guidelines" is directly linked with the tasks set by the Party for a fundamental restructuring of agriculture, switching it to an industrial foundation and continuing to increase the output of consumer goods.

Agriculture. Agriculture is accorded a special place in the Report of the Central Committee. The consistent and steadfast implementation of the Party's agrarian policy, mapped out by the CPSU Central Committee at its Plenary Meeting in March 1965, is one of the main orientations of our entire work in the coming five years. The aim of our agrarian policy was clearly stated in the Report delivered by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev at this Congress. This aim is to turn agriculture into a highly efficient and highly productive branch, substantially enhance the dependability of the country's supply of farm produce, improve its quality, diminish the dependence of this key branch of the national economy on the weather and make considerable headway in further reducing the disparities between the conditions of life in town and countryside.

It is planned to increase the average annual output of farm produce in 1976-1980 in the following proportions:

	Average annual output in 1976-1980	Average annual increase during the 10th Five-Year Plan period	
		in absolute figures	per cent
Gross agricultural output (thous. mln. roubles)	104—106	13—15	14—17
Major farm products:			
grain (mln. tons)	215—220	33.5—38.5	18—21
sunflower seed (mln. tons)	7.6	1.6	27
sugar-beet (for factory processing, mln. tons)	95—98	19—22	25—29
raw cotton (mln. tons)	8.5	0.8	11
meat (slaughter weight, mln. tons)	15.0—15.6	0.9—1.5	7—11
milk (mln. tons)	94—96	6.5—8.5	7—10
eggs (thous. mln.)	58—61	6.5—9.5	13—18

Under the Tenth Five-Year Plan agriculture is to receive allocations amounting to 171,700 million roubles, or more

than one-fourth of the total investments. Besides, large funds are being allocated to industries supplying agriculture with machinery, fertilisers and other material and technical resources.

The collective and state farms will receive a large quantity of new machinery and means of transport:

	Volume of deliveries		Growth of deliveries during the 10th Five-Year Plan in %
	1971-1975	1976-1980	
Agricultural machinery (thous. mln. roubles)	15.8	23	46
Including machinery for animal husbandry and fodder production (thous. mln. roubles)	6.7	10.3	54
Grain combine harvesters (thous. units)	449	538	20
Tractors (thous. units)	1,700	1,900	12
(mln. hp)	119.5	158.7	33
Trucks and specialised motor vehicles (thous. units)	1,102	1,350	23

Our industry will increase the output of faster and more powerful tractors, which will be provided with the full set of farm implements. As a result, per worker power in agriculture will increase from 17 hp in 1975 to 28 hp in 1980. This will make it possible to come close to completing the comprehensive mechanisation of the grain economy and sugar-beet growing and considerably raise the mechanisation level in the cultivation and harvesting of other crops, and in livestock-breeding and the production of fodder.

Much will be done to enlarge the fodder resources for livestock-breeding. It is planned to increase the output of mixed feeds to approximately 80 million tons in 1980 as compared with the 45 million tons in 1975. For the production of feeds provision is made for the large-scale use of improved land and for enlarging the area sown to protein-rich crops. Moreover, attention must be paid to enhancing the productivity of natural hayfields, which can be doubled

or even trebled with relatively small outlays. Another major orientation in the promotion of livestock-breeding is its transfer to a new technical base and the introduction of industrial technology for the output of livestock-breeding products at new enterprises and at existing livestock-breeding farms through their reconstruction.

The consumption of the most valuable food products, in particular, meat and milk, will continue to rise in our country. This is the task set by the Party for the coming five years and for a longer term. To carry it out successfully, it is necessary first of all to raise the productivity of livestock farming on collective and state farms. For this reason the annual and five-year plans of each collective and state farm, each district, region and republic should be drawn up in such a way as to have adequate fodder resources for the livestock in the next five years and also to create the necessary fodder resources for the eventuality of unfavourable weather conditions. This is one of the most important tasks.

Immense possibilities for expanding and intensifying agriculture are offered by land improvement. By 1980 the production of grain, sugar-beet, soya beans, vegetables, fruit and other farm produce will increase substantially on improved land, which assures high and stable yields. It is very important to make the outlays for land improvement more effective. The present average grain yields of just 2.5 tons per hectare of irrigated land are well below the potentialities of irrigation farming. Yields can be substantially increased on irrigated land through better and more comprehensive land improvement, and also by developing special varieties of grain and other crops.

Yields will also be raised, on a broad scale, through the chemicalisation of agriculture. In the coming five years agriculture will be supplied with 467 million tons of mineral fertiliser, or 50 per cent more than in 1971-1975, and the production of herbicides and insecticides, too, will be increased.

Thus, the input into agricultural development will be very substantial in the tenth five-year period.

It is planned to raise average annual agricultural output by 14-17 per cent by implementing measures envisaged in the five-year plan. The average annual grain crop is to go up by 18-21 per cent, amounting to an annual 215-220 million tons in 1976-1980. The projected targets

should be regarded as minimal, since the earmarked material and technical resources assure higher results in favourable weather conditions.

It should be stressed that the production increase is to be secured first of all by raising the yield of all farm crops and the productivity of livestock. While yields of the basic grain and some other crops showed a rise in the past five years, the potato and sunflower-seed yields showed practically no growth, and the yields of sugar-beet and buckwheat even declined. To be sure, this is partly due to adverse weather conditions. But we should not blame everything on weather alone. We face the great task of raising the standard of crop farming. An important role in this must be played by science, which must evolve and introduce on collective and state farms new high-yield crop varieties and hybrids suiting the requirements of intensification of production. It should be admitted that the work of research institutions and agricultural agencies in this field falls short of our potentialities.

In the tenth five-year period important measures must be carried out everywhere to improve the use of machinery on collective and state farms, to eliminate the waste of mineral fertilisers, and to enhance the standard of technical and agrochemical services.

Raising the quality of products is a serious problem facing agriculture. Large quantities of grain delivered to the state are still below standards. And in a number of areas, the sugar content of beet has dropped in recent years. The Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR Ministry of State Purchases must provide for effective measures in this respect in the draft of the five-year plan.

Considerable attention will be devoted to the specialisation and concentration of farming on the basis of inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration. This, as Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev has pointed out, is the main avenue of our agricultural development. All the economic indicators, including labour productivity, are usually considerably higher on specialised farms. Much work faces us in this area, and in many ways its success will be facilitated by a correct system of allocating purchase orders for farm products. Not only will the transfer of agricultural production to an industrial basis create the best possible conditions for introducing advanced machinery and

techniques; it will also greatly benefit the further socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

Closely linked with agriculture is the development of the *light and food industries*, whose output in the tenth five-year period is to rise by 26-28 per cent. On the whole, output in the consumer industries will go up by 30-32 per cent.

The growth of output will be as follows:

	Volume of output		Absolute growth under the 10th Five-Year Plan	Per cent of 1975
	1975	1980 as envisaged by the draft "Guidelines"		
Light industry output (thous. mln. roubles)	79	99—101	20—22	26—28
Cultural and household goods (thous. mln. roubles)	22	35	13	57
Food industry output (thous. mln. roubles)	46	58—59	12—13	26—28
Output of the meat and dairy industry (thous. mln. roubles)	39	47—48	8—9	20—22
Commercial fish foods (including canned fish, thous. mln. roubles)	3.8	5.0—5.1	1.15—1.23	30—32

Large funds were appropriated in the ninth five-year period for the development of light industry and other industries making consumer goods. As a result, many of the commodities that had only recently been in short supply are now available in adequate quantities. Some progress has also been made in raising the quality of commodities. But as the living standard of the Soviet people rises, the need for our industry to produce for the people not simply more, but also better-quality goods that would fully meet the rising consumer demand, is becoming ever more pressing. The insistent demands concerning the quality, comfort and new types of goods come not from some restricted group of consumers, but from practically the entire urban and rural population. Yet we have to

admit that in the ninth five-year period the light industry and other industrial branches, on which the production of consumer goods mostly depends, have not lived up to requirements. To secure substantial change in this respect in the new five-year period, serious efforts must also be made in the related branches, which supply light industry enterprises with primary and other materials and equipment. Practically every branch of the economy plays its part in the production of consumer goods. This is why it is necessary to give thorough and detailed consideration in the five-year plan to such matters as making high-quality dyes and various polymer materials, and artificial and synthetic fibres in the case of the chemical industry, and to set certain concrete objectives in engineering to raise the supply of up-to-date machines that would produce not only substantially more commodities, but also commodities of high quality.

One of the untapped potentialities for raising the food industry's output for the population is to reduce the consumption of vital agricultural raw materials for technical purposes. Of the vegetable oil industrially processed in 1975, 42 per cent went for technical uses. Its replacement with synthetics in soap manufacture, the making of paints, lacquers and detergents, and replacement of cotton and flax with synthetic fibre for engineering cloth will release considerable quantities of farm products and raw materials for consumer needs.

Much was done in the past five years in line with the 24th Congress Directives to expand the services industry, particularly shopping facilities, across the country. Many new shops have been opened in towns and rural areas, and the standard of retailing has risen. Yet we cannot say that our trade meets the growing needs of the population. There are many legitimate complaints on this score. In the new five-year period the distributive workers must apply much effort to overcome the existing shortcomings, substantially improve their service, and tighten the links of retailing with industry and agriculture. The enterprises and production associations manufacturing consumer goods must, for their part, study the demands of the population and the trading enterprises more closely. For this they are authorised to open their own retail outlets, and it is their duty to use this privilege broadly in order to improve the situation.

The need to pay closer attention to this most important area of our work has been stressed in the Central Committee Report to the Congress. All those connected with the consumer industries and the services sphere will unquestionably draw the necessary conclusions from this. In such a matter as expanding consumer production and the services much can also be done by the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The state of trade, public catering, and other services depends to no small degree on their initiative and on how they use their prerogatives.

Transport and communications. In the tenth five-year period it is planned to increase the freight turnover of all means of transport by 30 per cent and passenger carrying by 23 per cent. These objectives are geared to the projected growth of social production, changes in the location of the productive forces across the country, growing co-operation in production and a more rational organisation of traffic.

Major steps are to be taken by the *railways* to expand carrying and traffic capacity, promote containerisation—which assures considerable savings—and raise technical standards. It is planned to open some 3,000 kilometres of new railway track. As you know, an extensive programme of work is envisaged on the Baikal-Amur Railway project, some sections of which are to be put into operation during this period. We attach special importance to this project, because it is designed to become a powerful level of economic growth for our Far Eastern areas.

The *motor transport* industry will get hundreds of thousands of new type KamAZ, ZIL and BelAZ trucks. And 62,000-65,000 kilometres of hard-surface motor-roads are to be built or reconstructed in the coming five-year period.

The *air transport* industry will put into effect an extensive programme of equipping passenger lines with a new generation of up-to-date comfortable planes. Cargo carrying will increase substantially.

To augment the material and technical resources of *marine transport* we intend to expand port installations and build freight handling complexes. Our fleet will get large-tonnage and special-purpose vessels.

The freight turnover and technical equipment of the *river fleet* will increase. It will get high-capacity pushed barge caravans and sea-going river vessels.

Pipeline transport will be developed at an accelerated rate.

New strides will be made in developing all types of *communications*. The length of interurban telephone cables will be increased 60 per cent, and the number of telephones in urban and rural areas 40 per cent. The area of stable television reception is to be considerably expanded.

The fulfilment of tasks set in all industries, agriculture and transport will depend largely on the organisation of *capital construction*. For the tenth five-year period investments in this field have been set at 630,000 million roubles, representing only a 25 per cent increase against the 42 per cent increase in 1971-1975. Special emphasis, therefore, is to be laid on heightening the efficiency of investments. In drawing up the new five-year plan, the USSR State Building Committee and the respective ministries and departments must see to it that in these five years commissioning of the basic production assets should outstrip the growth of capital outlays. By 1980 it is planned to reduce uncompleted construction to 65 per cent of the annual volume of state investments, against the 76 per cent at the end of the past five years. This will mean that by speeding up construction and concentrating investments in projects nearing completion, we shall obtain nearly 13,000 million roubles of additional basic assets.

In the coming five years the volume of capital construction must be geared strictly to our financial and material resources.

This, precisely, is the approach implicit in the draft "Guidelines" approved by the Central Committee. Hence, the ministries and departments must see their task not in obtaining additional allotments for investment, but in fulfilling the planned volume of capital works and in commissioning new production capacities according to plan.

In their speeches at the Congress some comrades have correctly pointed out that in view of the present scale of construction we cannot look ahead just for one year in planning. The compilation of the 10th Five-Year Plan with targets set for each year will create prerequisites for basing our construction programmes not on annual plans, but on a five-year plan with certain adjustments for two or three years.

Earlier we have likewise studied the possibility of introducing such a planning procedure, but owing to the fact that a large number of planned projects were systematically shifted to the next year, this could not be done. For the 10th Five-Year Plan the State Planning Committee, State Building Committee and State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the ministries placing orders for construction projects, jointly with construction ministries, must draw up such a plan of capital investments as would provide the necessary material resources for the construction and commissioning of projects. The plan must be realistic.

Maximum attention will be devoted to reducing building costs. In the tenth five-year period they are to go down 3-5 per cent. Coupled with other measures, this will enable us to lower the ratio of investments to production growth by at least 5 per cent and thereby save about an additional 12,000 million roubles in industry.

In the years to come we must be more resolute in the matter of technical re-equipment and reconstruction of operating enterprises, which offers the opportunity of increasing production at lower costs. It is precisely this trend which is implicit in the draft "Guidelines".

Construction will switch to an ever greater extent to the continuous process of the comprehensive mechanised assembly of buildings and structures of large prefabricated structural elements, parts and units. It is planned to raise fully assembled construction to 45 per cent of total building by the end of the tenth five-year period. The five-year plan will fix relevant targets for the building materials industry, which must substantially expand the prefabrication of building elements.

Our construction enterprises have in the main become large-scale specialised organisations of the building industry. This is why provisions can be made in the economic plan to secure all-round growth in the volume of building and assembly through higher labour productivity.

The location of productive forces. In the tenth five-year period the economic ties between the Union Republics and regions of our country will grow much closer in the framework of the single economy of the USSR. The territorial division of labour will become more effective, and the contribution of every republic and region to the attainment of all-Union objectives will be augmented. In line

with the Party's Leninist nationalities policy, considerable economic progress is to be assured in all the Union and autonomous republics, economic areas, autonomous regions and national areas.

The balancing of development levels will continue in the tenth five-year period on the basis of our single socialist planned economy and the broad initiative of the Republics.

At present, all our Union Republics have highly developed industries and large-scale mechanised farming. United by indestructible bonds of friendship and fraternity, they have everything they need for further progress in all areas of material production, science and culture.

The concrete aspects of the economic development of the Union Republics are set out in adequate detail in the published draft of the "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980", and have been exhaustively examined at recent congresses of the Communist parties of the Union Republics. Therefore, I shall not go into them.

The eastern regions, especially Siberia, where industrial production is to be raised by nearly 50 per cent, will develop at priority rates. Energy-intensive industries, the fuel industry and agriculture, and simultaneously the entire social infrastructure, including housing, public utilities, cultural and community institutions, and urban transport, will be expanded at especially high rates in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Labour-intensive production is to be located in areas with a more favourable man-power balance. In the European part of the USSR and in the Urals industrial development will largely follow the line of technical re-equipment and the reconstruction of operating enterprises.

The features of the country's individual regions will be increasingly determined by the implementation of major economic programmes and the establishment of territorial-production complexes. Here we can name programmes which have already been launched, such as the development of agriculture of the Non-Black-Earth Zone in the RSFSR, the industrial-agrarian zone of the Kursk magnetic anomaly, the West Siberian territorial-industrial complex, the system of Angara-Yenisei complexes, the South Tajik complex, and others. The formation of the new Timano-Pechora industrial complex, with the use of the rich oil

and gas deposits in the area, will get off the ground, and in the long term we shall launch a number of complexes gravitating towards the Baikal-Amur Railway now under construction, including the vast Chulman-Aldan complex with centres of mineral raw materials for a number of industries. The creation of such complexes requires strict co-ordination of the work of the ministries, supply agencies, development and building enterprises, the supplier factories. Attention is drawn to this in the Central Committee Report to the Congress. In the immediate future we shall have to work out the relevant organisational forms of co-ordinating the implementation and development of large-scale programmes and complexes.

It is very important for the local Soviets and government agencies and the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics to play an active and creative role in the establishment of territorial-production complexes. Effective control over the construction of industrial enterprises, house building and the building of public utilities, cultural facilities, schools and hospitals, their timely and synchronised commissioning, and the training of qualified specialists in the mass professions—all this depends in many ways on the activity of local government agencies and the Soviets.

The rational location of productive forces across the vast territory of our country is a major and responsible objective and its attainment will facilitate the more efficient management of our entire economy.

* * *

Comrades,

For almost half a century the Soviet Union's economic development has been determined by five-year plans. For several generations of Soviet people the five-year plans have been a splendid school of communist education. The mass socialist emulation movement for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of five-year plans revealed the vast creative potential of the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. They demonstrated to the whole world their ability to convert the directives and plans of the Party into realities of our time.

We describe the tenth five-year period as a period of efficiency and quality. The Soviet economy has arrived

at a stage where satisfying the people's needs in high-quality consumer goods, as well as the use of the latest technology and techniques in production, are becoming the condition of further progress.

The higher quality of all our work will assure the sensible and thrifty use of the wealth of our society. Communists are no advocates of asceticism, of any artificial restrictions on people's requirements. On the contrary, the full and free development of all of man's faculties, man's creative forces, implicit in communist society, presupposes the creation of favourable material conditions of life. But our socialist life style rules out the extravagance, the senseless waste of material values, labour and energy seen in capitalist conditions.

The problem of raising efficiency and quality is not a purely technical and economic problem. It is also a social and ideological problem, which we will continue to deal with in the process of Soviet society's further development. For its part, it will contribute to the consolidation and improvement of socialist social relations and the rules of communist community life.

We have everything we need to fulfil successfully the tasks set in the new five-year plan—a vast economic, scientific, technical and cultural potential, and the creative energy of the Soviet people led by our glorious Leninist Party. The successful fulfilment of the five-year plan depends entirely on ourselves, on all Soviet people.

The Soviet people have absolute faith in the Party. They know that the aims set by the Party will definitely be achieved. And this is reaffirmed anew by the far-flung upswing of labour and political activity across the country, by the new successes and achievements that Soviet people brought to the 25th Party Congress.

The mounting creative initiative of working people, the sense of responsibility for the common cause cultivated by the Party—this, in the final analysis, is the decisive factor of success in the new five-year period, of all our victories in the struggle for communism. The targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be for all working people, all builders of communism, a concrete action programme designed to achieve a new and higher level in our economic development and in the life of the Soviet people.

Throughout the world, the Soviet five-year plans have become a stirring symbol of the rapid social and economic

progress of the world's first working people's state, a symbol of its aspirations to peace. With the emergence of the socialist community the concept "five-year plan" also acquired a new, international meaning: it absorbed the fraternal countries' community of aims in building the new life, in shaping and consolidating the socialist world economic system.

The 25th Congress convincingly demonstrates the unity of the Communist Party's home and foreign policy. This unity is profoundly organic, and determined by the fact that the Party's policy, both home and foreign, serves the most noble and humane goal of all—the building of communist society. To attain this goal all our main forces and resources are directed to peaceful construction and to raising the people's well-being. For its sake we use all our potential on the international scene to promote the consolidation of the pillars of peace and the security of all peoples.

Certainly, our security, the peaceful labour of the Soviet people, must be dependably guaranteed and protected, since there are forces in the world that are hostile to detente, that reject the principle of peaceful coexistence as a basis for relations between states with different social systems. This is why we shall, as before, devote attention to our glorious Armed Forces, the pride of the Soviet people. They are the guardians of the revolutionary cause, of socialism and peace among peoples. No other army in history has ever served such humane and magnificent aims and ideals. That is the reason for the honour and country-wide respect bestowed upon our Soviet Army, Navy and frontier troops.

In nature and in its entire orientation the new five-year plan is a plan of peace and further international detente. Once again it shows all mankind the Soviet people's profound dedication to peaceful construction, and the peace policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Comrades, representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, and also of revolutionary-democratic forces are present at our Congress. Speaking at the Congress, they have paid tribute to our achievements in economic and cultural development and to the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the struggle for the consolidation of world peace, the development of the world socialist system,

the international communist and working-class movement, and the national liberation movement.

Our economic successes serve the cause of world socialism, the cause of social progress. We wish to reassure our foreign friends, our comrades in the common struggle against imperialism, that in carrying out the Tenth Five-Year Plan our Party and the entire Soviet people will, as before, fight shoulder to shoulder with all revolutionary and progressive forces for the lofty cause of peace, national freedom, and socialism.

We enter the last quarter of this century with the firm conviction that the progressive trends in world development, which were so profoundly examined in the Central Committee Report to the Congress by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, will gain still greater scale, and this will be fully consonant with the interests of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. Our Leninist Party, the entire Soviet people, are naturally pleased that for nearly six decades they have been not only active architects of the new life in our great country, but that they also exercise a tremendous and fruitful influence on the entire course of world history.

Ahead lies a new five-year period on the road to the construction of communist society in our country. The creative, constructive activity of the Party and the entire Soviet people will be directed in this period at solving the majestic tasks set by the 25th Congress. The course of the work of our Congress inspires deep confidence that the Tenth Five-Year Plan will be highlighted by new historic accomplishments of the heroic working class, the glorious collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia in the name of the triumph of the ideas of our great Leninist Party of Communists!

SUMMING-UP BY ALEXEI KOSYGIN

March 3, 1976

Comrade Delegates,

Today the Congress will complete the truly country-wide discussion of the draft "Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980", which has lasted for more than two and a half months. The decisions to be adopted by the Congress on this score will be of immense significance for our society for they will determine the specific content of the social and economic policy, and of the Party's and the people's entire activity in building the material and technical base of communism in the next five years.

All the comrades who have spoken at the Congress have as one man supported and commended the draft "Guidelines" submitted to the Congress by the Central Committee. The delegates have been given the draft with the amendments of the Congress Commission. This document summarises the result of the extensive work done by the Party's Central Committee since the discussion of the draft "Guidelines" throughout the country got underway. Even before the Congress opened, a special Political Bureau Commission was formed to study the proposals to the Central Committee draft made at congresses of the Communist parties of the Union Republics and at Party conferences, published in the press or contained in citizens' letters. In addition to the proposals made by delegates to the 25th Congress, the amendments to the Central Committee draft were forwarded to the Commission of the Con-

gress, which has examined them and now places them before you for approval.

A number of proposals and additions that were not entered into the document distributed to the delegates will be examined by competent authorities at the centre and locally, and taken into account where possible in our practical work.

Taking guidance from the Report of the General Secretary of our Party's Central Committee, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and from the "Guidelines" to be adopted by the Congress, it is essential to complete the elaboration of the five-year plan within the next several months and submit it for consideration to the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Considering the scale of our economic activity as we enter the new five-year period and its specific features connected with the objective of raising efficiency and quality to the utmost, we must accomplish a big and difficult task and draw up the draft of the plan punctually within the allotted time. This is highly important for the effective and rhythmical functioning of all the sectors of our economy.

In planning to carry out the ambitious five-year plan assignments, we must do everything to make them a continuous source of creative activity for all the working people of our country in the tenth five-year period.

The political unity of the Soviet people and the identity of the interests and aims of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia are the guarantee that every production unit will apply all its energy to carry out successfully the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, that the economic, technical and administrative personnel raised by the Party is up to the new tasks, and that Soviet scientists will open up new possibilities for our country's speedier economic, scientific, technical and social progress. The success of the five-year plan depends in many ways on skilful organisation, a responsible attitude in each and every sector of our economic activity, on strict observance of state and labour discipline, and the extent of the socialist emulation movement and the movement for a Communist attitude to work.

Comrades, the decisions of the Congress and the scale of the tasks we are setting ourselves in the tenth five-year

period cannot but generate great energy and inspiration. We are firmly convinced, therefore, that the goals set by the Party at its Congress will be reached. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and with the benefit of its immense political and organisational experience, our Communist Party is confidently laying the road to communism, and the multinational Soviet people, the builder and the maker of the new life, is advancing to communism under its leadership.

**DECISION OF THE 25TH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
ON THE CC CPSU DRAFT «GUIDELINES FOR
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL
ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1976-1980»**

Adopted unanimously on March 3, 1976

Having heard and discussed the Report of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, on the Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980, the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

To approve the Guidelines for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1976-1980 which have been fully approved in the course of a nationwide discussion.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall, on the basis of the Guidelines, ensure the elaboration of a State Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1976-1980, broken down for the years of the five-year period, and for the ministries and departments of the USSR and the Union republics.

While elaborating the Tenth Five-Year Plan consideration shall be given to proposals made at the 25th CPSU Congress, at Party Congresses in the Union republics, and at Party conferences in the territories, regions, cities and districts, at meetings of primary Party organisations and at meetings of working people and in the press, as well as in letters sent by workers, collective farmers, engineers and technical personnel, and workers in science and culture.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit, in September 1976, a draft of the State Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1976-1980 for consideration by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The 25th CPSU Congress considers the elaboration and implementation of the new five-year plan of development of the socialist economy an extremely important economic and political task of all Party, government, trade union, YCL and economic organisations.

GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1976-1980

By implementing the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, have made a new big step forward in building the material and technical basis of communism, in raising the living standard and ensuring the country's security.

The economic strength of the country has grown notably, and the effectiveness of social production has increased. Socialist production relations have continued to develop. The social structure of Soviet society has been improved.

The process of gradual elimination of the essential differences between mental and physical labour, between town and countryside has continued.

The ideological and political unity of Soviet society and the community of peoples of our multi-national country have become still stronger. Socialist democracy has developed, and the production and public activities of the Soviet people have increased.

The advanced socialist society which has been built in the USSR has demonstrated once again the enormous possibilities and advantages of the system of planned economy that knows no unemployment, inflation and crises which are shaking the capitalist world.

Major successes have been achieved in foreign policy, in the implementation of the Peace Programme, evolved by the 24th Congress of the Party. The international positions of the Soviet Union have been consolidated. Cooperation

with the fraternal socialist countries has been strengthened. The influence of socialism on the course of world developments has increased. The process of easing international tensions has developed.

All our accomplishments are the result of the unremitting efforts of the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, the working people of all the Union Republics, and of nation-wide socialist emulation. The leading and guiding role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its many-sided organizing and political activities in mobilizing the Soviet people for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of economic and cultural advancement have been manifested with fresh force.

I. MAIN RESULTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR IN 1971-1975

The Soviet economy in the last five years has developed in conformity with the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The principal socio-economic tasks of the 9th Five-Year Plan have been carried out. The scale of production has increased and its technical level has risen. The material and technical base of all the sectors of the national economy has been strengthened.

The economy of the USSR has been developing at a high and steady rate. The national income, used for consumption and accumulation, has gone up by 28 per cent, and its absolute increment amounted to 76,000 million roubles. About four-fifths of the increase in the national income have been due to higher productivity of social labour. The basic production assets have grown by 50 per cent, amounting to more than 800,000 million roubles at the end of 1975. Labour productivity in industry has risen by 34 per cent, in agriculture (in average annual terms), by 22 per cent, in construction, by 29 per cent, and in railway transport, by 24 per cent.

The volume of industrial production has increased by 43 per cent. The structure of industry has been improved. The share of those sectors which to the greatest extent determine technological progress and the effectiveness of

the national economy—the engineering, power, chemical and petrochemical industries—in the total volume of industrial production has gone up from 31 per cent in 1970 to 36 per cent in 1975.

The list of major products of which the Soviet Union is now the world's biggest producer has been expanded.

The engineering industry output has increased 1.7 times, including computers, 4.3 times, instruments and automation facilities, 1.9 times, and motor vehicles, more than 2 times.

The fuel and power base has been strengthened substantially. The output of electricity, and the extraction of oil, gas and coal have increased. The atomic power industry has been further developed.

The production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, plastics, cement and other materials has been expanded. The manufacture of mineral fertilizers has increased 1.6 times exceeding 90 million tons in 1975.

The production of consumer goods has risen by 37 per cent, including cultural and household goods, by 60 per cent. The variety of commodities has been increased and their quality improved.

The long-term programme for raising agricultural production, designed not only for accomplishing current tasks, but also for creating the prerequisites for the further development of this important sector, has consistently been implemented. The material and technical base of agriculture has continuously been strengthened. In the five-year period, capital investments in this sector have amounted to 131,000 million roubles, which is 49,000 million roubles more than in the 8th Five-Year Plan period. The mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture, and land improvement work have been conducted on a wide scale. The agricultural sector has been supplied with 1,700,000 tractors, more than 1,100,000 lorries, and 15,800 million roubles' worth of farm machinery and many other kinds of equipment. The collective and state farms have been provided with over 300 million tons of mineral fertilizers.

In 1971-75, with funds supplied by the state and by collective farms, 4.6 million hectares of irrigated land have been put into use, and 4.4 million hectares of water-logged arable farmland have been drained. New large-scale irrigation and drainage systems have been built in

many areas of the country. The Saratov and Great Stavropol (second stage) canals have been built, while work on the irrigation of land in the Hungry Steppe is in its final stage.

Despite the extremely unfavourable weather conditions, the average annual gross output of agriculture has increased by 13 per cent in comparison with the previous five-year period. The yearly average in the production of grain amounted to 181.5 million tons, meat, 14 million tons, and milk, 87.4 million tons, which is much more than in the 8th Five-Year Plan period. Considerable success has been achieved in cotton-growing: the average annual harvest of cotton amounted to 7.7 million tons as compared to 6.1 million tons in the period of 1966-70.

All kinds of transport in the country have been further developed. New railway lines, totalling 3,600 km, have been put into service. As much as 4,800 km of railways have been electrified. More than 5,000 km of second tracks have been laid. Construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway has begun. About 56,000 km of main pipelines, and 89,000 km of hard-surfaced motorways have been built, and airline routes have been extended. Ocean-going and inland water transport system has been replenished with powerful modern types of vessels, and the civil air service, with the newest types of planes and helicopters.

Communications service for the population and the national economy has been improved, and radio broadcasting and television have been further developed.

Capital construction has been carried out on a big scale. The total volume of capital investments in the five-year period exceeded 500,000 million roubles. In industry alone, about 2,000 major enterprises and a large number of other projects with up-to-date equipment have been put into operation. Among them are the Leningrad atomic power station with a capacity of 2 million kw, a blast furnace with a capacity of 5,000 cu. m at the Krivoi Rog iron and steel mill, and new capacities at a chemical plant in Navoi, and at an aluminium works and a timber complex in Bratsk. Plants for the production of 38 million tons of mineral fertilizers a year have been put into operation. Construction has been completed on hundreds of enterprises of light industry and the food industry.

Considerable work has been carried out to modernize and expand existing enterprises. Modernization work has

been done at such large enterprises as the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine, the Urals Heavy Engineering Works, the Likhachov (Moscow) and Gorky Motor Works, the Kharkov and Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, the Rostov and Krasnoyarsk Harvesting Combines Works, the Kirov Plant Production Association (Leningrad), the Automated Lines Works named in honour of the 50th Anniversary of the USSR (Moscow), the Voskresensk and Novo-Moskovsk Chemical Complexes, the Yaroslavl and Omsk Tyre Factories, the Segezha Pulp and Paper Mill, the Minsk Worsted and the Ivanovo Textile Yarn Mills, and many others. About 60 per cent of the entire increment of industrial output has been obtained through the modernization and expansion of existing enterprises and also through organizational and technical measures.

Scientific and technological progress has been promoted consistently and a uniform technical policy has been carried out in all sectors of the national economy.

Soviet science has risen to a still higher level. Successful development of basic and applied research has contributed to the solution of highly important economic problems, and has made possible fresh outstanding achievements in various fields of science and technology, and in space exploration.

New machinery and equipment have been introduced on a broader scale. The manufacture of advanced types of products has been developed at a faster rate in all sectors. In the past five years, the output of 16,500 new types of machines, equipment and instruments has been organized, which is double the number for the period of 1966-70. More efficient technological processes have been introduced.

Wider use has been made of the comprehensive intersectoral approach to the fulfilment of the most important economic tasks. Considerable work has been carried out in 1971-75 in implementing a number of major economic programmes, including the programme on the development of the oil and gas deposits in Western Siberia and Central Asia. Work has started on the comprehensive development of agriculture in the Non-Black-Earth zone of the Russian Federation.

Measures have been taken to improve administration and planning, and the methods of economic management, to set up various production associations, and to improve the structure and functioning of the sectoral and territorial

management bodies. Broader use has been made of automated control systems and computer facilities.

An extensive programme of social measures has been carried out in accordance with the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Four-fifths of the national income have been used directly to increase the well-being of the people, including allocations for the construction of houses and cultural and service establishments. State expenses on new undertakings for raising the living standards were 1.7 times higher in the 9th Five-Year Plan period than in the previous five-year period.

The material and cultural requirements of the Soviet people were being met more fully. Their living conditions have been further improved. The real per capita income has increased by 24 per cent.

Payment for work done—the main source of income of the population—has been raised considerably. On the average, wages and salaries have gone up by 20 per cent, and payment for work for collective farmers, by 25 per cent. Minimum wages have been raised as well as the basic wage rates and salaries of medium-bracket workers and employees engaged in material production throughout the country. Salaries have been increased for doctors, school teachers and teachers at pre-school establishments. Income taxes have been abolished or lowered for some categories of workers.

Zonal wage differentials for workers and employees in certain areas and regions, for whom they had not been fixed earlier, have been introduced in Western Siberia and in some parts of the Turkmen SSR, as well as at enterprises and in organizations of industry, construction, transportation and communications in the Urals. Seniority bonuses have been fixed for people working in the European North. Bonuses for industrial workers for night work have been increased.

As a result of the above-mentioned measures, pay has been increased for more than 75 million people.

Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds have increased 1.4 times in the five-year period.

Minimum old-age pensions for workers, employees and collective farmers have been raised. Pensions have been increased for invalids and families which have lost the breadwinners. Additional benefits have been intro-

duced for invalids of the Great Patriotic War and families of army servicemen killed in action. The paid leave of absence to attend a sick child has been lengthened. The daily allowances for meals at hospitals, Young Pioneer camps, urban vocational schools, and homes for the aged and invalids were raised. Allowances for children of low-income families have been introduced. Allowances for students of higher schools and of specialized secondary schools have been increased.

The income for about 40 million people has been increased through higher pensions, allowances and scholarship grants. Repayment of state loans, floated among the population earlier, started in 1974.

While payment for work and benefits from social consumption funds have been increased, state retail prices have remained at a steady level.

The volume of trade in the five-year period has gone up by 36 per cent, and the scope of communal services has increased 1.6 times. The pattern of public consumption has been improved.

Construction of housing, services establishments and cultural centres has been proceeding on an extensive scale. Housing totalling 544 million sq. m has been built. The quality of housing has been improved. The living conditions were improved for 56 million people.

The changeover to universal secondary education of youth has been in the main completed. The network of vocational schools, where young people receive a general education as well as special training, has been expanded. The quality of instruction in secondary and higher schools was improved. Considerable work has been carried out in raising the qualifications of personnel.

Much attention has been paid to the raising of the cultural standards of the people, to the improvement of conditions of work and recreation. The public health service, physical culture and sports have been further developed. Environmental protection measures have been carried out on a broader scale.

The distribution of productive forces has been improved. Big successes have been achieved in promoting economic and cultural advancement in all the Union Republics.

Cooperation with the socialist countries, particularly with the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, has been deepened. Measures outlined in the

Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration are being carried out consistently. The ties with the developing countries have become more diversified. Economic relations with industrially advanced capitalist states have been expanded.

While the main tasks of the 9th Five-Year Plan have been successfully implemented, the targets set for individual economic indicators and for output in some kinds of goods have not been fully achieved. The successes in the economic and cultural fields could have been more significant if our possibilities had been more fully used and if shortcomings had been more resolutely overcome. Many ministries, departments, production associations, enterprises and organizations, collective farms and state farms still do not give proper attention to matters of raising the efficiency of production, to growth of labour productivity and increase in output-capital ratio, the saving of material and financial resources, and the elimination of losses, and do not take the necessary steps for the timely commissioning of industrial and other projects, for the earliest utilization of new production capacities and the expansion of existing capacities through their modernization, provision with latest equipment, and introduction of new efficient technologies.

Capital investments continue to be dissipated among too many construction projects. Shortcomings in design and long construction time lead to higher costs of many new projects.

Elimination of shortcomings in the organization and methods of planning, supply, and financing is rather slow. A narrow departmental and parochial approach is frequently manifested in solving economic problems.

The standard of scientific and technical research is not sufficiently high in some sectors. Certain results of scientific research and technical designs remain for a long time on paper before being introduced in production. The technical standard and quality of some types of output are still low.

At some enterprises in industry, construction and other sectors of the national economy, part of material resources is diverted to creating above-norm and idle stocks.

A fuller use of resources, and the overcoming of the aforesaid shortcomings will facilitate the further develop-

ment of the economy and the achievement of greater efficiency of social production.

The results of the 9th Five-Year Plan show that the Soviet Union has moved ahead in all spheres of communist construction. The society's productive forces have been developing at a high rate. The country's scientific and technological potential has increased considerably. With the growth of the productive forces socialist production relations have improved, and the degree of socialization of production has expanded. The economic and social role of property owned by the entire people has grown, and the distinction between this property and property owned by the collective farms and cooperatives has become less pronounced. The size of the working class has increased, and so has its role as the leading force of communist construction. In its social and economic status the collective farmers have drawn closer to the working class.

The necessary conditions have been created for the accomplishment of new, major tasks in accordance with the long-term socio-economic policy of the Communist Party.

II. MAIN TARGETS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1976-1980

The 10th Five-Year Plan period is a new important stage in building the material and technical base of communism, in improving social relations and moulding the new type of man and developing the socialist way of life. This is a time of still more intensive social production and fuller use of the country's economic potentialities for building up the nation's wealth, economic strength and defence capacity.

The principal objective of the 10th Five-Year Plan period is the consistent application of the Communist Party's line of raising the standard of living of the people both materially and culturally through a dynamic and well-balanced development of social production and its increased efficiency, faster scientific and technological progress, higher labour productivity and better quality of work throughout the national economy.

With this in view, the task at hand is as follows:

1. *To ensure a stable growth and structural improvement of social production*, a faster advance of the sectors which determine scientific and technological progress, an increase in agricultural production and output of manufactured consumer goods and an expansion of services to the population. To improve the location of productive forces.

To raise the effectiveness of capital investment, speed up the completion of building projects and the full utilization of installed capacities, to improve the standards and lower the cost of construction work. To apply the latest scientific and technological achievements to step up the modernization and retooling of the existing enterprises.

To increase the national income used for consumption and accumulation by 24-28 per cent.

2. *To carry out a series of measures to increase the people's well-being still further*. To secure a fuller satisfaction of their material and cultural needs and improve housing.

To raise per capita real incomes by 20-22 per cent. To meet the Soviet people's growing demand for consumer goods more fully by increasing the output, improving the quality and widening the range of consumer goods and developing the service industries.

To increase the role of incentive pay, and the dependence of each worker's earnings on his own and his work-mates' contribution towards developing and raising the efficiency of social production.

To secure a further increase of the social consumption funds and enhance their role in resolving social and economic problems.

To continue to improve working conditions, to raise the workers' qualifications and professional skill, to create still more favourable conditions for high-efficiency work and wide use of the workers' creative capabilities.

To raise the educational and cultural level of the people, to develop their cultural needs and satisfy them more fully, to promote in every way the Soviet people's social activity and to improve their living conditions and recreational facilities.

To bring the living standards and conditions of life of the urban and country dwellers still closer together and consistently eradicate the distinctions between town and countryside in terms of socio-economic and living condi-

tions and cultural standards by speeding up the industrialization of agricultural production and improving cultural and welfare services in the countryside.

3. *To promote the utmost growth of the efficiency of social production, to improve the quality of output and effect stricter economies in the national economy.*

To place special emphasis on faster growth of *labour productivity* which is essential to further expanding production and increasing the people's well-being. To obtain, through increased labour productivity, 85-90 per cent of the increase in the national income, about 90 per cent of the increase in industrial production, the entire increase in agricultural production, building and assembly, and at least 95 per cent of the increase in rail traffic.

To use *manpower resources* more effectively. To increase the rates of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes in all sectors of the national economy, especially the mechanization of auxiliary jobs. To raise considerably power available per worker. To cut down substantially the proportion of manual labour.

To ensure that the existing enterprises achieve their full increase in output or scope of production with their work force, as a rule, either unchanged or even reduced. To make more efficient use of the work of personnel in the non-productive sphere.

To improve organization of work in all areas of production and management. To take the fullest account of the requirements of scientific organization of labour in designing new factories and modernizing the existing enterprises and in developing new technologies and equipment.

To improve rate-setting, to accelerate the introduction of technically justified output quotas and maintenance standards, more particularly in ancillary and per-hour jobs. To extend the scope of rate-setting for engineers, technicians and office workers.

To introduce further measures to reduce labour fluidity. To improve labour discipline. To ensure fuller and more rational use of working hours, eliminate idle time and labour wastage.

To improve training, skill upgrading and re-training of personnel to meet the requirements of scientific and technological progress.

To provide for the building of housing, public services and recreational facilities at a faster pace in Siberian and

Far-Eastern areas in order to have them adequately supplied with manpower.

To ensure a marked improvement of the *quality* of all types of products, to broaden their range and step up the production of new types of articles to meet modern requirements. To increase the share of top-quality products in the total output. To make broader use of integrated systems of quality control.

To make appreciably better use of *fixed assets*. To devise and apply a series of measures to raise the output-capital ratio at sectoral, factory and organization level.

To ensure the expansion of production capacities, primarily through the re-equipment of enterprises, modernization of equipment and the introduction of organizational and technological measures in order to increase the output of high-quality products at lower costs and faster rates. To speed up the replacement of obsolescent plant.

To master newly-installed capacities and bring their technological and economic efficiency to the designed level at substantially faster rates.

To raise the coefficient of shift operation of machines and equipment. To increase the average machine-shift coefficient in engineering by 20-30 per cent. To reduce the idle time of machinery and assemblies and increase the operating time and productivity of installed plant in interrupted-cycle production sectors during a working week. To set up interdepartmental centres for renting machines and instruments.

To make more effective use of farm machinery and ensure its smooth running throughout its rated service life.

To substantially improve the use of transportation facilities.

To ensure a fuller service load and higher efficiency of building machinery and mechanisms through better organization and balanced timing of construction work.

To use *material resources* more efficiently. To reduce in every way material-per-unit-output ratio by a wider application of advanced designing and production techniques as well as by increasing the output of economical goods and reducing per-unit-output consumption of raw materials and other supplies, their fuller and more comprehensive processing and the broader utilization of secondary resources.

To improve the system of setting the rates and keeping

accounts of consumption of raw materials and other supplies, fuel and energy. To tighten control over the utilization of material resources and take more vigorous measures to prevent wastefulness and mismanagement.

To save from 14 to 16 per cent of rolled steel in mechanical engineering and metal-working and from 5 to 7 per cent in building within the next five years, and 5-6 per cent of cement and 12-14 per cent of timber in building; to cut fuel consumption rates for boilers and furnaces by 3 to 4 per cent, electric and thermal power consumption by 5 per cent, and petrol and fuel oil consumption in road freight haulage by 8 per cent.

To speed up the turnover rate of working capital by 3 to 5 days on average. To prevent the buildup of excessive stocks of materials and equipment.

To bring down production costs per rouble of commodity output by 4 to 5 per cent in the whole of industry, and by 9 to 10 per cent in mechanical engineering. To make production more profitable and stop certain goods being produced at a loss.

To reduce by 3 to 5 per cent the estimated cost of construction and, by at least 5 per cent, investment rates in relation to output increase.

To cut transportation expenses by avoiding irrational shipments, and introducing comprehensive mechanization and automation of cargo handling and warehouse operations and through other measures. To speed up the delivery of goods and ensure their safety in transit. To reduce railway transportation costs by 4 to 5 per cent.

4. *To speed up the rate of scientific and technological progress* as an essential condition for increased efficiency of social production and improved quality of products. To work consistently to resolve the problem of organically fusing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system.

To utilize scientific potential more efficiently. To provide for the furtherance of scientific research and for turning its findings to account in the national economy at faster rates and on a broader scale. To bind science closer to production.

To speed up the re-tooling of production facilities by the introduction of a uniform technological policy in every sector of the national economy, extensively to introduce

advanced technology and production techniques ensuring higher productivity and improved quality of goods, higher returns per unit of assets, savings of materials, better working conditions, environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources.

To pass on consistently from developing and introducing individual machines and production processes to the designing, manufacture and large-scale use of high-efficiency systems of machines, equipment, instruments and production techniques ensuring the mechanization and automation of all manufacturing processes and, more particularly, auxiliary, transport and warehouse operations. To make wider use of potentialities for developing and installing readjustable production facilities making it possible to organize more quickly the manufacture of new products. The newly-designed machinery, plant, instruments and production techniques should be superior to the best of Soviet and international models in their technical and economic performance per unit of productivity and other indicators.

To introduce up-to-date methods of production and work organization consistent with the demands of scientific and technological progress.

To reduce the duration of production cycles by applying continuous and combined technological processes and intensive techniques. To increase the output of items prepared to the greatest extent for subsequent processing. To increase the production of new man-made materials replacing natural ones and having high technical and economic characteristics.

To enhance the role of standardization in accelerating scientific and technological progress and improving the quality of finished products, raw materials and other supplies and associated components. To improve standards and technological specifications and to enhance the responsibility of economic agencies, enterprises and associations for observing them. To improve the technical control service. To improve the work of patenting and licensing.

To promote in every way the working people's creative activity, initiative, inventiveness, and innovation. To make scientific and technical societies more efficient. To improve the system of scientific and technical information.

To ensure the comprehensive planning, financing and stimulation of scientific and technological progress.

5. *To improve national economic management* in order to use more fully the advantages and potentialities of an advanced socialist economy.

To intensify the combined effect of planning, economic levers and incentives and of the whole system of management on stepping up scientific and technological progress, improving the quality of output, raising the efficiency of social production, and attaining final national-economic results.

To enhance the responsibility of individual workers and workers' collectives for the results and quality of work.

To improve *planning* by giving fuller consideration to social needs and meeting these needs with the least expenditure of labour, material and financial resources. To secure balanced planning through improving the system of budgets in physical and value terms as well as in terms of production capacities and manpower resources. To provide for the setting aside of adequate state reserves.

To improve the system of coordinated national economic planning—the long-term, five-year and annual plans. To ensure a fuller coordination of sectoral and territorial planning. To make wider use of programme-and-target planning and work out comprehensive programmes to tackle major scientific, technological, economic and social problems. To improve the comprehensive planning of economic and social development at enterprise, association, district and city level.

To increase the degree of validity of forecasting scientific and technological progress and socio-economic processes, and to make broader use of these forecasts in elaborating national-economic plans.

To continue the elaboration of a comprehensive programme of scientific and technological progress and its socio-economic consequences over a long period.

To improve the organization and methods of working out national-economic plans and cut down the drafting time. To improve the system of plan indicators and make them more effective in raising the technological standards of production, improving the quality of output, accelerating the growth of labour productivity and saving material and financial resources.

To continue elaborating a system of standard requirements in physical and value terms for all levels of plan-

ning in order to improve the preparation of balances and plans of production, material and technical supply and capital construction.

To enhance the role of user enterprises in drawing up production plans by extensively using the system of orders and business contracts. To improve economic relations between enterprises which produce finished goods and enterprises and organizations which supply raw materials and other supplies and associated components, in order to achieve maximum economic effect.

To speed up the transition to planning and evaluating the operation of building organizations by the characteristics of completed projects accepted by the customers and of complexes ready for manufacturing goods and providing services.

To strengthen in every way planning discipline at all levels of the national economy. To enhance the responsibility of economic executives for the fulfilment of government assignments and contractual commitments.

To enhance the responsibility of the planning agencies, ministries and departments, the Councils of Ministers of the constituent Republics for the elaboration, technological and economic substantiation and fulfilment of state plans. To improve the system of accounting and the compiling of statistics to meet the growing requirements of management and planning.

To improve the techniques of *management and economic incentive* and the system of criteria to evaluate the operation of associations, enterprises and organizations from the standpoint of improving the end-product. To increase the role of economic incentives in promoting greater production efficiency, better output quality, faster scientific and technological progress, rhythmic operation of enterprises, and better utilization of manpower and material resources.

To provide the personnel of associations, enterprises and building projects with a greater incentive for drawing up and carrying out plans taking the fullest account of production possibilities and potentialities. To gear the size of the incentive and bonus fund more closely to the fulfilment of delivery plans in accordance with contracts and orders. To continue to improve the planning of the wage-fund and the supervision of its use.

To further improve the system of wholesale prices and rates and to increase their role in stimulating scientific and technological progress, renovation of output and improving its quality and the rational utilization of material resources. In fixing wholesale prices of new articles, especially of machinery and plant, to provide for these to be lowered per unit of useful effect.

To increase the effectiveness of cost-accounting, finances and credit in the development of production, improvement of the quality indicators of economic activity, eliminating non-productive outlays and losses, and in augmenting state revenue.

To improve the organization of account settling in the national economy. To promote the use of credit in building. To make wider use of bank credit for factory modernizing and retooling.

To further develop and improve the national system of material and technical supply, enhance the role of supply agencies in organizing rational economic relations and a stable supply for enterprises and in making the utilization of material resources in the national economy more effective. To complete the switchover of associations and enterprises with mass and large-scale production to a system of direct lasting relations based on long-term contracts. To continue to develop wholesale trade through supply bases, warehouses and shops of territorial supply-and-marketing organizations. To improve the organization and operation of warehouses. To improve the organization of collecting secondary raw materials for reprocessing at specialized enterprises.

To improve the *organizational structure of management*. To carry to completion the setting up of industrial associations in line with general management schemes and to continue the concentration and specialization of production, improvement of the structure and reduction of the elements of management. To make further improvements in the structure and functions of the staff of ministries and intersectoral and functional agencies as required by the establishment of industrial and production associations.

In construction, to devise and apply general management schemes providing for going over to two- and three-element systems of management, merging the smallest building organizations and making production more specialized.

To develop inter-collective-farm, collective-and-state-farm and state-cooperative associations as well as agrarian-industrial complexes for the production, processing and marketing of agricultural produce.

To improve the organizational structure of management in non-productive sectors.

To further advance and improve the efficiency of automated control systems and computer centres, gradually uniting them into a nation-wide data-collection and processing system for purposes of accounting, planning and management. To set up computer centres for collective use. To step up the production and application of office equipment to rationalize and improve clerical and managerial work.

To provide for further improvements in the training and professional advancement of managerial staff.

To exercise the utmost economy of managerial expenses.

To promote effective forms of drawing working people into the running of production.

6. *To work out and put into effect measures for environmental protection and for a rational utilization and reproduction of natural resources.*

To study natural resources and monitor the state of the environment and the sources of its pollution by means of up-to-date scientific and technological facilities.

To introduce new effective techniques and systems of developing the deposits of mineral resources, advanced technological processes for their mining, upgrading and processing, with a view to increasing the degree of mineral extraction, ensuring a fuller and more comprehensive processing of mineral resources and also drastically reducing the harmful effects of waste products on the environment. To take more vigorous steps to devise and apply technological processes which reduce the amount of waste and ensure its maximum utilization and of closed-cycle systems of using water.

To develop the specialized production of machinery, articles and materials necessary for the installation and operation of high-efficiency purification plants at industrial enterprises and in cities.

To devise new ways and means of combatting harmful discharges into the atmosphere, industrial, transport and other noise, vibration and the effects of electric and magnetic fields and radiation.

To increase the fertility of the soil and improve its protection from the effects of water and wind erosion, re-salination, aridization, underflooding and pollution by industrial waste. To observe strict economy when allotting arable land for non-agricultural needs. To ensure re-cultivation of land after mining and peat digging.

To take steps towards a comprehensive and rationalized utilization and conservation of land, water and forest resources.

To improve the techniques of forecasting the effects of production on the environment and take into account its possible consequences in preparing and adopting project designs.

7. To consistently develop and deepen all-round cooperation with socialist countries and contribute towards the consolidation of the world system of socialism. To extend economic, scientific and technological contacts with developing nations and industrialized capitalist states.

* * *

To establish the following directions and targets for the development of the sectors of the national economy of the USSR, for raising the people's standard of living, the location of productive forces, the economic development of the constituent Republics, and international economic relations of the Soviet Union.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

The main task of industry is to meet more fully the needs of the economy and population for high-quality products and to ensure the technical re-equipment and intensification of production in all branches.

To accomplish this task it is necessary:

to increase the output of industrial products in the five years by 35-39 per cent, including means of production by 38-42 per cent and consumer goods by 30-32 per cent. To expand considerably the production of consumer goods in all branches;

to raise labour productivity in industry by 30-34 per cent;

to improve the structure of industry; to increase in the total volume of production the share of industries which most determine technological progress—the machine-building, chemical, petrochemical and power industries;

to expand the production of progressive, economical types of machinery, equipment and instruments for all branches of the national economy. To systematically update products, raise their technical level and quality and improve their operational and consumer qualities. To ensure the creation and expansion of the production of equipment and materials meeting the requirements of operation in different climatic zones of the country, and particularly in Far North conditions;

to increase the production, extend the range and improve the use of structural materials. To ensure priority growth in the output of the most economical types of rolled ferrous and light non-ferrous metals and their alloys, plastics and glued and pressed materials based on wood, and other effective materials. To make fuller use of raw materials and ensure their deeper processing and the increased output of finished products;

to improve the structure of the fuel and power supply. To combine the various types of fuel rationally; to make wider use, along with oil and gas, of coal, shale, hydraulic power and atomic energy. To use fuel more efficiently and use secondary fuel and power resources more fully;

to increase the basic production assets 1.4 times and consistently raise the share of their active part—machinery and equipment;

to continue the concentration of production, raise the level of its specialization and cooperation, introduce advanced technological processes and advanced methods of the organization of labour and production on a large scale, and increase demands on the observance of technology regulations. To expand the experimental base of industrial plants and design organizations. To develop the production of advanced types of containers and packaging materials.

To define the following basic trends of development in the branches of industry.

In the power industry. To ensure the production of 1,340-1,380 thousand million kilowatt-hours of electricity in 1980. To commission capacities at electric power stations rated at 67-70 million kilowatts, including

13-15 million kilowatts at atomic power plants. To continue the construction of thermal power stations of 4-6-million-kilowatt capacity with 500,000- and 800,000-kw generating units, and of atomic power stations with reactors of 1-1.5-million-kilowatt capacity each.

To envisage wider use of low-cost solid fuel for generating electricity. To carry out the construction of large thermal power stations operating on coal from the Ekibastuz and Kansk-Achinsk deposits.

In hydroelectric power engineering to continue the construction mainly of large hydroschemes permitting the overall accomplishment of the tasks of generating electricity, irrigating land, supplying water to cities and industrial plants, developing navigation and fishing, and preventing floods.

To envisage priority growth of the atomic power industry in the European part of the USSR. To speed the construction and commissioning of fast-neutron reactors. To start preparatory work on the use of atomic power for heat supply.

To continue the work on forming an integrated power grid for the country by linking the power systems of Siberia and Soviet Central Asia with the European system and by building 500,000-, 750,000- and 1,150,000-volt power transmission long-distance lines.

To ensure the improvement of the technical and economic indicators of the performance of power equipment and to accelerate for this purpose the start-up of highly manoeuvrable 500,000-kilowatt generating units and the construction of storage plants and gas-turbine power units.

To reduce the specific consumption of fuel at electric power stations in 1980 to 325-328 grams per kilowatt-hour of electric power released.

To raise labour productivity in the power industry by 27-29 per cent.

In the oil industry. To increase the output of oil, including gas condensate, to 620-640 million tons in 1980.

To improve the use of natural oil resources, raise the yield of oil-beds and carry out research and industrial-experimental work on the extraction of oil from bituminous rocks.

To continue the technical re-equipment of the industry, the comprehensive automation of production processes and

the introduction of automated data management systems in oil-fields, and to raise, by the close of the five-year plan period, the production of oil in these fields to not less than 85 per cent of the total oil output.

To accelerate the commissioning of new oil-fields and to make wide use of prefabricated complete units in the construction of facilities for the collecting, preparation and transportation of oil.

To raise the efficiency of drilling work. To reduce by 25-30 per cent the time of well building through higher drilling speeds, the introduction of easy-to-erect drilling rigs, new types of bits, bottom-hole engines, flushing fluids and high-strength casing and drill pipes, and through the improvement of organization of work and the use of the latest methods of developing the wells.

To considerably reduce losses of casing-head gas and to ensure the use of 43-45 thousand million cubic metres of this gas in 1980. To speed the construction of gas processing plants.

To raise labour productivity in the oil industry by 28-30 per cent.

In the oil-refining industry. To increase the volume of primary oil processing by 25-30 per cent. To ensure improvement of the technology of oil refining and the introduction of new production processes, efficient catalysts and up-to-date equipment.

To increase the output of high-octane petrols, low-sulphur diesel and aviation fuels, aromatic hydrocarbons and high-quality lubricating oils. To ensure thorough oil refinement and raise the share of secondary processes. To organize large-scale production of liquid paraffins for the needs of the microbiological industry and the production of synthetic detergents. To expand the output and assortment of petrochemical raw products.

To shift to the construction mainly of combined and enlarged production installations. To ensure the bringing of oil-refining facilities closer to the areas of mass consumption of oil products.

To raise labour productivity in the oil-refining industry by 39-41 per cent.

In the gas industry. To increase gas output to 400-435 thousand million cubic metres in 1980. To put into operation approximately 35,000 kilometres of gas pipelines. To make comprehensive use of casing-head and natural

gases to obtain condensates, sulphur, helium and other attendant components from them.

To continue the construction of underground gas storage reservoirs, mainly in the most fuel-consuming areas of the country, and to make maximum use of exhausted gas and oil deposits for these purposes.

To evolve and introduce the latest technical means and methods for the extraction, transportation, refining and storage of gas and gas condensate and to apply them also in Far North conditions. To provide for the construction of reliable and highly-efficient operating wells using new methods for increasing the flow of gas to the bottom of the well; automated unit installations for on-site preparation of gas; trunk gas pipelines made up of pipes having a diameter of 1,420 mm and designed for a working pressure of not less than 75 atmospheres; and compressor stations with gas pumping units of up to 25,000 kw in capacity. To ensure the choice of the most economical routes for gas pipelines. To raise the efficiency of gas pipelines by carrying out organizational and technical measures and increasing the number and capacity of compressor stations.

To continue the work of setting up a single automated gas supply system for the country.

To speed research, design and experimental work on the development of basically new types of gas transportation.

To raise labour productivity in the gas industry by 43-45 per cent.

In the coal industry. To increase coal production to 790-810 million tons in 1980.

To improve machinery and technology on a large scale and to ensure, on this basis, the faster growth of coal output, improvement of its quality and the further raising of the industry's efficiency.

To concentrate reconstruction and modernization work primarily in those mines and pits in which the use of advanced technology and new machinery will ensure the biggest growth in coal output, a considerable rise in labour productivity and the improvement of other technical and economic indicators.

To launch large-scale open-cut extraction of coal in the eastern areas of the country.

To accelerate the development of the South-Yakut coal basin so as to bring about a considerable increase of

fuel and power resources in the long run, along with the development of the existing coal basins—the Donets, Kuznetsk, Karaganda, Pechora and others. To start work on the accelerated construction of the Kansk-Achinsk fuel and power complex and a fuller development of the Eki-bastuz basin.

To expand the extraction of oil shale in the European part of the country.

To speed up the development and mastering of the batch production of sets of mechanized equipment for the extraction of coal in thin gently sloping beds and steep beds and to raise the production of tunnellers, loading machinery and other equipment for the coal industry.

To evolve and introduce new means for ensuring safe working conditions in the coal and shale industries. To intensify research, design and experimental work to develop means of unmanned coal extraction.

To raise labour productivity in the coal industry by 22-24 per cent.

In the iron and steel industry. To ensure, in 1980, the production of steel in the amount of 160-170 million tons, and of finished rolled products—115-120 million tons.

To considerably improve the quality and extend the range of metal products and save in this way 5-6 million tons of metal in the national economy in 1980. To increase 1.5—2 times the output of efficient types of metal products such as cold-rolled sheet steel, rolled coated sheet steel, formed sections, heat-hardened rolled steel, low alloy rolled steel, cold-rolled stainless sheet steel and cold-rolled transformer steel, up-to-date complex alloy high-speed steel, and cold-rolled steel strip.

To considerably increase the production of high-strength pipes, in the first place those for conveying oil and pipes with new types of joints, of thin-walled pipes, cold-rolled dynamo steel, high-quality general metal goods, iron powders and powders from alloyed steels and alloys, precision alloys and metal ceramics. To organize the production of rolled bethlehem beams and oil and gas pipes with a protective coating. To increase the output of tin for the canning industry.

To carry out re-tooling of the industry, to modernize the existing and commission new high-capacity metallurgical units.

To improve and apply on a wider scale the advanced methods of production and of raising the quality of metal: the smelting of steel in oxygen converters and electric furnaces, vacuum, electroslag, plasma and electron-beam remelting, continuous casting, and the treatment of molten steel by synthetic slags, inert gases and the method of extra-furnace evacuation. To ensure the further growth of the use of oxygen and natural gas in metal-making. To develop capacities for the heat treatment of metal. To master on an industrial scale the technology of obtaining iron from ores by the method of direct reduction, as well as the economical methods of concentration and pelletizing of oxidized iron ores. To reduce the specific consumption of steel in the output of rolled stock.

To accelerate the construction of mining enterprises, to ensure a 2.3-fold growth in the production of prepared high-quality metallurgical raw materials, including iron-ore pellets, and to raise the iron content in marketable ore. To improve the preparation of ferrous metal scrap. To expand the processing of blast-furnace and steel-smelting slags.

To raise labour productivity in the iron and steel industry by 23-25 per cent.

In the non-ferrous metals industry. To increase the production of aluminium, copper and nickel 1.2-1.3 times and of titanium, 1.4 times, and the output of alloying, rare and precious metals, secondary non-ferrous metals and diamonds.

To expand the production of semi-conductor, extra pure and special materials for the electronic, electrical engineering and other industries.

To master the manufacture of new high-strength hard alloys, carbon and other products. To raise considerably the output of high-precision hard-alloy plates for metal-cutting tools.

To improve the quality and extend the range of metal products. To master the production of new economical non-ferrous metal rolled sections. To expand the output of copper rods, aluminium strips, foil, pipes and other types of rolled products by applying combined methods of casting and rolling.

To continue the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of the plants of the non-ferrous metals industry. To ensure the further expansion of the Norilsk mining and

metal-making plant and increase the production of non-ferrous metals from the raw materials of this plant, and to accelerate the construction of other large highly-efficient industrial complexes.

To speed up the development of the raw-material base of the non-ferrous metals industry, especially the lead, zinc, copper, tungsten, molybdenum and gold extraction industries. To ensure the further growth of the open-cut extraction of ores with the employment of highly-efficient machinery and mechanisms, and to enlarge the use of up-to-date sets of self-propelled equipment and vibratory machinery for underground mining work.

To raise the recovery of non-ferrous metals from ores and the overall use of raw materials. To reduce ore losses in deposits during the extraction process. To introduce highly-effective schemes of ore dressing, hydrometallurgical and other up-to-date technological processes.

To raise labour productivity in the non-ferrous metals industry by 23-25 per cent.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry. To increase production by 60-65 per cent.

To carry out measures towards improving intrasectoral proportions in the chemical industry and towards making fuller use of the existing capacities.

To increase the production of mineral fertilizers to 143 million tons (including 5 million tons of chemical feed additives) in 1980, with the average content of nutrients in mineral fertilizers of at least 40 per cent. To increase the rate of building capacities for the production of phosphate fertilizers. To raise the production of concentrated and compound fertilizers. To secure in 1980 the production for agriculture of nitrogenous, phosphatic and potash fertilizers, mainly in granulated form, suitable for transportation in bulk by specialized transport means and for dry mixing.

To considerably expand the production of plant-protection chemicals and to widen their range.

To make provision for increasing the production of synthetic resins and plastics by 90-110 per cent, and to improve the quality and increase the durability of plastics. To increase the output of new types of polymer materials, above all structural materials.

To secure in 1980 the production of 1,450,000-1,500,000 tons of chemical fibre and thread. To extend the assort-

ment of household fibre and thread with improved properties. To boost the production of high-modulus fibre and texturized thread. To develop the production of high-quality dyestuffs, varnishes and paints.

To increase the production of synthetic rubber by 40-60 per cent, providing for a priority growth in the production of rubber which can completely replace natural rubber.

To expand the output of tyres by 35-40 per cent and to ensure a further increase in their service life. To considerably increase the proportion of radial-ply tyres. To expand the production and raise the quality of industrial rubber goods.

To improve the quality and increase the production of magnetic tape, electrical insulation materials and photographic and motion picture films.

To ensure the maximum satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy in chemical products made in small quantities, including extra pure materials, chemical additives for polymer materials, auxiliary substances for textile production, conserving agents, catalysts and other products.

To expand the output and improve the assortment and quality of household chemicals, as well as films and other types of materials for packaging consumer goods, medical preparations and medical goods.

To develop new production processes and to introduce highly-efficient catalyst systems which ensure higher output of the basic production equipment.

To continue on a large scale the technical re-tooling of the chemical industry, the introduction of large unit-capacity installations, continuous one-stage production processes with the maximum use being made of the energy of chemical reactions.

To increase labour productivity in the chemical industry by 59-61 per cent.

To considerably expand *geological prospecting work* for the purpose of further increasing mineral and raw material resources, primarily in areas where operating mining enterprises are located and in the regions of the country which are being newly developed.

To enhance the economic effectiveness of survey and prospecting work and to improve the quality of preparation of mineral resources. To ensure a priority growth in the

proved reserves of minerals as compared with the growth in mining industries.

To speed up prospecting and exploration of new oil, natural gas and condensate deposits, primarily in the middle reaches of the Ob area and in the North of the Tyumen Region, in Eastern Siberia, the Yakut ASSR and the Komi ASSR, in the Arkhangelsk Region, Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR (the Caspian depression). To ensure the preparation of additional proved reserves of oil and gas in areas of the European part of the USSR, where deposits are being worked. To enlarge the scale of geological prospecting in the shelf zones of the seas and oceans, first of all, for oil and natural gas. To intensify prospecting for coking and power coal, particularly in the European part of the USSR, for rich ores and easy-to-enrich ores for ferrous and non-ferrous metals industry, for precious metals and diamonds, raw materials for the atomic power industry and mineral fertilizer production, and also for subterranean waters.

To enhance the technical equipment of geological prospecting work, to develop and introduce new highly-productive equipment, automated drilling rigs, apparatuses and instruments. To extend the application of advanced geophysical and geochemical methods and the use of space and aerial means of geological survey.

To ensure the further development of *mechanical engineering*, the basis of the technical re-tooling of all the sectors of the national economy. To increase in the five-year period the output of mechanical engineering and metal-working industries by 50-60 per cent.

To considerably improve the quality of the machinery, equipment and instruments produced, to raise their technical level, productivity, reliability and safety in operation. To continue the work of developing complete systems of machines and instruments enabling the comprehensive mechanization and automation of entire production cycles, from the feeding in of raw materials to the shipping of finished products. To pay special attention to the development and introduction of equipment for fundamentally new production processes. To discontinue promptly the manufacture of technologically obsolete products.

The most important demand in developing new designs of machinery, instruments and apparatuses must be the achievement of the maximum economic effect and the low-

ering of their cost per unit of power (productivity).

To carry out a range of measures toward intensification of the mechanical engineering production. To deepen and expand intrasectoral and intersectoral specialization on the basis of the standardization and unification of articles, units and parts, as well as the standardization of production processes.

To develop at an accelerated rate the specialized output of general engineering products.

For the purpose of intensifying the technical re-tooling of mechanical engineering, to deliver new metal-working equipment mainly to mechanical engineering enterprises.

In all the sectors of mechanical engineering, to increase the effectiveness of using metal through the application, in designing new types of machines, mechanisms and equipment, of advanced solutions, more economical shapes of rolled ferrous metals and other structural materials, and through improving the techniques of metal-working.

To make provisions for the further development and specialization of the supply base of mechanical engineering. To introduce automated sets of equipment ensuring the production of high-precision blanks, and also a considerable rise in labour productivity and the improvement of working conditions in casting, forging and welding and in electroplating shops.

To increase the output of air-conditioning and ventilation equipment.

To make provisions for arranging the delivery of sets of complex equipment throughout the production process, with the rendering of expert assistance in assembly work and the carrying out of industrial tests, and also handing it over to the customer on the condition that the designed capacity (productivity) is attained.

To effect the further development of centralized repairs of machinery and equipment. To fully meet the requirements of the national economy in spare parts for machinery, equipment, instruments and apparatuses in line with technical standards.

To raise labour productivity in mechanical engineering and metal-working approximately by 50 per cent.

In power machine-building. To ensure the manufacture, in the necessary quantities, of power-generating units of

500,000- and 800,000-kw capacity, which must become the base units of electric power stations operating on organic fuel, and also the manufacture of large hydraulic and gas turbines.

To organize the batch production for atomic power stations of thermal-neutron reactors and turbo-units for them of at least one-million-kw capacity each. To develop sets of equipment for atomic thermal-neutron power-generating units of up to 1,500,000 kw in capacity.

To speed up the development of atomic machine-building on the basis of the full use of capacities and the reconstruction of existing enterprises, the building of new plants, and also through extensive cooperation with other industries in manufacturing individual units and parts.

To organize the production for the electric power industry of steam-and-gas installations, economical in fuel consumption, of up to 250,000 kw in capacity, and also gas-turbine power-generating units of up to 100,000 kw in capacity for meeting peak loads. To increase the manufacture of forced draught machines, fully meeting the requirements of the electric power industry and other industries in such machines.

To prepare new designs, to develop prototype models and to organize the batch production of automated remote-controlled large-unit gas-pumping installations having no underground gas storage facilities, with gas-turbine and electric drives of 6,000-25,000-kw capacity. To considerably increase the motor potential of the gas-pumping installations being developed and to double or treble their service life between repairs.

In heavy and transport machine-building. To ensure the development of the following machinery: heavy-duty continuous steel casting installations and rolling units; converters of 400-ton capacity; high-capacity continuous hot and cold rolling mills; pipe-welding and pipe-rolling installations with continuous automated production processes and programme control; equipment for thermal, chemical and electrochemical treatment of metals and for applying protective coatings to rolled stock and pipes; installations for the vacuum treatment of steel.

To accelerate the development of production equipment and means of mechanization for the non-ferrous metals industry. To develop a range of converters of up to 100-ton capacity for processing copper, copper-nickel and nickel

mattes, with both basic and auxiliary processes made fully automated.

To expand the output of equipment for underground extraction of ore, to master the production of heavy-duty excavators, dump-cars of up to 170 tons in capacity, and highly-efficient drilling rigs with a boring diameter of up to 400 millimetres, for the coal and ore mining industry.

To organize the production of new types of diesel engines with advanced technical and economic characteristics and large per unit capacity: marine and locomotive engines, and engines for drilling equipment, road-building machinery and heavy-duty tip-up lorries.

To master the production of two-section main-line freight diesel locomotives of 8,000 hp and passenger diesel locomotives of up to 6,000 hp per section; shunting and haulage locomotives of 2,000-hp capacity; sixteen-wheel open wagons and tank cars of up to 125 tons in capacity; specialized cars for carrying grain, flour, mineral fertilizers and other products; new high-efficiency equipment for the construction and repairs of railway tracks. To increase considerably the production of containers, particularly of large capacity.

To increase the production of advanced means of mechanization of material handling, loading and unloading and warehousing operations, including remote-controlled and programme-controlled cargo hoisting machines, aerial conveyers with automated routing of loads, and automated equipment for warehouses.

In the electrical engineering industry. To develop rapidly the production of large electrical machines, low capacity electrical machines, high- and low-voltage electrical apparatuses, including explosion-proof equipment, electrothermal equipment, storage batteries with improved specific characteristics, semi-conductor power converters, economical light sources, highly reliable electrical equipment for the mechanization and automation of agricultural production, and other kinds of advanced electrical engineering equipment. To intensify the work of developing high-capacity generators using the principle of superconductivity.

To master the production of:

1,000,000 to 1,200,000-kw turbo-generators for atomic and thermal power stations, 640,000-kw generators for hydroelectric power stations, sets of high-voltage equip-

ment for d. c. transmission lines of up to 1,500 kilovolts and a. c. transmission lines of up to 1,150 kilovolts;

automated electric drives with semi-conductor converters for rolling mills, and electrical equipment for large metallurgical installations and units;

highly efficient and reliable electrical equipment for drilling of oil and gas wells, for oil pumping, for gas and oil pipelines, and for mechanized coal-winning complexes;

main-line freight electric locomotives of more than 10,000 hp;

electric drive systems for equipment to process and store agricultural produce, for livestock farms, and for irrigation and drainage installations;

new types of electric cableware designed for higher voltages, and heat-resistant wires;

high-torque and step-by-step power motors for numerical programme-controlled metal-working equipment.

In the chemical and oil machine-building industry. To increase the production of the basic types of equipment by 50 to 60 per cent. To ensure the development and mastering of production of equipment and apparatuses for fundamentally new production processes making it possible to considerably intensify production in the chemical, tyre, rubber goods and paint- and varnish-making industries, and also of powerful oxygen installations for converter and blast-furnace production.

To increase the output of:

automated installations in sets of units for the on-site preparation of oil and gas and for processing gas and gas condensate, heat-exchange and refrigerating equipment, locking and control fittings for large-diameter pipelines;

highly efficient equipment, compressors and other apparatuses for gas processing plants;

complete combined large-tonnage installations for processing oil;

production installations of large per-unit capacity for the production of mineral fertilizers;

equipment for processing plastics and making tubes and other products from these materials;

automated centrifuges for the sugar industry, including those with programme control;

equipment for the pulp and paper industry.

To ensure the development and start the mastering of the production of equipment with large per-unit capacity

with the closed water utilization cycle for the pulp and paper industry. To start the production of equipment for making paper by the dry method. To master the production of new forming devices for paper- and paperboard-making machines.

To organize the production of:

units of machines and apparatuses making it possible to increase the output of existing equipment in the pulp and paper industry;

easy-to-erect drilling installations provided with special transport means, highly effective drilling bits, bottom-hole motors, and new types of oil and gas field equipment and highly mechanized units for the development and repairing of oil and gas wells;

complete sets of production equipment for the microbiological and chemopharmaceutic industry.

In the machine-tool and tool-making industry. To increase the production of metal-cutting machine tools and of forge and press machinery by 50 to 60 per cent.

To develop rapidly the production of automatic equipment with small-size electronic systems of numerical programme control. To improve the structure of the metal-working equipment produced with a view to meeting more fully the requirements of industry. To achieve this it is necessary:

to ensure the priority development of numerical programme-controlled machine tools, and the development of the production of heavy and unique machine tools and presses and high-precision machines;

to increase considerably the output of special machine tools and transfer lines and to organize the production of complex transfer lines re-adjustable to different component sizes for industries with large-batch and mass production;

to develop sets of highly productive metal-working equipment controlled by means of electronic computers, for setting up on the basis of this equipment sections and shops in industries with small-batch and serial production;

to develop and start the production of equipment for automating the assembly of mass-produced articles in machine-building;

to organize the serial production of automatic programme-controlled manipulators making it possible to mechan-

ize and automate strenuous physical or monotonous operations.

To accelerate the development of the production of automated foundry and forge and press machines, lines and sets of equipment for making precision blanks.

To organize the manufacture of complete production lines for making steel and glued wooden structural elements.

To expand the production of metal-working tools, especially those using natural or synthetic diamonds and other superhard materials and alloys, as well as of cutting and auxiliary tools for numerical programme-controlled machines and for automated lines. To ensure the development and organize the production of tools from mineral-ceramic materials. To meet the requirements of the machine-building, metal-working and other industries in abrasive articles of high strength.

To increase the output of instruments and means of automation 1.6 to 1.7 times and computer facilities, 1.8 times. To develop the production of multi-purpose and controlling computer complexes, peripheral equipment, instruments, devices for the recording and data transmission for automated systems of controlling production processes and optimum management in branches of the national economy, as well as electronic key-driven computers, cash registers and weight measuring facilities. To start the industrial output of instruments and devices with programme control for automatic manipulators.

To ensure the development and manufacture of new types of instruments and radio electronic equipment based on the extensive use of microelectronics and laser technology. To expand the manufacture of instruments for agricultural uses and for the control of the environment. To increase the output of instruments and equipment for scientific research and for mechanizing engineering work and managerial functions. To ensure the production of medical X-ray apparatuses with image intensifiers.

To increase the accuracy and reliability of instruments used in the process of manufacture, accounting and control of the quality of products.

In the motor vehicle manufacturing industry. To ensure the output of 2.1 to 2.2 million motor vehicles, including 800,000 to 825,000 lorries, in 1980. To raise the production of buses for public transport, heavy-duty trucks and trail-

ers and semi-trailers for them. To develop the production of dumpers and dumper trains with a carrying capacity of 75, 120 and more tons for the mining industry. To considerably raise the technical standards, quality and service indicators of motor vehicles. To expand the use of diesels in the motor vehicle manufacturing industry. To start the designing of new powerful prime movers and multi-wheel cross-country motor vehicles with gas turbines. To continue work on further increasing the reliability and service life of motor vehicles and reducing labour consumption needed for their servicing.

To expand the types and the production of specialized motor vehicles, taking into account the needs of agriculture, trade, communal services, health service, industry, construction and other branches, and of motor vehicles for various climatic zones and natural conditions. To raise the production of cars with higher cross-country capacity for rural areas.

To intensify work on developing transport means and other means reducing air pollution due to exhaust gases. To expand the manufacture of gas-cylinder motor vehicles, primarily for motor transport establishments of large cities.

To take comprehensive measures aimed at raising the responsibility of the branch for supplying the motor pool with spare parts. To considerably improve the organization of major repair work for motor vehicles and the servicing of cars which are in individual use.

To develop the bearing industry, especially the production of special instrument and high-precision bearings.

In the tractor and agricultural machine-building industry. To increase the production of tractors to 580,000-600,000 with a total capacity of 55 million hp in 1980. To develop the production of high-powered tractors, increasing their per-unit capacities.

To provide for the production of 2,800 million roubles' worth of agricultural machinery for plant-growing in 1980. To ensure a considerable rise in the output of machines necessary for the completion of the comprehensive mechanization of grain production and beet-growing and the further rise in the level of the mechanization in the cultivation and harvesting of cotton, potatoes, melons, vegetables, fruit, berries and other crops.

To pay special attention to the manufacture of harvesting machines so that they would preserve the quality of agricultural produce.

To manufacture 125,000 grain harvesters of the *Niva*, *Kolos* and *Sibiryak* models in 1980. To increase the output of highly efficient machines for the mechanization of operations connected with the use of chemicals for plant protection and the improvement of hay-fields and pastures, wind and water erosion control and highland agriculture.

To extend the manufacture of agricultural machines and trailers for the fullest utilization of the technical potential of tractors of the K-700 and T-150 models.

To raise the quality and reliability of tractors, combine harvesters and other machines.

In the mechanical engineering serving livestock farming and fodder production. To provide for the production of machines and equipment worth 2,200 million roubles in 1980. To increase the production of equipment for supplying specialized livestock complexes and farms and to improve its reliability in operation and its corrosion resistance. To develop the production of highly efficient machines and equipment for the manufacture of grass meal and for the granulation and briquetting of fodder. To design and put into production qualitatively new machines, including self-propelled ones, with a view to raising the level of the comprehensive mechanization of operations at livestock farms and the preparation of fodder.

To expand the manufacture of machines and equipment for applying mineral and organic fertilizers and limes and to start the output of multi-ton spreaders.

In the mechanical engineering for the construction, road building and municipal industries. To ensure the design and the mastering of production of machine systems for the comprehensive mechanization of operations in industrial, agricultural, land-reclamation, housing and road construction, as well as machines of higher per-unit capacity with the wide use of hydraulic and automatic devices.

To master the production and organize the serial output of up-to-date equipment for the high-speed building of main motorways. To ensure the output of new, more advanced heading machines for the construction of the underground and tunnels.

To organize the output of specialized building equipment ensuring a higher rate and quality in the laying of gas and oil trunk pipelines.

For the production of cement by the dry method, to create technological transfer lines of high capacity. To master the serial production of equipment for the complete mechanization of the processes of the production of wall, rolled roofing and non-metallic building materials, faience for sanitary and plumbing facilities, heat and sound insulation articles made of mineral wool, and building materials made of ceramics and natural stone.

To extend the range of mechanized building and assembling tools and building and finishing machines and to raise their technical standards.

To organize the production of complexes of highly efficient machines and equipment for the logging and floating of timber making it possible to carry out basic logging operations without the use of manual labour.

To further develop the production of machines and equipment for community service establishments and for municipal services, especially for the large-scale mechanization of garbage disposal and sanitary cleaning of towns and cities, industrial and trade premises, and also of fire-fighting equipment.

In the mechanical engineering for light industry and the food industry. To increase the manufacture of technological equipment by 30 to 40 per cent.

To expand the output of new equipment for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes in light industry, including machine tools and apparatuses with automated control systems, increased suction rate and a minimum noise level. To put into production more advanced equipment for the primary processing of raw cotton and flax; preparatory spinning equipment; pneumomechanical spinning machines for the manufacture of yarn out of woollen and chemical fibres and cotton yarn of high counts; multi-system knitters and special equipment for the clothing industry; automated production lines for the manufacture of non-woven materials; shuttleless looms complete with mechanisms ensuring the manufacture of fabrics with intricate interlacing and of wide assortment; looms for continuous formation of fabrics; dyeing and finishing equipment with the extensive use of standardized units, including those for the finishing of silk and knitted

fabrics and the dyeing of yarn and fibres under pressure; complete equipment for automated spinning and weaving enterprises on the basis of spindleless methods of spinning and shuttleless weaving; highly efficient equipment for the manufacture of chemical fibres.

To increase the output of complete highly efficient technological equipment for the branches of the food industry and to considerably raise its technical standards and reliability. To increase the output of packing machines and lines, as well as continuous sterilizers and other equipment. To undertake the designing and manufacture of machines and equipment for automated enterprises and shops in the sugar, meat, dairy, canning, baking, mill, mixed feed and other industries, as well as equipment for primary processing of perishable products at collective and state farms.

To increase the output of photocomposition printing equipment, up-to-date machines for offset printing and automated lines for making books.

To master the batch production of equipment for the complete mechanization of the processes of glass manufacture.

To expand the output of cold-storage counters, mechanized conveyor lines for preparing and serving meals, dish-washing machines, highly efficient equipment for the repair of footwear and clothes, and other types of modern technical facilities for trade, public catering and communal service.

To increase the per-unit capacity of technological equipment.

To provide for the further development of *the building materials industry and the industry of building structures and parts*. To increase the output of building materials over the five-year period by 30 per cent.

To expand the output of new building materials, efficient precast structural elements, large light-weight and economical structures and articles of improved quality, with a high degree of completeness, ensuring a rise in the level of industrialization, a reduction of the material consumption and the cost of construction, as well as the long service life, comfort and architectural expressiveness of houses and other structures.

To bring the output of cement in 1980 up to 143-146 million tons. To develop the production of cement by

the dry method on the basis of the latest technology at an accelerated rate. To increase the output of high-grade and special types of cement, such as quick-setting, stressing and decorative cements.

To expand the production of glass and the range of types of glass, including standard-size window, polished, heat protective and architectural structural glass. To introduce highly efficient processes of two-stage formation of the glass band, high-temperature melting of glass and the mechanized cutting of sheet glass.

To increase the factory production of steel building structures 1.4 to 1.5 times, precast reinforced-concrete structures and parts 1.2 to 1.3 times and glued wooden structures about 6 times. To considerably raise the output of factory-made enlarged and lightened building structures.

With a view to reducing metal consumption in construction, to organize mass production of high-quality reinforced-concrete, asbestos-cement, plastic and other pipes, panels, building structures and articles without the use of metal.

To increase the output of large-size structural and finishing asbestos and cement articles, roofing felt, fibre-glass roofing and other types of durable soft roofing materials and effective heat-insulating and sound-proof materials.

To expand the range, to improve the quality and the finish of sanitary engineering equipment and articles, and finishing and facing materials. To increase the output of ceramic tiles, materials from natural stone, porous fillers, cellular concrete articles, washed and fractionized non-metallic and local building materials. To use concomitantly extracted raw materials and industrial wastes more widely in the manufacture of building materials. To mechanize and automate the production of wall materials. To increase the output and deliveries of raw and other materials for the porcelain and faience industry.

To raise labour productivity in the building materials industry by 24 to 26 per cent.

To increase production in *the timber, woodworking, and pulp and paper industries* by 22 to 25 per cent.

To expand the logging and processing of wood in Siberia and the Far East. To use the timber resources in a more rational way, especially in the European part of

the USSR. To improve the use of wood procured. To accelerate the expansion of the capacities in the chemical and chemical-mechanical processing of wood wastes, low-quality wood and wood of tree species with soft leafage.

To ensure a 1.4-1.5-fold increase in the output of furniture. To devote special attention to the expansion of the range of furniture, to the improvement of its quality and appearance. To considerably raise the output of standard dwelling-houses of new advanced designs, and of other products of woodworking to meet the growing requirements of the population.

To raise the output of paper and cardboard by 15 to 25 per cent. To develop at an accelerated rate the output of paper for printing purposes, for use by automated data processing equipment, of paper and cardboard for the packing of foodstuffs and manufactured goods and to raise the quality of the paper. To use waste paper more extensively in the making of paper and cardboard.

To introduce modern highly productive equipment and the latest technological processes in the timber, woodworking, and pulp and paper industries.

To raise labour productivity in the timber and woodworking industries by 25 to 27 per cent and in the pulp and paper industries by 23 to 25 per cent.

To raise output in *light industry* by 26 to 28 per cent. To bring the output of fabrics in 1980 up to 12,500-13,100 million square metres and the output of knitwear up to 1,800-1,900 million pieces. To ensure a 3.4-3.5-fold increase in the output of non-woven materials of a fabric type, and a 2.1-fold increase in the output of carpets and carpet articles. To increase the output and improve the quality of hosiery made from cotton and woollen yarn.

To speed up the development of production and to expand the assortment of new types of high-quality fabrics, knitwear and sewn goods, footwear, clothing, natural and artificial fur items and other products in mass demand. To increase the output of modern accessories and finishing materials of the necessary assortment for the manufacture of clothes, footwear, textile and leather haberdashery.

To ensure a considerable rise in the quality of goods, the constant updating and improvement of their range, through the extensive use of new chemical fibres and threads, polymers and high-quality dyes. To set up new enterprises on the basis of modern chemicals for the manufac-

ture of synthetic leather, artificial fur, stable-form knitted fabrics and other materials for the making of clothes and footwear of various models and colours in order to meet the requirements of all age groups of the population.

To expand the output of special-purpose clothes and footwear which meet esthetic and industrial hygienic requirements.

To raise the output of camping and sports goods, furnishing fabrics, tapestry and drapery.

To ensure higher efficiency of the operation of light industry on the basis of the technical re-tooling and reconstruction of enterprises, the modernization of equipment and the introduction of new highly productive technological processes and means of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production. To improve considerably the work of the clothing and footwear industries, to expand the specialization of enterprises.

To enhance the role of research and designing organizations in the development and introduction of new up-to-date articles, in the improvement of the technology and organization of production.

To raise labour productivity in light industry by 23 to 25 per cent.

To raise the output of *articles for household and cultural uses* 1.6 times. To provide for an increase in the output of these goods as follows: in electronics and radio engineering, 3 times; in the defence industry, 1.9 times; in the chemical industry and the industry manufacturing communication equipment and facilities, 1.8 times; in electrical engineering and machine-building for light industry and the food industry, 1.6 times; in aircraft engineering, instrument-making and ferrous metals industry, 1.5 times; in the motor vehicle industry, timber, woodworking and building materials industries, 1.4 times; and in the pulp and paper industries, 1.2 times.

To considerably increase the output of spare parts for household appliances.

To expand the production of new goods for cultural and household uses, such as freezers, single- or multi-chamber refrigerators with a capacity of up to 300 litres and automatic defrosting, air conditioners, colour and portable TV sets, high-quality radio sets and radiograms, video-tape recorders, motion picture and photographic equipment, gas ranges and electric stoves of improved

design, automatic washing and ironing machines for household use, various lighting devices, high-quality cutlery sets, china, earthenware and enamelled crockery and utensils, car accessories and articles for the servicing of means of transportation, articles which ease domestic work and other articles in popular demand.

To organize mass production of better orchard and kitchen garden implements and sets of equipment for the heating and water supply of individual houses, and other goods improving the living conditions of the rural population.

To raise the output of *the food branches of industry* by 23 to 25 per cent. To considerably improve the quality, the biological value and the taste of foodstuffs and to improve their assortment.

To develop at a high rate the output of various high-quality children's and dietary foodstuffs, food concentrates, semi-cooked and other culinary products, quick-frozen vegetables and fruit, ready-to-cook canned foods, fruit and vegetable juices, mineral waters and beer. To increase the output of foodstuffs in packages convenient for consumers.

To bring the sale of chilled meat in 1980 to 80 per cent of the total. To increase the output of whole milk products 1.2 times, cheese production, 1.4 times, and smoked pork products and frankfurters, 1.7-1.8 times.

To improve the use of production capacities in the meat and dairy industry, as well as in the sugar, canning and other industries with seasonal character of production.

To make fuller use of agricultural raw materials and the nutritious substances they contain for the manufacture of wholesome food products.

To secure the broad-scale use of new packaging means, specialized transport, bulk transportation and other latest methods and means of transportation and storage of food products.

To introduce on a major scale highly efficient automatic weighing, packaging and bottling lines, continuous action sterilizers, programme-controlled automatic centrifuges and other modern equipment. To increase the capacity of refrigerators in the food, meat and dairy industries 1.3 times.

To considerably increase the production of dried skimmed milk, substitutes of whole milk, bone meal and fish meal to meet the needs of livestock farming.

To raise the output of marketable fish products for food, including canned products, by 30-32 per cent. To raise the effectiveness of use of the fishing fleet and reinforce it with highly efficient vessels. To improve the existing and develop new highly efficient methods of fishing and fishing implements, equipment, machinery and instruments that provide for the mechanization and automation of the catching and technological processing of fish and other seafoods.

To continue the study and development of new areas and utilization of marine resources in the World Ocean. To develop fishing in the littoral waters of the USSR.

To increase the stocks of valuable fish in inland reservoirs. To provide for a 1.7-fold increase in fish production in state pond fisheries.

To develop extensively the network of fish-processing enterprises in the localities where large quantities of fish products are consumed, and also of specialized shops. To increase the production of quality products from oceanic fish species in the needed assortment and packing with due account of popular demand. To secure the further expansion of production and delivery to the trade network of live and chilled fish, fish fillet, smoked fillet and ready-to-serve products, smoked and dried fish. To increase the use of fish and other seafoods for making varied fish produce: fish sausages, frankfurters and ready-to-cook fish, fish meal and the like.

To raise labour productivity in the food industry by 24-26 per cent, in the meat and dairy industry by 17-19 per cent, and in the fish industry by 16-18 per cent.

To secure an increase in the output of *the mill industry* by 21-23 per cent. To increase the production of high-grade flour, rice and buckwheat.

To put into operation grain elevators of an aggregate capacity of 30,000,000 tons.

To increase output in the *mixed feeds industry* at least 1.5 times. To bring the volume of mixed feeds in 1980 at state enterprises up to 53 million tons and of protein-vitamin additives to 4 million tons.

To consider as a most important task the accelerated development of production capacities of state, inter-farm, collective and state farm mixed feeds enterprises, for ensuring the maximum processing of forage grain into mixed feeds using different types of additives. To bring the pro-

duction of mixed feeds in 1980 at collective and state farms up to 24-28 million tons.

To increase labour productivity in the mill and mixed feeds industries by 24-26 per cent.

To develop the *microbiological industry* at an accelerated rate. To increase output in this branch 2-2.1 times. To secure a considerable growth in the production of fodder protein, premixes, and microbiological plant protection means. To increase substantially the production of amino acids, fodder antibiotics, enzymes and other products of microbiological synthesis. To devote special attention to improving the quality of fodder protein and raising the efficiency of its production.

To expand research aimed at obtaining highly productive and stable industrial strains of microorganisms—producers of biologically active substances, at developing more advanced technology for the output of microbiological products on the basis of new, cheaper types of raw materials, and at increasing output per raw material unit. To continue to equip the microbiological industry with highly efficient production lines with big capacity units.

To raise labour productivity in the microbiological industry by 62-64 per cent.

To increase output in *the medical industry* by 44-46 per cent.

To ensure the development and master the production of new highly effective medical preparations, automated standardized electronic instruments and apparatuses for mass medical checkups of the population, and the improvement of diagnostics and treatment of patients. To increase considerably the output of synthetic hormones, insulin, endocrinal preparations and opaque preparations for X-ray examination, medicines for children, glass lenses and frames, medical instruments, medical laboratory equipment, and means of mechanizing work in hospitals. To introduce new production processes in the manufacture of vitamins and other preparations.

To ensure, for the fuller satisfaction of the needs of health service establishments and needs of the population in medical goods, an increase in their production at enterprises both of the medical industry and of other branches.

To raise labour productivity in the medical industry by 36-38 per cent.

To provide for a 1.3-1.4-fold increase in output in *the local industries* with the maximum use of local raw materials and secondary resources.

To implement measures for the further technical re-tooling of local industries. To expand, for fuller satisfaction of popular demand, output of musical instruments, handicraft articles, souvenirs, and articles for the household, recreation and tourism, physical culture and sports.

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The main task in agriculture is to ensure further growth and greater stability in farm production, the utmost possible improvement in the effectiveness of crop and livestock farming to satisfy the population's food requirements and industry's need for raw materials more fully, and to build up state reserves of agricultural produce.

To increase the average annual output of farm products by 14-17 per cent as compared with the previous five-year period.

To intensify farming consistently and steadily, to increase its material and technical facilities. To expand all-round mechanization and automation of production, the use of chemicals in agriculture, and land improvement. To accelerate the introduction of the achievements of science, technology and advanced experience. To improve the methods of agricultural management and administration; to implement further specialization and concentration based on inter-farm cooperation and formation of agrarian-industrial associations and enterprises.

To improve the location of agricultural production with an eye to a more rational use of the natural conditions of each area. To ensure a high rate of agricultural development in the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation.

To take measures to improve use of land, materials, technical facilities and labour; to cut production costs; to increase the average annual productivity of labour on collective and state farms by 27 to 30 per cent during the five-year period.

To pay special attention to improving the quality of the products of crop and livestock farming further; to ensure the introduction on a wide scale of the more produc-

tive hybrids and strains of plants and animals, and production techniques; to implement measures aimed at preventing losses in production, transportation, storage and the processing of farm produce and raw materials.

The most important task in *crop farming* is to increase grain output to the utmost and improve the stability of grain production by further improving the structure of the areas under crops, increasing crop yields, effective use of mineral and organic fertilizers, putting under crops maximum areas of reclaimed land and other land in areas with sufficient moisture, introducing high-yielding varieties and hybrids, and improving the techniques of grain cultivation.

To bring the annual total grain output up to 215-220 million tons. To increase the output of strong and hard wheat, rye, buckwheat, millet and rice considerably. To expand the sown areas and to increase the gross output of maize, barley, oats, legumes and other grains and forage crops. To speed up the development of large zones of guaranteed production of commodity grain on reclaimed land. To considerably expand the production of maize as a cereal on irrigated land. To complete the all-round mechanization of grain cultivation.

To ensure production of not less than 9 million tons of raw cotton in 1980. To expand the areas under and increase the per hectare yield of long-staple varieties of cotton. To complete the introduction of cotton-alfalfa crop rotation, to implement the introduction of high-yielding, disease-resistant varieties of cotton with high-quality fibres. To raise the level of mechanization in cotton cultivation, irrigation and harvesting.

To bring the average annual output of sugar-beet up to 95-98 million tons and to increase its yield and sugar content considerably. To take measures towards still greater specialization and concentration of sugar-beet production in the main sugar-beet areas. To start the cultivation of sugar-beet on irrigated land in the most suitable areas on the Volga, in the North Caucasus, the south of the Ukraine and Moldavia; to complete in the main the all-round mechanization of sugar-beet production; to satisfy in full the requirements of beet-growing farms in fertilizers and pesticides.

To increase the output of flax fibre of high technical quality, oil seeds, especially sunflower seeds, soya and

castor beans, mustard, volatile-oil and other technical crops, as well as medicinal plants.

To increase the output and varieties of potatoes, vegetables and melons and improve their quality; to complete the creation on irrigated land of areas guaranteeing vegetable and early potato supplies for the population in towns and industrial centres. To ensure the output of tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, garlic and greens in adequate quantities and to continue setting up specialized farms and hot-house complexes. To considerably reduce labour input in vegetable and potato farming through improved techniques and introduction of all-round mechanization.

To increase the output of fruit, grapes and berries, tea and hops by intensifying production, and by priority setting up of large orchards and vineyards on an industrial basis; to improve the overall plantation structure by increasing the proportion of winter varieties of fruit, and to expand the area under berries.

To improve supplies of fresh fruit and vegetables for the population throughout the year. For that purpose, to expand the building of storage facilities on collective and state farms.

To improve overall crop-farming standards, to ensure the conservation and rational use of land resources, especially of arable land; to take measures to protect the soil against water and wind erosion, especially in the South and East.

To improve seed production considerably, and ensure further specialization and concentration of production of high-grade seeds and the changeover to seed production on an industrial basis, taking advantage of inter-farm cooperation.

To implement extensive measures to create a stable *fodder base*, making wide use of the great possibilities afforded by land improvement; to ensure fuller satisfaction of the livestock's needs in fodder protein.

To expand the areas under peas, lupine, alfalfa and other high-protein-content crops to the maximum; to start growing soya beans on irrigated land in the south of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, in Moldavia and the Transcaucasian Republics; to evolve suitable strains of soya and develop a technology for cultivating it in the republics of Central Asia and in Southern Kazakhstan; to create a network of specialized farms for this purpose,

and to supply them with the machinery, mineral fertilizers and herbicides they need.

To improve standards in field fodder production; to get a higher yield in fodder crops and higher productivity of grazing lands. To increase the area of high-yield irrigated grasslands and pastures, and also water-supplied pasture land in desert and semidesert areas.

To increase considerably the production of coarse and succulent feeds to meet fully the requirements of socially owned livestock and stock owned by collective farmers, workers and employees; to set up emergency fodder reserves at every collective and state farm.

To improve the quality of coarse feeds primarily by reducing the loss in their nutritive value during harvesting, storage and preparation of fodder; to introduce on a larger scale grass meal, haylage, briquetting, granulation and chemical preservation of fodder; to accelerate the transition to fully mechanized feed production and preparation of fodder.

To make fuller use of waste from food, meat and dairy industries for fodder, and to improve the collection of domestic food waste and waste from catering and trade enterprises.

To increase the output of meat, milk, eggs, wool and other *livestock* products still further through increased productivity of cattle and poultry, larger herds, effective use of fodder, considerably better conditions for keeping and feeding animals, improving pedigree breeding, mechanization of production and the introduction of progressive techniques.

To bring average annual production of meat to 15-15.6 million tons (slaughter weight), milk to 94-96 million tons, eggs to 58-61 thousand million.

To develop in every way the specialization and concentration of production of livestock and poultry products; to ensure its gradual switch-over to an industrial basis; to build more state-owned, collective farm, and inter-farm livestock complexes, mechanized farms and poultry factories, and to rebuild stock and poultry farms with an eye to employing new machines and techniques.

To ensure a higher output of meat, particularly beef and poultry meat, through intensive raising and fattening of young cattle and expanding broiler production; to develop specialized cattle-raising for meat; to further inten-

sify pig-raising, mainly for meat; also, to increase the output of bacon. To increase considerably the number of cows on collective and state farms and other state-owned farming enterprises; to improve the productivity of milch cows, and to substantially improve and replenish the herd; to ensure a further increase in the number of sheep and goats, and improvement of their productivity.

To make fuller use of the possibilities for developing stud farming, reindeer and fur animal farming, rabbit-breeding, pond fish farming, bee-keeping and silk-worm breeding.

To improve veterinary services, decrease the disease incidence among animals and their loss. To increase the supply of biological and chemical-therapeutical preparations as well as the instruments, equipment and appliances for livestock farming and veterinary services.

To continue the policy of stable state plans for the purchasing of farm produce and of encouraging farms, through the application of higher prices, to sell their produce to the state over and above the plan. To provide for the purchase of farm products, including those sold above the plan, on the basis of 5-year contracts between procurement organizations and collective and state farms, with targets specified for each year; to ensure that purchases of farm produce be made in accordance with the contracts.

To raise the average annual procurement of the main farm products, including those sold above the plan, to the following quantities: grain—90 million tons, sugar beet—89.5 million tons, raw cotton—8.5 million tons, flax fibre—511 thousand tons, vegetables—17 million tons, potatoes—16.8 million tons, fruit and berries—5.6 million tons, grapes—5.4 million tons, sunflower seeds—6 million tons, livestock and poultry (live weight)—17.4 million tons, milk—60.5 million tons, eggs—34.3 thousand million, wool (weight at point of sale)—511 thousand tons.

To improve forms of procurement; to make wider use of direct ties of collective and state farms with processing and trade enterprises, and to increase their responsibility for the quality of products when procured and when sold to consumers. To improve the transportation and storage of farm products; to employ container haulage. To apply more widely the delivery of products at the point of production, the procurement organizations providing the

transport; to improve the procuring organizations' material and technical facilities; to build and renovate procurement centres, elevators, cold storage, and fruit and vegetable storage facilities.

To continue *land improvement* on a large scale; to invest state funds in the cultivation of 4 million hectares of irrigated land; to drain 4.7 million hectares of land, and to supply water to 37.6 million hectares of pasture land in desert, semidesert and mountain areas.

To increase the irrigation farming area in the south-east of the European part of the Russian Federation, in the North Caucasus, in the Southern Ukraine, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, the Central Asian Republics, and the Transcaucasian Republics; to forge ahead with land improvement in the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation; to continue drainage operations in the Baltic Republics, the Polesye lowland and in the Far East.

To carry out research on diverting part of the effluence of some northern and Siberian rivers to Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Volga basin, and to draw up projects on the basis of that research.

To accelerate the introduction of the latest scientific methods in land improvement; to ensure further industrialization of construction of water supply systems and their operation, the application of advanced watering techniques, and automation and mechanization of land improvement systems control; to use water resources more efficiently, and to better the technical condition of the land improvement systems. To ensure integrated construction of irrigation and drainage systems and cultivation of the ameliorated land. To increase the responsibility of the organizations that design and build irrigation facilities for the quality of the new land improvement systems; to ensure effective use of irrigated and drained lands and the utmost improvement in the yields of the crops grown on these lands.

Further to intensify *the use of chemicals* in agriculture; by 1980, to bring the mineral fertilizer supplies for agriculture up to 115 million tons and chemical fodder additives—to 5 million tons; to increase the proportion of phosphorous, concentrated and compound fertilizers in the overall mineral fertilizer supplies; to use mineral fertilizers with greater efficiency and to cut losses during their transportation, storage and application; to expand the

construction of mechanized warehouses with light prefabricated units for mineral fertilizer storage; to improve the agrochemical services to collective and state farms.

To raise the supplies of pesticides for agriculture to 628 thousand tons in 1980 (standard units), including 245 thousand tons of herbicides.

To improve the plant protection service; and continue to develop biological pest control methods in agriculture.

To expand work on liming acid soils, the gypsum treatment and improvement of solonetz soils, and the utilization of peat for the preparation of organic fertilizers.

To get research organizations to focus their attention on the main aspects of intensification, specialization and concentration of agricultural production, transition to industrial methods, and increasing the efficiency of collective and state farm production; to improve the selection of qualitatively new, higher-yield varieties and hybrids of farm crops, to improve existing breeds and evolve new, more productive ones of cattle and fowl. To intensify work on the development of methods for protecting plants against pests and disease, and for control and prevention of animal diseases.

To speed up the development of the material base of agricultural science, experimental and pilot production enterprises; to build more selection stations; to ensure wide-scale introduction of scientific and technological achievements and latest practices on collective and state farms and at other farming enterprises.

To put a total of 171,700 million roubles of capital investment, including 115,700 million roubles of state capital investment, into the all-round development of agriculture, including the building of production facilities, housing and community services and the purchase of machinery; to provide adequate material and technical resources for 56,000 million roubles, the investment of the collective farms. To use the investments, in the first place, for carrying out the most important tasks in agriculture—to raise the output of grain and technical crops, and to develop livestock farming and improve the fodder base; to prevent haphazard investment, and to complete construction projects strictly on time. To modernize operational industrial facilities on a wider scale.

To improve the designing of agricultural projects; to strive for minimum construction costs in drawing up

estimates; to make greater use of light prefabricated sections, progressive designs and technological solutions.

To increase the production facilities of state and inter-collective-farm building organizations carrying out construction in the countryside; to industrialize construction work to the utmost, develop the network of specialized rural building combines and increase the output of local building materials.

To continue re-equipping agriculture with new machinery, and introducing industrial continuous-flow methods of production and advanced technology. To provide for a further accelerated growth in power supply per unit of machinery, and a rise in the level of mechanization in agriculture. To bring, by 1980, the consumption of electricity in the countryside up to 130,000 million kwh.

During the five years to supply agriculture with 1,900,000 tractors, 1,350,000 lorries, 538,000 grain harvesters, 1,580,000 tractor trailer implements, including 200,000 haylage carts, 100,000 excavators, 106,500 bulldozers, 47,750 scrapers, farm machines to the total value of 23,000 million roubles, including 10,300 million roubles' worth of machinery for livestock farming and fodder production.

To use the tractors and other machinery on collective and state farms with greater efficiency; to improve the maintenance of farm machinery, to avoid premature write-offs; to continue to improve and develop repair facilities for agricultural equipment; to improve the standard of servicing and repairs of machines and equipment.

To complete the introduction of specialized technical servicing of machines and equipment on collective and state farms; to increase the role of the "Selkhoztekhnika" enterprises and organizations and their responsibility for the technical condition and effective use of the machine and tractor fleet and equipment.

To further improve the organization of labour on collective and state farms; to expand and improve the training of qualified machine operators, livestock farmers, land improvement workers and other personnel in trades required on a mass scale as well as production managers and specialists.

For collective and state farms to render necessary assistance to members in managing their personal holdings.

In *forestry* it is necessary to ensure higher productivity of forests, to obtain larger quantities of commodity timber per hectare of forest area, and to use forest resources economically; to speed up the technical re-equipment of forestry, increase the use of chemicals and introduce progressive technological methods in basic forestry work.

To replenish during the five-year period 10-11 million hectares of the state forest reserve, to plant 1.4 million hectares of protective belts, to drain up to 1.5 million hectares of waterlogged forest, and to improve 230 million hectares of forest. To further improve the forest-fire service, and to ensure better protection of forests against pests and disease.

V. DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

In transport the main task is to ensure a fuller and timely satisfaction of the needs of the economy and the population for transportation, to speed up freight deliveries and passenger traffic. This is to be achieved through a considerable increase in the capacity and standard of operation within the whole transportation system, and also by improving transport links between the various economic areas of the country.

To increase the freight turnover of every type of transport by about 30 per cent, and general passenger transport by 23 per cent.

To ensure further development and technical equipment of all modes of transport by introducing the latest and specialized transportation facilities, increasing the carrying capacity and the traction force of rolling stock and of the fleet, and also by increased road building, primarily in the newly developed regions in the North, Siberia and the Far East for the earliest development of the productive forces of those regions.

To introduce more automation facilities, telemechanics and automated-control systems for the management of transportation and technological processes.

To increase the effectiveness of transport. With this aim in view:

to improve the utilization of transportation facilities, to reduce down-time for rolling stock, ships and motor

vehicles during cargo-handling or technical operations, use them to the full carrying and holding capacity and to reduce the number of no-load runs;

to continue the development of optimal haulage patterns with due consideration for the need to eliminate nonrational carriage, to make better use of every type of transport; to increase the responsibility of transportation organizations, cargo dispatchers, and the organs of supply and marketing for the fulfilment of haulage plans and for observing proper cargo-movement patterns;

to improve the interaction of different types of transport, improve the organization of transportation. To ensure a more rhythmical pace of freight handling on a weekly or daily basis;

to increase containerized transportation using, above all, large-tonnage containers and also packs; to improve the standard of integrated mechanization of freight handling for all types of transport, at the sidings of enterprises, construction sites and organizations.

To implement further development of industrial transport; to introduce, on a wider scale, new continuous types of transport—the conveyer, pipeline, including pneumo-container and overhead cable-way transport; largely to complete the changeover to diesel and electric traction at industrial enterprises; to expand the network of interbranch enterprises of industrial railway transport by combining the rolling stock controlled by transport shops under different administrations. To increase the capacities of berthing facilities and commission new mechanized berthing facilities at enterprises, construction sites and organizations.

To ensure implementation of further transport safety measures.

To provide for further development of transportation on international lines.

To improve the standard of passenger service on all types of transport.

To ensure *on the railways* an increase in railway traffic and freight capacity on freight-intensive lines, to increase the freight-handling capacity of marshalling yards and goods stations and cut the turnaround time of freight cars. To increase the speed of movement of freight and passenger trains, increase freight carriage by better routing and increasing the average weight of freight trains.

To provide for an approximate 22 per cent growth in freight turnover on the railways and a 14-15 per cent growth in passenger turnover.

To build 2.8 thousand kilometres of extra track in the busier zones of the railway network. To electrify 2.5 thousand kilometres and fit out with automatic blocking and centralized dispatching systems 16,000 to 17,000 km of railways. To put some 3,000 km of new rail track into operation. To continue with the construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway and sidetracks.

To make available in the five-year period 2.2 thousand new electric locomotives, 6.4 thousand sections of main-line and 2.5 thousand shunting locomotives, 386,000 freight cars and 16.6 thousand passenger cars.

To bring the level of integrated mechanization of railway loading and unloading operations to 93 per cent. To considerably increase the standard of mechanization of running repairs of track.

To improve the organization of passenger transport and to continue work to electrify lines and major junctions with intense suburban traffic.

To increase the productivity of labour on the railways by 18-20 per cent.

To provide for the further development of *sea transport*. To fully satisfy the growing needs of the national economy for foreign trade and coastal transportation, to improve goods deliveries to the Far North and Far East; to increase the scope and effectiveness of export of transportation services. To increase the sea cargo turnover by some 30 per cent.

To develop the capacity of sea ports mainly by building specialized transshipment complexes with berthing facilities totalling 5.3 km primarily in the ports of Vostochny, Nagayevo, Novorossiisk, Tuapse, Ilyichevsk and Arkhangel'sk. To continue work on building the new port at the Grigoriev lagoon on the Black Sea. To bring the standard of integrated mechanization in cargo-handling at sea ports to 92 per cent.

To replenish the merchant fleet with highly efficient dry cargo, tank and combined vessels with a total dead-weight of approximately 5 million tons. To increase the proportion of specialized dry cargo vessels—timber carriers, container carriers, lighters, trailer ships, bulk carriers and other ships. To take measures to extend the na-

avigation season on the Northern Sea Route and in freezing harbours. To build more powerful icebreakers. To continue work on developing ship repair facilities, particularly in the Far Eastern and the Black Sea basins.

To further develop *river transport*, primarily in Siberia, the Far East and the Far North. To increase the traffic volume by some 22 per cent. To put a total of some six kilometres of mechanized berthing facilities into operation, and complete the reconstruction of the Osetrovsky port, to extend the handling capacity of the-ports of Maklakov, Khabarovsk, Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur and the Pechora. To build a port at Nizhnevartovsk and begin reconstruction of the Belomor-Baltiisk Canal.

To add high tonnage vessels to the river transport fleet, along with pusher tugs, higher-capacity diesel cargo ships, including the combined purpose "river-sea" ships, small tonnage ships to carry cargos on smaller rivers and also more modern types of passenger craft.

To take steps to extend the navigation season on inland waterways. To reinforce river transport with icebreakers; to complete in the main the integrated mechanization of freight handling operations of river cargoes.

To provide for the further development of *pipeline transport*. To put some 15,000 kilometres of oil pipelines and at least 3,500 kilometres of petroleum product pipelines into service during the five-year period. To ensure the development and implementation of automated systems for controlling technological processes on the main pipelines.

To increase the turnover of *motor transport* by some 42 per cent. To give priority to general-purpose motor transport ensuring a growth of 45 per cent in the freight turnover and 28 per cent in passenger traffic on buses.

To continue concentrating motor vehicles in large motor pools. To increase centralized freight haulage by general-purpose transport. To increase daily operating time of lorries.

To envisage the further development of interurban motor transportation.

To give priority to the development of the network of main highways of national and Republican importance and also the network of important local motor roads, primarily in agricultural areas.

To build or reconstruct at least 65 thousand kilometres of hard-surface motor roads, including approximately 15,000 kilometres of roads of national and Republican importance in the five-year period. To improve the quality of construction of new roads and maintenance and repair work.

To ensure a further increase in *air transportation*, especially over long distances and to areas difficult of access; to increase the number of passengers carried by air by 30 per cent.

To put into service new passenger aircraft, the Il-86 (aerobus), Yak-42, cargo planes of the Il-76 type and aircraft for local airlines and agricultural service; to ensure experimental and research and development work for creating new aircraft whose economic and flight characteristics will be in line with long-term needs of civil aviation.

To continue the construction and reconstruction of airports, air terminals, aircraft repair factories and maintenance bases for civil aviation; the development and equipment of local air lines, and also provision of airports with automatic and mechanized facilities for traffic control and aircraft servicing. To introduce on a wider scale airborne and ground-based navigation systems and electronic equipment for the automatic control of air traffic and aircraft takeoff and landing.

To achieve a wider range of better quality services in all types of *communications*. To continue to develop a single countrywide automated communications network. To increase the length of intertown telephone channels 1.6 times. To increase considerably the level of automation of the intertown telephone communication network. To begin work on building up a statewide data transmission system. To increase the number of telephones in town and country by 1.4 times. To speed up the delivery of central newspapers to the people by doubling the number of points that receive phototelegraphed newspaper pages for printing. To do further work on automating and mechanizing the handling of mail.

To improve the quality of all communications services.

To continue to develop radio broadcasting and TV including colour television. To make greater use of man-made Earth satellites for broadcasting TV programmes

primarily to Western and Eastern Siberia and for telephone and telegraph communications with the remote areas of the country.

VI. CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

The main task in capital construction is to increase the effectiveness of capital investment, to ensure further growth and qualitative improvement of the fixed assets, to commission and bring to planned capacity new production facilities as quickly as possible in all sectors of the national economy by better planning, designing and management of construction work, by cutting construction time and costs.

To increase capital investment in the economy by 24-26 per cent over the five-year period.

To channel capital investment primarily into building projects that will accelerate scientific and technical progress and into the technical retooling and modernization of existing enterprises. To increase the proportion of expenditure for equipment in the total volume of investment.

To curtail considerably the time spent on building, expanding and modernizing projects and enterprises by concentrating capital investment and material and labour resources, by increasing the level of industrialization and by improving building organization. To strictly observe the established norms with regard to the extent to which construction work can exceed the prescribed volume, with regard to construction time-limits and construction in progress.

To improve design-and-estimate work, to raise responsibility of design, construction and research organizations for the high technical and economic standards of design solutions. To take measures to have the documentation relating to design and estimates for construction projects ready on time. To improve the quality of and shorten the time spent on drawing up designs and estimates and expertizing them. To improve the planning of design and research work. To expand the design and research organizations' material and technical facilities.

To raise the standards of building and of architectural solutions, and also to achieve the most rational development of population centres, residential areas, industrial

and agricultural complexes and erection of buildings and other structures. To ensure sparing use of land in building population centres, production enterprises and other projects.

To expand the supply of material resources to construction projects through a state-wide system of material and technical supplies in keeping with building and assembly organizations' orders for material and technical supplies in line with their needs determined by designs and estimates.

To enhance the role and responsibility of the mechanical engineering ministries and enterprises for complete supply, installation and mastering of the equipment they make.

To plan and build enterprises complete with housing, child-care, cultural, health, education, trade, service facilities and public utilities.

To raise the level of industrialization of construction and the degree of completeness of factory-made structural elements. To extend the practice of complete prefabricated construction and installation of buildings with the use of advanced structural elements.

To make wider use of new types of building materials and products including efficient ferro-concrete structures from high-strength and light-weight concrete, asbestos-cement structures, economical rolled metal sections, products from aluminium alloys and glued wooden structures.

To provide for further development of urban and rural house-building plants, and enterprises to manufacture light-weight structural elements and items, and also specialized regional and inter-regional building-industry production facilities.

To continue to re-equip building organizations primarily by supplying them with powerful highly-efficient building machines and motor transport; to supply the workers with more mechanized equipment and tools and means for mechanizing ancillary work; to considerably increase the level of mechanization on main jobs in construction, especially in finishing work.

To ensure further development of facilities for centralized repair of building machines and equipment.

To develop and improve construction on a contractual basis and to introduce more widely a new form of cost

accounting, the team contract; to set up permanent building-and-assembly organizations working on a contractual basis in due time in areas where there is a lot of building going on, and to set up mobile building units where needed in newly-developed areas, especially in the North. To commission industrial and other projects at a rhythmic pace over the year. To make building organization managers more responsible for the quality of construction and for timely commissioning of building projects.

To increase the overall productivity of labour in construction by 29-32 per cent.

VII. DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

The principal task for Soviet scientists is to further expand and deepen their research into the laws of nature and society, to make a greater contribution to solving urgent problems in building up the material and technical foundations of communism, speeding up scientific and technical progress and the effectiveness of production, to improve the people's living and cultural standards, and to develop the communist outlook of working people.

To ensure further development of basic and applied research in social, natural and technical sciences.

To concentrate the attention of scientists on crucial problems connected with scientific, technical and social progress, on the solution of which largely depends the successful development of the economy, culture and science itself. To envisage the further development of research which opens up essentially new ways and possibilities for transforming the country's productive forces, for developing the machinery and technology of the future.

To raise the quality and effectiveness of research; to further improve the links between science and production. To speed up the application of scientific innovation in the national economy.

To enhance the role of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as the centre of theoretical investigations and coordinator of all scientific work in the country.

To improve research management and the effectiveness of the work of research workers. To increase the research collectives' responsibility and that of their leaders for the standard and quality of research and for substantiating

their recommendations. To heighten the interest of collectives and workers of research establishments in improving the results of their activities.

To promote research work in establishments of higher learning.

To improve the system of managing research, planning and design organizations, and co-ordination, planning and financing of research programmes.

To improve the training and certification of research and teaching personnel.

To strengthen the research, planning and design organizations' facilities by better supplying them with equipment, instruments, materials, computers and office machines, and also by developing research and experimental subdivisions. To improve work in the field of scientific and patent information.

To strengthen the relationship between the social, natural and technical sciences.

To define the following crucial areas of research development.

In social sciences:

to carry on with the scientific generalization of the world-historic experience of the CPSU and the experience gained by the international communist and working class movements;

to examine the theoretical problems of developed socialism, the law-governed trends of its development into communism, and the mechanism of their action and usage;

to continue to develop the theory of building up the material and technical foundations of communism, improving social relations, moulding the new man and developing the socialist way of life;

to promote all-round research on questions pertaining to the scientific and technical revolution, on raising the effectiveness and intensification of social production, improvement of management and economic planning and also on forecasting social and economic processes;

to extend research on the development of the socialist economic integration of the USSR and the CMEA countries, on economic relations with other states, and on contemporary world development.

To enhance the role of social sciences in the active struggle against anti-communism, in criticism of bourgeois

and revisionist theories, in exposing the falsifiers of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

In natural and technical sciences:

to do more extensive pure and applied mathematics research and research on the development of more advanced computers and their effective use in the national economy;

to develop theoretical and experimental research on nuclear and plasma physics, solid-state physics, subzero temperatures, radio physics and electronics, quantum electronics, mechanics, optics, astronomy, with a view to accelerating scientific and technical progress and, in particular, developing atomic power engineering, and evolving scientific and technical principles of thermonuclear power engineering;

to improve the present and develop new methods of energy conversion, to develop and widely introduce fundamentally new machinery, new structural, magnetic, semiconductor, superconductor and other materials, and technically useful crystals;

to extend research in the field of chemical compound synthesis for obtaining new substances and materials that have new properties, to develop new chemical processes with highly efficient catalytic systems that largely speed up chemical reactions, and to develop scientific principles for technologies utilizing mainly closed cycles;

to do more research on molecular biology, and the physiological, biochemical and immunological principles governing the activity of the human organism with a view to finding a speedier solution of the most important medical and biological problems of combatting cancer, cardiovascular, endocrinologic, viral and occupational diseases, and diseases of the nervous system. To do further research on improving working conditions and industrial hygiene and also on balanced diets;

to carry on the work of developing genetic theory and techniques for creation of new valuable strains of plants, animals and micro-organism cultures, and also methods of making physiologically active substances for medicine, agriculture and certain industries;

to further develop scientific principles for the rational use and conservation of soils, of mineral wealth, flora and fauna, air and water basins. To do wider integrated World Ocean studies.

To continue work on weather forecasting and that of natural disasters;

to make a fuller study of the Earth's crust and upper mantle for the purpose of research into the formation processes and the regularities of mineral resource occurrence;

to carry on space research and utilization, to extend research on the application of space means in studying the Earth's natural resources, in meteorology, oceanology, navigation, communications and other economic uses.

VIII. PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND RAISING THE LIVING STANDARD OF THE PEOPLE

On the basis of economic growth and greater efficiency of social production, to ensure that the people's growing material and cultural needs be met more fully, that the socialist way of life be consistently developed, and that Soviet society's social structure be further improved. To attain these aims it is necessary to provide for:

improvement of the socio-economic and industrial conditions of labour, making labour more creative, and the maximum reduction in manual, semi-skilled and heavy physical labour;

raising people's incomes, raising the level and improving the structure of consumption, and a greater satisfaction of people's needs for consumer goods;

effecting housing construction on a large scale and improving the quality of the housing as one of the more important directions of further improving the living standard of the people;

expanding the range and extent of services making house work easier and providing better facilities for rest and recreation;

raising working people's educational, cultural and technical levels, improving medical services, better environmental protection, and creating better conditions for mother and child care, for bringing up children, and for increasing people's life span and the period of their active life;

a further approximation of the living standards and cultural levels, working and living conditions of different

social groups in Soviet society, for the urban and rural population;

a further development of socialist democracy, and increasing the working people's social activeness and initiative, and their participation in production management. To ensure the all-round development of socialist emulation and of the communist attitude to labour, and the spreading of advanced experience;

better employment of both material and moral incentives for attaining greater production efficiency and labour productivity, improving the quality of products and economic use of material resources.

To increase the average *wages of industrial and office workers* by 16-18 per cent, so that by the end of the five years it will be at least 170 roubles a month. To increase *collective farmers' incomes* from the collective farms' socialized production by an average of 24-27 per cent on the basis of rising production and labour productivity.

To increase grants and benefits to the people from *the public consumption funds* by 28-30 per cent.

To complete the introduction of measures raising the minimum wages, while simultaneously increasing wage-rates and salaries for medium-paid workers employed in the national economy's non-production sectors. To begin a new stage in raising the minimum wages, wage-rates and salaries for industrial and office workers.

To introduce length-of-service bonuses for industrial and office workers in the Far East. In the Urals area and in some regions of Kazakhstan, to continue the introduction of zonal wage differentials for industrial and office workers for whom such differentials have not yet been established.

In several industries to raise pay-rates for night-shift work.

Concerning the wages of industrial and office workers, to consistently ensure the following:

enhancing their stimulating role in raising labour productivity, in accelerating scientific and technological progress, raising output quality and lowering production costs;

a further improvement of the wage-rate system as the basis of state wage regulation, raising its role as an incentive for workers to improve their qualifications and labour achievements;

wider application of progressive forms of material incentives for production increases with fewer workers; of payment on a team basis for final work results in industry and other economic sectors; of payment on a piece-work basis, especially in construction work and agriculture;

further improving the system of awarding bonuses to industrial and office workers, increasing the dependence of such bonuses on work results, quality of output, and fulfilment of work assignments and technically based work rates;

improving the correlation of workers' and employees' wages according to sectors of the national economy; increasing wage benefits to workers in regions where natural and climatic conditions are difficult, or those in jobs with difficult and unfavourable working conditions;

increasing the role of remuneration for work to strengthen labour discipline and reduce personnel fluidity at enterprises.

To improve the system of payments to collective farmers on the basis of:

consistently approximating wage levels on collective farms and at state agricultural enterprises, as their productivity and working conditions are evening up;

making wages increasingly dependent on the final results of work;

ensuring greater uniformity in payment for work similar in complexity, amount of effort involved and intensity.

To envisage a further improvement of *labour conditions* and *labour protection*. To make wider use of scientific and technological achievements, improvements in technology and equipment to ensure safe working conditions.

To continue the implementation of measures to improve *working and living conditions for working women*.

To introduce partially-paid leave for working mothers for child-care till the infant is one year old. To ensure that women with children will enjoy greater opportunities to have a shorter workday or shorter workweek, and to work at home.

To expand the network of preschool child-care establishments, extended-day schools and groups. To build nurseries and kindergartens for 2.5-2.8 million children. To increase the number of Young Pioneer camps, sports and health-building work camps for adolescents and

young people; to give special attention to improving the work of children's institutions.

To create the conditions for cutting down time spent on house work through developing community services, public catering, increasing production and sales of ready-to-cook and ready-to-serve products.

To improve the social security system. To raise minimum retirement pensions for industrial workers, office employees and collective farmers.

To provide for a further approximation of social security benefits for the collective farmers, industrial workers and office employees. To establish pensions for former collective-farm members, with the necessary length of service on a collective farm or at a state enterprise, organization or establishment. To introduce care allowances to pensions for collective farmers, Group One invalids.

To raise allowances for invalids since childhood, and pay them regardless of children's age.

To increase pension benefits for mothers with many children.

To make fuller use of the opportunities for greater involvement of pensioners and invalids in social labour.

To envisage further *repayment on state loans*.

To continue ensuring *stable state retail prices* on basic foodstuffs and non-foodstuff goods; to reduce prices on goods as necessary conditions are created and commodity resources accumulated.

To increase the *turnover* of state and cooperative *retail trade* by 27-29 per cent.

To ensure the Soviet people a better diet through greater consumption of the more nutritious foods such as meat, dairy products, vegetables, and fruit.

To more fully meet consumer demand for light industry goods, and also for recreation and household articles — furniture, TV sets, refrigerators, cameras, tape-recorders, vacuum cleaners, etc. To increase the sale of building materials to the population.

To expand and update the range of commodities, raise their quality, increase the production and sale of new, fashionable articles demand on which is high; actively to influence the formation of consumer demand and people's aesthetic tastes.

To strengthen and further improve economic ties between industry and trade, so that orders placed by trading

organizations determine the volume of output and the range of consumer goods; to ensure that industrial and trade enterprises have greater responsibility for the fulfilment of contracts.

To develop the material base of trade. To expand the network of modern department and specialized stores, including trade-name stores, organized by industrial ministries. To further develop advanced forms of trade, improve the operation of trading enterprises, ensuring customers better service and saving their time. To build large mechanized general warehouses, refrigerators and storage facilities for fruit, potatoes and other vegetables.

To place on wholesale enterprises and organizations greater responsibility for the continuous supply of commodities to shops in the required amount and variety.

To ensure the further development of public catering, outfitting its establishments with modern equipment, supplying them with semi-prepared, mass-produced products. To increase the variety and raise the quality of products, and improve the service. To improve the organization of public catering at enterprises, and also of dietetic food catering.

To improve further the work of consumer cooperatives in serving the rural population. To ensure that their production efficiency is raised further, that agricultural products and raw materials, as well as wild fruit, berries, mushrooms and medicinal plants are procured in greater quantities, and that local commodity resources are used in trade. To organize better the operation of markets for collective farm produce.

To increase the volume of *community services* 1.5 times; 1.7 times in rural areas. To raise service standards and quality. To expand the network of community service enterprises and to provide them with modern equipment.

To improve the operation of savings banks; to introduce more widely the clearance of accounts between the people and trade, municipal service and other enterprises by book entry.

Using all appropriate finance sources, to build apartment houses with a total floor space of 545-550 million square metres. To raise the quality of housing construction, to make apartments more comfortable and better planned. To effect urban development in keeping with the deve-

lopment master plans, and to improve the amenities and architecture in towns and other populated areas. To ensure their provision with central water supply systems. To continue the transition of domestic heating to major supply sources, increasingly utilizing gas. To utilize the housing fund more efficiently and ensure its better preservation.

To increase the volume of cooperative housing construction. To encourage the building of one-family houses in small towns, urban-type settlements and in rural areas.

To further improve *public health services*. To introduce more widely the achievements of modern science, new methods of diagnosis and treatment into medical practice. To pay greater attention to disease prevention. To meet more fully people's needs and those of the disease-prevention and medical establishments in medicines and medical equipment. To improve the quality of medical aid and the operation of health protection establishments.

To develop and improve the material foundation of public health services on the basis of rationally combining the construction of general and specialized medical establishments. To increase the total number of hospital beds to approximately 3.3 million by 1980. To expand the construction of outpatient clinics and pharmacies in new residential districts and in rural areas.

To expand the network of homes for invalids and old people. To continue the construction of prosthetic and orthopedic centres for invalids; to expand the production and improve the quality of individual means of conveyance, and prosthetic and orthopedic devices. To take measures to improve the industrial training of invalids.

To raise allowances for food and other needs in homes for invalids and old people, maternity homes, children's and certain other specialized hospitals and departments.

To improve the training and advanced training of doctors, pharmacists and para-medical and pharmaceutical personnel.

To further develop the system of *public education* in accordance with the demands of scientific and technological progress and the aims of constantly raising the working people's cultural, technical and educational levels and improving the training of qualified workers and specialists.

To develop and improve the system of universal secondary education. To raise the standards of teaching and educational work at secondary schools. To give more atten-

tion to teaching pupils manual skills, to young people's vocational orientation, to their education in ethics and aesthetics. To improve the quality of training and re-training teachers.

To build new schools of general education for at least 7 million pupils, including 4.5 million in rural areas.

To extend the network of Young Pioneer centres, clubs for young technicians and nature lovers, children's clubs, sports and music schools and other children's establishments.

To raise allowances for food at boarding schools and at children's homes.

To ensure the training of highly qualified young workers for all sectors of the national economy, primarily at vocational schools, which enable the students simultaneously to acquire a trade and general secondary education, as well as at technical schools.

To more than double the enrolment at secondary vocational and technical schools. To train approximately 11 million qualified workers in the vocational technical training system. At vocational schools to train 2.5 times more workers with a secondary education. To open vocational schools for 1.1-1.2 million students, and provide the necessary number of hostels for the students.

To improve on-the-job training and advanced training of industrial and other workers in mass-scale trades. To improve the work of evening (shift) secondary schools.

To train 9.6 million specialists with a higher or specialized secondary education. To give special attention to providing specialists for areas where productive forces are being intensively developed.

To regard as the most important task of the higher, specialized secondary and vocational schools the further raising of specialists' and workers' level of training and ideological-political education.

To provide more and better facilities for general educational schools and vocational, specialized secondary and higher educational establishments. To introduce more actively technical aids and new teaching methods in the educational process, including the study of foreign languages. To ensure better outfitting of laboratories, study and teaching-methods rooms and workshops with modern equipment, instruments, tools and study aids.

To ensure the further raising of the role of *socialist culture and art* in the ideological and political, moral and aesthetic education of Soviet people, in shaping their intellectual needs. To strengthen the material base of cultural institutions, especially in rural areas and new industrial construction areas.

To improve the work of cultural and educational institutions. To expand the network of public libraries and clubs. To cultivate People's Universities more extensively and to improve their functioning. To improve work connected with the functioning of museums, and the preservation and popularization of historic and cultural relics.

To envisage further development of the publishing and printing industry, and book selling. To enlarge the publication of books, newspapers and magazines and to raise its quality. To give special attention to the publication of text-books and literature for children and teenagers. To introduce on a wider scale offset printing, photocomposition and automated lines in the printing industry.

To envisage further development of television and radio broadcasting and wider use of colour television and stereophonic radio broadcasting. To expand the zone of guaranteed high-quality TV and radio reception. To improve the quality of television and radio programmes.

To considerably improve cinema services, to expand the movie theatre network and the material base of cinematography. To raise the ideological and artistic level of films. To ensure the production of the needed quantity of popular-science, educational, and documentary films and newsreels. To increase the production and expand the subject matter of films for children and teenagers.

With the aim of health-building and making better use of free time to perfect the organization of working people's active *rest and recreation*.

To increase the network of health resorts, rest homes, holiday hotels and health-building centres, and also hotels in cities, especially in tourist and resort centres, and in areas designed for rest and recreation.

To promote organized trips and tours. To continue the construction of tourist complexes and centres, motels and camping grounds. To expand the production of sports and camping equipment.

To promote the organization and activities of industrial and office workers' gardening associations.

To encourage mass-scale physical culture and sport at factories and offices, at educational institutions and in residential units.

To satisfy more fully the needs of the urban and rural population in *postal, telephone and telegraph services*.

For the improvement of public *transport services*, to ensure further development of inter-urban, city and suburban transport. To provide considerably more different means of transport to the rural population.

To increase the scope and types of services for the growing number of privately owned motor vehicles. To expand the network of service and filling stations, and also of cooperative garages and parking areas for privately owned motor vehicles.

IX. DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

With the aim of improving the distribution of the productive forces in the country it is envisaged to ensure:

a further build-up of the economic potential of the eastern regions, increasing their role in the all-Union production of industrial goods. To accelerate the development of industries for which there are most favourable natural conditions, especially the fuel industry and power-intensive industries. To ensure that those regions provide 100 per cent of the total increase in oil and gas output and aluminium production planned for the five-year period, over 90 per cent of the increase in coal output, approximately 80 per cent of the growth in copper and 45 per cent in cellulose production, and approximately 60 per cent of the increase in cardboard production;

industrial growth in the European part of the USSR and the Urals, primarily through the technical re-equipment and reconstruction of operating enterprises, with the limited construction of new and expansion of existing power-intensive and water-consuming enterprises;

the development of existing and the forming of new territorial production complexes and industrial units with common communications, engineering facilities and ancillary plants;

the siting of labour-intensive industrial enterprises in Union Republics and economic regions having a favourable balance of labour resources; improvement of the training of local qualified personnel;

a further limiting of the growth of large cities; development of economically promising small and medium-size towns in which mainly small enterprises, branches and specialized workshops of operating associations, factories and plants are to be located;

implementation of measures to improve the use of labour resources in the rural areas. To develop industries and crafts for processing farm produce and producing building materials and consumer goods from local raw materials on the collective and state farms;

rationalization of the transport economic links, by extending the trunk-line transport communications and building powerful oil and gas pipeline systems connecting the north-western regions of Siberia and Central Asia with the European part of the USSR, as well as oil pipelines running from the north-western regions of Siberia to the oil refineries in the country's eastern regions;

elaboration of a series of flood-control measures for the Western regions of the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR;

extension of scientific studies on questions relating to the distribution of productive forces.

To enhance the role and responsibility of the Union Republics in matters concerning industrial, social and cultural development, in increasing the production of consumer goods, expanding trade and services to the population with due regard for local and national specific features, and making the fullest possible use of natural, labour and other resources.

To ensure further economic growth in all the Union and Autonomous Republics and economic districts, Autonomous Regions and National Areas.

In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to increase industrial output by 35-39 per cent. To ensure an accelerated growth of the machine-building, gas, chemical and petrochemical industries.

In 1980 to increase the output of oil, including gas condensate, to 545-555 million tons, of gas to 220-255 thousand million cubic metres and of coal to 428-438 million tons, of electric power to 832-851 thousand million

kwh, of steel to 94-98 million tons, of rolled ferrous stock to 66-69 million tons, of mineral fertilizers to 74 million tons, of fabrics to 8.9 thousand million square metres, of knitted goods to 830 million pieces, of sugar to 3.5-4 million tons, and of butter to 720 thousand tons.

To build plants putting out heavy casting transfer lines, pipe-working machines, high-precision machines for making instrument bearings, transfer lines for sheet stamping and a number of other engineering enterprises.

To ensure the further development of the industries putting out machines and equipment for livestock farming and fodder production, tractors and other farm machinery. To launch serial production of heavy-duty 330 hp tractors. To increase the output of high-efficiency grain and potato combine harvesters, and machines for cultivating and harvesting industrial crops.

To increase the average annual volume of gross agricultural output by 14-17 per cent. To increase the average annual production of grain to 123-126 million tons, of sunflower seeds to 4 million tons, of sugar beet to 32-33 million tons, of flax fibre to 265 thousand tons, of potatoes to 53-55 million tons, of vegetables to 12.3 million tons, of meat (slaughter weight) to 7.5-7.7 million tons, of milk to 49-51 million tons, and of wool to 235 thousand tons.

To bring under cultivation 2.2 million hectares of irrigated land, to drain 2.3 million hectares of water-logged land, and to supply with water 5.2 million hectares of pastureland. To considerably increase per hectare yields of all farm crops on irrigated and drained lands.

To continue the expansion and development of the sanatorium resort-zones, and particularly, in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East.

In the European part of the RSFSR and in the Urals it is envisaged to ensure:

the strengthening of the electric power base by building and expanding atomic and thermal power stations. To bring the capacity of the Leningradskaya atomic power station up to 4 million kw, of the Kostromskaya state district thermal electric station up to 3.6 million kw, and of the Reftinskaya state district thermal electric station up to 3.3 million kw. To put into operation facilities at the Novovoronezhskaya, Smolenskaya and Kurskaya atomic power stations, Cheboksarskaya and Nizhnekamskaya hyd-

roelectric stations, Ryazanskaya and Stavropolskaya state district thermal electric stations and at other power stations. To embark on the full-scale construction of the Perm-skaya thermal electric station, to begin the construction of two high-capacity atomic power stations and of the Irganaiskaya hydroelectric station;

the development of the territorial production complex based on the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly mineral resources along with the building of the Oskol electro-metallurgical combine for the production of steel from prerduced pellets obtained by the method of direct reduction;

the further development of a major industrial complex to extract and process gas on the basis of the Orenburg gas-condensate deposit. To build a gas pipeline to the western border of the USSR with the participation of the CMEA member-countries;

the development of natural resources of the Timano-Pechorskaya oil-and-gas-bearing area; to bring the production of oil here up to approximately 25 million tons, and of gas up to 22 thousand million cubic metres in 1980. To expand and modernize the cellulose and wood-working enterprises in the north of the European part of the country.

To put into operation Kama motor works complex manufacturing heavy-duty lorries, and complete the construction of the Nizhnekamsk petrochemical complex; to organize tonnage production of ammonia and carbamide in the vicinity of the city of Togliatti. To build and put into operation at full capacity the first section of the Volgodonsky heavy engineering works, and to embark on the full-scale construction of the second section.

To carry out measures for the economic and social development of the country's major centres—Moscow and Leningrad, to improve and raise the effectiveness of the production and scientific potential here.

To ensure the further development of light industry and the food industry, primarily through the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of operating enterprises in the established industrial centres.

In the Urals to further develop the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals industry, machine building and the chemical industry. To ensure a comprehensive development of the Verkhne-Kamsky potassium basin, and the completion of the construction of the first section of the Perm

synthetic rubber factory. To improve water supply for major industrial centres.

In the non-black soil zone of the RSFSR to intensify work on the comprehensive development of agriculture and allied industries. To carry out measures to strengthen the material and technical base and intensify agricultural production, to expand the scale of land improvement work and on this basis to considerably increase the production of grain, livestock products, flax, potatoes and vegetables.

To envisage the implementation of water conservation measures in the Volga-Kama basin. To continue the construction of irrigation and water supply systems in the Volga area, with the aim of developing a major region of guaranteed production of grain and livestock products. To begin the construction of the Konstantinovsky hydro-engineering unit on the river Don. To promote rice growing in the Krasnodar Territory.

In Siberia to envisage an accelerated development of the fuel industry, power-intensive branches of the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals industry, and the chemical, petrochemical and pulp-and-paper industries. To ensure the further development of the timber and woodworking industry.

In Western Siberia to continue the formation of a large territorial production complex—the country's main base for oil and gas production. To bring the production of oil up to 300-310 million tons, and of gas up to 125-155 thousand million cubic metres in 1980. To continue the construction of the Tomsk petrochemical combine. To embark on the full-scale construction of the Tobolsk petrochemical complex. To build casing-head gas processing works, a pipeline system for conveying oil and gas, and a railway line connecting Surgut with Nizhnevartovsk. To start the construction of the Surgut-Urengoy railway. To develop the electric power base. To bring coal output in the Kuzbas up to 162 million tons.

To begin the full-scale construction of a large open-cast mine in the Kansk-Achinsk basin which will supply the Berezovskaya state district thermal electric station to be built here. To put into operation the first section of the Achinsk oil refinery. To continue the development of the Sayany territorial production complex. To put into operation the first units of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydroelectric station and to ensure that the first electrolysis shops of

the Sayany aluminium plant are put into operation; to build the first section of the electro-engineering complex in Minusinsk. To continue the construction of the Abakan railway vehicle manufacturing plant. To begin the construction of the Boguchanskaya hydroelectric station. To complete in the main the formation of the Bratsk-Ust-Ilim territorial production complex by ensuring the full-capacity operation of the Ust-Ilim hydroelectric station and the building of a cellulose plant with the participation of CMEA member-countries. To continue the construction of the Gusinozerskaya state district thermal electric station.

To develop agriculture and also agricultural raw material processing industries at higher rates.

In the Altai Territory to begin the construction of the second section of the Alei irrigation system and the Charysh multiple water pipeline; to continue the construction of the Kulunda canal.

In the Far East to ensure comprehensive economic development, increasing the production of non-ferrous, rare and precious metals and diamonds, and the output of the timber, pulp-and-paper and furniture industries. To complete the Zeyskaya hydroelectric station; to embark on the full-scale construction of the Bureyskaya hydroelectric station; to put the first units of the Kolymenskaya hydroelectric station into operation. To continue the development and reconstruction of the existing ports, modernization of the fleet, and the construction of the deepwater port of Vostochny.

To increase the catch of fish, seafood output and the production of a wide range of high-quality fish products.

To step up geological prospecting and scientific research work for the comprehensive development of the productive forces in the zone adjoining the Baikal-Amur Railway. To envisage the development of natural resources in the area as individual sections of the railway are completed.

To start the formation of the South Yakut territorial production complex. To build the Tynda-Berkakit railway line. To embark on the full-scale construction of the Neryungra open-cast mine, concentration plant and the Neryungrinskaya state district thermal electric station.

To continue drainage and irrigation work, and the establishment of specialized state farms and livestock complexes in order to increase the supply of local farm produce to the

population of the Soviet Far East. To increase soya bean and rice production.

In the Ukrainian SSR to increase industrial output by 30-34 per cent. To envisage higher growth rates for the power industry, the chemical and oil-refining, machine-tool and tool manufacturing industries, instrument making, machine building for light industry and the food industry, and also the further development of tractor and farm machine manufacture. To increase the output of machines and equipment for livestock farming and fodder production. To develop industry in the Republic's western regions at priority rates.

To put into operation facilities at the Chernobylskaya, Rovenskaya and South Ukrainian atomic power stations and to begin the construction of another two atomic power stations. To embark on the full-scale construction of the Chigirinskaya and Zuyevskaya thermal electric stations. To put into operation the first units at the Dnestrovskaya hydroelectric station which is of major importance for both electric power engineering and land reclamation. To complete the building of the Novovolynsk technological equipment plant which is being constructed with the participation of the CMEA countries.

To raise the Republic's coal output to 226-229 million tons in 1980. To take measures for the further development of the coal industry in the Donbas and its technical re-equipping. To reconstruct existing coal mines and to open new ones.

To ensure the capacity growth in the iron-and-steel industry mainly through reconstructing existing plants. To increase steel production to 58-61 million tons and rolled stock to 41-43 million tons in 1980. To further develop the iron ore mining industry. To improve the quality of iron ore. To put into operation new facilities for the production of mineral fertilizers, to increase the output of mineral fertilizers to 24.4 million tons. To provide for a substantial growth in primary oil processing and to reduce the supply of oil products from other parts of the country.

To increase the output of consumer goods, especially silk fabrics, non-woven materials and knitted goods.

To re-equip and reconstruct factories in the sugar, canning, meat and dairy industries, to increase their capacity so that the processing of agricultural raw materials can be

done within the optimum time limits. To envisage the construction of additional sugar refineries.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 11-14 per cent. To increase the average annual output of grain to 46-48 million tons, of sugar beet to 53-54 million tons, of sunflower seeds to 3-3.1 million tons, of meat (slaughter weight) to 3.4-3.6 million tons, and of milk to 21.5-22.3 million tons.

To bring under cultivation 503 thousand hectares of irrigated land, mainly in the arid regions near the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov; to begin the construction of the Danube-Dniester irrigation system and continue the construction of the Kakhovka irrigation system. To begin preparatory work for the construction of the Azov irrigation system. To drain an area of nearly 660 thousand hectares, mainly in the Polesye zone. To increase per hectare yields of all farm crops on irrigated and drained lands. To carry out measures of soil erosion control.

To complete the first sections of the Dnieper-Donbas canal and the water supply system to the city of Kharkov. To begin the construction of the second section of the North Crimean canal.

To continue the expansion and development of the sanatorium-resort zones on the shores of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and in the Carpathian Mountains.

In the Byelorussian SSR to increase industrial output by 39-43 per cent. To ensure priority development of industry in the western part of the Republic.

To ensure an accelerated growth of the radio-engineering, electronic, machine-tool and tool manufacturing industries, and the industry manufacturing means of communication; to ensure the further development of the automotive industry. In the tractor industry to complete the changeover to the manufacture of Byelarus MTZ-80 tractors. To increase the manufacture of machines and equipment for stock farming and fodder production.

To envisage the further development of the oil refining and chemical industries. To double the production of chemical fibre. To increase the production of mineral fertilizers to 14.3 million tons by 1980, including potassium fertilizers to 10.7 million tons. To considerably increase tyre production and raise the output of the microbiological industry. To increase the production of silk fabrics by 3.6 times.

To increase the average annual gross output of farm produce by 11-14 per cent, to carry out further specialization in dairy and meat stock farming. To bring the average annual grain output to 6.9-7.2 million tons, meat (slaughter weight) to 900 thousand tons, and milk to 6.3 million tons. To increase the production of flax, vegetables and fodder. To continue work in the line of soil liming and raising soil fertility. To drain 670 thousand hectares of water-logged and swamp lands. To irrigate 85 thousand hectares of land. To carry out measures ensuring comprehensive utilization of the land of Polesye. To increase per hectare yields of all farm crops, primarily on the reclaimed lands.

In the Uzbek SSR to raise industrial output by 35-39 per cent. To ensure the further development of the electronic, electrical engineering and chemical industries and an increase in the output of machines and equipment for light industry and the food industry and also for the comprehensive mechanization of cotton growing and land reclamation. To increase light and food industry production. To provide for the growth in non-ferrous, rare and precious metals production and for a more comprehensive utilization of metal ores.

To ensure an increase in thermal electric station capacities; to build a new state district thermal electric station on the basis of the Angren coal deposit. To build a cotton mill.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 21-24 per cent. To increase the production of raw cotton to 5.8 million tons by 1980. To develop a new major region of long-staple cotton growing in the Karshi Steppe and to start wide-scale work to develop the Dzhizak Steppe. To continue work to develop rice growing in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. To ensure a more rapid development of sheep breeding and to increase the production of wool and karakul pelts. To make fuller use of irrigated land in order to raise the output of maize, rice, vegetables, melons, fruit, grapes, and alfalfa seeds. To increase the silk-worm cocoon production. To carry out work to irrigate 462 thousand hectares of land and to bring water to 1.5 million hectares of pastures. To improve the condition of land.

In the Kazakh SSR to increase industrial output by 39-43 per cent. To further develop the iron-and-steel and non-ferrous metals industry, coal, oil, chemical and food industries and light industry. To increase the output of

tractors and machines for anti-erosion soil cultivation. To provide for the development of enterprises producing livestock farm equipment.

To increase coal production to 124-127 million tons and mineral fertilizer production to 3.8 million tons by 1980. To increase primary oil processing by 3.8 times. To embark on the full-scale construction of a major ore dressing combine on the basis of the Kacharsky iron ore deposit. To complete, in the main, the Yermakovsky ferro-alloy plant, with an approximately threefold increase in its capacity.

To envisage construction of several major non-ferrous metal ore dressing combines. To accelerate the development of the Zhairam group of polymetallic ore deposits. To ensure the growth of the power base, to put the first power units at the Ekibastuzskaya state district thermal electric station into operation, to begin the construction of the second Ekibastuzskaya state district thermal electric station, and also of the Shulbinskaya hydropower station.

To continue the development of the Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Karatau-Dzhambul and Mangyshlak territorial production complexes. To prepare documents for reconstructing the Pavlodar tractor works for the manufacture of K-701 tractors. To improve water supply to the industrial regions of Central Kazakhstan.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 14-17 per cent. To carry out measures to enhance the stability of grain production in the areas of the reclaimed virgin and long-fallow lands. To raise the average annual production of grain to 25-27 million tons, meat (slaughter weight) to 1.1 million tons, and wool to 107.8 thousand tons. To envisage an accelerated development of sheep breeding. To set up new sheep-breeding state farms. In Southern Kazakhstan to increase the production of rice, cotton, vegetables, fruit and other crops on irrigated land. To bring under cultivation 410 thousand hectares of irrigated land and to bring water to 24.8 million hectares of pastures.

To continue the development of health resorts and tourist centres.

In the Georgian SSR to increase industrial output by 37-41 per cent. To envisage priority growth rates for the electrical engineering, machine-tool and tool manufacturing and chemical industries. To ensure the further development of the power industry, mainly through utilizing water power resources; to increase electricity production by 1.5

times. To complete the construction of the Ingurskaya hydropower station. To develop light industry and the food industry, especially wine-making. To envisage the siting of branches of existing enterprises in mountainous and submontane areas in order to ensure a fuller utilization of labour resources.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 21-24 per cent. To further expand the planting and to increase the yields of industrial and perennial subtropical crops; to fill in the idle plots in perennial planting. To increase tea leaf production to 355 thousand tons by 1980. To increase the average annual grape harvest by approximately 1.5 times. To expand production and raise productivity in livestock farming. To carry out work to irrigate 60 thousand hectares of land, and to drain 40 thousand hectares in the Colchis lowland; to improve the utilization of reclaimed land.

To ensure the further development of resort areas and tourist centres on the Black Sea coast and in the mountainous regions.

In the Azerbaijan SSR to increase industrial output by 37-41 per cent. To envisage accelerated growth in the electrical engineering, instrument-making and other branches of the engineering industry which are not metal-intensive, and in the non-ferrous metals industry; to ensure the development of the chemical and petrochemical industry, using mainly local hydrocarbon raw materials.

To embark on the full-scale construction of the Shamkhorskaya hydropower station. To reconstruct the Baku oil refineries. To increase light and food industry output. To improve the industrial pattern by developing industry in the western and central regions so as to make fuller use of labour resources.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 18-21 per cent, mainly through the increased production of grapes, raw cotton and vegetables, especially early ones. To increase raw cotton production to 600 thousand tons by 1980. To raise livestock productivity. To put long-fallow lands to agricultural use. To improve the water supply to irrigated lands and soil condition. To bring under cultivation 45 thousand hectares of newly-irrigated land and to supply water to 400 thousand hectares of pastures. To ensure the development of health resorts and tourist centres.

In the Lithuanian SSR to increase industrial output by

32-36 per cent. To ensure the priority development of the instrument-making, radio-engineering, electronic, and chemical industries, and of machine building for livestock farming and fodder production. To establish large-scale production of oil products and ammonia. To increase the output of linen, furniture, and canned meat and milk, fish catches and the production of a broad range of high-quality fish food products.

To embark on the full-scale construction of the Ignalinskaya atomic power station with reactors of 1.5 million kw capacity each.

To raise the average annual gross agricultural output by 10-13 per cent, giving special attention to dairy and meat stock farming and to bacon pig breeding. To increase grain production. To reclaim 540 thousand hectares of water-logged land.

In the Moldavian SSR to raise industrial output by 45-49 per cent. To increase the share of the engineering industry. To considerably increase the output of farm machines, electrical engineering goods, equipment for the food industry, cement, cotton fabrics, fruit and vegetable preserves and wine materials.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 35-38 per cent, vegetables and grapes by not less than 1.5 times, and fruit by 1.4 times. To fill in the idle plots in orchards and vineyards. To expand grain production, especially maize. To bring under cultivation 65 thousand hectares of irrigated land.

In the Latvian SSR to raise industrial output by 26-30 per cent. To envisage further industrial specialization in the Republic in the output of means of communication, and of products of the electronic, electrical engineering, chemical, light, and meat and dairy industries. To considerably increase the production of mini buses, top-class radios and record players. To envisage increased production of machinery for mechanizing livestock farming. To further increase catches of fish and the output of high-quality fish products while expanding their variety. To continue the development of port facilities.

To raise the average annual gross agricultural output by 15-18 per cent. To ensure further specialization of agriculture in dairy and meat stock farming and bacon pig breeding. To increase grain production. To drain 382 thousand hectares of water-logged land.

To continue to develop health resorts on the Riga coast.

In the Kirghiz SSR to increase industrial output by 33-37 per cent, mainly through developing the power industry, mechanical engineering, light industry and the food industry. To envisage the further development of the non-ferrous metals industry. To embark on the full-scale construction of the Kurpsaiskaya hydropower station. To begin the construction of a carpet-making factory.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 12-15 per cent. To speed up the development of the fine-fleece and semifine-fleece sheep farming. To increase the production of grain, meat and wool. To ensure the further improvement and greater productivity of pastureland. To bring under cultivation approximately 35 thousand hectares of irrigated land and to supply water to 500 thousand hectares of pastureland.

To intensify the development of the health resort zone of country-wide importance in the Lake Issyk-Kul area.

In the Tajik SSR to increase industrial output by 38-42 per cent with priority development rates in the power, non-ferrous metals and chemical industries. To continue the development of the Southern Tajik territorial industrial complex. To bring the Nurek hydropower station to full capacity operation and to begin the construction of the Rogunskaya hydropower station on the Vakhsh. To complete in the main the aluminium plant. To put into operation sections at the Yavansky electro-chemical works, and to build a porcelain factory.

To envisage a 15-18 per cent increase in the average annual gross agricultural output. To increase the yield of raw cotton to 900 thousand tons by 1980; to raise grape and fruit production. To bring 60 thousand hectares of irrigated land under cultivation and to supply water to 100 thousand hectares of pastureland. To raise per hectare yields of grain crops on the irrigated land. To intensify work to develop the Dangara Steppe.

In the Armenian SSR to increase industrial output by 43-47 per cent. To continue improving the branch structure of industry, raising the share of labour-intensive production. To envisage the development of the branches of the engineering industry which are not metal-intensive—electronic, radio-engineering, electrical engineering, machine-tool and tool manufacturing, and instrument-making industries. To ensure further growth in the power industry, non-ferrous

metals manufacture, the chemical and food industries, and light industry. To build enterprises in the medium-size and small towns.

To complete the first section of the Armenian atomic power station and the Masis-Nurnus railway, and to accelerate the construction of the Idzhevan-Razdan railway.

To increase the average annual gross agricultural output by 22-25 per cent. To increase the production of grapes, fruit, essential oil-bearing crops, and of livestock products. To bring under cultivation 20 thousand hectares of irrigated land and to supply water to 60 thousand hectares of pastureland. To envisage measures to reclaim the saline lands in the Ararat Valley for agriculture.

In the Turkmen SSR to increase industrial output by 30-34 per cent. To double the production of electric power, to increase the refining of oil by 1.5 times and the production of mineral fertilizers by 2.3 times. To envisage the further development of light industry and the food industry; to double vegetable oil production.

To put into operation units at the Maryiskaya state district thermal electric station; to continue the construction of the Chardzhou oil refinery; to ensure the development of the Shatlyk and other new gas deposits. To raise gas output to 75-80 thousand million cubic metres by 1980.

To raise the average annual gross agricultural output by 14-17 per cent. To raise raw cotton production to 1.2 million tons by 1980. To increase the production of grapes and melon crops. To bring under cultivation 85 thousand hectares of irrigated land, to supply water to 5 million hectares of pastureland and to improve the condition of land. To continue the construction of the Kara-Kum canal and the development of land around it.

In the Estonian SSR to increase industrial output by 22-26 per cent. To envisage the priority rate of development for the electrical engineering, instrument-making and shale-chemical industries, the further development of light industry, fish industry and branches for processing agricultural raw materials. To put into operation a pilot unit for shale processing at the Estonian state district thermal electric station. To expand the utilization of shale waste for liming soil and producing building materials.

To raise the average annual gross agricultural output by 17-20 per cent, narrow its specialization in dairy and meat

stock farming and bacon pig breeding. To ensure growth in grain production. To carry out land reclamation on 160 thousand hectares of water-logged land.

X. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC TIES

To ensure the further all-round development of economic, scientific and technical ties with foreign countries, making fuller use of the USSR's increased economic, scientific and technological capabilities.

To realize measures aimed at the Soviet Union's wider participation in the international division of labour and at raising the role of foreign economic ties in carrying out economic tasks and accelerating scientific and technological progress.

To increase the volume of foreign trade by 30-35 per cent within the five-year period.

To improve the pattern of foreign trade on the basis of production growth, raising quality and making export goods more competitive, and also through imports which most effectively further Soviet economic development. To increase the sale and purchase of licences and other technical documents. To extend the introduction of new forms of mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation, including the realization of joint projects.

To expand and deepen economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the socialist countries in every possible way, on the basis of mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance. To ensure the fulfilment of measures, envisaged in the Comprehensive Programme of Socialist Economic Integration and the coordinated plan of multilateral integration measures of CMEA member-countries for 1976-80.

To continue pooling the efforts of the USSR and the other interested CMEA member-countries for the joint, comprehensive fulfilment of tasks in expanding extraction and production of basic raw materials, fuel, materials, machine-building products, consumer goods and in developing transport on the basis of jointly elaborated long-term specific programmes. To steadily develop new areas for joint planning, to improve coordination of plans, to introduce more effective organizational forms of production and

economic ties in cooperation with CMEA member-countries, to actively utilize international specialization and production-cooperation potential. To ensure closer coordination and pooling of efforts between the USSR and other CMEA member-countries in solving problems of scientific and technological progress.

To expand and consolidate the USSR's economic, scientific and technological ties with the developing countries on a long-term, stable and mutually advantageous basis, furthering those countries' national economic development and economic independence and the growth of their scientific and technological capabilities.

To envisage the further, long-term, development of trade and mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the industrially developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and taking account of the relaxation of international tensions now in progress.

To undertake the necessary measures to realize the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, directed at expanding and deepening international economic, scientific and technological cooperation, cooperation in environmental protection and other areas.

To realize measures to further improve planning, management and organization of the USSR's foreign economic ties. To extend the role and responsibility of sectoral ministries and departments in the development of foreign economic ties, in increasing production of exports and extending their range, in ensuring the timely construction and startup of industrial enterprises and other projects, built with imported equipment. To improve economic development incentives and raise the effectiveness of foreign economic ties.

* * *

The Soviet Union, in fraternal and indivisible unity of its nations and nationalities, is confidently marching along the road to communism, unswervingly following the course charted by the Communist Party. The successes achieved are the powerful source of creative energy for all Soviet peo-

ple inspiring them in the struggle for the further flourishing of our socialist Motherland.

The new five-year period which the Soviet society is entering upon will be characterized by a still greater scale of economic and cultural construction. The main attention should be directed, first and foremost, at ensuring the all-round intensification of social production and the further raising of its effectiveness. It is necessary that the powerful economic, scientific and technological potential, and the natural resources which the country has at its disposal, be used to the maximum for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Here decisively important is the acceleration of scientific and technological progress in every possible way, raising labour productivity, making better use of existing possibilities and reserves and improving economic management.

The realization of these immense new tasks will require great creative efforts and inspired creative labour on the part of workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, of all Soviet people.

It is necessary to further develop countrywide socialist emulation for attaining high labour indicators, fulfilling the economic plans, to do everything possible so that the 10th Five-Year Plan period becomes a period of effectiveness, a period of quality for the sake of the further growth of the economy and the people's well-being.

The five-year plan for effectiveness and quality means that every Soviet person, every working collective must persistently fight to attain the best results with the least expenditure, to achieve the most full and rational utilization of machinery and equipment, material and financial resources, economy of labour time, raw materials, fuel and energy.

The five-year plan for effectiveness and quality means that every Soviet person, every working collective must show genuine concern for improving the qualitative indicators at his enterprise, his construction site, state or collective farm, and must strive to raise the quality of work in all sectors of the economy, at each work place.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan requires a further improvement of Party leadership in all areas of economic and cultural construction. Constantly improving its organizational and political work,

the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, territorial, regional, city and district Party committees, and primary Party organizations must lead the labour enthusiasm of the masses, mobilize the working people in the struggle for the successful fulfilment of the five-year plan by each production collective, consistently educate the Soviet people in a communist attitude to work. We must strive for a genuine Party style of work in all economic activities, raise all workers' responsibility for the fulfilment of the planned tasks, strengthen discipline and improve control of the work done.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies play a great role in organizing the fulfilment of the five-year plan. They are called upon to have still more influence on economic and cultural development, to give unflinching attention to raising production of goods for the people, to town and village development, improving public education, health services, trade, public catering and services.

The task of the trade unions is to develop the working people's productive and social activity, to improve the forms and methods of the working people's participation in production management. The trade unions must develop socialist emulation, and the movement for a communist attitude to work, support and spread advanced experience, steadily promote labour efficiency, direct, with this end in view, the work of inventors and innovators, scientific and technical societies, skilfully employ moral and material incentives, show constant concern for improving the conditions of work, day-to-day life and recreation of workers and employees, and see to it that labour laws are strictly observed.

Active participation in the fulfilment of the 10th Five-Year Plan is the most important task for the Leninist Komsomol, for all our young people. To be in the vanguard of the builders of a communist society is the honourable duty of each young person in the Land of Soviets. The Komsomol is called upon to lead the youth movement for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production tasks, for mastering knowledge and achievements of modern science and technology, for persistently bringing up young men and women in the spirit of selfless loyalty to their socialist Motherland.

The fulfilment of the 10th Five-Year Plan will greatly add to our country's economic might and will ensure a new

rise in the people's well-being. During the 10th Five-Year Plan years the advantages and creative force of advanced socialism will be further brought out, and the interests of society, collectives and each person will more organically unite.

The achievements in the social and economic development of our country are of major international importance. The realization of the new five-year plan will lead to the further consolidation of the international position of the Soviet Union, will promote the further strengthening of the world system of socialism and the unity of all forces fighting for peace and social progress.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU expresses confidence that through their selfless labour the Soviet people will ensure the fulfilment of the great tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan and achieve new major advances in increasing the strength of our Motherland. This will be new proof of the Soviet people's unswerving loyalty to the lofty ideals of communism.

FREEDOM FOR THE PRISONERS OF IMPERIALISM AND REACTION!

Statement of the 25th Congress
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Adopted unanimously on March 1, 1976

Expressing the will of the Soviet Communists, of the entire Soviet people, the 25th Congress of the CPSU solemnly proclaims its fraternal and unbreakable solidarity with the Communists, with all fighters against imperialism and reaction, and above all with the victims of fascist repressions, those who are incarcerated in concentration camps and prisons, and who are subjected to brutal torture. The inhuman ordeal that has fallen to their lot is the class revenge for their heroic participation in the noble struggle for the interests of the working people, for the triumph of the ideals of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

Despite the angry protests of broad sections of world opinion, the fascist junta in Chile continues to trample on all norms of law and to keep in confinement the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Luis Corvalan, the outstanding son of the Chilean people and a prominent figure of the world communist movement.

The Congress demands in all firmness:

Release Luis Corvalan!

Release our comrades—members of the Communist Party of Chile leadership J. Cademartori and J. Montes,

leaders of the Socialist Party E. Ponce and C. Lorca, other Popular Unity leaders, and the thousands of other prisoners of the fascist regime—Communists, Socialists, all patriots and democrats!

In Uruguay, the authorities have started another wave of repressions against the progressive forces. We demand: Release Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay J. Pérez and J. L. Macera; release all Uruguayan Communists, the President of the Broad Front of Uruguay L. Seregni and other democrats!

Antonio Maydana, Chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party, has been kept in prison for 18 years. A tyrannical military dictatorship holds sway over the whole country. Release Antonio Maydana! Release M. A. Soler, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Paraguayan Communist Party, and hundreds of other Paraguayan patriots!

In recent years, two General Secretaries of the Guatemalan Party of Labour, B. Alvarado Monzon and U. Alvarado Arellano, were brutally killed in quick succession in Guatemala. In Brazil, leading members of the Communist Party and the democratic opposition are disappearing without a trace in prisons. In Argentina, the reactionary forces are subjecting the Communist Party and other progressive organisations to systematic terror. Terror does not cease in Haiti.

The Congress expresses its resolute protest against all these persecutions, and demands an end to them.

Outstanding leaders of the national liberation movement of Africa—Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the Party of African Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Front of National Liberation of Mozambique—lost their lives at the hands of imperialist agents.

The racists' rule over the peoples of the South African Republic, Namibia and Zimbabwe is a challenge to the conscience of mankind. Inhuman treatment by jailers caused the death of Bram Fisher, an outstanding humanitarian and an unbending fighter against racism and social injustice. Many leaders of the Communist Party of South Africa, the oldest Communist Party on the African continent, are kept in prison in appalling conditions. Disgrace

upon the racists and their henchmen! Release all participants in the national liberation movement in the south of Africa!

Thousands of Communists have been killed in Indonesia. To this day there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in prisons and concentration camps. Release the Communists, all the patriots of Indonesia!

On Palestinian territory occupied by Israel, fighters against aggression and for the sacred right of their people to have their own independent state, are arrested and kept in prison.

In Spain the authorities still refuse to restore legitimate freedom to many hundreds of political prisoners—Communists, Socialists and other democrats. The Congress supports all those who champion the just cause of the Spanish people.

The Congress emphatically condemns the persecution of and discrimination against Communists, consistent champions of peace and the security of peoples, the most dedicated fighters for the interests of working people and for a better future for mankind. The Congress declares its full support for the heroes and persecuted fighters in the revolutionary and liberation movement and sends them its fraternal greetings.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU supports and approves the proposal made in the report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for erecting in Moscow, as a symbol of the Soviet Communists' undying devotion to the great cause of proletarian internationalism, a memorial to the heroes of the international communist, working-class and national liberation movement, to the selfless fighters for people's happiness, who fell at the hands of the class enemy.

From the experience of the heroic Bolshevik Party and of many generations of revolutionaries of other countries we know that any attempt to halt the march of history by terror is doomed to failure.

The 25th Congress of the CPSU calls on all the Communists of the world, on the working people of all countries, on all public and political organisations, to intensify the struggle to end the terror and repressions against the

vanguard forces of progress, democracy and socialism, and to fight for the release of all prisoners of reaction.

The CPSU, the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, will always and steadfastly follow the Leninist traditions of active solidarity with their comrades-in-arms in the struggle for great and noble aims, and will always be faithful to proletarian internationalism.

COMMUNIQUE ON THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

A Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee that was elected at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on March 5, 1976.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected the following members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee:

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, Yu. V. Andropov, A. A. Grechko, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, D. A. Kunayev, K. T. Mazurov, A. Ya. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, G. V. Romanov, M. A. Suslov, D. F. Ustinov, and V. V. Shcherbitsky.

Comrades G. A. Aliyev, P. N. Demichev, P. M. Mashe-rov, B. N. Ponomaryov, Sh. R. Rashidov, and M. S. Solomentsev were elected alternate members of the Political Bureau.

Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, M. A. Suslov, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, D. F. Ustinov, B. N. Ponomaryov, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, K. F. Katushev, M. V. Zimyanin, and K. U. Chernenko were elected secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting endorsed the appointment of Comrade A. Ya. Pelshe Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

CONCLUDING SPEECH BY LEONID BREZHNEV AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS

March 5, 1976

Comrade delegates,

The first Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee elected by the 25th Congress of our Party has just ended its work. Allow me to report on the results of the work of this Plenary Meeting.

At this Plenary Meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of unity and cohesion, the Central Committee of the Party unanimously elected its governing bodies.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting also unanimously elected the following comrades members of the Political Bureau: L. I. Brezhnev, Yu. V. Andropov, A. A. Grechko, V. V. Grishin, A. A. Gromyko, A. P. Kirilenko, A. N. Kosygin, F. D. Kulakov, D. A. Kunayev, K. T. Mazurov, A. Ya. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, G. V. Romanov, M. A. Suslov, D. F. Ustinov, V. V. Shcherbitsky.

The following comrades were elected Alternate Members of the Political Bureau: G. A. Aliyev, P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masherov, B. N. Ponomaryov, Sh. R. Rashidov, M. S. Solomentsev.

The following comrades were elected Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee: L. I. Brezhnev, M. A. Suslov, A. P. Kirilenko, F. D. Kulakov, D. F. Ustinov, B. N. Ponomaryov, I. V. Kapitonov, V. I. Dolgikh, K. F. Katushev, M. V. Zimyanin, K. U. Chernenko.

Comrade A. Ya. Pelshe was approved as Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

The Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU elected Comrade G. F. Sizov its Chairman.

Comrade delegates,

The members of the newly elected Central Committee of the Party have asked me to express to the Congress delegates their wholehearted gratitude for the trust placed in them. Allow me to assure you that the Central Committee as a whole, and the Political Bureau and Secretariat which it has elected, will do their utmost to measure up to the responsibility placed on them.

Quite naturally, we believe that our main task is to ensure implementation of the decisions of the 25th Party Congress, which means ensuring the achievement of new major victories for the cause of communism and the cause of peace.

Dear comrades, the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has come to a close.

The Congress has discussed the results of the past five-year period, attentively and objectively analysed the experience acquired, and examined our plans for the future. We now have a better realisation of where the new sources, new reserves for further growth lie, and a clearer understanding of the tasks facing the Party.

The Congress has determined the Party's principled political line for the coming years.

Comrades, our 25th Congress has outlined new horizons in the struggle for further developing the country's might, for raising the Soviet people's living standards, and for bettering our entire social life. It has also put forward new concrete tasks in the sphere of foreign policy, in the struggle for peace and international co-operation, for the freedom and independence of the nations.

The plans approved by the Congress are challenging and not easy to fulfil. The tasks which it has set are very serious tasks. But we are sure, comrades, we are quite sure that these plans will be realised, that these tasks will be fulfilled. After all, since their purpose is to bring about greater prosperity for our socialist Homeland, and secure a happy life in peace for the Soviet people they will, without doubt, have the support of all the Soviet people.

Comrades, the work of our Congress has, in a manner

of speaking, gone far beyond the limits of this hall. One could say that it has reached out to all the Party organisations, to the factories and the scientific institutes, to the collective and state farms and fields, across the whole of our vast country. Millions of Soviet people sought to mark the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with good deeds and by getting the very best results in their work. The number of remarkable results of this shock work, of this lofty emulation is immense. Let me recall only some of them.

The atomic ice-breaker *Sibir* has been launched ahead of schedule. The family of Soviet passenger cars has been increased by the new *Moskvitch* and VAZ models. An important stage in the assembly of the giant 350-passenger IL-86 airliner has been completed ahead of schedule, and test flights of the new Yak-42 plane have been started. The working people of Leningrad have built the country's most powerful turbine generator with a capacity of 1.2 million kw, while the Zeya Hydroelectric Power Plant, the first such plant in the Far East, at the other end of the country, has been made operational. In the south, the main operations in building the first, 400-kilometre section of the North Crimea Canal have been completed, while new deposits of polymetallic ores, iron ore and apatites have been discovered in the North-East of the country. The Academy of Sciences of the USSR has received and started to operate the world's largest, unique optical telescope.

Those are some of the Soviet people's splendid achievements to mark the 25th Congress of their Communist Party! This, comrades, is the most powerful and most effective demonstration of the unity of purpose, thought and deed of the Party and the people in our society. Every participant in these heroic undertakings, whether a member of the Communist Party or not, has, in effect, made a contribution to the work of our Congress.

The Party highly appreciates this contribution as a remarkable expression of Soviet patriotism and concern for our common great cause of communist construction.

Or take another thing—the endless stream of thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrammes addressed to our Congress, arriving daily and hourly and still coming in. They cannot be read without emotion and pride for our Soviet man—the politically mature and active citizen of the Land of the Soviets—an ardent patriot and internationalist.

The information bulletins published at the Congress kept you informed day by day, comrade delegates, of the content of this documentary chronicle of a kind. They contained reports of impressive production achievements, warm greetings and good wishes, sincere accounts by working people of what they cherish most, of the Soviet way of life, of peace and creative effort. This is an expression of the tremendous enthusiasm of millions of working people, the vibrant pulse of a great and mighty power engaged in communist construction.

Allow me, comrade delegates, on your behalf, on behalf of the Congress, to express sincere gratitude to all those who have addressed the Party forum expressing their feelings and thoughts, which spring from solicitous concern for public affairs, for the Homeland's continued prosperity, from boundless support of the Party's Leninist line.

Allow me also to express profound gratitude to our foreign comrades, friends and people of good will in the socialist and capitalist countries, and in the newly liberated countries who on the eve of and during the Congress sent in tens of thousands of letters with warm greetings and best wishes for our Party, our country and the Soviet people.

Comrades,

More than 100 delegations of Communist and Workers' Parties, national democratic parties and movements have taken part in the work of our Congress.

Here, from this rostrum, and also at numerous meetings and rallies in various cities of our country, our brothers by class from other countries have expressed many warm feelings for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, for our country and our people. They spoke of the CPSU's historic mission in blazing the trail for the peoples to socialism and communism. They spoke of our country's role in the struggle for peace for all the nations.

We are grateful for these expressions and, for our part, assure the Communists, workers and all fighters for national and social freedom in all countries that the Communists and all the people of the Soviet Union will continue to be equal to their internationalist tasks in the future as well!

Dear comrades, we are a relatively small number of delegates—only about 5,000. But those who elected us number more than fifteen and a half million. Allow me, on behalf of the Congress, to convey our ardent militant greetings to all the Communists of our country, and to wish

them success in their undertakings, in their plans, in their life.

We are well aware that all of us will have to work long and hard to reach the planned objectives. Every Communist, every Party organisation, every Party committee must make a contribution to fulfilling the Congress decisions. They must be translated into concrete targets and plans. We must consolidate and sustain the spirit, the working rhythm generated by the pre-Congress emulation. The Central Committee is sure that this will be done.

Comrades, comments in the international press about our Congress, including bourgeois press comments, note the cohesion and optimism of the Soviet Communists, and the peaceable, stable and confident character of the CPSU's policy. I think that we can all agree with this appraisal.

The history of our Leninist Party has been marked by a remarkable constellation of congresses. Each of them has been an important milestone in the life of the Party and the country. There is no doubt, comrades, that the 25th Congress will rank among them as a special and unique congress, as a congress of great accomplishments, which has been keynoted by realism and efficiency, calm confidence in our strength, confidence in fresh victories for our great cause of communist construction, our struggle for a just and lasting peace in the world!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

May the glory of the heroic Soviet people resound through the centuries!

May there be lasting peace for all the people of our planet!

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, forward to fresh victories in building communism!

XXV съезд КПСС. Документы и резолюции
на английском языке

Цена 46 коп.

