

**24TH
CONGRESS
OF THE
CPSU**

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OF THE SOVIET UNION**

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**REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION
TO THE 24th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU**

**Delivered by Leonid BREZHNEV,
General Secretary of the CC CPSU.
March 30, 1971**

Comrade delegates, dear guests,

Five years have passed since the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

These have been years of our people's intense labour. In implementing the plans outlined by the Party, the Soviet people have scored great successes along all the main lines of communist construction.

These have been years in which our socialist economy took another great stride forward. The volume of industrial production has increased considerably. Agriculture has been growing steadily. New frontiers have been reached in the development of science and technology, and their latest achievements were being applied on an ever growing scale. On this basis we have succeeded in materially advancing in the direction which ultimately expresses the main meaning of our Party's activity—towards further raising the level of the welfare and culture of the whole Soviet people.

These have been years of successful development of socialist social relations and Soviet democracy, years of the further flourishing of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of considerable strengthening of the political and defence might of our great country—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the sphere of international development these have been years of great socio-political changes, years of sharp confrontation between the forces of peace, freedom and progress, and the forces of oppression, reaction and aggression. More than once the horizons of the globe have been clouded with the danger of war, but on every occasion imperialist encroachments met with resolute rebuff.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have made a big and active contribution to the struggle for peace and the security of nations. Our country's international positions have become even more secure, and the role of the world socialist system has increased. The great alliance of the three main revolutionary forces of our day—socialism, the international working-class movement, and the peoples' national liberation struggle—has continued to grow and gain in depth.

The past five-year period has been one of further growth and strengthening of our great Leninist Party, further consolidation of its ties with the people, and enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of Soviet society. In these years, the Party has had to tackle a great many formidable tasks. Summing up the experience accumulated in communist construction, the Party has formulated a principled and realistic policy which has been met with approval and unanimously supported by the whole Soviet people.

These have been years of tremendous political upswing and labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people on the occasion of two great anniversaries—the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin—years of ever more active participation by broad masses of working people in the practical implementation of the plans outlined by the Party. All the Soviet people regard the 24th Congress of the Communist Party as an outstanding event in their lives, and have marked it with concrete deeds and fresh big achievements.

At its 24th Congress, our Leninist Party finds itself full of vigour, enriched with new experience and monolithically united, fully aware of the scale and importance of what has already been achieved, and confident in its strength and the correctness of the prospects mapped out for our further advance.

Now comrades, allow me to deal with the results of the work done by the Central Committee and the whole Party in the period under review, and of some of the CC's considerations concerning the Party's policy and the country's development over the next few years.

I.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE USSR. THE CPSU'S FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITY

Comrades, our internal development is closely connected with the situation in the world arena. In view of this the Party's Central Committee has devoted much attention to international problems. Plenary Meetings of the CC have repeatedly considered the most important and pressing problems of the USSR's foreign policy, and the CPSU's activity in the communist movement.

The Soviet Union is a peace-loving state, and this is determined by the very nature of our socialist system. The goals of Soviet foreign policy, as formulated by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, consist in ensuring, together with other socialist countries, favourable international conditions for the construction of socialism and communism; in consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood; supporting the national liberation movement and engaging in all-round cooperation with the young developing states; consistently standing up for the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, giving a resolute rebuff to the aggressive forces of imperialism, and safeguarding mankind from another world war.

The whole of the CC's practical activity in the sphere of foreign policy has been designed to achieve these goals.

1. FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The CC's attention has been constantly centred on questions of further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, and relations with the fraternal socialist countries and their Communist Parties.

The world socialist system has a quarter-century behind it. From the standpoint of development of revolutionary theory and practice these have been exceptionally fruitful years. The socialist world has given the communist and working-class movement experience which is of tremendous and truly historic importance. This experience shows:

- Socialism, which is firmly established in the states now constituting the world socialist system, has proved its great viability in the historical contest with capitalism.
- The formation and strengthening of the world socialist system has been a powerful accelerator of historical progress which was started by the Great October Revolution. Fresh prospects have opened up for the triumph of socialism all over the world; life has provided confirmation of the conclusion drawn by the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties that "the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle".
- The world socialist system has been making a great contribution to the fulfilment of a task of such vital importance for all the peoples as the prevention of another world war. It is safe to say that many of the imperialist aggressors' plans were frustrated thanks to the existence of the world socialist system and its firm action.
- Successes in socialist construction largely depend on the correct combination of the general and the nationally specific in social development. Not only are we now theoretically aware but also have been convinced in practice that the way to socialism and its main features are determined by the general regularities, which are inherent in the development of all the socialist countries. We are also aware that the effect of the general regularities is manifested in different forms consistent with concrete historical conditions and national specifics. It is impossible to build

socialism without basing oneself on general regularities or taking account of the concrete historical specifics of each country. Nor is it possible without a consideration of both these factors correctly to develop relations between the socialist states.

The experience accumulated over the quarter-century also makes it possible to take a more profound and more realistic approach in assessing and determining the ways of overcoming objective and subjective difficulties which arise in the construction of the new society and the establishment of the new, socialist type of inter-state relations. Given a correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the common social system, and the identity of basic interests and purposes of the peoples of the socialist countries make it possible successfully to overcome these difficulties and steadily to advance the cause of developing and strengthening the world socialist system.

The past five-year period has seen a considerable contribution to the treasure-house of the collective experience of the fraternal countries and Parties. In the last five years, the economic potential of the socialist states has increased substantially, the political foundations of socialism have been strengthened, the people's living standards have been raised, and culture and science have been further developed.

At the same time, it is known that some difficulties and complications have continued to appear in the socialist world, and this has also had an effect on the development of relations between individual states and the Soviet Union. However, this has not changed the dominant tendency of strengthening friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries. On the whole, our co-operation with the fraternal countries has been successfully developing and strengthening in every sphere.

The CPSU has attached special importance to developing *co-operation with the Communist Parties of the fraternal countries*. This co-operation, enriching us with each other's experience, has enabled us jointly to work on the fundamental problems of socialist and communist construction, to find the most rational forms of economic relations, collectively to lay down a common line in foreign affairs, and to exchange opinion on questions relating to the work in the sphere of ideology and culture.

The period under review was marked by important successes in *co-ordinating the foreign-policy activity* of the fraternal Parties and states. The most important international problems and events in this period were considered collectively by the representatives of socialist countries on various levels.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation has been and continues to be the main centre for co-ordinating the foreign-policy activity of the fraternal countries.

The Warsaw Treaty countries displayed the initiative of putting forward a full-scale programme for strengthening peace in Europe, which is pivoted on the demand that the immutability of the existing state borders should be secured. The Political Consultative Committee has devoted several of its sittings to formulating and concretising this programme.

The Warsaw Treaty countries can also undoubtedly count among their political assets the fact that the plans which had existed within NATO to give the FRG militarists access to nuclear weapons have not been realised.

Joint efforts by the socialist states have also made it possible to achieve substantial progress in solving a task of such importance for stabilising the situation in Europe as the strengthening of the international positions of the German Democratic Republic. The so-called Hallstein Doctrine has been defeated. The GDR has already been recognised by 27 states, and this process is bound to continue.

Active and consistent support from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is vitally important for the struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and the other countries of Indochina against the imperialist interventionists. The steps taken by the socialist states in the Middle East have become one of the decisive factors which have frustrated the imperialist plans of overthrowing the progressive regimes in the Arab countries.

In the United Nations and other international bodies, the socialist countries, acting together, have put forward many proposals of key international importance. These proposals have been in the focus of world attention.

As a result of the collective formulation and implementation of a number of measures in recent years, the *military organisation of the Warsaw Treaty* has been further

improved. The armed forces of the allied powers are in a state of high readiness and are capable of guaranteeing the peaceful endeavour of the fraternal peoples.

In short, comrades, the socialist countries' multilateral political co-operation is becoming ever closer and more vigorous. We set ourselves definite aims and work jointly to achieve them. This is naturally of tremendous importance, especially in the present conditions of the contest between the two world social systems.

Of equal importance is *co-operation in the economic sphere*, and extension and deepening of national-economic ties between the socialist countries. The period under review has also been fruitful in this respect.

Let us turn to the facts.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal states seek to help each other in every way to develop their national economies. In the last five years, over 300 industrial and agricultural projects have been built or reconstructed in the socialist countries with our technical assistance. We have been supplying our friends with many types of industrial products on mutually advantageous terms. The Soviet Union has met 70, and more, per cent of the import requirements in some key types of raw materials and fuel of the CMEA countries and Cuba, and also to a considerable extent those of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

In the past five-year period, our national economy, for its part, has received from the CMEA countries equipment for 54 chemical plants. Over 38 per cent of the seagoing tonnage which our merchant navy has received in that period was made at our friends' shipyards. The CMEA countries are taking part through their investments in developing raw material and fuel branches of the Soviet economy, and in enlarging the capacities for making metal, mineral fertilisers and pulp. We have also been receiving many consumer goods from the fraternal countries.

The USSR and the other CMEA countries arrange their economic relations on a long-term basis. In particular, the fraternal countries have co-ordinated their national-economic plans for 1971—1975. In the last few years, active work has been continued in developing the organisational structure and technical basis for multilateral economic co-operation.

The second section of the Druzhba oil pipeline is being laid. In the first year of its operation, 1964, it carried 8.3 million tons of oil, and in 1975 the fraternal countries will receive almost 50 million tons of oil. A gas pipeline of unique dimensions is being laid to carry natural gas from Siberia to the country's European part. This will also help to increase gas deliveries to Czechoslovakia and Poland, and to start supplying gas to the GDR, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Mir integrated power grids have been yielding great economies for the CMEA countries. The International Bank for Economic Co-operation has been operating successfully, and a common investment bank of the CMEA countries recently started operations. Other forms of multilateral ties are also being strengthened.

All this has produced its results, helping to make social production more efficient, and to develop the national economy of each of our countries at a rapid pace. In the past five-year period, the CMEA countries' industrial production increased by 49 per cent. Trade between them has also been growing.

However, like other members of CMEA, we believe that the possibilities of the socialist division of labour are not yet being fully used. Practice has led us up to this common conclusion: it is necessary to deepen specialisation and co-operation of production, and to tie in our national-economic plans more closely, that is, to advance along the way of the socialist countries' economic integration. Comrades, this is an important and necessary endeavour.

The economic integration of the socialist countries is a new and complex process. It implies a new and broader approach to many economic questions, and the ability to find the most rational solutions, meeting the interests not only of the given country but of all the co-operating participants. It requires firm orientation on the latest scientific and technical achievements, and the most profitable and technically advanced lines of production.

That is the approach the CPSU intends to foster among workers in our planning and economic bodies. In this connection consideration should also apparently be given to the steps that would provide every unit of our economic system with an incentive to develop long-term economic ties with the fraternal countries.

In the period between the 23rd and the 24th Congresses, our Party has displayed much concern for strengthening *bilateral relations between the Soviet Union* and the socialist countries.

Close and diverse co-operation, friendship and cordiality are characteristic of our relations with the Warsaw Treaty countries—Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

New treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance have been concluded with Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Together with the treaties with the GDR, Poland and Mongolia, which came into force earlier, together with the other bilateral treaties between the fraternal countries, these documents constitute a comprehensive system of mutual allied commitments of a new, socialist type.

Our friendship with the Polish People's Republic is unshakeable. We note with deep satisfaction that the difficulties which arose in fraternal Poland have been overcome. The Polish United Workers' Party is taking steps to have its ties with the working class and all other working people strengthened, and the positions of socialism in the country consolidated. From the bottom of their hearts, the Communists of the Soviet Union wish their Polish friends the very greatest of success.

Our Party, and the Soviet people have relations of socialist solidarity and strong and militant friendship with the Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Following the precepts of Ho Chi Minh, great patriot and revolutionary, the Vietnamese people have raised high the banner of socialism and are fearlessly confronting the imperialist aggressors. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam may be sure that in its armed struggle and its peaceful endeavour it can continue to rely on the Soviet Union's fraternal support.

Over these years, the Central Committee has devoted constant attention to strengthening co-operation with the Republic of Cuba and the Communist Party of Cuba. As a result of joint efforts, considerable successes have been achieved in developing Soviet-Cuban relations. The peoples of the Soviet Union and of Cuba are comrades-in-arms in a common struggle, and their friendship is firm.

For half a century now, the CPSU and the Soviet state have had bonds of strong and time-tested friendship with the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian People's Republic. The Soviet Union is a true friend and ally of socialist Mongolia, and actively supports the efforts of our Mongolian friends aimed at solving major economic problems and strengthening their country's international position.

In the last few years, our ties with the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Korean Party of Labour have grown, and this, we are sure, meets the interests of the peoples of both countries. The Soviet Union has supported and continues to support the proposals of the KPDR Government on the country's peaceful, democratic unification, and the Korean people's demands for a withdrawal of US troops from the south of Korea.

In the period under review, Soviet-Yugoslav relations have continued to develop. The Soviet people want to see socialism in Yugoslavia strengthened, and her ties with the socialist community growing stronger. We stand for Soviet-Yugoslav co-operation, and for developing contacts between our Parties.

Concerning our relations with the People's Republic of China. It will be recalled that the Chinese leaders have put forward an ideological-political platform of their own which is incompatible with Leninism on the key questions of international life and the world communist movement, and have demanded that we should abandon the line of the 20th Congress and the Programme of the CPSU. They unfolded an intensive and hostile propaganda campaign against our Party and country, made territorial claims on the Soviet Union, and in the spring and summer of 1969 brought things to the point of armed incidents along the border.

Our Party has resolutely opposed the attempts to distort the Marxist-Leninist teaching, and to split the international communist movement and the ranks of the fighters against imperialism. Displaying restraint and refusing to be provoked, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have done their utmost to bring about a normalisation of relations with the People's Republic of China.

In the last eighteen months, as a result of the initiative displayed on our part, there have been signs of some

normalisation in relations between the USSR and the PRC. A meeting of the heads of government of the two countries took place in September 1969, and this was followed by negotiations in Peking between government delegations on a settlement of the border issues. These negotiations are proceeding slowly, and it goes without saying that their favourable completion calls for a constructive attitude not only of one side.

An exchange of ambassadors took place between the USSR and the PRC at the end of last year. After a considerable interval, trade agreements have been signed and trade has somewhat increased. These are useful steps. We are prepared to continue to act in this direction.

But on the other hand, comrades, we cannot, of course, fail to see that the anti-Soviet line in China's propaganda and policy is being continued, and that the 9th Congress of the CPC has written this line, which is hostile to the Soviet Union, into its decisions.

What can be said in this context?

We resolutely reject the slanderous inventions concerning the policy of our Party and our state which are being spread from Peking and instilled into the minds of the Chinese people. It is all the more absurd and harmful to sow dissent between China and the USSR considering that this is taking place in a situation in which the imperialists have been stepping up their aggressive actions against the freedom-loving peoples. More than ever before the situation demands cohesion and joint action by all the anti-imperialist, revolutionary forces, instead of fanning hostility between such states as the USSR and China.

We shall never forsake the national interests of the Soviet state. The CPSU will continue tirelessly to work for the cohesion of the socialist countries and the world communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis. At the same time, our Party and the Soviet Government are deeply convinced that an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would be in line with the fundamental, long-term interests of both countries, the interests of socialism, the freedom of the peoples, and stronger peace. That is why we are prepared in every way to help not only to normalise relations but also to restore neighbourliness and friendship between the So-

viet Union and the People's Republic of China and express the confidence that this will eventually be achieved.

Such is our principled stand. We have repeatedly stated it, are firmly committed to it, and are backing it up in practice.

As regards Albania, we are prepared, as in the past, to restore normal relations with her. This would be beneficial to both countries and to the common interests of the socialist states.

Comrades, the political crisis in Czechoslovakia has been fairly prominent in the international events of recent years. There is apparently no need here to set out the factual side of the matter, which is well known. Let us deal only with some of the conclusions drawn from what has taken place which we believe to be the most essential.

The Czechoslovak events were a fresh reminder that in the countries which have taken the path of socialist construction the internal anti-socialist forces, whatever remained of them, may, in certain conditions, become active and even mount direct counter-revolutionary action in the hope of support from outside, from imperialism, which, for its part, is always prepared to form blocs with such forces.

The danger of Right-wing revisionism, which seeks, on the pretext of "improving" socialism, to destroy the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, and paves the way for the penetration of bourgeois ideology, has been fully brought out in this connection.

The Czechoslovak events showed very well how important it is constantly to strengthen the Party's leading role in socialist society, steadily to improve the forms and methods of Party leadership, and to display a creative Marxist-Leninist approach to the solution of pressing problems of socialist development.

It was quite clear to us that this was not only an attempt on the part of imperialism and its accomplices to overthrow the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. It was an attempt to strike in this way at the positions of socialism in Europe as a whole, and to create favourable conditions for a subsequent onslaught against the socialist world by the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

In view of the appeals by Party and state leaders, Communists and working people of Czechoslovakia, and considering the danger posed to the socialist gains in that

country, we and the fraternal socialist countries then jointly took a decision to render internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in defence of socialism. In the extraordinary conditions created by the forces of imperialism and counter-revolution, we were bound to do so by our class duty, loyalty to socialist internationalism, and the concern for the interests of our states and the future of socialism and peace in Europe.

You will recall that in its document, "Lessons of the Crisis Development", a plenary meeting of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gave this assessment of the importance of the fraternal states' collective assistance (I quote):

"The entry of the allied troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity, meeting both the common interests of the Czechoslovakian working people and the interests of the international working class, the socialist community and the class interests of the international communist movement. This internationalist act saved the lives of thousands of men, ensured internal and external conditions for peaceful and tranquil labour, strengthened the Western borders of the socialist camp, and blasted the hopes of the imperialist circles for a revision of the results of the Second World War."

We fully agree with the conclusion drawn by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Life has once again provided convincing evidence that the fraternal unity of the socialist countries is the most reliable barrier against the forces trying to attack, and weaken, the socialist camp, to undermine and invalidate the working people's socialist gains. The peoples of the socialist countries have clearly demonstrated to the whole world that they will not give up their revolutionary gains, and that the borders of the socialist community are immutable and inviolable.

We are sincerely glad that the Communists of Czechoslovakia have successfully stood the trials that fell to their lot. Today the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is advancing towards its 14th Congress, which we are sure will be a new and important stage in strengthening the positions of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Comrades, the present-day socialist world, with its successes and prospects, with all its problems, is still a young

and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and where much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continuously improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of internal contradictions. The experience that has been accumulated helps the fraternal Parties to find correct and timely resolution of the contradictions and confidently to advance along the path indicated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great teachers of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has regarded and continues to regard as its internationalist duty in every way to promote the further growth of the might of the world socialist system. Our stand is that the co-operation between the fraternal countries should grow ever more diverse and gain in depth, that it should involve ever broader masses of working people, and that each other's concrete experience should be more fundamentally studied at every level of state, social, economic and cultural life.

We want to see every fraternal country a flourishing state, harmoniously combining rapid economic, scientific and technical growth with a flowering of socialist culture and rising living standards for the working people. We want the world socialist system to be a well-knit family of nations, building and defending the new society together, and mutually enriching each other with experience and knowledge, a family, strong and united, which the people of the world would regard as the prototype of the future world community of free nations.

Allow me to assure our friends, our brothers and our comrades-in-arms in the socialist countries that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will spare no effort to attain this lofty goal!

2. IMPERIALISM, ENEMY OF THE PEOPLES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. THE PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Comrades, at its 23rd Congress and then in a number of its documents our Party has already given a comprehensive assessment of modern imperialism. A Marxist-Leninist analysis of its present-day features is contained in the material of the 1969 International Communist Meeting. Allow me, therefore, in the light of the experience of the last few years

to deal only with some of the basic points which we must take account of in our policy.

The features of contemporary capitalism largely spring from the fact that it is trying to adapt itself to the new situation in the world. In the conditions of the confrontation with socialism, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries are afraid more than they have ever been of the class struggle developing into a massive revolutionary movement. Hence, the bourgeoisie's striving to use more camouflaged forms of exploitation and oppression of the working people, and its readiness now and again to agree to partial reforms in order to keep the masses under its ideological and political control as far as possible. The monopolies have been making extensive use of scientific and technical achievements to fortify their positions, to enhance the efficiency and accelerate the pace of production, and to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the working people.

However, adaptation to the new conditions does not mean that capitalism has been stabilised as a system. *The general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen.*

Even the most developed capitalist states are not free from grave economic upheavals. The USA, for instance, has been floundering in one of its economic crises for almost two years now. The last few years have also been marked by a grave crisis in the capitalist monetary and financial system. The simultaneous growth of inflation and unemployment has become a permanent feature. There are now almost eight million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries.

The contradictions between the imperialist states have not been eliminated either by the processes of integration or the imperialists' class concern for pooling their efforts in fighting against the socialist world. By the early 1970s, the main centres of imperialist rivalry have become clearly visible: these are the USA—Western Europe (above all, the six Common Market countries)—Japan. The economic and political competitive struggle between them has been growing ever more acute. The import bans imposed by official US agencies on an ever growing number of products from Europe and Japan, and the European countries' efforts to limit their exploitation by US capital are only some of the signs of this struggle.

In the past five-year period, imperialist foreign policy has provided fresh evidence that imperialism has not ceased to be reactionary and aggressive.

In this context, one must deal above all with US imperialism, which in the last few years has reasserted its urge to act as a kind of guarantor and protector of the international system of exploitation and oppression. It seeks to dominate everywhere, interferes in the affairs of other peoples, high-handedly tramples on their legitimate rights and sovereignty, and seeks by force, bribery and economic penetration to impose its will on states and whole areas of the world.

Needless to say, the forces of war and aggression also exist in the other imperialist countries. In West Germany, these are the revanchists, who have been increasingly gang-ing up with the neo-Nazis; in Britain, these are the executioners of Northern Ireland, the suppliers of arms to the South African racists, and the advocates of the aggressive US policy; in Japan these are the militarists who, in defiance of the constitution, which prohibits war "for all time", seek once again to push the country onto the path of expansion and aggression.

Another fact, comrades, that should also be borne in mind is that since the war militarism in the capitalist world has been growing on an unprecedented scale. This tendency has been intensified in the recent period. In 1970 alone, the NATO countries invested 103 thousand million dollars in war preparations. Militarisation has acquired the most dangerous nature in the USA. In the last five years, that country has spent almost 400 thousand million dollars for military purposes.

The imperialists have been systematically plundering the peoples of dozens of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Every year, they extract thousands of millions of dollars out of the Third World. Meanwhile, according to a 1970 UN report on the world food situation, 375 million people on these continents live on the brink of death from starvation.

The imperialists are prepared to commit any crime in their efforts to preserve or restore their domination of the peoples in their former colonies or in other countries which are escaping from the grip of capitalist exploitation. The last five-year period has provided much fresh evidence of

this. The aggression against the Arab states, the colonialist attempts to invade Guinea, and the subversive activity against the progressive regimes in Latin America—all this is a constant reminder that the imperialist war against the freedom-loving peoples has not ceased.

And the continuing US aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is the main atrocity committed by the modern colonialists; it is the stamp of ignominy on the United States.

In the last few years, facts about the war crimes of US imperialism have come to light that have deeply shocked world public opinion. Tragic notoriety fell to the lot of the Vietnamese village of Song My, whose unarmed civilian population, including old men, women and children, was sadistically wiped out by the US executioners.

It is hard to keep a calm tone when speaking about the atrocities committed by the interventionists, who are armed to the teeth. Hundreds of thousands of tons of napalm have literally scorched into wasteland whole areas of South Vietnam. Almost a million and a half Vietnamese have been poisoned, and many have died as a result of the use of chemical weapons. No honest man, least of all a Communist, can ever reconcile his conscience with what is being done by the US interventionists and their henchmen, who claim to represent "Western civilisation" and the so-called "free world". It is a disgrace!

Comrades, we have no doubt at all that the attempts of imperialism to turn the tide of history, to make it flow in its favour, are bound to fail. However, we Communists are well aware that there is no room for passivity or self-complacency. The fighters against capitalist oppression are confronted by the last but the most powerful of the exploiting systems that have ever existed. That is why a long and hard struggle still lies ahead.

But however hard this struggle, it continues to mount and its front is being steadily widened. In the last few years, the fighters against imperialism have written new and glorious pages into the annals of the class battles.

The *international working-class movement* continues to play, as it has played in the past, the role of time-tested and militant vanguard of the revolutionary forces. The events of the past five-year period in the capitalist world have fully borne out the importance of the working class as the chief

and strongest opponent of the rule of the monopolies, and as a centre rallying all the anti-monopoly forces.

In countries like France and Italy, where the traditions of the class struggle are more developed, and where strong Communist Parties are active, the working people, headed by the working class, have attacked not only individual groups of capitalists, but the whole system of state-monopoly domination. In Britain, the class struggle has reached a state of high tension, and the current strikes are comparable in scale and in the numbers involved only with the general strike of 1926. In the USA, working-class action against the monopolies has assumed great scope, and the struggle of the Negro people for equality, and of youth against the war in Vietnam is spreading with unprecedented acerbity. The mass working-class movement in the FRG is gathering momentum. For the first time in many decades, large-scale class clashes have taken place in the Scandinavian countries and in Holland. The socio-political crisis in Spain continues to sharpen. In all the class battles of the recent period, the working people's trade unions, especially those brought together within the World Federation of Trade Unions, have played a considerable and increasingly important role.

The Meeting of the fraternal Parties, it will be recalled, drew the conclusion that the current large-scale battles of the working class are a harbinger of fresh class battles which could lead to fundamental social change, to the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other sections of the working people.

At the same time, comrades, imperialism is being subjected to ever greater pressure by the forces which have sprung from the national liberation struggle, above all by the young independent and anti-imperialist-minded states of Asia and Africa.

The main thing is that *the struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist.*

Today, there are already quite a few countries in Asia and Africa which have taken the non-capitalist way of development, that is, the path of building a socialist society in the long term. Many states have now taken this path. Deep-going social changes, which are in the interests of the

masses of people, and which lead to a strengthening of national independence, are being implemented in these countries, and the number of these changes has been growing as time goes on.

The offensive by the forces of national and social liberation against domination by imperialism is expressed in various forms. Thus, in the countries oriented towards socialism the property of the imperialist monopolies is being nationalised. This makes it possible to strengthen and develop the state sector, which is essential as an economic basis for a revolutionary-democratic policy. In a country like the United Arab Republic, the state sector now accounts for 85 per cent of total industrial production, and in Burma, the state sector controls over 80 per cent of the extractive and almost 60 per cent of the manufacturing industry. New serious steps in nationalising imperialist property have been taken in Algeria. Many foreign enterprises, banks and trading companies have been handed over to the state in Guinea, the Sudan, Somali and Tanzania.

Serious steps have also been taken to solve the land problem, which is complicated and has a bearing on the lot of many millions of peasants. Taking the past five-year period alone, important agrarian transformations have been carried out in the UAR and Syria, and have been started in the Sudan and Somali. An agrarian reform has been announced for this year in Algeria. In the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), all the land and its minerals are now state owned.

Needless to say, it is no easy thing to bring about a radical restructuring of backward social relations on non-capitalist principles, and in an atmosphere of unceasing attacks by the neocolonialists and domestic reactionaries. This makes it all the more important that despite all these difficulties the states taking the socialist orientation have been further advancing along their chosen path.

Progressive social change has not advanced to that point in all the former colonies and dependent countries. But the struggle against the forces of reaction and against the henchmen of imperialism is being carried on everywhere, and in some countries the progressive forces have already scored serious gains. One need merely recall, for instance, events like the recent nationalisation of the big banks in India, and the impressive victory scored over the

Right-wing forces at the last elections to the House of the People of the Indian Parliament. This is evidence that the masses of people in that country resolutely oppose the reactionary pro-imperialist forces, and stand for the implementation of a land reform and other socio-economic transformations, and for a policy of peace and friendship in international affairs. Considerable social shifts have taken place in Ceylon and Nigeria.

Despite all the difficulties and even occasional defeats, a diversified process of social change is going on in vast areas of the world. The working people have been scoring important victories in the fight for their rights, for real freedom and for human dignity. The patriots of countries still burdened by the colonial yoke are continuing their courageous fight for liberation.

As to our country, it fully supports this just struggle. The USSR's political and economic co-operation with the liberated countries has been further developed in the last few years. Our trade with them is growing. Dozens of industrial and agricultural enterprises have been built in many countries of Asia and Africa with our participation. We have also been making a contribution to the training of personnel for these countries. All this is being done in the mutual interest.

Great changes have been taking place in a number of Latin American countries. The victory of the Popular Unity Forces in Chile was a most important event. There, for the first time in the history of the continent, the people have secured, by constitutional means, the installation of a government they want and trust. This has incensed domestic reaction and Yankee imperialism, which seek to deprive the Chilean people of their gains. However the people of Chile are fully determined to advance along their chosen path. The working people of other Latin American countries have come out in support of Chile's progressive line. The governments of Peru and Bolivia are fighting against enslavement by the US monopolies.

The great Lenin's prediction that the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, starting with a struggle for national liberation, would go on to fight against the very foundations of the system of exploitation is coming true. And this, of course, is a heavy blow at the positions of capitalism as a whole, as a world social system.

Comrades, success in the struggle against imperialism largely depends on the cohesion of the anti-imperialist forces, above all of *the world communist movement*, their vanguard. In the last five years, our Party together with the other fraternal Parties, has done much to strengthen this cohesion and the unity of the communist ranks.

It was a complex task. It was precisely in the period under review that the attempts on various sides to attack Marxism-Leninism as the ideological-theoretical basis for the activity of the communist movement have been most acute. The Chinese leadership went over to the establishment in a number of countries of splinter groupings under the signboard of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist parties", and has clearly tried to unite them in some way as a counterweight to the international communist movement. The Trotskyites have now and again formed blocs with these groupings. Here and there tendencies towards nationalistic self-isolation have been stepped up, and both "Left" and Right-wing opportunism have been revived.

The main aim has been to secure a turn towards the cohesion of the communist movement and consolidation of its ideological basis. An important stage in these efforts was the 1967 conference of European Communist Parties at Karlovy Vary and also a number of other international meetings of Communists.

As a result the question of calling an International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was placed on the order of the day. It was preceded by much preparatory work. You are aware, comrades, that a considerable contribution to the elaboration of the idea of the Meeting and to its preparation was made by our Party, by the CC CPSU.

The Meeting was a major step forward in strengthening the international unity of the Communists and in consolidating all the anti-imperialist forces. It has done a great deal for developing a number of propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory as applied to the present-day situation. It has been confirmed that this broadest and most representative form of intercourse between the fraternal Parties meets the needs of the communist movement as an international force. Our Party is in complete agreement with the conclusion drawn by the participants in the Meet-

ing about the advisability of holding such International forums of fraternal Parties as the need arises. It would be useful for them to become an established practice of the world communist movement.

The celebrations of the Lenin Centenary, which became truly world-wide, were also of tremendous importance for the cohesion of the communist movement. The Meeting of Communist Parties and the Lenin Centenary once again showed the viability of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and brought about an upswing in the fraternal Parties' activity in the fight for the interests of the working class and all working people, and against imperialism, and its minions in the working-class movement.

On the whole there is ground to say that cohesion in the international communist movement is being increasingly strengthened, and that fruitful bilateral and multi-lateral inter-Party ties are becoming ever more active. Our Party welcomes this. It will work further to ensure continued development in precisely this direction.

However, comrades, another fact we cannot afford to lose sight of is that negative phenomena have not yet been overcome everywhere. The fight against Right and "Left"-wing revisionism, against nationalism, continues to be urgent. It is precisely the nationalistic tendencies, especially those which assume the form of anti-Sovietism, that bourgeois ideologists and bourgeois propaganda have placed most reliance on in their fight against socialism and the communist movement. They have been trying to induce the opportunist elements in the Communist Parties to make something of an ideological deal. They appear to be telling them: just give us proof that you are anti-Soviet, and we shall be prepared to proclaim that you are the true "Marxists", and that you are taking completely "independent attitudes". The course of events has shown, incidentally, that such men also take the way of struggle against the Communist Parties in their own countries. Examples of this are renegades of the types of Garaudy in France, Fischer in Austria, Petkov in Venezuela, and the "Manifesto" group leaders in Italy. The fraternal Parties regard the fight against such elements as an important condition for strengthening their ranks. Consequently, even these examples—and their number could easily be multiplied—testify that the struggle

against revisionism and nationalism continues to be an important task of the Communist Parties.

Comrades, in the struggle against imperialism an ever greater role is being played by the revolutionary-democratic parties, many of which have proclaimed socialism as their programme goal. The CPSU has been actively developing its ties with them. We are sure that co-operation between such parties and the Communist Parties, including those in their own countries, fully meets the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, the strengthening of national independence and the cause of social progress.

We maintain and have been developing relations with the Left Socialist parties in some countries of the West, East and Latin America. Fairly active work has been carried on on this plane in the last few years.

In accordance with the line laid down by the 1969 International Meeting, the CPSU is prepared to develop co-operation with the Social-Democrats both in the struggle for peace and democracy, and in the struggle for socialism, without, of course, making any concessions in ideology and revolutionary principles. However, this line of the Communists has been meeting with stubborn resistance from the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democrats. Our Party has carried on and will continue to carry on an implacable struggle against any attitudes which tend to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of monopoly capital, and to undermine the cause of the working people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Comrades, to the lot of the Communists have fallen the hardest trials of any that have ever fallen to the lot of fighters for the people's cause. We remember these words of Lenin's: "Selfless devotion to the revolution and revolutionary propaganda among the people are not wasted even if long decades divide the sowing from the harvest" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 31). The ideas of the Communists have sprouted remarkable shoots in the practice of real socialism, and in the thoughts and deeds of millions upon millions of men.

The Communists of the Soviet Union put a high value on the tremendous work which is being done in their countries by the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. We are well aware how hard this work is, how much selfless dedication and boundless loyalty to our common

great ideals it requires. Today we should like once again to assure our comrades-in-arms—the Communists of the whole world: our Party, dear friends, will always march in closely serried, fighting ranks together with you!

We shall never forget the great sacrifices that have been made in the struggle. The names of the heroes of the communist movement, and the feats of courage and loyalty to the working-class cause will always remain sacred for all true revolutionaries. They will always remain sacred for Lenin's Party, for the Soviet people, which first raised the banner of victorious socialist revolution.

Conscious of its internationalist duty, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to pursue a line in international affairs which helps further to invigorate the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle, and to strengthen the fighting unity of all its participants.

The full triumph of the socialist cause all over the world is inevitable. And we shall not spare ourselves in the fight for this triumph, for the happiness of the working people!

3. THE SOVIET UNION'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF PEOPLES. REBUFF TO THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF AGGRESSION

Comrades, in the period under review the Central Committee and the Soviet Government did their utmost to ensure peaceful conditions for communist construction in the USSR, to expose and frustrate action by the aggressive imperialist forces, and to defend socialism, and the freedom of peoples and peace.

Our policy has always combined firm rebuffs to aggression with the constructive line of settling pressing international problems and maintaining normal, and, wherever the situation allows, good, relations with states belonging to the other social system. As in the past, we have consistently stood up for the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states, regardless of their social system. This principle has now become a real force of international development.

Let me deal with the most important international problems which because of their urgency or importance for the future have required our special attention.

To start with the events in South-East Asia. The aggressive war started by US ruling circles in that part of the world has not brought the American people any victorious laurels but tens of thousands of funeral wreaths. Anyone capable of taking a realistic view of things must realise that neither direct armed intervention, nor torpedoing of negotiations, nor even the ever wider use of mercenaries will break down the Vietnamese people's determination to become master of its own country.

The so-called Vietnamisation of the war, that is, the plan to have Vietnamese kill Vietnamese in Washington's interests, and the extension of the aggression to Cambodia and Laos—none of this will get the USA out of the bog of its dirty war in Indochina or wash away the shame heaped on that country by those who started and are continuing the aggression. There is only one way of solving the Vietnamese problem. It is clearly indicated in the proposals of the DRV Government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, proposals which we firmly back.

The Soviet Union resolutely demands an end to the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Our country has been and will be an active champion of the just cause of the heroic peoples of Indochina.

The Middle East is another "hot spot" in world politics.

The crisis which has arisen as a result of Israel's attack on the UAR, Syria and Jordan has been one of the most intense in the development of international relations over the past period.

Together with the fraternal socialist countries we did everything necessary to stop and condemn the aggression. We raised this question in the UN Security Council in the most resolute terms. An extraordinary session of the General Assembly was called on our demand. The USSR and other fraternal countries have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel, which has ignored the UN decision for a ceasefire. Our country has helped to restore the defence potential of the Arab states which were subjected to invasion, the UAR and Syria in the first place, with whom our co-operation has been growing stronger from year to year.

The United Arab Republic recently came out with important initiatives. It announced its acceptance of the pro-

posal put forward by the UN special representative, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, and readiness to conclude a peace agreement with Israel once the Israeli troops are withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories. The UAR has also proposed steps to resume navigation along the Suez Canal in the very near future. Thus, the attitude of the Arab side provides a real basis for settling the crisis in the Middle East. The Israeli Government's rejection of all these proposals, and Tel Aviv's now openly brazen claims to Arab lands clearly show who is blocking the way to peace in the Middle East, and who is to blame for the dangerous hotbed of war being maintained in that area. At the same time, the unseemly role of those who are instigating the Israeli extremists, the role of US imperialism and of international Zionism as an instrument of the aggressive imperialist circles, is becoming ever more obvious.

However, Tel Aviv ought to take a sober view of things. Do Israel's ruling circles really expect to secure for themselves the lands of others they have occupied and to go scotfree? In the final count, the advantages obtained by the invaders as a result of their piratical attack are illusory. They will disappear as mirages pass from view in the sands of Sinai. And the longer the delay in reaching a political settlement in the Middle East, the stronger will be the indignation of world public opinion, and the Arab people's hatred of the aggressor and its patrons, and the greater the harm the Israeli rulers will inflict on their people and their country.

The Soviet Union will continue its firm support of its Arab friends. Our country is prepared to join other powers, who are permanent members of the Security Council, in providing international guarantees for a political settlement in the Middle East.

Once this is reached, we feel that there could be a consideration of further steps designed for a military détente in the whole area, in particular, for converting the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendly co-operation.

Comrades, Europe has been one of the most important lines in our foreign policy activity all these years.

The improvement in Soviet-French relations has had important positive consequences for the whole course of European affairs. As a result of the recent talks in Moscow

with the President of France and the signing of a Protocol on Political Consultations, the possibilities of Soviet-French co-operation have been extended. Our peoples' friendship rests on sound historical traditions. Today, our states also have an extensive sphere of common interests. We stand for the further development and deepening of relations between the USSR and France, and regard this as an important factor of international security.

New prospects in Europe are opening up as a result of a substantial shift in our relations with the FRG.

Throughout the whole postwar period, we, like our allies and friends, have proceeded from the fact that lasting peace in Europe rests above all on the inviolability of the borders of European states. Now, the treaties of the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG have confirmed with full certainty the inviolability of borders, including those between the GDR and the FRG, and the western border of the Polish state.

There is a sharp demarcation of political forces in West Germany over the ratification of these treaties. One would assume that realistic-minded circles in Bonn, and also in some other Western capitals, are aware of this simple truth: delay over ratification would produce a fresh crisis of confidence over the whole of the FRG's policy, and would worsen the political climate in Europe and the prospects for easing international tensions.

As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to meet the commitments it has assumed under the Soviet-West-German treaty. We are prepared to cover our part of the way towards normalisation and improvement of relations between the FRG and the socialist part of Europe, provided, of course, the other side acts in accordance with the letter and spirit of the treaty.

The positive changes that have recently taken place in Europe do not mean that the problems Europe inherited from the Second World War have been fully solved. What is to be done to continue the improvement in the European situation, to make headway in ensuring collective security in Europe, and in developing co-operation both on a bilateral and on an all-European basis?

The situation in Europe as a whole would be improved by the convocation of an all-European conference. The

holding of such a conference is now backed by a majority of the European states. Preparations for it are being carried into the plane of practical politics. But attempts to prevent a détente in Europe have not ceased. All the states of this continent will still have to make serious efforts to bring about the convocation of an all-European conference.

An improvement of the situation on the continent naturally requires that the Soviet-West-German and the Polish-West-German treaties should enter into force as soon as possible.

There should also be a settlement of the problems connected with West Berlin. If the USA, France and Britain proceed, as we have done, from respect for the allied agreements which determine the special status of West Berlin, from respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR as an independent socialist state, the current negotiations could be successfully completed to the advantage of all the parties concerned, including the West Berlin population itself.

Another pressing task is establishment of equitable relations between the GDR and the FRG, based on the generally accepted rules of international law, and also admission of both these states to the United Nations.

Considerable importance should also be attached to the satisfaction of the legitimate demand of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that the Munich Agreement should be recognised as having been invalid from the outset.

Comrades, disarmament is one of the most important international problems of our day. We seek to secure concrete results reducing the danger of war, and to prevent the peoples from accepting the arms race as an inevitable evil.

A treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was prepared and has entered into force in the period under review. Although far from all states, including some of the nuclear powers, have yet acceded to it, it does to a certain extent reduce the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war. The important point now is to have the FRG, Japan, Italy and other countries back up their signatures to the treaty with its ratification.

Treaties banning the stationing of nuclear weapons in outer space and on the sea- and ocean-floor have been con-

cluded. But what has been achieved constitutes only the first few steps. It is our aim to bring about a situation in which nuclear energy shall serve peaceful purposes only.

We are engaged in negotiations with the USA on a limitation of strategic armaments. Their favourable outcome would make it possible to avoid another round in the missile arms race, and to release considerable resources for constructive purposes. We are seeking to have the negotiations produce positive results.

However, I should like to emphasize that disarmament talks in general, to say nothing of those involving discussion of highly delicate military-technical aspects, can be productive only if equal consideration is given to the security interests of the parties, and if no one seeks to obtain unilateral advantages.

The struggle for an end to the arms race, both in nuclear and conventional weapons, and for disarmament—all the way to general and complete disarmament—will continue to be one of the most important lines in the foreign-policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

In recent years, the USSR's relations with the countries of the capitalist world have been fairly active and diverse. With some of them co-operation has been extended on general foreign-policy issues, and political consultations promoting better mutual understanding have been accepted in practice. Economic, scientific and technical ties, in some instances resting on a long-term basis, have acquired considerable scale. For instance, we have been co-operating—on mutually advantageous terms, of course—with Italy in building the Volzhsky Auto Works, and with Austria and several other countries in developing the gas industry, including the laying of gas pipelines from the Soviet Union to Western Europe. Agreement was recently reached on the Soviet Union's participation in setting up an iron-and-steel complex in France. Japanese companies are to co-operate in building a new port in the Far East. Other major projects, in which our business partners have displayed a keen interest, are at the discussion stage.

As usual, we have devoted much attention to our relations with our neighbours. Good neighbourly relations and cooperation with Finland have continued to grow stronger;

our relations with Afghanistan and Iran have been developing successfully; we have normal relations with Pakistan and Turkey; our ties with Sweden are stable.

Our friendly relations with India have developed considerably. The Indian Government's pursuit of a peaceable, independent line in international affairs, and the traditional feelings of friendship linking the peoples of the two countries have all helped to strengthen Soviet-Indian cooperation.

We believe there are considerable possibilities for further extending mutually advantageous co-operation with Japan, although the attempts by some Japanese circles to exploit the so-called territorial question have naturally done nothing to benefit Soviet-Japanese relations. Their complete normalisation on an appropriate contractual basis is also being hampered by the existence of foreign military bases in Japan. The fact is that such normalisation would be in line with the long-term interests of the peoples of the two countries, and the interests of peace in the Far East and in the Pacific area.

Now about the Soviet Union's relations with the United States of America. An improvement in Soviet-American relations would be in the interests of the Soviet and the American peoples, the interests of stronger peace. However, we cannot pass over the US aggressive actions in various parts of the world. In the recent period, the US Administration has taken a more rigid stance on a number of international issues, including some which have a bearing on the interests of the Soviet Union. The frequent zig-zags in US foreign policy, which are apparently connected with some kind of domestic political moves dictated by short-term considerations, have also made dealings with the United States much more difficult.

We proceed from the assumption that it is possible to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the USA, is consistently and fully to practise the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties, and to co-operate, with states prepared to do so, in strengthening peace, making our relations with them as stable as possible. But we have to consider whether we are dealing with a real desire to settle out-

standing issues at the negotiation table or attempts to conduct a "positions of strength" policy.

Whenever the imperialists need to cover up their aggressive schemes, they try to revive the "Soviet menace" myth. They seek to find evidence of this threat in the depths of the Indian Ocean and on the peaks of the Cordilleras. And, of course, nothing but Soviet divisions prepared for a leap against the West are to be discovered on the plains of Europe if these are viewed through NATO field-glasses.

But the peoples will not be deceived by the attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union intentions which are alien to it. We declare with a full sense of responsibility: we have no territorial claims on anyone whatsoever, we threaten no one, and have no intention of attacking anyone, we stand for the free and independent development of all nations. But let no one, for his part, try to talk to us in terms of ultimatums and strength.

We have everything necessary—a genuine peace policy, military might and the unity of Soviet people—to ensure the inviolability of our borders against any encroachments, and to defend the gains of socialism.

Comrades, the period under review marked the end of the quarter-century since the rout of Hitler Germany and militarist Japan. The fruits of that great victory still live in international realities today. The Soviet people cherish everything that has been attained at such great cost.

For more than 25 years now, our people have lived in peace. We regard this as the greatest achievement of our Party's foreign policy. For a quarter-century now, mankind has been safeguarded from world war. That is another historic achievement of the peoples, to which the Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a considerable contribution. However, the forces of aggression and militarism may have been pushed back, but they have not been rendered harmless. In the post-war years, they have started more than 30 wars and armed conflicts of varying scale. Nor is it possible to consider the threat of another world war as having been completely eliminated. It is the vital task of all the peaceable states, of all the peoples, to prevent this threat from becoming reality.

The Soviet Union has countered the aggressive policy of imperialism with its policy of active defence of peace and

strengthening of international security. The main lines of this policy are well known. Our Party, our Soviet state, in co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries and other peace-loving states, and with the wholehearted support of many millions of people throughout the world, have now for many years been waging a struggle on these lines, taking a stand for the cause of peace and friendship among nations. The CPSU regards the following as the *basic* concrete tasks of this struggle in the present situation.

First.

To eliminate the hotbeds of war in South-East Asia and in the Middle East and to promote a political settlement in these areas on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of states and peoples subjected to aggression.

To give an immediate and firm rebuff to any acts of aggression and international arbitrariness. For this, full use must also be made of the possibilities of the United Nations.

Repudiation of the threat or use of force in settling outstanding issues must become a law of international life. For its part, the Soviet Union invites the countries which accept this approach to conclude appropriate bilateral or regional treaties.

Second.

To proceed from the final recognition of the territorial changes that took place in Europe as a result of the Second World War. To bring about a radical turn towards détente and peace on this continent. To ensure the convocation and success of an all-European conference.

To do everything to ensure collective security in Europe. We reaffirm the readiness expressed jointly by the participants in the defensive Warsaw Treaty to have a simultaneous annulment of this treaty and of the North Atlantic alliance, or—as a first step—dismantling of their military organisations.

Third.

To conclude treaties putting a ban on nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons.

To work for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, including underground tests, by everyone everywhere.

To promote the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

We stand for the nuclear disarmament of all states in possession of nuclear weapons, and for the convocation for these purposes of a conference of the five nuclear powers—the USSR, the USA, the PRC, France and Britain.

Fourth.

To invigorate the struggle to halt the race in all types of weapons. We favour the convocation of a world conference to consider disarmament questions to their full extent.

We stand for the dismantling of foreign military bases. We stand for a reduction of armed forces and armaments in areas where the military confrontation is especially dangerous, above all in Central Europe.

We consider it advisable to work out measures reducing the probability of accidental outbreak or deliberate fabrication of armed incidents and their development into international crises, into war.

The Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate agreements on reducing military expenditure, above all by the major powers.

Fifth.

The UN decisions on the abolition of the remaining colonial regimes must be fully carried out. Manifestations of racism and apartheid must be universally condemned and boycotted.

Sixth.

The Soviet Union is prepared to expand relations of mutually advantageous co-operation in every sphere with states which for their part seek to do so. Our country is prepared to participate together with the other states concerned in settling problems like the conservation of the environment, development of power and other natural resources, development of transport and communications, prevention and eradication of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, and the exploration and development of outer space and the world ocean.

Such are the main features of the programme for the struggle for peace and international co-operation, for the

freedom and independence of nations, which our Party has put forward.

And we declare that, while consistently pursuing its policy of peace and friendship among nations, the Soviet Union will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism, and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the people's struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

Comrades, it is clear from what has been said that the past five years have been a period of vigorous and intense activity by our Party and state in the sphere of international policy.

Of course, in international affairs not everything depends on us or our friends alone. We have not advanced in every sphere as fast as we should like towards the goals we set ourselves. A number of important acts have yet to be brought to completion, and their importance will become fully evident later. But the overall balance is obvious: great results have been achieved in these five years. Our country's international position has become even stronger, its prestige has been enhanced, and the Soviet people's peaceful endeavour has reliable protection.

II.

THE MAIN QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY AT THE PRESENT STAGE

Comrades, fifty years ago, when putting up for broad discussion the GOELRO plan, history's first state plan for economic development, V. I. Lenin said that when the Party and the Soviet Government came to concentrate on the country's economic development, that period would be the happiest epoch. He urged that congresses and conferences should be turned into "bodies that will verify our economic achievements, bodies in which we can really learn the business of economic development" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 514).

Our Party congresses have in fact become such bodies in the full sense of the word! As Lenin had predicted, economics is the main policy for the Party and the Soviet state, a policy on whose success decisively depends the advance of Soviet society towards communism and the consolidation of the international positions of our socialist power.

In reporting on the work done in this most important direction, the Party's Central Committee has good ground to say that the Soviet people have brought the Eighth Five-Year Plan to a fitting completion, thereby taking another major step forward in building the material and technical basis of communism, in strengthening the country's might, and in raising the people's living standards.

1. THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE EIGHTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN 1966-1970

In the economic sphere the main result of the five-year period is that the scale of the national economy has been substantially increased, its development accelerated, and qualitative indicators improved.

The Directives of the 23rd Congress have been successfully fulfilled in the main economic targets. The national income was to have increased by 38-41 per cent; it has in fact grown by 41 per cent. Industrial production, with a target of 47-50 per cent, has increased by 50 per cent. The targets set by the Directives for the key indicators relating to the raising of the working people's living standard have been overfulfilled.

On the whole, the eighth five-year period has yielded considerably greater results than the preceding one.

Key Indicators of National Economic Development in the Seventh and the Eighth Five-Year Periods

(comparable prices; increment in thousand million rubles and growth in per cent)

	Seventh five-year period (1961-1965)		Eighth five-year period (1966-1970)	
	Absolute increment	1965 % ⁰ / ₀ of 1960	Absolute increment	1970 % ⁰ / ₀ of 1965
Aggregate social product	113	137	175	142
National income used for consumption and accumulation	45	132	77	141
Industrial production	84	151	125	150
<i>of which</i>				
Group A	66	158	91	151
Group B	18	136	34	149
Agricultural production (annual average output as compared with preceding period)	7.1	112	14.0	121
Capital investment (for the five years)	77	145	104	142
Freight turnover for all types of transport (thousand million ton-km)	878	147	1,061	138
Retail trade	26.1	134	50.2	148

The country's national income which went into consumption and accumulation increased at an average rate of 7.1 per cent a year, as against 5.7 per cent in the preceding period. Productivity of social labour—a key indicator of efficiency in production—has increased by 37 per cent, as against 29 per cent in the seventh five-year period.

Heavy industry, the basis of the economy, has been further developed. The branches which determine technical progress—electric power, the chemical and the petrochemical industries, engineering, especially radio electronics and instrument-making—have been developing at a much faster rate. The share of the products turned out by these branches has increased from 28 to 33 per cent of total industrial output. The light and the food industries have been developing rapidly. The output of consumer goods in the five years has gone up by 49 per cent. To illustrate the present scale of production, one need merely say that industrial output in 1970 alone was approximately double the industrial output for all the prewar five-year periods taken together.

The following table gives an idea of the growth of industrial output in 1966-1970.

	1965	1970	1970 % of 1965
Electric power (thousand million kwh)	507	740	146
Oil, including gas condensate (million tons)	243	353	145
Coal (million tons)	578	624	108
Gas (thousand million m ³)	129	200	154
Steel (million tons)	91	116	127
Rolled steel (million tons)	71	92	130
Output of engineering and metal-working industries (thousand million rubles)	51	88	174
Mineral fertilisers, in reference units (million tons)	31	55	177
Synthetic resins and plastics (thousand tons)	803	1,672	208
Cement (million tons)	72	95	132
Fabrics, all types (thousand million m ²)	7.5	8.9	118
Garments (thousand million rubles)	9.0	15.9	177
Leather footwear (million pairs)	486	676	139
Radio and television sets (million units)	8.8	14.5	164
Domestic refrigerators (million units)	1.7	4.1	247

In the past five-year period, considerable successes have been achieved in agricultural development. For a number of reasons, this branch has been and for the time being

remains the most difficult and complex sector of our economy. That is why it is a source of satisfaction that the Party's work, the efforts of our working people in the countryside and workers in the industries concerned have been crowned with major achievements.

Annual average farm output has increased by 21 per cent, as compared with 12 per cent in the preceding five-year period. The most substantial shifts have taken place in the production of grain, whose annual average gross output has increased by 37 million tons, or 30 per cent. The production of meat, milk, eggs and other produce has been markedly increased.

The following table gives an idea of the annual average output of major farm products:

	million tons		
	1961-1965	1966-1970	1966-1970 %/‰ of 1961-1965
Grain	130.3	167.5	129
Raw cotton	5.0	6.1	122
Sugar-beet (for factory processing)	59.2	81.0	137
Sunflower seeds	5.1	6.4	126
Flax fibre	0.41	0.46	112
Potatoes	81.6	94.8	116
Vegetables	16.9	19.3	114
Meat (slaughter weight)	9.3	11.6	124
Milk	64.7	80.5	124
Eggs (thousand millions)	28.7	35.8	124
Wool (thousand tons)	362	397	110

The 1970 results need to be dealt with separately. More than 186 million tons of grain and 6.9 million tons of raw cotton were received in the country. We have never yet had such high gross output. Grain averaged 15.6 centners, and cotton 25 centners per hectare.

The five-year period target for freight turnover was fulfilled. Capital construction proceeded on a large scale. Almost 1,900 large industrial enterprises and installations have been commissioned. A good reserve has been created for a further build-up of production capacities in the early years of the current five-year period.

The location of the country's productive forces has been improved. The economic potential of Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan has markedly increased. The national economy of all the republics has made a stride forward, and the contribution of each to the fulfilment of all-Union tasks has grown. This means that the economic

foundation of the union and brotherhood of all our peoples has been enlarged.

The past five-year period has been an important one in the fulfilment of *social tasks*. The changes that have taken place in social relations will be dealt with below. At this point I should like to dwell on some questions connected with the people's rising living standards. In the five years, real incomes per head of population have increased by 33 per cent, as compared with the 30 per cent provided for by the Directives of the Party's 23rd Congress, and the 19 per cent in the preceding five-year period.

You are aware, comrades, that in this five-year period, the minimum wage for workers and office employees was raised to 60 rubles a month. The average wage of workers and office employees for the country has increased by 26 per cent. Collective farmers' incomes from social production have increased by 42 per cent. Guaranteed remuneration for labour has been introduced, the pension age has been lowered, and the payment of sick benefits and disability allowances has been introduced for members of collective farms.

In the five years, social consumption funds have increased by 50 per cent, to almost 64 thousand million rubles in 1970.

The growth of retail trade is a key indicator of the level of living standards. In 1966-1970, it came to 48 per cent, with the structure of consumption being considerably improved. Compared with 1965, consumption of meat per person increased in 1970 by 17 per cent, milk and milk products by 22 per cent, eggs by 23 per cent, fish and fish products by 33 per cent, and sugar by 14 per cent, with a simultaneous reduction in the consumption of bread and potatoes. The sale to the population of cultural and household articles, especially of consumer durables—radios, television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, and so on—has increased.

Everybody knows on what scale we have tackled and how perseveringly we are working on the housing problem. The state has spent nearly 60 thousand million rubles under this head. More than 500 million sq m of housing have been put up in the past five years. This means that the equivalent of more than 50 large cities with one million population each was built in the country. Most of the family house-warm-

ings were celebrated in separate apartments with modern amenities.

The systems of public education and health have made good headway. The Soviet people's health and longevity are an object of the Party's and the state's constant concern. In 1966-70 we trained 151,000 doctors, or 22,000 more than in the preceding five years. The network of medical institutions was expanded considerably.

For some years, most Soviet workers and office employees have had a five-day work week with two days off. Paid annual leaves have been lengthened for a considerable part of the working people.

As you see, the people's standard of living has risen quite substantially in the past five years. Permit us to express the trust that these achievements will be a source of fresh inspiration for Soviet people, arousing their desire to work still more effectively for the country's good, for the good of our heroic people!

Summing up the results of the past five years and giving their due to the successes achieved, the Party is aware of the shortcomings in the economic field, of the unresolved problems. It should be noted, first of all, that production targets for some important items were not fully met.

There were also delays in expanding production capacity in the chemical industry, machine-tools, the light and a few other industries. Many ministries have not fulfilled the plans for introducing new equipment and have fallen short of the labour productivity targets. The plans for supplying agriculture with electricity and machinery have not been fully met.

While the average wage increase targets were surpassed, the rates and basic wages of some categories have not been increased as envisaged in the plan. Though considerable accretion in the production of some food products, especially meat, and of consumer goods, is still below the demand, sometimes creating shortages in the shops.

These difficulties are partly traceable to objective causes of an external and internal order. But, naturally, at this Congress we should focus our attention especially on the causes relating to deficiencies in the work of the economic, government and Party bodies, to shortcomings in planning, in producing and mastering new equipment, and in making use of available reserves.

However, the shortcomings and unresolved problems do not obscure the main point—the basic positive results of our five-year plan. The Party and people have coped well with a big and complicated task, that of combining continued economic development and reinforcement of the country's defences with a considerably greater rise in the living standard of the working people.

The successes of the Soviet people in economic development are of great political significance. They have led to a further consolidation of the socialist system in our country, to still closer cohesion of the entire Soviet people round the Party. They have contributed greatly to the common cause of augmenting the economic strength of the socialist states and strengthening the positions of the world socialist system in the economic competition with capitalism.

Comrades, defining the trend in the country's economic development, the 23rd Congress not only approved the main indicators for the Eighth Five-Year Plan, but also raised a number of important questions of long-term economic policy. Resolving these, the Central Committee, acting on the instructions of the Congress, also took steps to remedy the shortcomings of the preceding period in the management of agriculture and industry.

We can report to the Congress that much has been done in the past five years to improve economic management. The Central Committee plenary meetings, CC decisions and those of the Council of Ministers of the USSR resolved major economic problems. Special mention should be made of the importance of the May (1966) and July (1970) Plenary Meetings, which worked out a comprehensive long-term development programme for agriculture, and of the December (1969) Plenary Meeting, which discussed fundamental questions of the development of our economy, such as the ways to enhance the effectiveness of production and improve management. Summing up the results of all this work, it may be said that the Party has made tangible progress in the period under review in studying and conceptualising a number of the biggest and most complicated questions of its economic policy.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to note the increase in the creative activity of local Party organisations and committees. The Party organisations of many republics, territories and regions made important economic

suggestions of nation-wide significance to the Central Committee. These were studied and taken into account when framing national economic decisions.

It is an important result of the Party's work in the period under review that Party, government, economic and trade-union cadres and the masses of working people have begun to look more deeply into economic matters, that they show a better understanding of our problems and the ways of solving them.

The country's economic achievements are the result of selfless work in industry, agriculture, transport and building, science and culture, of the work of all the peoples of our multinational country. On behalf of the Congress, permit me to congratulate the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia, all the working people of the Soviet Union, on their great victories in labour!

THE SPECIFICS OF THE PRESENT STAGE IN THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE TASKS OF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, V. I. Lenin stressed that the difficulty and art of politics consist in taking into account the specifics of the tasks of each period, the specifics of the conditions in which the Party operates. This approach is also immensely important in working out economic policy, which must take into account the main features of each stage in the country's development.

In our country, it will be recalled, socialism triumphed back in the latter half of the thirties. This was followed by more than three decades of the Soviet people's heroic labour and struggle. Our economy of that time and our present-day economy are based on the same type of relations of production, on the same economic laws, the laws of socialism. However, there are important new features that distinguish the modern economy from the economy of the late thirties.

An immeasurably higher level has been achieved in the national economy, in socialist social relations, the culture and the consciousness of the broad masses. The developed socialist society to which Lenin referred in 1918 as to the future of our country has been built by the selfless labour

of the Soviet people. This has enabled us to tackle in practice the great task set by the Party Programme, by its latest congresses—that of building the material and technical basis of communism.

While discussing at this Congress the fundamental aspects of the Party's economic policy for the coming period, we should pay attention to some of the specific features of the present stage in our economic development.

The most important of these is the economy's entirely new magnitude. Immense economic strength has been built up, based on a versatile industry and large-scale socialist agriculture, advanced science and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and managers, an economy that daily produces a social product worth nearly 2 thousand million rubles, that is, ten times more than at the end of the thirties.

The Party takes this enormous growth of the country's economic power into account in its economic activity. What does this mean in concrete terms? First and foremost, it means a considerable growth of our possibilities. These days we set ourselves and perform tasks of which we could only dream in the preceding stages.

At the same time, in the present conditions the demands which society puts on the economy are rapidly increasing along with the economic possibilities. In the early stages of building socialism, it will be recalled, we were compelled to concentrate on the top priorities, on which the very existence of the young Soviet state depended. Now the situation is changing. Not only do we wish to—for we have always wished it—but we can and must deal simultaneously with a broader set of problems.

While securing resources for continued economic growth, while technically re-equipping production, and investing enormously in science and education, we must at the same time concentrate more and more energy and means on tasks relating to the improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing. While breaking through in one sector or another, be it ever so important, we can no longer afford any drawn-out lag in any of the others.

The high degree of economic development achieved by our country has yet another important effect: the demands on planning, guidance and economic management techniques are rising substantially. The interdependence of all

the economic links is enhancing, adding to the importance of long-term planning, of forging a system of inter-industry connections, and of improving material supplies.

Important specific features of the present stage of the country's economic development are also traceable to the rapidly unfolding scientific and technical revolution. Socialism, the planned socialist economy offer the broadest scope for the all-sided progress of science and technology. However, the scientific and technical revolution requires the improvement of many sides of our economic activity. In other words, it is a huge force favourable for socialism, but one that has to be properly mastered.

Some of the specific features of the present historical stage are also shaped by serious changes in the external conditions. The most important of these, as we have noted, is the unfolding process of the economic integration of the socialist countries, and in accomplishing many of our economic tasks we must take that process into account. We must also take into account the considerably greater role these days of such an area of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism as the economic and technico-scientific competition of the two world systems.

Those are some of the important features of the present stage in the country's economic development. Translated into political tasks, we could describe them briefly as follows: the vast scale of the national economy, the greater economic possibilities and social requirements pose the imperative of greatly improving the standard of all our economic work, substantially raising the effectiveness of our economy, turning our entire vast economy into a still better working, well-gearred mechanism.

In all things, we were always helped by our revolutionary will and breadth of vision, by the Party's skill in mobilising the energy of the millions for the fulfilment of constructive tasks, by the labour enthusiasm of the working class, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia. It is more than ever necessary now to combine this great force still more closely with systematic and painstaking organisational work, with a consistently scientific approach to economic management, with rigorous self-discipline and all-round efficiency.

Comrades, the above circumstances were taken into account by the Central Committee in drafting so important

a political document as the Directives for the new five-year plan.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is sure to be an important stage in Soviet society's further advance to communism, in building its material and technical basis, in augmenting the country's economic and defensive might. *The main task of the Five-Year Plan is to secure a considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, increase in its effectiveness, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of the productivity of labour.*

In the coming five years the national income is to be increased 37-40 per cent, with the consumption fund going up 40 and the accumulation fund 37 per cent. Industrial output will rise 42-46 per cent and the average annual agricultural output 20-22 per cent, while real per capita incomes will go up by nearly one-third.

Inasmuch as Comrade A. N. Kosygin will deliver the report on the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, permit me to dwell on just the three basic questions of the Party's economic policy in the period ahead.

To begin with, the question of the main aims on which the Party is orienting the development of Soviet economy.

Further, the question of the sources of growth, the resources that must be mobilised for the further rapid rise of social production.

Lastly, the question of improving the mechanism of economic management in order to secure successful economic growth.

2. RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING IS THE SUPREME AIM OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

Setting a substantial rise of the standard of living of the working people as the main task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee believes that this will determine not only our activity for the coming five years, but also the long term general orientation of the country's economic development. In setting this course the Party proceeds primarily from the postulate that under socialism the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's ma-

terial and cultural requirements is the supreme aim of social production.

From the first days of Soviet power our Party and state have been doing their utmost in this respect. But for well-known historical reasons our possibilities were limited for a long time. Now they are substantially greater, which enables the Party to raise the question of centering economic development still more fully on improving the life of the people.

The Party also proceeds from the fact that a higher standard of living is becoming an ever more imperative requirement of our economic development, one of the important economic preconditions for the rapid growth of production.

This approach follows not only from our policy of further accentuating the role of material and moral labour incentives. The question is posed much more broadly: to create conditions favourable for the all-round development of the abilities and creative activity of Soviet people, of all working people, that is, to develop the main productive force of society.

Modern production sets rapidly rising demands not only on machines, on technology, but also and primarily on the workers, on those who create these machines and control this technology. For ever larger segments of workers specialised knowledge and a high degree of professional training, man's general cultural standard, are becoming an obligatory condition of successful work. And all these depend to a considerable extent on the standard of living, on how fully the material and spiritual requirements can be satisfied.

Thus, our aims, the greater economic potential and the requirements of economic development make it possible and necessary to steer the economy more fully to resolving the highly diverse tasks relating to the improvement of the people's standard of living. The Eighth Five-Year Plan has yielded considerable practical results in this respect. Now it is up to us not only to consolidate the achievements, but also to attain new substantial advances.

Defining improvement of the living standard of the working people as the main task, we should refrain, of course, from approaching the matter in a simplified way. It will take time, serious effort, immense means and re-

sources to implement the course of considerably raising the people's standard of living. One can distribute, one can consume only what one has produced. This is a self-evident truth. Our plans derive their strength and realism from the fact that they closely connect the improvement of the living standard with greater social production, with a higher productivity of labour. But this also predicates the responsibility that devolves on the Party, on the Soviet people as a whole. How well we are living today and how well we shall live to-morrow depends on ourselves, on our success in labour.

Allow me to report on the proposals and plans relating to the people's well-being, which the Party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers are submitting to the Congress.

A further increase is envisaged of the working people's *cash incomes*. Three-quarters of the accretion in the real incomes of the population is to be accounted for by higher payment for work.

During these five years the minimum monthly wage for workers and office employees will be raised to 70 rubles. The basic wages and salaries of the middle brackets in industry, transport and in other fields of material production shall be raised. The rates for operators of farm machinery shall be increased. Higher salaries are also envisaged for schoolteachers, doctors and other medical personnel and people in a number of other professions. In many branches, additions to wages are to be introduced or increased in the Urals, the European North, Western Siberia, Kazakhstan (excepting the southern part of the Republic) and a number of regions in the Far East, Eastern Siberia and Central Asia. Payment for night work is to go up considerably.

These measures will be carried out gradually, by areas and economic branches. All in all, they will affect some 90 million workers and office employees. As a result, in the coming five years the average monthly wage of workers and office employees will rise to 146-149 rubles and the remuneration of collective farmers' labour to 98 rubles.

It is also envisaged to extend the tax privileges for some categories of working people.

I should also like to touch on yet another question, comrades.

The only way we could advance and develop the economy during the years of industrialisation and postwar reconstruction was by mobilising all our strength and resources. The people of our country understood this well. To the common cause they contributed not only their selfless labour, but also their savings, subscribing actively to government loans, which played an important part in accelerating economic development. The mass subscriptions were not only a tangible contribution to the state budget, but also an impressive demonstration of the Soviet people's patriotism, their devotion to the cause of socialism.

It will be recalled that we were able to stop issuing new government loans as from 1958. However, a moratorium was declared on payment of the bonds still held by the population, of which there are about 25,800 million rubles' worth, for a 20-year period, making them payable from 1977 to 1996 in equal yearly sums.

Having examined our present resources, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers consider it possible to begin redeeming the bonds before the fixed term and to cover 2 thousand million rubles' worth in 1974-1975, increasing the amounts payable in the subsequent years. It is planned to redeem all bonds held by the population by 1990, that is, six years ahead of the originally fixed term. As we see it, this decision is correct and corresponds completely to the Party's policy and the interests of the people.

Apart from the increase of incomes in payment for work, the *social consumption funds* are to be raised considerably. It is planned to increase them by 40 per cent, so that in 1975 they will amount to 90 thousand million rubles. These sums will be used for the further improvement of medical services, and the development of education and the upbringing of the rising generation.

The social funds will also be used to finance a number of other important social measures, including improvement of the living conditions of large families and needy families, women working in production, pensioners, and students.

It is planned:

— to introduce cash allowances for children where the income per family member does not exceed 50 rubles;

— to increase the number of paid days allowed for caring for a sick child and to introduce 100-per cent paid pregnancy and maternity leaves for all working women, regardless of length of employment:

-- to raise the minimum old-age pensions for workers and office employees;

— to raise the minimum pensions of collective farmers and to apply to them the procedure of calculating the size of pension established for workers and office employees;

— to improve pension provisions for invalids and families that have lost their breadwinner in the case of workers and office employees and servicemen;

— to increase scholarships and extend scholarship eligibility in higher and specialised secondary educational establishments;

— to increase the allowance for meals in hospitals and urban vocational technical schools.

To carry out the new measures relating to wages and salaries and greater allowances out of the social consumption funds, aimed at raising the standard of living, 22 thousand million rubles are allocated in the current five-year plan as against 10 thousand million in the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

House-building will continue on a still larger scale. In the next five years we are planning to build housing totalling 565-575 million sq m, which will enable us to improve the living conditions of approximately 60 million people. Considerable funds are also being allocated for public utilities and for town and village improvement.

In this connection, I should like to refer specially to Moscow. It is cherished by all Soviet people as the capital of our country, our biggest industrial, cultural and scientific centre, as the symbol of our great socialist state. Large-scale work in the field of housing development, town improvement and the improvement of transport facilities will continue in Moscow as before. To make Moscow a model communist city is the bounden duty of the entire Soviet people.

Attention should be redoubled with regard to the improvement of the country's other cities as well. The advantages of socialism enable us to direct the natural pro-

cess of urban growth in such a way as to provide increasingly healthier and more comfortable living conditions for the urban population.

Comrades, while mapping out measures to increase substantially the incomes of Soviet people, to extend house-building and to improve towns and villages, the Central Committee holds that special significance now also attaches to the task of *satisfying the growing solvent demand of the population for foodstuffs, manufactured goods and services*. Consumer goods production must go up at a higher rate than the cash incomes of Soviet people.

This problem will be resolved by stepping up the growth of all branches of the economy manufacturing these goods. From this standpoint, too, the Party approaches the important problem of correlating the main proportions in industry.

The Central Committee holds that the accumulated productive potential permits somewhat higher rates of growth for group B in the new five-year period, which will make it possible to achieve the envisaged rise of the living standard. It stands to reason that this does not invalidate our general policy oriented on the accelerated development of the production of means of production. In determining the correlation of the rates of growth of the two subdivisions, the Party, just as Lenin taught, proceeds from the concrete requirements and existing resources of each stage.

HEAVY INDUSTRY IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POWER AND THE FURTHER RISE OF THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARD

The above-mentioned modification of the national-economic proportions does not mean that we are slackening our concern for heavy industry.

The Party's policy of ensuring the priority development of socialist industry, and principally its basis, heavy industry, has turned our country into a mighty power. It will be no exaggeration to say that only the consistent effectuation of this policy has enabled us to safeguard the gains of the socialist revolution, to end the centuries-long

backwardness, to achieve gigantic economic, social and cultural progress.

High growth rates in heavy industry fully retain their importance in the present conditions.

They retain their importance principally because extended socialist reproduction, the possibilities and rates of future economic growth and the building of the material and technical basis of communism are all largely dependent on the successful development of heavy industry. Dependent on its work is the technical equipment of all spheres of the economy, the supply of material and technical resources for higher labour productivity.

They also retain their importance because without developing heavy industry we cannot maintain our defence capability at the level necessary to guarantee the country's security and the peaceful labour of our people. Much has been done in this respect in the past five years: the Soviet Army is now equipped with all types of modern weaponry. The further development of the defence industry, its concrete work programmes, depend in many ways on the international situation. The Soviet Union is prepared to support realistic disarmament measures that consolidate peace and do not impair our security. At the same time we must be prepared for any possible turns in the train of events.

Lastly, the development of heavy industry is of special significance because, among other things, the basic tasks of improving the standard of living cannot be achieved without it. Heavy industry is to increase considerably the output of the means of production for the accelerated development of agriculture and the light and the food industries, for more housing, for the further promotion of trade and community services.

That, precisely, is the ultimate purpose of heavy industry. In this connection, allow me to recall the words of V. I. Lenin: "In *the final analysis* the manufacture of means of production is necessarily bound up with that of articles of consumption, since the former are not manufactured for their own sake, but only because more and more means of production are demanded by the branches of industry manufacturing articles of consumption" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 163).

The Party is setting heavy industry yet another important task—to expand the manufacture of consumer goods directly in its own enterprises. For this all its branches possess considerable facilities. I should also like to mention the defence industry in the same context. Today, as much as 42 per cent of its output is used for civilian purposes. By virtue of its high scientific and technical level, its expertise, inventions and discoveries are of cardinal importance for all spheres of the economy.

Consequently, far from diminishing, the role of heavy industry is continuing to gain in importance in the present stage, because the immediate practical problems with which it deals is growing. In the coming five years its leading branches face very ambitious assignments: to raise the output of electricity to over 1,000,000 million kilowatt-hours, oil to 480-500 million tons, gas to 300-320 thousand million cubic metres and steel to 142-150 million tons. The output of the engineering, metal-working, chemical and petro-chemical industries is to go up 70 per cent.

The Party is confident that the workers of heavy industry will cope creditably with these important and noble tasks.

THE PROGRAMME OF FURTHER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Comrades, the rates of growth of the economy as a whole, the rates at which the living standard of Soviet people rises, depend in many respects on the successful development of agriculture. That is why so much attention was devoted to it in the period under review. Since the problems of agriculture have been broadly discussed for quite some time and since many pertinent decisions were adopted in the past periods as well, the Central Committee considers it important to inform the delegates about some of the fundamental features of the approach to these problems worked out in these last few years.

One of them is that, adhering firmly to the course set by the March (1965) CC Plenary Meeting and consolidated in the decisions of the 23rd Congress, the Central Committee has laid special stress on creating stable economic conditions stimulating the growth of agricultural pro-

duction. In specific terms, for collective and state farms this means stable procurement plans for a number of years ahead, introduction of such incentive prices for products delivered in excess of the plan as would stimulate the growth of production, and other measures.

The other feature is that, since we regard isolated measures of an agro-technical and organisational nature as insufficient, we have striven to take into account the whole set of factors determining the development of agriculture, including those of supplying the countryside with the necessary machinery and fertilisers, expanding capital construction, land improvement, personnel training, and improving the organisation of production. This has necessitated a concrete analysis of the needs of agriculture and finding the means to meet them.

On the basis of this approach, the Central Committee at its July (1970) Plenary Meeting worked out a broad, comprehensive agricultural development programme, long-term and realistic. The problems of agriculture are such, comrades, that they cannot be completely resolved in a year or two, or even in five years; it will take a much longer time and require huge allocations and enormous effort not only by the farm workers, but by all our industry.

The targets of the present five years are based on the decisions of the Plenary Meeting. Their fulfilment will amount to an increase of farm production enabling us systematically to expand and improve in the years to come the supply of the population with farm produce and of industry with raw materials. While dealing with the current tasks, we must at the same time take a big step forward in the new five-year period in building up the material and technical basis of agriculture, which will help us in future to resolve completely the problems of agricultural production and of the transformation of the countryside, and to reduce the dependence of farming on the elemental forces of nature.

These were the guidelines which the Central Committee followed in determining the size of investments in agriculture. Some 129 thousand million rubles, or as much as in the two preceding five-year periods combined, will be invested in farming by the state and the collective farms.

The nature of the tasks to be carried out in the new five-year period determines the growing measure of responsibility of the agricultural organs, rural Party organisations, collective and state farms. Collective farmers and state-farm workers are to raise the average annual grain output to at least 195 million tons, increasing its sale to the state under the fixed plan and in excess of the plan at higher prices, to 80-85 million tons. In the coming five years the average annual production of meat is to exceed 14 million tons, milk 92 million tons and eggs 46 thousand million. A considerable increase is also envisaged for other farm products.

In accordance with the decisions of the July Central Committee Plenary Meeting, large sums of money and considerable material resources are being set aside for the fulfilment of these assignments. Compared with the previous five years, our agriculture will have many more new tractors, combines, lorries and other farm machinery, mineral fertilisers and various other chemicals, equipment for livestock and poultry farms, electric power and building materials. The exact figures are known to the delegates from the draft Directives.

All this is a real and very large contribution to agricultural production, to making it more effective. At the same time, we should like specially to stress that it is necessary to make the fullest possible use of the available potentialities, of everything that agriculture already possesses. Regrettably, there are still many shortcomings and drawbacks in this respect.

Comrades, as before, increasing *grain* production is still one of the main tasks in agriculture. Our grain needs have been growing from year to year. This applies not only to food grain, but also to forage grain, the production of which should be expanded in view of the necessity of rapidly developing animal husbandry.

As the Central Committee sees it, considerable potentialities exist for increasing the gross grain yield both in our main grain-growing areas such as the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Central chernozom zones, the Northern Caucasus, the Volga Area and the steppelands of the Urals and Siberia, and in the non-chernozom and other zones of the country. These potentialities consist in a more effective use of fertilisers and machinery, and in a rigorous

observance of agro-technical rules, in improving the organisation of work and perseveringly combating losses of grain, and, to be sure, also of other farm products.

The collective and state farms, and the agricultural organs, must persevere in the effort to improve the pattern of the cultivated land, giving priority to those crops and varieties which yield the biggest harvests. In the southern regions, for example, such as Stavropol Territory and Rostov, Poltava and a few other regions, the maize area has been unjustifiably reduced. This situation should be remedied. Also to be increased is the production of groats, primarily buckwheat and millet. The paddy systems envisaged in the plan are also to be put into operation on schedule, so that rice production should rise to 2 million tons towards the end of the five-year period, which will satisfy the country's demand in full.

We also face the acute and important agricultural problem of further expanding *animal husbandry*. A big advance must be accomplished in this field if we want to provide the population with unintermittent supplies of the most valuable food products and satisfy the growing requirements of the Soviet people in the new five-year period. Here, too, the potentialities available on the collective and state farms should be more fully mobilised.

To begin with, they must consolidate the feed resources, the basis for expanding animal husbandry. Improving the meadows and pastures and utilising them more fully, increasing the stocks of hay, grass meal and haylage, silage and other juicy feed, and raising the yields of all forage crops, is still an important task. All steps must be taken to reduce livestock losses from disease and poor management. Much will have to be done to build and mechanise livestock units, improve pedigree breeding and expand beef cattle and poultry farming.

At present, personal auxiliary husbandry still plays an appreciable role in the production of meat and milk. However, here and there this does not get the attention it deserves. While concentrating the main attention on increasing social production, the necessary help should be given collective farmers and state-farm employees in acquiring livestock and poultry and the essential supplies of feed.

It should be noted that the possibilities of expanding animal husbandry are not yet being fully utilised in some

republics and regions. This applies to the Moldavian, Armenian, Georgian and Turkmen Union republics, to the Voronezh, Omsk, Chelyabinsk and Kostroma regions of the Russian Federation, Odessa Region in the Ukraine, Karaganda and Pavlodar regions in Kazakhstan, and a few others. We hope that the local authorities will draw proper conclusions from this.

Apart from increasing the production of grain and developing animal husbandry, it is of great economic importance to expand the production of other farm products, including industrial crops. Increasing the area of meliorated land and introducing crop rotation in Central Asia, particularly Uzbekistan, will help increase the production of so valuable a crop, so essential for the country, as cotton.

Comrades, our plans closely align the solution of the current questions of this five-year period with the basic long-term trends in the development of agriculture. The Party has defined the ways of solving this problem. First and foremost, the reference here is to the further technical re-equipment of agriculture, to its *mechanisation* and *chemisation* and to large-scale land *melioration*.

It follows that increasingly broader use of the country's general economic potential is a necessary condition for the successful development of agriculture. That is why the Party has so urgently set the task of the accelerated development of those branches of industry which manufacture means of production for agriculture and equipment and machinery for processing, transporting, storing and marketing farm products.

Thus, agricultural growth depends not only on the collective farmers and state-farm workers, but also, in many respects, on the efforts of the workers in industry, science and technology. The Party calls on them to contribute creditably to this big, truly countrywide, national cause.

In the years to come, specialisation of farming and industrial methods of producing meat, milk and other products will be still further developed. This is natural, for those are processes that shape the future of our agriculture in the long run. But in carrying out this big and important work, it is our duty to avoid mistakes and not to overreach ourselves. Increased specialisation and conversion to industrial lines should be economically substantiated and thoroughly prepared in each concrete case.

The rapid growth of agriculture leads increasingly to the spread of inter-collective-farm and state-collective-farm production associations and the establishment of agro-industrial complexes. These are able to make more effective use of equipment, investments and manpower, and make broader use of industrial methods. The Party will support these forms of organising production in the countryside.

Comrades, fulfilling the farm output assignments will require arduous effort. A big role in raising farming is to be played by the rural Party organisations, government and land authorities and the managers of state and collective farms. The Party highly appreciates their selfless work.

On behalf of the Congress, allow me to express confidence that the efforts of the collective farmers, the state-farm workers and the agricultural experts will be crowned with new major successes.

TO EXPAND THE PRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURED CONSUMER GOODS

Comrades, as we have already mentioned, in the past five-year period the production and sale of manufactured consumer goods were considerably increased. Yet the output of many items is still lower than is required. The planned increase of the people's cash incomes will step up the demand still more, and will pose the problem of quality still more sharply.

Is our industry ready to rise to the new requirements set by the Party's orientation on the further improvement of the living standard?

It is unquestionably ready for this from the standpoint of its objective resources. The country's industrial potential is large enough considerably to increase the production and to improve the quality of consumer goods. The increased economic possibilities enable us to allocate larger sums for investment in this area, and this is what we are doing.

But as in any other undertaking, success depends not only on the objective conditions, for the subjective factors, too, are enormously relevant. The Central Committee considers it important, therefore, to draw the attention of

the planning and economic authorities, of Party, government and trade-union organisations to the necessity of radically changing the approach to consumer goods production.

We have many years of heroic history behind us, comrades, when millions of Communists and non-Party people consciously accepted privations and hardships, were content with the bare essentials and denied themselves the right to demand any special amenities. This could not but reflect on their attitude to the production of consumer goods, to their quality and range. But that which was explicable and natural in the past, when other tasks, other undertakings stood in the forefront, is unacceptable in the present conditions. And if some comrades tend to overlook this, the Party is entitled to regard their attitude as stemming either from a failure to understand the substance of its policy, oriented on a steady rise of the living standard, or as an attempt to vindicate their own inactivity. The Central Committee considers it necessary to raise this issue incisively and frankly.

We still have administrators, and this not only locally but in the centre as well, who manage to "coexist peacefully" with shortcomings, who have somehow reconciled themselves to the low quality of some consumer goods, and who are unfolding consumer production with unpardonable slowness. Some go so far as to cut or even stop the production of needed items, or stop producing commodities that, though inexpensive, are essential for the population, on the pretext of replacing outdated goods with new ones. That is how shortages arise from time to time of goods usually known as "trifles". But there is no such thing as trifles when it comes to items in daily demand.

We are equipped to improve the supply of consumer goods considerably in the new five-year period. It is planned appreciably to increase the production of textiles, garments, shoes and knitted goods. In the case of such durables as TV sets, domestic refrigerators, radio receivers and washing machines there is a real possibility of almost fully satisfying the needs of the population. The sale of cars will increase greatly: their 1975 output will be nearly four times that of 1970.

We are now unquestionably up to coping with these tasks; we must only make the most of the available re-

serves and possibilities. They are available in each ministry, each republic and region, each city, each enterprise.

In the new five-year plan 8.7 thousand million rubles, or nearly twice as much as in the preceding five-year period, is allocated for the development of light industry, and almost 14 thousand million rubles for the development of the food, meat, dairy and fishing industries. These sums must be put to use correctly and on schedule, so that enterprises should be built or reconstructed rapidly and equipped with up-to-date plant. This sets highly responsible tasks for our engineering industry, our researchers and designers. Also essential here is constant control by Party and economic bodies.

The big and complicated task of saturating the market with consumer goods must be carried out with state retail prices remaining stable, and, moreover, as the necessary economic preconditions are created, price reductions should follow for some consumer items. Cases where prices are inflated should be firmly combated, control over the fixing of retail prices and service charges should be tightened, and those heads of enterprises and economic organs that try to go round the procedure established by the state should be taken to task.

Attaching great importance to satisfying consumer demand, the Central Committee considers it necessary to work out shortly a broad programme for increasing consumer goods production in all branches of industry. Fulfilment of that programme will contribute greatly to the improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people.

TO DEVELOP TRADE AND IMPROVE COMMUNITY SERVICES

The further rise of the standard of living sets higher demands on trade and services. In recent years, much has been ~~done to develop~~ these branches.

Tens of thousands of new shops, department stores and other trading establishments have been opened in the towns and rural areas. But we still have many flaws in the domain of trade and services, with which, regrettably, some of the people concerned have reconciled themselves, have become accustomed to regarding them as being practically normal. In many cases, trading establishments are inex-

peditions and have not learned yet to properly study the market demand. As a result, goods reach the shops out of season or go anywhere but the places where they are needed. Also, it has often happened that some commodities are ordered in unjustifiably small quantities, with the result that their production is reduced, creating acute shortages. This was the case now with domestic sewing machines, now with pressing irons and other goods. In many cases, too, the service in the shops leaves much to be desired.

The Soviet people, the Party respect the work of those engaged in trade. But in addressing them, and particularly managers of trade organisations, we should like to say that the present task is greatly to improve the standard of work, improve the organisation of trade, and to introduce modern trading methods.

Much attention is being paid in our country to public catering. We are building and will continue to build many more eating places, cafes and restaurants, though there are still many shortcomings in this field, and especially in the organisation of catering in enterprises, offices, educational establishments, collective and state farms. All too often the eating places are not big enough and the fare is not tasty. That is not to be tolerated. We must deal more strictly with the ministries, the local authorities and the heads of enterprises for these deficiencies. An important role should also be played by the trade unions: they must control the catering in enterprises unrelentingly and constantly.

Comrades, we must substantially improve the work of all the services—public catering, tailoring and dress-making, repair services, and recreation and entertainment facilities. Those are not industries that must merely fulfil plans, but services that deal directly with people, with the diversity of their tastes, their feelings and moods. To reduce the work of the services merely to fulfilment of plan percentages and profits is obviously out of the question.

The people's need for services is increasing steadily. To satisfy it more fully it is envisaged in the new five-year period to at least double the volume of paid services afforded to the population.

Here, too, we should think of utilising the potentialities. Much depends on local initiative, including that of

the local Soviets. Among other things, we should also examine the question of creating conditions in which pensioners, housewives and invalids could do some work in the service industry without overtaxing themselves and with benefit for themselves and for society, either at home, under an individual arrangement, or by forming co-operatives. Accordingly, we shall of course have to improve the corresponding legal provisions regulating such activity, to give it the necessary backing.

Briefly, the service industries merit the closest attention both from the standpoint of allocations for their development and the standpoint of improving the body of their personnel, and of elevating the social standing of the people working in them.

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Those, comrades, are the main trends in our activity, aimed at raising the standard of living of the working people. In this context, the new Five-Year Plan should be a big step forward and, at the same time, it should lay the foundation for still more considerable achievements in future.

To cope successfully with these tasks, our cadres—economic, government, trade union and Party, in the centre and locally—should be as exacting and discriminating in all matters relating to the living conditions of people as they would with regard to the most important government assignments. That is the attitude the Party expects of them.

3. TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL PRODUCTION ON THE BASIS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND FULLER USE OF ALL POTENTIALITIES

Comrades, allow me to proceed to the second fundamental question of our economic policy—the resources that we must mobilise to fulfil our tasks. Where can we obtain these resources and, in particular, the means for the accelerated development of the branches which we are accentuating?

Something may be obtained by re-locating resources from one branch to another, but that source is naturally limited. The so-called extensive factors of economic growth,

too, are becoming more limited; the supply of additional manpower will decline in 1971-1975 as compared with the previous five years. And the rates of growth of investment also have their limits.

Consequently, we must rely mainly on enhancing the effectiveness of production. In simpler terms, the crux of the problem is to achieve a substantial increase of output and of the national income per unit of labour and material and financial inputs. That, in the final analysis, is what raising the productivity of social labour amounts to.

Higher labour productivity in the coming five years should yield at least 80 per cent of the accretion in the national income, 87-90 per cent of the accretion in industrial production, 95 per cent of the accretion in building and assembly, and the entire accretion in railway freight carriage. The envisaged accretion in farm output must be secured entirely by raising the productivity of labour.

It is precisely from this angle—bearing in mind the need for speeding up the growth of the productivity of labour—that we should approach the main questions of economic development. In so doing, acceleration of scientific and technical progress forges into first place both from the point of view of the current tasks and that of the long-term perspective.

THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION. FUSION OF SCIENCE AND PRODUCTION

For Soviet science and technology the past five years have been a period of rapid development and we are legitimately proud of its gains. All the same, rapid acceleration of scientific and technical progress is still one of the main tasks. At a time when the role of science as an immediate productive force keeps growing, separate scientific achievements, no matter how brilliant, are no longer central; what is central is a high scientific and technical level of production as a whole.

For our science this poses still more responsible tasks, requiring its higher effectiveness, a further unfolding of fundamental research, and concentration of the scientists' energy and attention on the most important and promising long-term trends in scientific and technical progress. Re-

search and design organisations and pilot enterprises must take more pains in perfecting new machinery and new production processes for adoption in the economy. The tasks facing the State Committee for Science and Technology, the Academy of Sciences and the ministries, are becoming greater.

If we examine all the links of the intricate chain that binds science to production, we shall easily see that the weakest links are those relating to the practical realisation of scientific achievements, to their adoption in mass production. To be sure, we have many positive examples in this field; suffice it to recall, say, the work of the Paton Electrical Welding Institute or the development work on isoprene rubber. Unfortunately, however, this is far from being the rule in all cases.

To eliminate the existing difficulties we should achieve a still greater reorientation of the respective scientific organisations on the most important production problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, create conditions compelling enterprises to manufacture the latest types of products, to literally chase after scientific and technical novelties, and not to shy from them, figuratively speaking, as the devil shies from holy water. Those collectives that really fight for modernising plant and production processes, for producing output meeting the latest demands, should be put in a more privileged position.

The national economic plan should become a powerful lever of scientific and technical progress. So far, our plans have dealt with questions relating to the use of achievements of science and technology in the economy to an insufficient extent, and, what is more, a considerable number of the ministries have been falling short of the set targets. This applies, among others, to the Ministry of the Timber and Wood-Working Industry and the Ministry of Tractor and Farm Machinery Engineering. The approach should be different. What we need is a comprehensive programme for the further development of plant and technology, one which would take into account all the sections of the plan, its main indicators. This approach is already reflected in the draft Directives.

To accelerate scientific and technical progress it is important to improve the forms of organising industry, securing, so to speak, the kind of production pattern that

would be abreast of the demands of the times. This implies a considerable extension of research and studies in industry itself, the establishment in the enterprises of design bureaus, of a resourceful experimental base, and an influx into industry of a large number of researchers. Naturally, only big amalgamations and combines can accomplish this, which makes their establishment particularly topical. In many cases good results may be obtained by merging research institutions with enterprises, creating powerful science-production complexes. Relevant are the problems of improving scientific and technical information and working out effective methods of control and of independent, extra-administrative experts' panels, which would preclude the creation of machines, devices and production processes falling short of the top modern requirements.

It is essential, comrades, that not only our planning and economic organs, but also all Party cadres should display a full measure of concern for accelerating scientific and technical progress. The importance of this derives both from the vital needs of our present-day economic practice and from future requirements. Scientific and technical progress is the main lever for building the material and technical basis of communism. In so important a matter as developing science and technology, therefore, we should see the long-term prospects clearly and take them into account in our practical work.

And the prospects are that the revolution in the development of the productive forces, touched off by science and its discoveries, will become increasingly significant and profound. The task we face, comrades, is one of historical importance: *organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, to unfold more broadly our own, intrinsically socialist, forms of fusing science with production.

As we take steps to speed up scientific and technical progress, we must see to it that it should combine with the rational treatment of natural resources and should not cause dangerous air and water pollution or exhaust the soil. The Party demands most emphatically that the planning and economic bodies and design organisations, all our cadres, should keep the question of nature protection within their field of vision when designing and building new en-

terprises or improving the work of existing ones. Not we alone, but the coming generations should also be able to use and enjoy all the gifts of our country's splendid natural environment. We are also prepared to participate in collective international schemes for nature protection and the rational use of natural resources.

TO IMPROVE THE STRUCTURE, ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Comrades, the policy of increasing the effectiveness of production poses a number of important and complicated tasks aimed at securing the most effective proportions of the economic branches.

The rates of economic growth, the possibility of accumulation required for the development of the economy and for raising the living standard depend in many ways on a correct solution of the structural problems. Everybody knows that the effect per invested ruble is greater in some branches than in others, that investments are recouped more quickly in some branches than in others. It is important to bear this in mind in any economy, and doubly so in a big one like ours.

Apart from increasing material benefits for the people, the acceleration in the development of agriculture, of industries manufacturing consumer goods and of the service industries will help improve the proportions in our economy, help to balance it, to expand the sources of the growth of the national income and of accumulations, and to step up the circulation of money.

Improvement of the structure of heavy industry contains considerable potentialities for increasing the effectiveness of production. This implies accelerated development of those of its branches which secure lower production costs, bigger output of the end product and a higher labour productivity both in heavy industry and in other sectors.

In the years ahead the work of raising the effectiveness of production in industry should follow several basic directions. One of these is cutting down on the consumption of materials per unit of production, economy of raw and other materials. This is of truly national importance.

The growth of the national economy creates a rapidly

increasing demand for various raw materials. To meet this demand we shall continue to expand the extractive industries at a high rate. In so doing, it is important to proceed so as to achieve their more effective operation, securing fuller processing of raw materials, improving quality and reducing waste. It should be borne in mind, however, that the extractive industries are much more capital- and labour-intensive per unit of production than the manufacturing industries.

Consequently, from the standpoint of the national economy, it is much more advantageous to economise on raw materials by perfecting production in the manufacturing industries, rather than additionally to produce that much more raw materials. Reducing the per unit consumption of materials by a mere one per cent on a countrywide scale is equivalent to an additional 3-4 thousand million rubles' worth of accretion to the national income.

The other important direction in working for the greater effectiveness of production is to use the manpower resources more rationally, to reduce labour outlays, principally by cutting down on manual and physically arduous labour. Apart from improving production processes and the organisation of labour in enterprises, this requires an all-round development of those industries which secure a boost in the rate of renewing and replacing obsolete plant. This applies to industries manufacturing new highly-productive equipment, whole systems of machines facilitating conversion to comprehensive mechanisation of jobs and automated production processes. Of great importance, too, is expanding branches that provide technical services to industry and mechanise ancillary jobs.

And the third direction is a substantial improvement of the quality of products and, accordingly, the development of production sectors that facilitate the solution of this problem. In the present conditions, seen from the standpoint of its effect for the entire national economy, better nearly always also means more. One up-to-date programmed machine tool replaces ten of obsolete design, one heavy-duty lorry replaces several ordinary ones and one aircraft engine with a longer life-span replaces two or three of the old type.

To raise the effectiveness of industrial production and improve its structure, we are setting our course on im-

proving whole complexes of inter-connected industries, the development of which follows a definite programme.

A more effective priority development of the fuel and power complex is one of the key objectives in the coming five years. We shall work for it by improving the structure of the pertinent branches, accelerating the growth of those which are the most promising and economically effective. First and foremost, this means increasing the share of oil and gas in the country's fuel balance and technically re-equipping the coal industry, starting up highly economical hydraulic and thermal stations, building more atomic power stations, and raising the economic effectiveness of power installations.

Responsible tasks face the metallurgical industry and engineering. Here, too, factors assuring higher effectiveness of production are being placed in the fore.

This requires improving production processes and modernising the operating metallurgical enterprises, and expanding those sectors of production which secure the improvement of the quality and extension of the grading range of metals, and a higher output of precision shapes and blanks.

The engineering industries should develop along the same lines. They will concentrate on increasing the output of high-powered, highly-economical, high-precision and dependable machines and equipment. It is planned to increase the share of forge and press machines, and of foundry and assembly equipment, and to give priority to the expansion of the manufacture of programmed machine tools and automated and semi-automated transfer lines.

Electronics, the radio industry and instrument-making, that is, the entire complex of industries creating the technical basis for automating production and management will continue to develop at a high rate. This complex may be legitimately described as the catalyst of scientific and technical progress. Here, particular importance attaches in the coming five years to organising large-scale manufacture of sophisticated electronic computers.

In the new five-year period, much attention is devoted to the development of the chemical and petrochemical industry. Chemisation of the economy is a powerful lever for increasing the effectiveness of social production. There are many uses to which chemicals can be put in most branches

of the economy, replacing expensive natural raw materials, helping to improve the quality of the products and to raise the productivity of labour.

In recent years, work was begun on radically altering the organisation of production in the timber, wood-working, and pulp and paper industry. The task is to increase considerably the output of what is the end product of that industry—timber, woodpulp, paper, cardboard, furniture and fibre boards—without substantially expanding timber felling.

In the present stage of economic development the role increases of those branches of the national economy which service the production process, such as transport, communications, material and technical supplies, and others. The effectiveness of the economy depends largely on the work of these branches, in which nearly 16 million of our people are employed. Although substantial advances have been made in this sphere, it requires consistent improvement; its development must be brought into line with the increasing volume and complexity of production.

The work of the transport system, for example, does not meet the present requirements; it has become a bottleneck. One of the reasons for this, apparently, is that insufficient funds were allocated for transport development in the preceding five years.

Measures are envisaged in the ninth five-year period to remedy the situation. It is planned to build new and increase the carrying capacity of the existing railway trunk lines and station side-tracks, to build new motor-roads and pipe-lines, and to continue expanding the maritime and river merchant fleets. On the Kama River construction has begun of a major plant that will produce 150 thousand heavy-duty lorries annually; one more auto works will be built; work has begun on the construction site of a new large railway-car plant in Abakan. In view of the vastness of our country ever growing importance attaches to the further development of air transport. We shall put into operation new types of highly-economical, comfortable planes and improve the airport ground services. In the new five-year period Aeroflot, which is already the world's largest airline, will carry almost 500 million passengers and 11 million tons of freight. Growing importance also attaches to such aspects of the use of our civil aviation as assistance to agriculture and the health

services, forest protection and participation in geological surveying. While further developing all types of transport, there is need to ensure their more co-ordinated operation, to create a single and highly efficient transport system for the country.

Radio, television and all types of communications will be developed on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements.

Improving the system of foreign economic relations offers considerable opportunities for increasing the effectiveness of the economy. Political factors relating to the consolidation of the socialist community and the strengthening of the economic basis of the peaceful coexistence of states, as well as factors stemming from the requirements of our economy, make it important to increase the output of export goods in all branches of industry. This will also help enlarge imports of needed commodities. Beyond question, expanding international exchanges will have a beneficial effect on improving the work of all our industry.

The increased role of economic, scientific and technical contacts with other countries will, of course, require certain measures designed to improve the administration of all foreign economic activity and eliminate any short-sighted approach in this important field. Foreign economic activity must be based increasingly on a combination of production and commercial functions so as to react quickly to the requirements and possibilities of the world market and to use them to the utmost in the interests of our economic development.

TO IMPROVE UTILISATION OF PRODUCTION ASSETS AND INVESTMENTS

Comrades, the Soviet Union now possesses a vast economic potential and the effectiveness of our economy depends increasingly on how this potential and, above all, the operative *production assets*, are used. Improving their use and raising the product-to-assets ratio is still one of the most important tasks, though our industry has made some advances in this respect in the past five years.

In this connection, I should like to draw attention to just one question of the low shift coefficient of industrial enterprises. This was discussed at the 23rd Congress

and at a number of CC CPSU Plenary Meetings, but matters have practically not improved, especially in the engineering industry. Instead of increasing the number of shifts, some economic organs want to build more and more new enterprises. And when the question of increasing the number of shifts is raised, it is countered by references to manpower shortages. But who, may we ask, will work in the new enterprises—people or the holy spirit? No, comrades, we must deal with the matter more strictly, work out and carry through a set of measures ensuring fuller use of the equipment; we must place the matter under the strict control of the Party committees in the enterprises, the city and regional Party committees.

This will help to resolve one of the most urgent problems of our national economy—the *problem of capital construction*.

In the sphere of material production we are now building more than any other country in the world. Older people remember what noteworthy events the commissioning of the Dnieper Hydropower Station, the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works and the Volgograd and Kharkov tractor factories were in our history. Many larger and technically more advanced enterprises and projects are now being placed in operation every year. The major projects completed in recent years included the Krasnoyarsk Hydropower Station (the biggest in the world), the unique Kona-kovo, Burshtyn and Krivoi Rog thermal power stations; the giant West-Siberian and the Karaganda iron and steel works; the oil-producing complexes in Tyumen Region and Western Kazakhstan; the Volzhsky Auto Works and Pavlodar Tractor Works; huge chemical complexes and plants, the Bratsk and Syktyvkar timbering complexes. Construction on the Chernogorsk Worsted Mill, the Kursk Knitwear Factory and other large enterprises of the light and food industries has been completed.

However, the situation as regards capital construction cannot be considered satisfactory. To put the matter briefly, the problem is that we are investing enormous sums of money while the returns are not fast enough, and, consequently, smaller than they should be. There are several reasons for this.

One is that when plans are drawn up they frequently envisage excessively large volumes of capital construc-

tion and an excessively large number of projects without taking real possibilities into account. As a result, funds are scattered, the number of unfinished projects grows and large resources are frozen.

Every time state plans are considered it is found necessary to cut the requests of ministries and Union republics. But even these plans are not entirely fulfilled. Nonetheless, many comrades continue to submit obviously overstated requests. It is time this practice was ended. We must build, and live, according to our means.

Another reason for the difficulties lies in the irrational distribution of a considerable part of the capital investments. Experience shows that, as a rule, it is economically more profitable to ensure a growth of production by reconstructing and technically modernising factories. But a much too large share of the funds is still channelled into new projects and a clearly inadequate share is used for the modernisation of production and the renewal of plant, with the result that the reconstruction of many factories is intolerably dragged out. In the coming five-year period the emphasis must be on enlarging and reconstructing operating enterprises.

Lastly, there are major shortcomings in construction itself. Plan and financial stipulations are sometimes violated. Insufficient use is made of new, effective materials and building elements. The quality of construction remains poor. It must become a law that no economic executive should start the building of new projects without blueprints and estimates.

In recent years the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have made a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the state of affairs in capital construction. A number of decisions have been passed which change the very principle by which the work of builders is evaluated: this evaluation must be based on end results, the commissioning of capacities, and the completion of the entire volume of construction, and not on various intermediate stages.

However, in order to effect a radical improvement of the situation in capital construction, very much remains to be done also by the Party organisations concerned with this important sphere of the national economy and, of course, by the builders themselves.

Comrades, the analysis of the possibilities at the disposal of our national economy shows that we do have reserves for making production more efficient and accelerating economic growth, and that these reserves are very considerable. As has been said, these reserves lie in scientific and technical progress, improvement of the structure of the national economy, fuller use of production assets and improvement of capital construction. But that is not the whole point, for these reserves are also available at every individual enterprise, at every collective and state farm.

What I have in mind is eliminating losses in working time, reducing in changeover of personnel, ensuring smooth operation, and putting a stop to the idling of equipment. Much importance attaches to the saving of raw and other materials, fuel and electric power, careful handling of machinery, machine tools and equipment, tractors, harvesters and motor vehicles. There is now such a vast quantity of diverse machinery in the country that if we use it ineptly or less than fully we tend unjustifiably to reduce its service life, and this inflicts considerable damage on the people's interests. At each individual plant or collective farm the effort to achieve economies may yield hundreds or thousands of rubles, but on the scale of the national economy this will come to many hundreds or even thousands of millions of rubles.

A year ago the CC CPSU, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the CC of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League addressed a letter to the Soviet working people on improving the use of reserves in production and intensifying the effort to achieve savings in the national economy. This letter has become the basis of extensive work amongst the masses, which has yielded good results. But the use of all the reserves, greater efforts to save, and the combating of mismanagement, wasteful and superfluous spending involve more than a short-term campaign. This is one of the most important lines in the day-to-day activity of Party, government, economic, trade union and Komsomol organisations. We must do our utmost to intensify our work in this direction.

The Central Committee considers it necessary to emphasise that for the successful fulfilment of the tasks of

the new five-year plan it is important to have our cadres make a definite change in their approach to economic questions, and modify some of their habitual conceptions.

For historical reasons, by virtue of the conditions in which we found ourselves, things developed in such a way that quantitative assessments were always given priority: the point was to produce so many tons of steel, so many of oil, so many of grain, and so many tractors. Of course, the quantitative side continues to be of importance for us even today. But it must be more fully and consistently supplemented with indicators bearing on the quality of products and on the economic aspect of industrial operations. For example, when this or that executive reports on output, a well-grounded evaluation of his work may be given only when the cost at which this has been achieved is established. And where the cost has been excessive or where his enterprise has fulfilled the plan, but failed in its inter-enterprise delivery commitments, letting down other enterprises, where success in one sector has led to falling short elsewhere, such an executive does not merit praise but criticism. We criticise our executives when they make mistakes or commit this or that offence. This is right, because our standard of exactingness must be raised. But we feel that there must be criticism not only of those who make mistakes but also of those who fail to use all the possibilities for developing production, and fail to display initiative, and sit on their hands.

Our success in fulfilling the plans the Party has put forward for the current five-year period will be the greater, the higher the standard of exactingness all of us apply to our own work and to the work of others.

4. TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Comrades, the third key question of the Party's economic policy is improvement of the system of economic management. This is essentially a matter of how best to organise the activity of society in accelerating economic and social development, in ensuring the fullest use of the available possibilities, and in rallying even closer together hundreds of thousands of collectives, and tens of millions

of working people round the main aims of the Party's policy. Consequently, questions relating to management affect not only a narrow circle of executives and specialists, but all Party, government and economic organisations and all collectives of working people. This means that improvement of management is an important component part of the Party's entire activity in directing the economy. That was precisely the stand taken by the Central Committee at its December (1969) Plenary Meeting.

Why is it that questions of management have now acquired especial urgency?

It is above all because, as has been said, the growing scale of and the qualitative shifts in our economy now make new and higher demands on management, and do not allow us to be satisfied with the existing forms and methods, even where they have served us well in the past.

Another thing to bear in mind is that the possibilities for improving management have been markedly extended in the recent period. This is due to the higher level of knowledge and professional training of our cadres, and of the broad masses of working people, and to the rapid development of the science of management and computer techniques.

The political aspect of this question is also very important. The uninterrupted operation of the economic mechanism helps to create a good and businesslike atmosphere in the country, promotes labour enthusiasm among the broad masses, and leads to growth of initiative among the working people, because then the people see that their labour efforts produce the expected results, that they benefit the people and the whole of society. And, conversely, nothing so tends to cool people's ardour as ill-considered decisions and bungling or bureaucratic practices on the part of individuals, which result in the wasteful use of labour, social resources and created values.

In the period under review, much work has been done in the sphere of improving the economic mechanism. Following the reestablishment of the sectoral system of management the level of centralised direction of the national economy has been substantially raised. In accordance with the Party's decisions, industry has been switched over to a new system of planning and provision of economic incentives, and this has made it possible to stem some un-

desirable tendencies in the economy of which there had been signs in earlier years. The line for the further development of democratic principles has been expressed in the broader enlistment of the working people in the management of production, in the extension of the economic competence of the republics and regions, and also in greater operational independence for the enterprises.

At the same time, life and practice—and they are the best teachers—show that we cannot rest content with what has been achieved. Improvement of the system of management is not an ad hoc measure but a dynamic process of solving problems brought up by life. We shall have to continue to focus our attention on these problems in the future.

In this context it appears to be appropriate to deal briefly with some matters which, the Central Committee believes, are of great importance.

On planning. Under socialism, planning is the central element, the core of national-economic guidance. Our country has major achievements in this sphere and justifiably takes pride in them. But we cannot afford to mark time, we must continue to work hard to improve both the theory and the practice of national-economic planning.

The further raising of its scientific level becomes a task of primary importance. There is an urgent need to improve our planning methods. Planning must rest on a more precise study of social requirements, on scientific forecasts of our economic possibilities, on all-round analysis and evaluation of different variants of decisions, and of their immediate and long-term consequences. In order to fulfil this responsible and complex task there is need to broaden the horizons of economic planning.

With ever greater frequency we are confronted with the fact that fulfilment of the most important economic and socio-political tasks requires a much longer term than five years. This raises the question of planning national-economic development over a long term, on the basis of forecasts of the country's population growth, the requirements of the national economy, and scientific and technical progress. This approach, ensuring constant coordination of long-term plans with five-year and annual plans, can help in the more effective solution of the basic problems of our development.

The comprehensive approach to planning and the adoption of major national-economic decisions acquire ever greater importance. The very nature of the tasks before us is such that their fulfilment, as a rule, calls for concerted efforts by many branches and economic areas, and includes implementation of a whole system of diverse measures.

Do we have any positive experience in this sphere? To be sure, we do. To take only the last few years, there we have the programme for boosting agriculture, the programme for developing the vast oil-bearing region in Western Siberia, the space exploration programme, and others. We are now faced with a more detailed formulation of many other long-term programmes and their coordination with the overall plans for the country's economic development.

In planning work fuller account should be taken of local specifics. In our vast country, with its diverse conditions, this task is of primary importance. We must continue our work to improve the territorial location of production.

Science has greatly enriched the theoretical arsenal of planning, by producing methods of economico-mathematical modelling, systems analysis, and so on. Wider use of these methods must be made, and sectoral automated management systems must be created more rapidly, considering that in the future we shall have to create a nation-wide automated system for collecting and processing information. This makes it important not only to fabricate the necessary equipment but also to train considerable numbers of skilled personnel.

Comrades, all the successes of our socialist economy are connected with economic planning. Future economic achievements will also largely depend on the quality of planning. That is why we must continue to concentrate our attention on its improvement. We must work consistently to enhance the responsibility of our cadres for the fulfilment of state plans and targets, and for strengthening planning discipline in every link of the national-economic mechanism.

On improving the organisational structure of management. Life, the development of the productive forces, has also raised questions of improving the structure of econ-

omic management and specifying the functions of individual organs.

What does this mean in concrete terms?

It means above all the need to enhance the role and improve the work of the State Planning Committee and other all-Union state organs. To do this they should apparently be released from a considerable part of their routine business, to allow them to concentrate their attention on the main problems of national-economic development. Another pressing question is to enhance the role and extend the independent initiative of ministries and departments, which also requires some specification of their functions.

There is need for greater concentration of production. The experience we have accumulated shows that only large associations are equal to the task of concentrating sufficient numbers of qualified specialists, ensuring rapid technical progress, and making better and fuller use of all resources. The line of forming amalgamations and combines should be followed more boldly: in the long term, they must become the main units of social production operating on a profit-and-loss basis. In setting up such associations it is especially important that administrative boundaries and departmental subordination of enterprises should not be an obstacle to the introduction of more efficient forms of management. The process of concentration must also develop in agriculture.

In improving the structure of management the Party believes it to be important consistently to practice the Leninist principle of individual responsibility for assignments. When a decision is taken it must be made perfectly clear who is responsible for it. Similarly, it must be made clear who is responsible when a decision that is ripe for adoption is not adopted or is delayed. It is important to define at every level of management the volume and the balance of rights and responsibility. Great powers with little responsibility create possibilities for arbitrary administrative acts, subjectivism and ill-considered decisions. But great responsibility with little power is not much better. In that position, even the most conscientious worker frequently finds himself powerless, and it is hard to make him fully responsible for the job assigned to him.

In order to eliminate too many levels in management, we must seek to have decisions on most questions taken once and for all, instead of being passed on from one level to another. Every link in the management system must see to its own work to prevent the higher levels from being cluttered up with a mass of minor matters which distract them from the major problems, and to allow the lower levels to deal efficiently with the matters falling within their competence. That seems to be right.

Improvement of the management structure requires a consistent struggle against any manifestations of the narrowly departmental and short-sighted approach.

On increasing economic incentives. In its work to improve the guidance of the national economy, the Party has firmly followed the line of correctly combining directive assignments by central organs and the use of economic levers for exerting an influence on production. These levers—cost accounting, prices, profit, credit, forms of material incentives, and so on—are designed to create economic conditions promoting the successful activity of production collectives, millions of working people, and to ensure well-grounded evaluations of the results of their work. The need for precisely defining the measure of labour and the measure of consumption demands skilful use of all these levers, and improvement of commodity-money relations.

The delegates to the Congress know that some measures have been taken along these lines in accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in September 1965 "On Improving Industrial Management, Improving Planning and Increasing Economic Incentives in Industrial Production." The experience of past years gives us grounds for saying that having begun the economic reform, the Party has correctly assessed the situation and steered a true course in improving the management of the national economy. However, far from all problems have been resolved.

The experience that has been accumulated has made it more obvious where effort has to be concentrated. This is the creation of the economic conditions, which would, first, induce enterprises to undertake optimal commitments, i.e., adopt maximum plans and make more rational use of capital investments and labour resources, second, ensure the maximum acceleration of scientific and technical progress

and the growth of labour productivity and, third, facilitate a consistent drive for higher quality in production.

The consistent implementation of the principles of operation on a profit-and-loss basis remains an urgent task at industrial enterprises, at collective and state farms and at higher economic levels. The role of economic contracts and the responsibility for honouring them must be enhanced. Stable plan targets and economic norms calculated for a number of years must be worked out for amalgamations and industrial enterprises.

A major aspect of economic activity, on which the efficacy of production depends to a large extent, is the improvement of the system of payment for work. Conscientious, highly productive work must be encouraged and better remunerated. It would be expedient, as the experience of the Shchekino Chemical Works shows, to provide enterprises with broader possibilities for giving incentives to those workers and collectives of workers who make the largest contribution to the development of production, combine trades and adopt a master-like and thrifty attitude to social wealth. An increase of material incentives must go hand in hand with the promotion of moral incentives for work.

In short, comrades, the Party organisations, our economic organs and the collectives of workers have to put in a lot of hard work to improve the economic methods of management.

In this connection, a word must be said also about the responsibility that devolves on Soviet economic science. It has achieved certain successes in recent years. But the swift development of the national economy and the new tasks confronting it are bringing to the fore many intricate theoretical and practical problems that require unremitting attention from both economic bodies and scientists.

On broader participation of the people in economic management. One of the Party's central tasks is to draw the working masses into the management of production on an ever larger scale. What we must achieve is, as Lenin emphasised, that every working person, every politically-conscious worker should feel "he is not only the master in his own factory but that he is also a representative of the country" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 403).

We have immense possibilities for this. The people's participation in economic management is not confined to resolving economic tasks in individual production collectives. A broader approach has to be adopted to this, in view of the role which our Party and the Soviet state play in economic management. Their policy, including their economic policy, is dictated by the basic interests of the working people. It is charted by representatives of the working people in the elective organs, with the masses participating broadly in the discussion of major plans and decisions. The working people also actively take part in the control of the fulfilment of these decisions. The Party will continue to promote all these forms of socialist democracy.

A big role is played in economic management by the primary Party organisations, which unite millions of workers, collective farmers and office employees. Utilising their right to control the economic activity of enterprises, they effectively influence matters concerning production. A big role is played by the trade unions in resolving economic problems, promoting socialist emulation and mass technical innovation and strengthening labour discipline.

In the period under review there has been a marked upswing of activity by production conferences, workers' meetings and general meetings of collective farmers. Concern must be shown to secure a further enhancement of their authority and bring the key questions of the life of the enterprises up for their discussion. It is necessary to encourage the practice of the heads of amalgamations and enterprises and also of top-level officials of ministries regularly accounting for their work directly to the workers.

Alongside questions of production, questions of labour protection and the improvement of everyday conditions must, naturally, receive the closest attention of the collectives. The practice of drawing up plans for the social development of collectives deserves encouragement. The procedure of concluding and checking collective agreements should be improved.

It is our duty to translate Lenin's behests still more fully into life and get all the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals to become conscious fighters for the im-

plementation of the Party's economic policy, to act like statesmen and fully display their abilities, initiative and economic acumen.

* * *

Comrades, in the long run the success of the Party's plans for economic development and raising the people's standard of living depends on people. The guarantee of further achievements in communist construction lies in the conscious and persevering labour of workers, peasants and intellectuals, of our Party, government, trade union and economic cadres.

That is precisely why our economic programme must be reinforced by broad Party-organisational, political, ideological and educational work that can set in motion all the gigantic forces inherent in the socialist system and in the Soviet man, who combines the remarkable features of fighter, toiler and creator.

Our purpose is to make the life of Soviet people even better, even more attractive, even happier. We are marching forward to many years of selfless and inspired labour, giving fully of our creative energy. For us this is the only way to welfare and happiness, to a radiant communist future.

III.

SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades, in the course of the past five years the Central Committee has devoted considerable attention to questions concerning the socio-political and cultural development of Soviet society. Allow me to report what has been done in that sphere.

1. CHANGES IN SOCIETY'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE. THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S UNITY

In raising and resolving problems of our political system's further development and questions of an ideological nature, the Central Committee's point of departure is that the Party's policy yields the required results only when it fully takes into account both the interests of the entire people and the interests of various classes and social groups, and directs them into a single common channel.

The Party's policy is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society.

In our country the drawing together of all classes and social groups, the moral and political upbringing of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are being achieved on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the *working class*.

The working class is the most numerous in our society. During the past five-year plan period the number of workers increased by approximately eight million. The working class has been considerably augmented by state-farm workers. Workers comprise more than 55 per cent of the employed population. But the place occupied by the working class in socialist society is determined not only by its numerical strength, which can change depending on economic development and the rate of the scientific and technical revolution. The working class has been and remains the main productive force of society. Its revolutionary spirit, discipline, organisation and collectivism determine its leading position in the system of socialist social relations.

The leading role of the working class as the builder of communism is consolidated with the growth of its general cultural and educational level and of its political activity. The growth of the cultural level of the working class is convincingly shown, in particular, by the last two censuses. In 1959 there were 386 workers with a higher or secondary education per 1,000; today this figure tops 550.

Today there is a steadily growing number of workers who have completely mastered their trade and who, having a secondary education, are continuing their studies and mastering the advanced achievements of science and culture. As a rule, these workers are politically active and they regard the interests of their enterprise and the entire country as their own. The entire mass of Soviet working people look to these workers as models and it is only natural that in recent years the stratum of workers has been steadily growing in the Communist Party, and the number of representatives of the working class has been increasing in the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and in our public organisations.

The Party will continue to direct its efforts to securing the growth and strengthening of the influence of the working class in all spheres of the life of our society and to making its activity and initiative more fruitful.

Our society's political foundation is the alliance of the working class with the *peasantry*. The Party's policy and its practical measures to promote both industry and agriculture have led to a further consolidation of this great alliance.

The growth of the productive forces of agriculture, the gradual conversion of agricultural labour into a variety of industrial work, the cultural upsurge in the countryside and the remaking of rural life have led to changes in the peasant's social make-up and way of thinking. He now has more and more features in common with the worker. The number of collective farmers whose work is directly linked with machines and mechanisms is growing steadily, and the educational level of the collective-farm peasantry is rising. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War only six per cent of the working people in the countryside had a higher or secondary education. According to the figures for the close of 1970, more than half of the rural population have finished a secondary school or an institution of higher learning. That is a great victory for our society!

The appearance of an increasing number of inter-collective and mixed state- and collective-farm production associations and enterprises is giving rise to substantial social changes.

The new and more complex machinery—powerful tractors, harvester-combines and lorries—supplied to the countryside, the growth of the peasants' standard of living and the gradual improvement of cultural and everyday conditions are making agricultural labour more attractive and interesting, particularly for young people, and are giving them the opportunity of acquiring high qualifications. As a result, after finishing educational institutions the rural youth now stay to work in the countryside more willingly. This is a positive trend and it merits every possible support, especially as the development of agricultural production requires the training of more skilled cadres for the countryside.

You will recall that the Third All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers adopted the new Model Rules of the Collective Farm. A Union Council of Collective Farms and collective-farm councils of district, regional, territorial and republican levels have been elected. They represent the interests of the peasants. All this is of cardinal importance

to the life of the countryside and to the development of collective-farm democracy.

Naturally, comrades, the Party is well aware that much still remains to be done in the way of promoting culture, improving everyday life and, this must be specially stressed, construction in the countryside. In this respect there is a lot of ground to be covered. But we have no reasons for underestimating what has already been accomplished.

The drawing together of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia is among the paramount social changes in our society. This process has now become increasingly more marked.

Our Soviet *intelligentsia* sees its mission in devoting its creative energy to the cause of the people, to the cause of building a communist society. Numerically, the intelligentsia continues to grow quickly. The number of scientific workers, engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers and doctors is increasing, and in recent years the rate of growth of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in the Soviet Union has exceeded the rate of growth of all the other social groups. This is a natural process. It is a result of the Party's policy of achieving the utmost acceleration of scientific and technical progress and further raising the cultural and educational standard of the people.

To a great extent our intelligentsia, particularly the scientific and technical intelligentsia, is replenished from the ranks of the workers and peasants. The following is a typical example. At the Pervouralsk Pipe Works 42 per cent of the engineers and technicians are of working-class stock, 32 per cent of peasant stock and 26 per cent from the families of office employees. The situation is approximately the same at other industrial enterprises in our country.

Comrades, in its policy our Party has taken and will go on taking into consideration the interests of such large social groups as young people, women and pensioners.

I shall speak of young people and of the Party's work among them when I come to the activities of the Lenin Komsomol. At this point I should like to underscore only one thing, and it is that the Party has been and shall go on giving much of its attention to the problems, cares and interests of young people. More than half of our country's

population are young people under 30. They are our future and our replacement.

On the Party's initiative a series of important measures has been put into effect during the past five years to improve the working conditions for women and, at the same time, lighten their household chores. Let me remind you at least of the fact that maternity leave procedures have been extended to collective-farm women and more crèches, kindergartens and everyday service establishments have been opened. You all know, comrades, that further steps in this direction have been planned for the next five-year period.

The aim of the Party's policy is that Soviet women should have further possibilities for bringing up their children, for taking a larger part in social life, and for recreation and education, and that they should have greater access to the blessings of culture. All these are important tasks, and the new five-year plan will be a noteworthy stage in their implementation.

A large group of our society consists of pensioners, of labour and war veterans. The delegates to this Congress know that in recent years citizens going on pension have been given wider opportunities to take part in labour activity. Many Party organisations are evolving useful forms of work with pensioners. But we shall act correctly if we take steps to employ the experience and energy of our veterans more extensively in social and labour activity.

Comrades, one of the greatest achievements of socialism is the practical implementation by the Party of the *Leninist national policy*, a policy promoting equality and friendship among peoples.

Many of the fraternal republics recently marked their 50th anniversaries. This was an imposing demonstration of the florescence of socialist nations, of the monolithic unity of all the peoples of our country. Next year we shall mark the 50th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For its political significance and socio-economic consequences the formation of the USSR occupies a prominent place in the history of our state.

All the nations and nationalities of our country, above all, the great Russian people, played their role in the formation, consolidation and development of this mighty union of equal nations that have taken the road to socialism. The revolutionary energy, dedication, diligence and profound

internationalism of the Russian people have quite legitimately won them the sincere respect of all the other peoples of our socialist motherland.

Further progress along the road of the all-round development of each of the fraternal Soviet republics, along the road of the further gradual drawing together of the nations and nationalities of our country, has been made during the past few years under the Party's leadership. This drawing together is taking place under conditions in which the closest attention is given to national features and the development of socialist national cultures. Constant consideration for the general interests of our entire Union and for the interests of each of its constituent republics forms the substance of the Party's policy in this question.

The Party shall continue to strengthen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, consistently pursuing the Leninist line of promoting the florescence of the socialist nations and securing their gradual drawing together. The Party shall continue to educate all the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrowness and conceit in any form, in a spirit of profound respect for all nations and nationalities.

A new historical community of people, the Soviet people, took shape in our country during the years of socialist construction. New, harmonious relations, relations of friendship and co-operation, were formed between the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities in joint labour, in the struggle for socialism and in the battles fought in defence of socialism. Our people are welded together by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology and the lofty aims of building communism. The multi-national Soviet people demonstrate this monolithic unity by their labour and by their unanimous approval of the Communist Party's policy.

The past five-year period has witnessed a further advance towards the consolidation of our society's unity. We shall go on doing everything to strengthen the community of interests of all the classes and social groups of our country in order to promote the process of drawing them together.

2. STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET STATE. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades, during the period under review the Party has accomplished considerable and extremely diverse work aimed at further strengthening the Soviet state and perfecting the entire political organisation of our society. The principal orientation of this work—in accordance with the tasks of communist construction—has been and remains the further development of socialist democracy.

In our country, as everybody knows, the organs of people's power—the *Soviets of Working People's Deputies*—are the foundation of the socialist state and the fullest embodiment of its democratic nature. This, comrades, is a mighty force. Today they comprise over two million deputies, who administer the affairs of our state of the entire people at all its levels. With them at the Soviets there is an army of 25 million activists, dedicated voluntary assistants.

Permit me to remind you that the need to enhance the role of the Soviets was underscored in the decisions adopted by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. To achieve this a lot has been done over the past years. To this end the powers of the district, town, rural and settlement Soviets have been extended also in such an important field as coordinating, within the limits of their competence, the work of factories and economic organisations situated in their territories. Their material and financial resources have been enlarged and they are getting more trained personnel.

The work of the Soviets has, on the whole, become more active and many-sided. The deputies now meet more regularly with their electorate and give an account of their work to them. Also important is the fact that the press, radio and television are gradually making it a practice of reporting the work of the Soviets more fully.

Greater control is exercised by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics over the work of ministries and departments and over the state of affairs in the key sectors of economic and cultural development. The larger number of standing commissions and the more efficient organisation of their activities are enabling the deputies to display more initiative, delve dee-

per into the work of the executive bodies and participate more actively in drafting laws.

The Party attaches great importance to *perfecting Soviet legislation*. During the period under review attention was concentrated on the legislative regulation of questions such as improving the public health services, strengthening family relations, further bettering labour relations and ensuring nature conservation and the rational utilisation of natural wealth. On all these questions the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics have passed the appropriate laws after broad discussions with the participation of millions of citizens.

Another point, comrades. There is now a pressing need for a special law defining the status, powers and rights of deputies—from the Supreme to the settlement Soviets—and also the duties of officials with regard to deputies. It seems to me that the passage of such a law would enhance the authority and activity of deputies.

The successful realisation of the tasks facing us presupposes the precise and efficient work of the *state apparatus*. Hence the increased demands made on the administrative apparatus. The introduction of modern means and methods of administration begun in recent years, creates the condition for a more rational organisation of the administrative apparatus, for cutting its operational costs and reducing its personnel. Steps have already been taken in this direction, and they shall be continued.

Most of the employees of the state apparatus are highly-trained, conscientious and considerate people. Their work merits the highest appreciation and respect. But it must be admitted that there still are callous officials, bureaucrats and boors. Their conduct evokes the just indignation of Soviet citizens. Relying on public support, the Party is and will go on making resolute efforts to achieve more efficiency in the work of the administrative apparatus.

The way we see it efficiency in administration organically combines an attentive, solicitous attitude to the needs and cares of the working people with a prompt consideration of their applications and requests. An atmosphere of good will and of respect for man must reign in every institution.

In Soviet socialist democracy an important place is occupied by the organs of *people's control*, in whose work

millions of factory and office workers and collective farmers now take part. The Party will continue doing everything to secure the steadfast implementation of Lenin's precepts on constant and effective control by the broad masses.

Comrades, an important feature of the socialist system is that in our country the working people participate in the administration of society not only through state organs but also through a ramified network of mass organisations, above all, such as the trade unions and the Komsomol.

Today our *trade unions* have more than 93 million members. This is practically the entire working class, the whole of the working intelligentsia and numerous sections of rural workers.

The trade unions are one of the key links in the general system of socialist democracy, in drawing the working people into the administration of the affairs of the state and society. They participate in solving many problems of economic development—from the drawing up of state plans to the management of each enterprise. They play an important role in the production and social work of the personnel of factories, building projects and offices. They help to inculcate a communist attitude to labour and social property, and work to satisfy the cultural and everyday requirements of the people and protect their health.

The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the working people remains one of the basic tasks of the trade unions. It is no secret, for example, that we still have enterprises where over-time is systematically practised, where people are unnecessarily deprived of days off and where, here and there, labour safety is poorly organised. The trade unions can do much to eliminate these abnormal phenomena.

The Party's line is to continue enhancing the role and efficiency of the trade unions. Without assuming petty tutelage over the trade unions, the Party organisations must do everything to promote their activity and initiative, strengthen them with cadres and make more exacting demands on Communists working in trade unions.

The Party will continue giving constant support to the trade unions as the largest organisations of the working people and seeing to it that they are able to fulfil their role of school of administration, school of economic mana-

gement and school of communism more fully and successfully.

In the country's social and political life an important place belongs to the *Lenin Komsomol*, which unites over 28 million young men and women. It would be hard to name a sector of economic and cultural development where the energy, creative initiative and ardour of Komsomol members have not been displayed. Organisation of Komsomol shock building projects, team contests of skill by young workers, students' building detachments, youth production brigades and summer work and recreation camps are the concrete and vital tasks being accomplished by the Komsomol, which is the leader of Soviet young people.

The Komsomol's central task has been and continues to be to bring up young people in the spirit of Communist ideals and devotion to our Soviet motherland, in the spirit of internationalism, and actively to propagate the norms and cultural values of our society.

The different groups of our young people—young workers, collective farmers, specialists, students and school-children—have their own special features. The Komsomol must be able to work with each of these groups. On it largely depends the correct and timely vocational orientation of young men and women, and the education of the rising generation in a spirit of profound respect for work at factories, farms and in the fields.

In recent years there has been a considerable extension of the Komsomol's range of tasks in questions of the labour, education, recreation and everyday life of young people. Party organisations have begun to show more determination in assigning responsible sectors of work to Komsomol members. The Komsomol is now more active socio-politically. An indication of this is that over half a million young people have been elected to organs of state power—the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Nearly 20 per cent of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are young people.

The Party constantly draws new forces from the Komsomol. In the period after the 23rd Congress 45 per cent—or 1,350,000—of new members came from the Komsomol. During the same period the number of Communists working in the Komsomol has doubled. This conforms to the 23rd Congress directives on strengthening the Party nu-

cleus in Komsomol organisations. It is worth making it a rule that Komsomol members admitted to the Party should continue working actively in the Komsomol until they are given other assignments by their Party organisation.

The Party is justly proud of the young builders of communism. Our duty is to pass on to the rising generation our political experience and our experience in resolving problems of economic and cultural development, to direct the ideological upbringing of young people and to do everything to enable them to be worthy continuers of the cause of their fathers, of the cause of the great Lenin.

In the development of socialist democracy an important task is to enhance the role of our *labour collectives*, which are the basic units of socialist society. This is a major field of struggle for stepping up the labour and social activity of Soviet people. The new, socialist qualities of the working people and the relations of friendship and comradesly mutual assistance take shape in these collectives. The responsibility of each to the collective and of the collective for each of its members is an inalienable feature of our way of life.

During the period under review the Central Committee and the Soviet Government have continued taking steps to *strengthen legality and law and order*, to educate citizens to observe the laws and rules of socialist community relations. The work of the militia, the procurator's offices and the courts has been improved.

It is not only the task of the state apparatus to strengthen legality. Party organisations, the trade unions and the Komsomol are in duty bound to do everything to ensure the strictest observance of laws and improve the working people's knowledge of the law. Respect for legality and for the law must become part and parcel of the make-up of every person. This is particularly true of persons in office. No attempt to deviate from or to circumvent the law is to be tolerated, no matter what the motive. Nor can we tolerate any violation of the rights of individuals and infringement of the dignity of citizens. For us Communists, champions of the most humane ideals, this is a matter of principle.

The fight against crime remains a serious task. Stricter punishment has lately been stipulated for some kinds of crime. Alongside punishment, as provided by the law, a

great measure of concern is displayed to find ways and means of discouraging and preventing crime.

In face of the continuing subversive activity by imperialism an important role is played by *organs of state security*. During the period under review they have been reinforced with politically mature cadres. The Party consistently educates the personnel of these organs in the spirit of Leninist principles, of absolute observance of socialist legality, in the spirit of unremitting vigilance in the struggle to safeguard Soviet society against the actions of hostile elements and against the intrigues of imperialist intelligence services.

Comrades, everything created by the people must be reliably protected. To strengthen the Soviet state means to strengthen its *Armed Forces* and raise our country's defence capability to the highest possible level. As long as we live in a troubled world, this will remain one of the most important tasks!

The Soviet Army is part of our people and shares their interests. In our country military service is not only a school of combat skill. It is also a good school of ideological and physical steeling, of discipline and organisation.

Carrying out the people's will, the Communist Party works tirelessly to strengthen the country's defence. Questions relating to the development of the *Armed Forces* were among our main concerns during the period under review. The measures taken in recent years have made it possible substantially to strengthen the might and combat capability of the *Armed Forces*. The Soviet people may rest assured that our glorious *Armed Forces* are prepared to repel an enemy attack at any time of the day or night from any quarter. Any possible aggressor is fully aware that in the event of attempting a nuclear-missile attack on our country he will be dealt a devastating counterblow.

When speaking of the glorious Soviet Army, we must say a few good words about our war veterans, about the soldiers and commanders who defended our country's freedom in the Great Patriotic War. They had not even had time to rest after the tremendous tension of the war years: the war veterans once again found themselves at the front—the labour front. Many of our wartime comrades are no longer here with us. But millions are still on active duty. Some continue to serve in the army, others are giving the

country the benefit of their knowledge and labour at the factories and construction sites, on collective and state farms, in scientific institutes and schools. Let us wish them all sound health, happiness and fresh successes in their endeavour for the sake of communism!

Comrades, as you know, questions of democracy are now the crux of the ideological and political struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists raise a hypocritical hue and cry, alleging that we have no democracy. They offer us all sorts of "advice" on how to "improve" and "democratise" socialism. But their concern is not for socialism, of course. They would like to return us to bourgeois practices and, therefore, try to force bourgeois democracy on us, a democracy for exploiters, alien to the interests of the people.

A vain, useless venture. Soviet people have their own democracy, a socialist democracy, with their own principles and traditions for developing it. There is no freedom in general, just as there is no democracy in general. This is a class concept. That is how Lenin put the question, and that is how our Party puts it today. We see the meaning and content of socialist democracy in the increasingly broader participation of the masses in the administration of state and social affairs. In our country the entire political system of society and the steadily growing initiative of the people serve the building of communism. This sort of democracy is vital to us and it is an indispensable condition for the development and consolidation of socialist social relations.

The Party's constant concern is that our socialist democracy should steadily develop and that every person should feel he is a citizen in the full sense of the word, a citizen interested in the cause of the entire nation and bearing his share of the responsibility. The Party will go on consistently implementing this very line.

3. MOULDING OF THE NEW MAN — ONE OF THE PARTY'S MAIN TASKS IN COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

A prominent place in the Party's work during the period under review has been the further promotion of all forms of ideological work, the political education of the

masses and the raising of the people's cultural level. A great project—the building of communism—cannot be advanced without the harmonious development of man himself. Communism is inconceivable without a high level of culture, education, sense of civic duty and inner maturity of people just as it is inconceivable without the appropriate material and technical basis.

The moral and political make-up of Soviet people is moulded by the entire socialist way of our life, by the entire course of affairs in society and, above all, by purposeful, persevering ideological and educational work by the Party, by all its organisations.

The formation of a communist world outlook in the broad mass of the people and their education in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are the core of all ideological and educational work by the Party.

But even the most advanced ideology becomes a material force only when, having won over the masses, it induces them to take energetic action and determines the norms of their day-to-day behaviour. One of the paramount objectives of the Party's ideological work is *to foster in Soviet people the new, communist attitude to work*. This is an immense task. Experience very convincingly shows that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was right when he emphasised that it "will take many years, decades, to create a new labour discipline, new forms of social ties between people, and new forms and methods of drawing people into labour. It is a most gratifying and noble work" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 518). These are remarkable words! We must draw conclusions from them.

The triumph of socialism in our country has given rise to unprecedented manifestations of mass labour enthusiasm such as the Stakhanovite movement, the movement for a communist attitude to work, and so on. The past five-year period has produced many new developments in this respect. Labour emulation has assumed truly nation-wide dimensions.

The task, as the Party sees it, is to support the mass movement for a communist attitude to work and give every encouragement to the creative initiative of Soviet people. In recent years, as you are aware, we passed a number of resolutions on encouraging and disseminating such mass initiative of the people in town and countryside as the

socialist emulation movement in honour of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and in honour of the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and the nationwide Lenin *subbotnik*. The Central Committee gave its approval to the outstanding initiative of workers' collectives of Moscow and Leningrad, who, faithful to the glorious traditions of their cities, launched an emulation movement for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule. Moreover, the Central Committee gave its support to the concrete production undertakings of metalworkers, oilmen, miners, car-builders, transport workers and other contingents of working people.

In recent years much has been done in the way of fostering in Soviet people pride for their country, for their people and their great achievements, and a feeling of respect for the outstanding achievements of the past.

Great importance attaches to the work that is being done by the Komsomol, the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force and Navy and also by other organisations and sports societies to train young people to defend their country. The patriotic theme is worthily expressed in many works of Soviet literature and art. Initiative by our young people, such as mass tours of places of revolutionary, military and labour glory and other undertakings, merit approval.

Monuments to military glory have been erected in scores of our towns and in thousands of villages, and majestic monuments stand in Volgograd, Leningrad, around Moscow, in Smolensk Region, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics and the Caucasus as testimony of the Soviet people's unbounded respect for the memory of heroes who gave their lives for the motherland.

The Party highly values the patriotic spirit of Soviet people and their readiness to devote themselves wholly to promoting their socialist motherland's prosperity and defending the gains of the Revolution and the cause of socialism.

Comrades, the new make-up of the Soviet man, his communist morals and outlook are consolidated in constant and uncompromising struggle with survivals of the past. Communist morals cannot triumph without a determined struggle against their antitheses such as money-grubbing, bribe-taking, parasitism, slander, anonymous letters,

drunkenness and the like. The struggle with what we call survivals of the past in the minds and actions of people is a matter that requires constant attention by the Party and all the conscious, advanced forces of our society.

During the period under review the Party CC has taken steps to create in our society a moral atmosphere that would help to establish a respectful and solicitous attitude to people, honesty, exactingness to oneself and others, and trust combined with strict responsibility and a spirit of true comradeship in all fields of social life, in work and everyday relations. In short, our aim has been that in our country everybody should live and work better.

It goes without saying that it is hard to express the results of this work in figures, in statistics. However, every Soviet citizen evidently feels the improvement of the moral atmosphere in our Party and our society. We shall continue steering this very course.

Comrades, for the transition to communism it is necessary to achieve a higher level of development not only in the economic field but also in the culture of society as a whole.

What can we say about the work of the Party and, generally, of the state of affairs in education, science and art in recent years?

In the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU the task was set of completing the transition to universal secondary education in the main by the end of 1970. To this end the network of general education (day and evening) and specialised secondary schools (technical schools, and so on) was additionally enlarged and the number of other vocational schools giving their pupils a complete secondary education was increased. As a result, although we were unable to reach the set target we have drawn much closer to it: today about 80 per cent of the pupils finishing an eight-year school go on to receive a complete secondary education. We feel that one of the most promising ways of implementing universal secondary education (while preserving the leading role of the general education school) is to build more vocational schools offering a secondary education.

The number of institutions of higher learning has continued to grow. More than 60 new institutions of higher learning, including nine universities, were opened during

the past five years. Today not only every Union republic but also many Autonomous republics have their own universities.

Extensive work has also been done to renew the content of the study process itself in our schools and institutions of higher learning. It is being brought more into line with the requirements of scientific and technical progress and with the general level of modern scientific knowledge.

The development of all links of public education has resulted in the complete fulfilment of another important directive of the 23rd Party Congress: over seven million specialists with a higher or secondary special education have been trained in the country during the past five years. This is a good and extremely needed addition to the army of builders of communism.

The public education system has to ensure the training of large contingents of specialists, including many new professions. Today progress is so swift in all fields that the education received by young people is only a foundation that requires the constant acquisition of knowledge. This makes the systematic improvement of the qualification of cadres extremely important.

Our Party spares no effort to ensure the fruitful development of the entire front of social and natural sciences.

The total number of scientific workers in the country has increased 40 per cent during the past five years and today adds up to nearly 930,000. New scientific centres are being built in the Urals, the Soviet Far East and the North Caucasus.

Extensive and fruitful work has been accomplished during the past five years by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which determines the strategy of scientific quests, brings to light the most promising trends and forms of research needed by society and unites the efforts of our scientists.

We note with satisfaction that in a number of very important branches our scientists have won leading positions in the world. It would be hard and even practically impossible to name all the directions in which scientific research is developing in our country, or to list even the major achievements in the fundamental and applied sciences.

In recent years Soviet scientists have given the motherland first-class automated transfer lines, laser devices, new types of electronic computers, the discovery of huge deposits of minerals, and much else. Space exploration has been crowned with further success. Much ground has been covered in this sphere during the past five years. Successful sustained group flights have been accomplished in piloted Soyuz spaceships. Excellent results have been obtained with automatic space vehicles: from the first-ever soft-landing on the Moon to the building of such sophisticated systems as Luna-16, which brought lunar rock back to the Earth, and Luna-17 with its tireless worker Lunokhod; from the first flights to Venus to the receipt of scientific data directly from its surface.

I have already spoken of the tasks of our scientists in the field of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of scientific achievements in production. The social sciences also face important tasks. In the period under review the CC CPSU adopted a special extended resolution on this question. The tasks of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU have been enlarged and specified. In recent years a number of new humanitarian science institutes have been opened in the system of the Academy of Sciences and this has made it possible to intensify the study of problems related to the socio-economic development of the USSR and foreign countries and the world revolutionary process, and to improve scientific information. What we need is a more radical turn of the social sciences towards the elaboration of problems that are and will be pressing.

Soviet science has impressive achievements to its credit. But there still are considerable shortcomings in the work of our scientific institutions. It is no secret that there are scientific workers who are, to this day, occupied with work that is to a large extent divorced from both the country's direct practical requirements and from the actual interests of the development of the fundamental branches of science. Actually, this is wasted effort. We cannot, of course, reconcile ourselves to this.

It is necessary to be more exacting in the selection of cadres for scientific work. It is important that in every scientific collective there should be a really creative atmosphere, an atmosphere of bold quest, fruitful discussion

and comradely exactingness. Soviet people highly value the achievements of their scientists and they expect them to redouble their efforts in order to resolve the most pressing problems of communist construction.

Comrades, with our society's advance along the road of communist construction a growing role is played by *literature and art* in moulding the outlook, moral convictions and spiritual culture of Soviet people. Quite naturally, therefore, the Party continues, as it has always done, to devote much attention to the ideological content of our literature and art and to the role they play in society. In line with the Leninist principle of partisanship we believe that our task is to direct the development of all forms of creative art towards participation in the people's great cause of communist construction.

During the past five years our literature, theatre, cinema, television, fine arts and music have given Soviet people many new, interesting and talented works. New works and productions have appeared which deal with our people's past and present realistically, from Party positions, without embellishment and without playing up shortcomings, and concentrate attention on truly important problems of communist education and construction. These works are further confirmation that the closer the artist is to the many-faceted life of the Soviet people the surer is the road to creative achievement and success.

During the period under review a prominent place in literature and art was held by the Lenin theme. A number of interesting novels, plays and films about Lenin, all of them permeated with revolutionary passion and the spirit of devotion to Leninism, were brought out.

A highly satisfying fact is that literature and art are fruitfully developing in all our republics, in dozens of languages of the peoples of the USSR, in the vivid diversity of national forms.

The congresses held in recent years by the unions of writers, artists, composers and film-makers of our country have been noteworthy landmarks in the development of Soviet art. They mirrored the indisputable growth of the ideological and political maturity of our creative intelligentsia, and of their responsibility for the content and artistic value of the works created by them.

Thus, much has been done in recent years by Soviet people in the arts. Our people highly value their achievements, which are noteworthy contributions fostering communist consciousness in Soviet people.

However, it cannot be said that all is well in the realm of artistic creative work, particularly as regards quality. It would not be amiss to note here that we are still getting quite a few works that are shallow in content and inexpressive in form. We sometimes even get cases of works being dedicated to a good, topical theme but giving the impression that the artist has taken too insubstantial an approach to his task, that he has not put all his effort, his talent into it. It seems to me that we all have the right to expect those who are in the arts to be more demanding of themselves and of their colleagues.

The achievements of Soviet literature and art would have been unquestionably greater and shortcomings would have been eradicated quicker if our literary and art criticism pursued the Party line more vigorously, adopted a more principled stand and combined exactingness with tact and a solicitous attitude to the creators of artistic values.

Furthermore, sight must not be lost of the fact that in the development of our art there were complicating factors of another order. There were some people who sought to reduce the diversity of present-day Soviet reality to problems that have receded into the past for good as a result of the work done by the Party to surmount the consequences of the personality cult. Another extreme trend among individual men of letters was the attempt to whitewash past phenomena which the Party had subjected to emphatic and principled criticism, and to conserve ideas and views contravening the new, creative elements which the Party had introduced into its practical and theoretical work in recent years.

Essentially, both these cases were attempts to belittle the significance of what the Party and the people had already accomplished, and divert attention from current problems, from the Party's constructive guideline and the creative work of Soviet people.

Workers in literature and art are in one of the most crucial sectors of the ideological struggle. The Party and the people have never reconciled nor will ever reconcile themselves to attempts, no matter who makes them. to

blunt our ideological weapon and besmirch our banner. If a writer slanders Soviet reality and helps our ideological adversaries in their fight against socialism he deserves only one thing—public scorn.

We mention these negative phenomena not because they have become appreciably widespread. The Central Committee feels that the Party's frank and principled attitude towards these phenomena helps writers and artists to work with greater confidence and conviction towards developing Soviet literature and art as they have been fruitfully doing for the past five years.

Soviet writers and artists have been educated by the Communist Party. They draw their inspiration from the deeds and thoughts of their people, and their creative destiny is inseparable from the interests of the socialist motherland.

We are for an attentive attitude to creative quests, for the full unfolding of the gifts and talents, for the diversity and wealth of forms and styles evolved on the basis of the method of socialist realism. The strength of Party leadership lies in the ability to inspire the artist with enthusiasm for the lofty mission of serving the people and make him a convinced and ardent participant in the remaking of society along communist lines.

Comrades, in addition to giving the working masses broad access to cultural values, socialism has made them the direct makers of culture. Striking evidence of this is the unparalleled scale of folk art. Today there are 13 million adults and 10 million schoolchildren in amateur art groups. The creative art of the people is a specific feature of Soviet reality, of our life.

Mass media—newspapers, magazines, television, radio and news agencies—are a powerful instrument in the important and complex work of moulding the new man and in the ideological struggle against the capitalist world.

During the period under review the Party's Central Committee has time and again considered questions relating to the mass media with the aim of securing an improvement of their work and further enlarging their audience.

Our press, radio and television are doing much to ensure quick reporting of the pressing problems of the

country and international affairs that really interest Soviet people. They help to disseminate the advanced experience of communist construction and give a rebuff to the ideological sallies of the class enemies.

The mass media have been given greater technical facilities and more material resources. The daily circulation of the newspapers in our country runs to nearly 140 million, while the magazines have a circulation of over 150 million. There has been a particularly large increase in subscriptions to newspapers and magazines in the countryside, where the circulation has exceeded 107 million as against 65 million five years ago.

The demand for books is enormous in our country. It is rightly regarded that the Soviet people read more books than any other nation in the world. Suffice it to say, that books with a total printing of over 6.5 thousand million copies, including more than one thousand million copies of socio-political books, have been published since the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. In 1969 and 1970 alone the total printing of the works of Lenin and books on Lenin and Leninism exceeded 76 million copies. During these years there has been an increased demand in our country for books from the fraternal socialist countries. From 1966 to 1970 their translations have been published in the USSR in a printing of 72 million copies.

Our TV network now has a huge audience—70 per cent of the country's population. The Orbita TV network covering the Extreme North, the Soviet Far East, Siberia and Central Asia, has now become operational.

Comrades, ideological work, propaganda and mass agitation are an important and responsible field of the Party's activities. A lot has been done in this field. But it must be noted that we are not yet fully satisfied with the state of affairs in it. The Central Committee feels that it is necessary to intensify our entire ideological work, above all, to make more active and purposeful the propagation of communist ideals and the concrete tasks of our construction. In the immediate future efforts to give the working people a thorough understanding of the purport and significance of our Congress decisions must become the crux of Party propaganda and mass agitation. Our cardinal task in this sphere is to be able really to convey our ideological conviction in full to the masses, and ap-

proach the work of the communist education of the Soviet man in a really creative manner.

We are living under conditions of unabating ideological struggle, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism, using the most subtle methods and powerful technical means. All the instruments that the bourgeoisie has of influencing minds—the press, cinema and radio—have been mobilised to delude people, to make them believe that under capitalism they are living in a near-paradise, and to slander socialism. The air is virtually befouled with all sorts of fabrications about life in our country and in the fraternal socialist countries.

It is the duty of our propagandists and mass agitators to give a timely resolute and effective rebuff to these ideological attacks and tell hundreds of millions of people the truth about the socialist society, the Soviet way of life and the building of communism in our country. This has to be done with purpose, convincingly, intelligibly and vividly. The truth about the Soviet Union must be heard in all the continents.

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Thus, comrades, a considerable place in the Party's activities during the period under review was occupied by questions relating to the socio-political development of Soviet society, the ideological and political education of the working people and the development of science and culture. Substantial headway has been made in these fields of communist construction, but there are big and difficult tasks ahead. We are certain that the Party will carry them out successfully and that it will have the unanimous and vigorous support of the entire Soviet people.

The strength of our country lies precisely in the unity and political consciousness of the people. The Party will tirelessly reinforce this source of our strength—the inviolable ideological and political unity of the Soviet people.

IV.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY AND SOME QUESTIONS OF INNER-PARTY LIFE

Comrades, the main thing in the Communist Party's work is to map out the general prospects of social development, chart a correct political line and organise the working people to implement it. Our entire reality shows that the CPSU is honourably discharging its role of political leader of the working class and all working people, and guides the Soviet people along the correct way indicated by Lenin. The larger the scale of our creative work and the more difficult the problems that have to be tackled, the greater become the role and responsibility of the Communist Party, which leads the masses.

Our Congress will determine the political line and the concrete programme of work for the coming five-year period. In order to fulfil this programme successfully it will be necessary to mobilise all the strength of the Party and of the people. The forms and methods of the organisational and political work of the Party organisations and their leadership of economic and cultural development must conform as fully as possible to the spirit of our times and to the big tasks that the 24th Congress of the CPSU will set before the Party and the country.

1. GROWTH OF THE CPSU MEMBERSHIP AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Drawing upon the Leninist organisational principles and developing them in conformity with the new conditions, the 23rd Congress of the CPSU gave clear-cut instructions

on the basic problems of Party development. Experience has shown that these were correct and viable instructions.

The period under review witnessed the *further growth of the Party membership* and a qualitative improvement of its composition. There are now in the CPSU 14,455,321 persons, of whom 13,810,089 are members and 645,232 are probationary members. Nine per cent of the country's adult population are Communists. The Party composition is: 40.1 per cent workers, 15.1 per cent collective farmers, and 44.8 per cent office workers. Here it must be borne in mind that more than two-thirds of these office workers are engineers, agronomists, teachers, doctors, scientific workers, and workers in literature and art.

Three million people have been admitted to the CPSU since the 23rd Congress. Of these almost 1,600,000 or more than half are workers. In large industrial areas such as Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Donetsk, Karaganda and some other regions 60-70 per cent of the probationary members are workers. The Congress instructions that the working class must occupy the leading place in the Party's social composition have thus been consistently carried out. We shall continue this line because it fully conforms to our Party's nature and to the place and role of the working class in Soviet society.

It must be noted that Party organisations have become more attentive to the question of enrolment in the Party and are placing more demands on those who wish to join the Party. As a result, there has been a certain diminution of the number of people joining the CPSU. Whereas an average of 760,000 people were annually accepted into the Party as probationary members in the interim between the 22nd and 23rd Congresses, the annual average was 600,000 in the period between the 23rd and 24th Congresses.

In this connection it must be re-emphasised that the improvement of the qualitative composition of its ranks must remain one of the Party's cardinal concerns. Excessive preoccupation with the enrolment of new members and an indiscriminate approach, which, regrettably, are still to be found in some organisations, run counter to the Leninist principles of Party development. Our task is to exert a regulating influence on the growth of the Party ranks, replenish them on the basis of individual selection of the most worthy representatives of the working class,

the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, and to make sure that the Party composition allows the CPSU to carry out its tasks in the best possible way.

The Party rids its ranks of people who violate the Programme and Rules of the CPSU. It must be noted that the Party organisations have drawn correct conclusions from the instructions of the 23rd Congress and have begun to rid themselves more resolutely of those who violate Party or state discipline, or abuse their office, whose behaviour casts a slur on the name of Communist. In future, too, we must not allow a conciliatory attitude to those who behave incorrectly. Concern for the purity of the Party ranks is the duty of all Party organisations and of every Communist.

Comrades, all these years our Party and its Central Committee have been undeviatingly following a line of further *developing inner-Party democracy, observance of the Leninist norms of Party life and enhancement of the activity of Communists*. The principle of electivity and accountability of leading organs is implemented consistently in the Party, and the spirit of collective leadership and collective work has been consolidated. Questions concerning the Party's work are discussed and decided on a broad democratic basis.

During the period under review there have been 16 plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU. I spoke of the basic questions examined at the plenary meetings and of the importance of the decisions passed by them when I dwelt on various aspects of the Party's work. Meetings of the Politburo of the CC to consider the most important and pressing problems of the Party's home and foreign policy are held regularly once a week. Every week there is also a meeting of the Secretariat of the CC, whose attention is centred chiefly on the selection of cadres and on verifying fulfilment of assignments. Local Party committees likewise hold regular plenary meetings and bureau sittings and operate as organs of collective leadership.

The democratic principles in the life and work of the Party were strikingly manifested also during the latest election campaign. The Party meetings were attended by over 90 per cent of the Communists, and more than three million people spoke at these meetings. The meetings, the

Party conferences and the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics were marked by lively activity and principled discussion of problems. At these meetings, conferences and congresses there was a purposeful exchange of opinion by Communists on the Party's policy and affairs, on the work of their own organisations, on successes and shortcomings, on unresolved problems and conclusions for the future. They showed that all the Party organisations wholeheartedly approve and support the Central Committee's internal and foreign policy. The monolithic unity and solidarity of the ranks of our great Leninist Party were demonstrated once again.

Many new people who had given a good account of themselves in practical work in recent years have been elected to the leading organs of Party organisations. They are workers, collective farmers, representatives of all the social strata and groups and of the nationalities of the country. Among them are people working in different state, social, economic and cultural sectors. A total of 423,000 workers and collective farmers have been elected to the bureaus of Party organisations and Party committees. This is a much greater number than two years ago. Of the members and alternate members of district and town Party committees nearly 40 per cent are workers and collective farmers. There is now a larger number of workers and collective farmers also in the regional and territorial committees and in the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics.

During the period under review there has been an improvement in inner-Party information. The Central Committee of the CPSU regularly informed the local Party organs, the *aktiv* and all Communists of the key problems of the Party's work and of the situation in and outside the country.

The information going from the bottom up, to the Central Committee of the CPSU, has become more operational and purposeful. Such information helps to size up the situation more correctly and to take the experience and opinion of Party organisations and the working people more fully into account when resolving problems. We should continue to improve inner-Party information, make it more efficient and use it more widely as an instrument of leadership and a means of education and control.

Criticism and self-criticism, a tested method of eradicating shortcomings and improving the work, has been further developed in the practice of the Party organisations. Most Party committees have become more attentive to the critical remarks and suggestions of Communists and have intensified control over their realisation. At the same time, it must be emphasised that not all Party organisations and their leading organs have drawn the proper conclusions from the instructions of the 23rd Congress on this question. Some leaders lack restraint and tact, the ability to hear critical remarks out attentively and correctly react to criticism. But those who underestimate or ignore criticism are doomed to failure. Broad development of principled criticism and self-criticism is a sign of political health of the Party organisations, of their correct understanding of their duty towards the Party and the people.

The development of inner-Party democracy is inseparable from strengthening Party discipline. Experience confirms that in many ways the Party's strength and ability to function are determined by how consistently and correctly the principle of democratic centralism is implemented. Both anarchic lack of discipline, presented as democracy, and bureaucratic centralisation, hindering the promotion of the initiative and activity of Communists, are equally injurious to the Marxist-Leninist Party.

The work of the Party Control Committee under the CC CPSU has become more diversified. The Committee has begun to make a deeper analysis of questions related to the strengthening of Party discipline and to react more promptly to cases of misconduct by Communists. The Party Commissions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and of territorial, regional, town and district committees have also become more active. It is important to continue strengthening discipline in the Party and secure the unconditional fulfilment of the requirements of the CPSU Programme and Rules by every Communist.

The question of changing Party membership cards has now arisen before our Party, and on this point I should like to state some considerations. Seventeen years have passed since the last change of cards. The period for which Party cards were issued has run out. It would be correct if we approached the change of Party cards not formally

but as an important organisational and political measure. The change should be organised in such a way as to further strengthen the Party and increase the activity and discipline of Communists. It would be also possible to satisfy the wish of many Communists that the Party card should bear the image of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, founder and leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, the strength of our Party lies in the high ideological level, activity and dedication of the Communists. Today our Party is leading the people in the fulfilment of great creative tasks. Its moral prestige will be the higher, the loftier the ideological and moral qualities of every Communist.

Regrettably, we still have Party members who do not show themselves to be real political fighters. When they come across shortcomings and other negative phenomena they pretend to notice nothing, adopting the position of philistines, who say, "This does not concern me, let others worry about it." There are also some whose activity is for purposes of show, of creating an outward impression. They talk more than others about the need for doing one thing or another, always lecture and exhort everybody. But as soon as the time for practical action comes they manage to remain on the sidelines.

Communists are more and more emphatically condemning this sort of behaviour. The Party cannot accept passivity and indifference. If you are a Communist your duty is not to shirk difficulties, not to encourage backward attitudes, but to be a politically conscious and active fighter of the Party. Always and everywhere—in work, social activities, study and everyday life—a Communist must remain a Communist and worthily bear the lofty title of member of our Leninist Party.

2. STRENGTHENING OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS. SELECTION AND TRAINING OF CADRES

Comrades, in the implementation of the Party's policy, one of the most important places is occupied by the *primary Party organisations*. In our Party we now have over 370,000 primary organisations, or 45,000 more than on the eve of the 23rd Congress. During the period under re-

view the CC CPSU, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and the territorial and regional Party committees accorded these basic Party units constant attention. The work of a number of primary Party organisations functioning at enterprises and establishments in various branches of the national economy and state administration was discussed in the CC CPSU. The decisions adopted on these questions were the result of a study of local experience, of real-life practice. They helped the Party organs and the primary organisations to take present-day requirements more fully into consideration and concentrate on resolving the main tasks. This is all the more important because we still have organisations that work poorly, do not display the needed initiative, and reconcile themselves to shortcomings.

Steps have been taken to improve the structure of the primary organisations. For example, Party committees have been set up in the railway junctions, and integrated Party organisations have been formed in production amalgamations and trusts. By way of an experiment, enlarged Party committees have been elected in some primary organisations that have more than a thousand Communists.

It is necessary to continue enhancing the influence of the primary Party organisations on the work of factories and offices. In this connection the numerous suggestions from Communists and Party committees that the provision in the CPSU Rules on the right to control the activities of the management should be specified merit attention. Here the question is that besides the Party organisations in production this right should be enjoyed by the primary Party organisations at research institutes, educational establishments and cultural and medical institutions. As regards the Party organisations at central and local government and economic institutions and departments, they must control the activity of the apparatus fulfilling the directives of the Party and the Government.

It goes without saying that in exercising control account must be taken of the specifics of the given enterprise or institution. For example, the Party organisations at ministries evidently cannot directly influence the activities of the enterprises and institutions within the jurisdiction of the given ministry. But it is the direct duty of the Party organisation to control the organisation of the work

in the ministry itself and the observance of Party and state discipline by its personnel.

The work aimed at improving the structure and activity of local Party organisations continued during the period under review. Nine regional Party committees were formed, chiefly in the Central Asian republics, and 21 town, 38 urban district and 291 rural district committees were set up. The formation of new Party organisations and their leading organs made it possible to intensify the Party's influence in a number of important sectors. Their apparatus was formed chiefly from the existing personnel. In this connection I should like to say that whereas during the past 14 years the CPSU membership doubled, increasing from 7 to 14 million, the staff of the Party apparatus was reduced by more than 20 per cent.

At present in the CPSU there are 14 Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, 6 territorial committees, 142 regional committees, 10 area committees, 760 town committees, 448 urban district committees and 2,810 rural district committees.

There is every indication for declaring that if always and in everything our Party comes forward as a close-knit, monolithic force, acts confidently in the country and on the international scene and successfully copes with the tasks confronting it, this is due to a very great extent to the fact that the republican, territorial, regional, area, town and district Party organisations steadily implement the Party's policy and are a reliable mainstay of the CC CPSU.

Comrades, during the preparations for this Congress the Communists put forward many suggestions aimed at further strengthening all links of the Party, removing shortcomings in its work and improving inner-Party life. A considerable number of these suggestions must be utilised directly on the spot. Some concern the Party as a whole and should be examined at this Congress. I have mentioned one of them in connection with the question of enhancing the role of primary Party organisations. Permit me now to dwell on another suggestion.

Many comrades feel that regular congresses of the CPSU should be convened not once in four years but once in five years. It seems to us that there are grounds for raising this question. By convening congresses once every five years the CPSU would be in a position to sum up the re-

sults and chart the tasks of each five-year period in accordance with our practice of planning economic development.

It is suggested that congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics should likewise be convened every five years. As regards territorial, regional, area, town and district Party conferences, they could be held twice in the five-year period between congresses, in other words, once in two or three years. Moreover, it would evidently be expedient to establish the same time span also for election meetings and conferences in primary Party organisations that have their own committees. In all the other primary and shop Party organisations election meetings should be held annually as before.

If these suggestions are approved by the Congress delegates they could be incorporated in the Rules of the CPSU.

Comrades, the raising of the level of leadership bearing on all aspects of social life, and of the organisational and political work among the masses is inseparably linked with an improvement of the selection, placing and training of cadres. In this respect our Party now has immense possibilities. There is a higher level of political consciousness, education and professional training of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. It is from them, from the thick of the people, that the Party promotes talented and able leaders for all sectors of communist construction. Over 80 per cent of the present secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, and of the territorial and regional committees, of the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers and of the territorial and regional executive committees, and nearly 70 per cent of the ministers and chairmen of the state committees of the USSR began their careers as workers or peasants. More than half of the directors of the largest industrial enterprises in the country were once workers.

During the period under review many new people have been promoted to Party, government and administrative work in the centre and in the localities, and the cadres have been renewed or reinforced with fresh contingents.

The secretaries of some territorial and regional committees, the chairmen of some regional executive committees

and other functionaries from republican, territorial and regional organs have been promoted to posts in central bodies such as ministers, chairmen of state committees and other leading positions. In recent years the CC has also taken steps to send Party and government functionaries to reinforce the cadres working abroad.

Many new comrades with an excellent political and specialist training have been promoted to the leadership of Party and government bodies in the localities, including the posts of first secretaries of the Central Committees of the republican Communist Parties, and of territorial and regional committees. Moreover, the Central Committee has consistently followed the line of promoting local functionaries; people from the centre were appointed to these posts only in exceptional cases. This practice of selecting and placing cadres is receiving the approval and support of Party organisations and all Communists.

The aim of our cadre policy is to promote young, promising functionaries while maintaining a considerate attitude to veteran cadres and making the maximum use of their experience and knowledge. This is a mandatory condition of the consistency of the Party political line and of its revolutionary traditions. In the work with cadres the practice today is to combine trust and respect for people with principled exactingness. This produces a businesslike, comradely atmosphere and allows cadres to display their capabilities more fully.

Life is continuously making greater demands on cadres. We need people who combine a high level of political consciousness with a sound professional training, people who can knowledgeably tackle the problems of economic and cultural development and are well-versed in modern methods of management.

In cadres the Party has always highly valued a feeling for the new. To have this feeling means to visualise the prospects for development, to look into the future and find the surest ways of resolving problems as they arise. This quality is particularly important today, when swift and far-reaching changes are taking place in social life and production.

The organisation and education of people occupy a prominent place in the work of our leading cadres. Even if a leader is vested with the powers stemming from one-man

authority, he cannot depend solely on the force of orders. It is no accident that our Party constantly stresses the need for an organic link between managerial and educational work. It demands that leading cadres should constantly think of the educational effects of the economic and administrative decisions adopted by them.

It sometimes happens that a manager suddenly gets the idea that all the secrets of life are open to him, that he knows everything. That is when he begins issuing instructions on all questions, ordering people about, instead of skilfully using the experience and knowledge of others. We have long had skilled cadres capable of correctly resolving the problems within their competence. We must put more trust in them and, correspondingly, more must be asked of them.

The combination of collective leadership with personal responsibility for the assigned work is an indispensable condition of the growth and education of cadres, of the correct organisation of our entire work. While promoting the collegial principle in the leadership we must, at the same time, remember that one of the basic principles of management, as formulated by V. I. Lenin and as our Party understands it, is that "a definite person is fully responsible for some specified work" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 529). Well-organised control of the fulfilment of the directives of the Party and the government plays an important role in enhancing the personal responsibility of cadres.

One of our key tasks is to enhance the discipline and responsibility of cadres. We have in mind discipline founded not on fear, not on methods of ruthless administration which deprive people of confidence and initiative, and engender overcautiousness and dishonesty. What we have in mind is discipline founded on a high level of consciousness and responsibility of people. As regards cadres who violate discipline, fail to draw conclusions from criticism and behave incorrectly, the necessary measures must be taken against them. In our country leading posts are not reserved for anybody forever. Socialist discipline is the same for all members of society; it is mandatory for one and all.

A substantial step towards improving the work with cadres was the creation of a large network of permanently

operating courses for the training and re-training of Party and government functionaries. During the period under review these courses were finished by nearly 200,000 persons. Refresher institutes, departments and courses have been set up for executives and specialists. An Institute for National Economic Management in which the leading cadres of our industry, including ministers, will improve their knowledge, has recently been opened. In our country the retraining of cadres has never before been conducted on such a scale and it has never involved so many people.

But independent work, naturally, has been and remains the basic method of study. To keep pace with life all our cadres must constantly study, raise their ideological and theoretical level and master the achievements of science and advanced practice.

At all stages of the struggle for the building of the new society our cadres have always been equal to the task and justified the trust placed in them. We are firmly confident that they will continue to implement the Party's policy skilfully and perseveringly and serve the people with dedication.

3. THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL WORK. THE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION OF COMMUNISTS

Comrades, our Party is a party of scientific communism. It is steadfastly guided by Marxist-Leninist science, which is the most advanced, revolutionary science of modern times, and does everything for its further development. Theoretical understanding of the phenomena of social life and of its main trends enables the Party to foresee the course of social processes, work out a correct political line and avoid errors and subjectivistic decisions.

Our Party's and people's multiform experience of revolutionary struggle, the building of socialism and communism, and problems of the world revolutionary process, the specifics of the present stage of international relations, have all found expression in the decisions of Plenary Meetings of the CC and in the Party's documents commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin. These documents are the result of the development of the Party's

theoretical thinking, the result of the collective work of the Central Committee and our Party and scientific cadres. Considerable theoretical work was accomplished in connection with the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, and also in connection with such outstanding events in the life of the international communist movement as the 150th birth anniversaries of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the centenary of the Paris Commune.

Fundamental works showing more fully Lenin's role as the leader and theoretician of the greatest revolution, and as the creator of the Party of the working class and founder of the world's first socialist state have been published during the period under review.

As an eternally living and developing teaching, Leninism has been, remains and will be the crux of the Party's ideological life, and the foundation of all its revolutionary, transformative activity. While drawing on Lenin's ideological legacy, the Party holds that its cardinal task is to find solutions to pressing problems of communist construction on the basis of Lenin's ideas and Lenin's methodology.

In many respects the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism have been specified in recent years. The Party's thinking was directed towards elaborating modern methods of planning and management and the ways of increasing the efficiency of the economy and improving material and moral incentives. The elaboration of the basic questions of the Party's agrarian policy at the present stage was of great theoretical importance.

Much attention was given to the further development of the teaching on the leading role of the Communist Party. Everybody knows that this is one of the fundamental questions of the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society. Today it has become the pivot of the struggle between Marxist-Leninists and representatives of various forms of revisionism. The principled stand of the CPSU and its relentless struggle for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the Party was of international significance, helping, as is emphasised by the fraternal Parties, the Communists and millions of working people to maintain a correct orientation.

The Party attached immense importance to the ac-

curate, unbiased presentation of the history of our state. Sharp and just criticism was levelled at individual attempts to assess the history of the Soviet people from non-Party, non-class positions, and belittle the significance of their socialist gains. At the same time, the Party showed the hollowness of dogmatic notions which ignored the great positive changes that have taken place in the life of our society in recent years.

The experience of past years has convincingly shown that the surmounting of the consequences of the personality cult and also of subjectivistic errors has favourably affected the general political and, above all, the ideological situation in the country. We have been and remain true to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and shall never make any concessions on questions of ideology.

Together with other governing Communist Parties, the CPSU has continued the elaboration of the fundamental questions of the development of the world socialist system. The study and generalisation of each other's experience have made it possible to specify the characteristics of the general laws of socialist construction and reveal more fully the main features of the socialism that has already been built. Particular attention was given to working out the principles of economic integration and other problems arising in the process of co-operation between the fraternal countries and Parties.

A considerable place in the Party's theoretical work was given to analysing the new phenomena in the development of modern capitalism and the ways and means by which world socialism influences the development of the non-socialist part of the world, to studying the new processes taking place in capitalist economy, particularly under the impact of the scientific and technical revolution.

Theoretical work is a major element of our common internationalist, revolutionary duty. The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory. Repetition of old formulas where they have become outworn and an inability or reluctance to adopt a new approach to new problems harm the

cause and create additional possibilities for the spread of revisionist counterfeits of Marxism-Leninism. Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Quite a lot has thus been accomplished, comrades. However, the Central Committee does not consider that everything in our theoretical work is satisfactory. Many problems have only been outlined and await profound elaboration. The Party will have to devote still more attention to the development of theory, improve the work of scientific institutions and see that the social sciences establish a close tie with the practice of Party and state work, with the implementation of the concrete tasks of communist construction.

The Party considers it very important that Communists should perseveringly master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, know the laws of social development, acquire the ability of confidently getting their bearings in the new phenomena of life, evaluate them correctly and draw correct practical conclusions. The ideological steeling of Communists is an indispensable condition for enhancing the militancy of the Party ranks.

After the 23rd Congress the Party organisations have accomplished a great deal in the way of improving the organisation of Marxist-Leninist education. We have, as you all know, a comprehensive system of Party education consisting of three stages—primary, middle and higher. This ensures continuity in the study of theory and the history and policy of the Party and enables Party committees to take the training level and interests of Communists into consideration when they organise studies for them. Steps have been taken to raise the level of education in economics which acquires considerable importance under present-day conditions. Textbooks and manuals have been compiled and published in mass editions for the first time for all levels of Party education. More than 16 million people now study in the system of Party education, and there is a million-strong army of propagandists.

At the same time, it must be noted that some Party committees do not give this work the proper attention. We still have quite a few Communists who underestimate the

importance of Marxist-Leninist study and do not improve their ideological and theoretical level, while their Party organisations fail to make the necessary demands of them.

The Marxist-Leninist education of Communists is important not only for its scale but, principally, for its ideological and political significance. The task is further to improve this work, tie political study in more closely with the concrete tasks of communist construction and see that it has a greater influence on the growth of the consciousness and activity of all members of the Party. New demands are made of propagandists, whose selection and training should receive special attention.

Comrades, the period since the 23rd Congress has thus witnessed the further ideological, political and organisational cohesion of the CPSU ranks, the growth of activity by the Communists and the strengthening of the Party's ties with the masses.

The unity of interests between the Party and the entire Soviet people makes our society invincible and gives it the ability to withstand any test. It is the indissoluble unity between the Party and all the working people that allows us to forge confidently ahead and resolve the most complex tasks. Our Party values and treasures the trust of the working people above all else. To strengthen our great Party in every way, to deepen its bonds with the people, with the masses—that is the behest left to us by the great Lenin—and we shall be true to this behest of Lenin's!

* * *

Comrade delegates, the Central Committee has reported to you the results of its work for the past five years, the Party's main tasks for the future and the prospects for our country's development.

In his day Lenin emphasised time and again that one of the cardinal tasks of Party congresses is to sum up the results of practical experience, of all that has been found to be valuable and instructive, criticise shortcomings and find ways of removing them. There is no doubt that with a sense of high responsibility to the Party and the people the delegates to this Congress will, as is accepted in our Party, take a principled, businesslike approach to the discussion of the Report of the CC.

Our plans are founded on realistic calculations, they take into account our country's requirements, resources and possibilities. The discussion of the draft Directives for the new five-year plan has shown that these plans have the wholehearted approval and support of the Party and the entire people. The fulfilment of these plans depends on the work of each of us, on our organisation and discipline, on our ability and perseverance. The principal task of the Party, of all its organisations, is to mobilise the masses for the drive to carry out the set tasks and unite the entire people still more closely around the Leninist platform of communist construction.

Comrades, we have inexhaustible possibilities. Our country's economic might is greater than ever before. New heights have been attained by Soviet science and culture. The moral and political unity of our people is unbreakable. We are moving forward shoulder to shoulder with our socialist friends and allies. Our militant alliance with the revolutionary forces of the whole world is growing stronger.

We know that we shall achieve all that we are striving for, and successfully carry out the tasks we are setting ourselves. The guarantee of this has been, is and will be the creative genius of the Soviet people, their selflessness and their unity round their Communist Party, which is steadfastly advancing along the course charted by Lenin.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the Party of Lenin, militant vanguard of our entire people!

May the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, mainstay of peace and friendship among nations, live long and grow stronger!

May the mighty alliance of revolutionary forces—the world socialist system, the international working-class movement and the fighters for the national and social liberation of peoples—grow stronger and advance from victory to victory!

Hold higher the banner of the eternally living, invincible teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin! Long live communism!

Glory to the great Soviet people, the builders of communism!

SUMMING UP BY LEONID BREZHNEV.

April 5, 1971

Comrade delegates,

The Congress has completed the discussion of the Report of the Party Central Committee.

Delegates from the Communist Parties of all the Union republics, from our major cities, from the industrial and agricultural regions of the country, from the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Kemerovo, Krasnoyarsk, Barnaul, Ufa, Donetsk, Orenburg, and from other major Party organisations of the country took part in the discussion of the Report. The speakers included representatives of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, the intelligentsia, young people, Communists serving in the Soviet Armed Forces, and all the detachments of our glorious 14,000,000-strong Communist Party.

We have every ground for saying that the discussion of the Report of the Central Committee was principled and businesslike, lively and fruitful. The delegates made valuable proposals, so that their speeches fitted, so to say, into one whole with the Report of the Central Committee.

Since all the speakers approved the Report, the political course and practical work of the Party Central Committee, and the planned domestic and foreign policies, we have the right to think that such is the opinion of our entire Leninist Party.

To what has been said we need but add that the voice of the entire Soviet people merges with that of the Congress delegates. Since the opening of the Congress, more than

250,000 letters and telegrams have been sent to the Congress and the Central Committee from Communists and people who are not members of the Party.

The kind words of the Soviet people, their active support of the policy of the Party and the lively interest they take in Party activity—all this inspires us, gives us fresh strength and energy, strengthens still more our conviction that we are *following the right road*.

Permit me, comrade delegates, to express, on behalf of the Congress, our profound gratitude to all who shared with us their thoughts and sentiments in connection with the work of our Congress, and to all who support the policy of our Party.

Comrade delegates,

There prevails at our Party Congress a spirit of cordial, Bolshevik, internationalist solidarity with all countries of socialism, with the Communists of the whole world, and with all fighters against imperialism. That is very good, comrades. It is in complete accord with the whole policy of our Party, and with the behests of the great Lenin.

The comrades who spoke here noted, as our great gain, the businesslike atmosphere, an atmosphere of comradely understanding and concern for the people, combined with a highly exacting, principled and demanding attitude, which has become firmly established in the Party and the country. I think we have the right to say that our Congress is taking place in precisely such an atmosphere and that it promotes in no small measures the success of our work. This has demonstrated once again how important it is to keep to the style of work of the Party organs, which has been evolved in recent years.

Lastly, I should like again to point to the main conclusion which stems from the entire course of discussion of the Report of the Central Committee. This conclusion is that unity and cohesion, the spirit of really concerted work, which V. I. Lenin called for so persistently, and which makes our Party strong and invincible, today more than ever before, reigns in our Party. Loyal to the behest of Lenin, we shall continue carefully to preserve and constantly strengthen this unity of our Party ranks!

Comrades, the entire atmosphere of the Congress has made it unnecessary for me to make a longer concluding speech.

**DECISION OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE REPORT
OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Having heard and discussed the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the work of the CPSU Central Committee, the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

to approve in full the political line and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee;

to approve the proposals and conclusions contained in the report of the CPSU Central Committee.

**DIRECTIVES OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU FOR THE FIVE-YEAR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN
OF THE USSR FOR 1971-1975**

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

April 6, 1971

Comrade delegates,

The Central Committee of the CPSU has presented for consideration by the Congress the draft Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975. This document further elaborates the Party's economic policy which was worked out by the 23rd Congress and Plenary Meetings of the CC CPSU, and which defined the tasks at the present stage of communist construction and ways of carrying them out.

The Central Committee's report, delivered by the General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev, comprehensively sums up the experience accumulated by the Party since the 23rd Congress, and sets out the basic questions of the Party's economic policy at the present stage. The report gives a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international and domestic situation, considers questions of inner-Party life, and the tasks of further consolidating the world socialist system, developing the international communist and working-class movement and strengthening our Party's friendly ties with the fraternal Parties of other countries.

The past five-year period has shown the Party's enhanced leading role in the life of Soviet society. The Party's ideological and organisational cohesion has grown and its

ties with the people have become even stronger. The Party is carrying out with honour its lofty mission of militant vanguard of the Soviet people.

The Leninist foreign policy, which the Party has consistently pursued, has ensured the further consolidation of the positions of socialism in a highly complex international situation. Despite the mounting resistance of aggressive imperialist forces, fresh victories have been scored in the struggle for peace, for the free development of all nations, and for social progress.

The discussion of the CC CPSU Report at our Congress has given a striking and convincing demonstration of the high level of ideological cohesion of our Party's ranks, the great unity of all the peoples of our country with the Leninist Party and its Central Committee. The high appraisal of the CC's activity contained in the Congress delegates' speeches on L. I. Brezhnev's Report, and the concrete, constructive, and ideological-political tenor of these speeches give a profound and comprehensive picture of the vast work being done by the Party in every sphere of our society's material and cultural life.

Under the Party's leadership, the Soviet people have travelled a great road abounding in revolutionary struggle and heroic labour. Our victory in the Great Patriotic War brought peace and national independence to the peoples of many countries, and created the conditions for the emergence of the world socialist system. After the war, the Soviet people took a short time to rehabilitate the towns and villages destroyed by the enemy, achieved a more than eight-fold increase over 1940 in the output of the social product, and technically reequipped the national economy. A sound foundation has been laid for the successful fulfilment of new tasks in communist construction.

The might of the world's first socialist state, built by the Soviet people's glorious creative endeavour, is a source of pride and hope for the working people of all countries.

Our economic construction plans are geared to a great goal, the creation of a communist society. The draft Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan were discussed at the Congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics, at territorial, regional, city and district Party conferences, in the Party organisations, at working people's meetings and in the press. All speakers have unanimously expressed

approval of the Party's line for building the material and technical basis of communism, accelerating the development of the economy, and further raising the people's living standard. Many useful and important suggestions expressed on questions relating to economic, social and cultural development have been made. They will all be carefully studied. Some of them will evidently be reflected in the Directives of the Congress, and others will be taken into consideration in the drafting and the practical implementation of the Five-Year Plan.

The discussion of the draft Directives testifies to the profound understanding, on the part of broad masses of working people, of our Party's policy, their whole-hearted support of it, and their active participation in tackling the basic problems of the development of Soviet society. Therein lies the guarantee that the majestic programme of the new five-year period will be successfully fulfilled.

I.

RESULTS OF THE FULFILMENT OF THE EIGHTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Allow me, comrade delegates, to report on the main results of the fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan and the changes that have taken place in our economy in this period.

The most important result of the past five-year period is that the political and the key socio-economic tasks set by the Party's 23rd Congress have been successfully fulfilled.

Here are the summarised indicators of the actual fulfilment of the plan targets.

	1970 as % of 1965 23rd Congress Directives	Actual fulfilment
National income	138-141	141
Total industrial output	147-150	150
of which:		
means of production	149-152	151
articles of consumption	143-146	149
Capital investment (total for the five-year period, % of preceding period)	147	142
Freight turnover for all types of transport	137	138
State and co-operative retail trade	not less than 140	148
Average wages of workers and office employees	not less than 120	126
Average monthly incomes of collective farmers in cash and kind from the farms' social production	135-140	142
Payments and benefits to the population from social consumption funds	not less than 140	153
Real income per head of population	about 130	133

In the past five years, the average annual output in agriculture has increased by 21 per cent. The fulfilment of the planned targets for farm produce is characterised by the following data.

	Annual Average Output for 1966-1970 (million tons)		
	planned targets	fulfilment	fulfilment % /%
Grain	167	167.5	100.3
Raw cotton	5.6-6.0	6.1	108.9-101.7
Sugar beet	80	81	101.3
Sunflower seed	6	6.37	106.2
Potatoes	100	94.8	94.8
Vegetables	21.6	19.3	89.4
Meat (slaughter weight)	11	11.6	105.4
Milk	78	80.5	103.2
Eggs (thousand million)	34	35.8	105.3
Wool (thousand tons)	391	397	101.5

These data show the considerable successes scored in fulfilling the five-year plan.

In the country's political life, in the five-year period, there has been a further consolidation of the socialist system, of the ideological and political unity of Soviet society, and of the Soviet people's cohesion with the Communist Party and its Central Committee. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the friendship and fraternal co-operation of all the peoples of the Soviet Union have grown still stronger. Socialist democracy has been further advanced.

In the sphere of economic development the fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan has raised the national economy to a higher level. The growth rates in scientific and technical progress, production, and labour productivity have been accelerated. Social production has become more efficient, the sectoral structure of the national economy has been improved, and conditions have been created for further boosting the whole economy of the country.

In the social sphere the material standard and the cultural level of life of the population have been raised. The professional and technical training of workers and collective farmers has been improved. As in the past, full employment of the employable population has been ensured in the country. An important step has been taken in fulfilling such basic social tasks as the gradual elimination of the essential

distinctions between town and country, and between manual and mental labour.

You will find, comrade delegates, that tremendous successes have been scored in every sphere of our society's development. It has become even more homogeneous, harmonious, united and mighty.

It naturally required vast resources to ensure the planned growth of social production and to carry out the large-scale social measures. The national income produced by the working people has been and remains the only source on which the Soviet state draws for these means. That is why special attention was given to accelerating the national income growth rate. In the seventh five-year period, the national income increased by 32 per cent, and in the eighth five-year period, by 41 per cent.

The proportions in the distribution of the national income have also changed. In the seventh and in all the earlier five-year periods (with the exception of the first postwar five-year period) the accumulation fund grew at a much faster rate than the consumption fund. The Eighth Five-Year Plan provided for bringing these rates closer together, and this has been done. In the eighth five-year period, the consumption fund increment came to 56,8 thousand million rubles, as against 31.4 thousand million rubles in the seventh five-year period, that is, it almost doubled, while the accumulation fund also continued to grow. Consequently, in a developed socialist society accelerated national-economic development goes hand in hand with a rapidly rising living standard for the people. This stems from the nature of the socialist mode of production, which has done away with the alienation of the product of labour from its producers, and with the appropriation by the exploiting classes of the results of the working people's production activity.

A fundamental problem of our planning is to ensure a high rate of growth of the national income and its correct distribution in order to strengthen the country's might and raise the working people's living standard. Questions relating to the determination of the volumes of production and questions relating to the distribution of the national income were annually considered by the Party's Central Committee and the Government when national-economic plans and state budgets were formulated and when they were dis-

cussed at plenary meetings of the CC CPSU and at sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

How then has the national income for the last five-year period been used?

In the last five years, the total national income has come to the vast figure of 1,166,000 million rubles. To realise the magnitude of this figure let us recall that in the seventh five-year period (1961-1965) the total national income came to 840 thousand million rubles, whereas in the five prewar years (1936-1940) it was only 154 thousand million rubles (for all these data 1965 prices have been taken as the base).

Almost three-quarters of the national income produced during the eighth five-year period has gone into consumption.

Thus, 518 thousand million rubles of the wages and salaries of the workers in the production sphere and of the incomes of the collective farmers has gone into consumption.

One hundred and ninety-nine thousand million rubles has gone into education, public health and the satisfaction of other cultural and everyday needs of the population and of social requirements.

Nearly 80 thousand million rubles has gone into the maintenance of incapacitated persons (disabled and pensioned workers, war invalids, and temporarily incapacitated persons) and also into scholarships and grants to students.

Forty-one thousand million rubles has gone into science.

Consequently, the bulk of the national income has gone into consumption. However, we must also constantly take care of further expanding social production. That is why a part of the national income, 186 thousand million rubles, has gone into production accumulation, that is enlargement of the basic production assets at factories, mills, railways and other industrial enterprises, and also into increasing the stocks of commodities and materials.

In the five years the cost of increasing housing space, and the network of schools, hospitals, and cultural and other establishments has come to 62 thousand million rubles.

In the present international situation, the Soviet state must show unceasing concern for strengthening the country's defence capability. In the five years, 80 thousand million rubles has gone for the needs of defence.

In our country, the distribution of the national income is carried out in accordance with the principles of socialism, and the objective regularities governing the development of the socialist economic system, which rests on the unshakeable basis of social ownership of the means of production. These principles, scientifically elaborated in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, are incorporated in our Party's Programme, and serve as the basis for socialist economic management.

The growth of the national income and its distribution in the working people's interests have made possible the successful fulfilment of the social tasks set by the Directives of the 23rd Congress for the eighth five-year period.

The plan provided for an increase of at least 20 per cent in the five-year period in the average wages and salaries of workers and office employees, but the actual increase has been 26 per cent. Collective farmers' incomes in cash and kind from social production, which were to have increased by 35-40 per cent, have in fact gone up 42 per cent. In the past five-year period, real per capita income has increased by 33 per cent, as against 19 per cent in the seventh five-year period. We can note with satisfaction that the target set by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the growth of real incomes of the population has been overfulfilled.

The growth of *retail trade* is an important indicator of the people's rising living standard. In 1970, it reached 153.6 thousand million rubles, an increase of 48.4 per cent over 1965. However, growth in the output of some goods has lagged behind the rising cash incomes of the population.

We still have some difficulties in meeting the demand of the population for some goods, in particular, meat and meat products, although during the eighth five-year period per capita annual consumption has increased by an average of seven kilograms on a countrywide scale.

More concern should be shown for satisfying the people's growing requirements. In formulating the five-year plan, there is need additionally to consider all the possibilities of ensuring a fuller satisfaction of the people's demand for goods in the next few years. All-Union as well as republican and local organs must constantly concentrate on increasing the output of consumer goods and improving trade.

A considerable growth in *housing construction* was set

by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU as one of the major tasks of the eighth five-year period. In the past five-year period, almost 60 thousand million rubles has been spent for this purpose; 11,350,000 flats have been built. International statistics show that in the past five years no other country in the world has built as many flats. But it is still too early to say that the whole population of our country has been sufficiently provided with flats. This problem remains a serious one for the years ahead.

Much has been done to improve the *cultural and everyday living facilities for the population*. The network of theatres, cinemas, clubs and libraries has been enlarged. The printings of newspapers, books and magazines have grown considerably. Television sets, radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and electrical appliances have been broadly introduced into the home. The number of flats with gas has more than doubled.

Much work has been done in the sphere of *public education*. According to the 1939 census, 24.2 per cent of the total working urban population of the USSR, and only 6.3 per cent of the rural population had a secondary (complete or incomplete) or higher education.

The 1970 census showed that 75 per cent of the working people in the towns, and over 50 per cent in the country have a secondary or higher education. The rapid rise of the educational standard of the population and the raising of their cultural level is a great achievement of the socialist system.

Our successes are also considerable in developing the *health services*. The network of hospitals, polyclinics and other establishments for the treatment and prevention of disease, sanatoriums, health resorts and holiday homes has been enlarged. There are now more pre-school children's establishments. In some cities and industrial centres, the need for children's establishments has now been satisfied.

An important social measure in the past five-year period has been the stage-by-stage switch-over of workers and office employees to a five-day week, with two days off. The minimum duration of paid holidays for workers and office employees has been increased.

The high rate of national income growth and the rising living standard of the people has been achieved through

the successful development of socialist production, which was largely promoted by the economic reform approved by the 23rd Congress of the CPSU.

In 1970, total *industrial output* was valued at 373 thousand million rubles, an increase of 50 per cent over the five years.

Major qualitative changes have taken place in industry on the basis of modern scientific and technical achievements. Output in engineering and metal-working has increased by 74 per cent, in the chemical and petrochemical industries by 78 per cent, and in the electric-power industry by 54 per cent.

The progressive changes in industry are also in great measure due to the enlargement of its raw material base, the discovery of new gas, oil, ferrous and non-ferrous ore, diamond and other mineral deposits. Thus, of the surveyed gas deposits, which now exceed 16,000,000 million cubic metres, over 13,000,000 million were surveyed in the past five years. The importance of the discovery of these deposits will be seen from the fact that today oil and gas make up nearly 60 per cent of the fuel balance, as compared with 51 per cent in 1965. A major oil and gas base has been created in the East. The rich oilfields at Tyumen fully provide for the needs of the rapidly growing economy of Siberia and the Far East. Not long ago, oil was being supplied to Siberia from the west of the country, but now Siberia itself pipes a part of its oil resources both to the west and to the east.

Alongside the development of the natural resources, economical, high-quality synthetic materials are being produced and more widely put to industrial use.

The qualitative changes are also expressed in the fact that larger-capacity units are being used on an ever more extensive scale in industry. Thus, for instance, there has been a considerable increase in the capacity of power units, installations for the primary processing of oil, and other chemical plant, and also in the volume of blast furnaces and converters. The freight capacity of railway cars, ships, hoisting cranes, and the power of tractors, lorries, excavators and other machines and mechanisms have been increased. The switch-over to larger units makes it possible considerably to raise labour productivity and sharply to reduce per-unit investments.

The engineering industry is also being technically re-equipped. The output of modern instruments, automated transfer lines and electronic computers has been substantially boosted. We are going over from the fabrication of individual machines to the making of machine systems which make possible the complex mechanisation of labour. The manufacture of machine tools with digital programme control, which make it possible to work intricately shaped pieces in accordance with a pre-set programme, to raise the precision of working, and to automate small-batch production, has been organised.

In the past five years, great changes have taken place in the life of the socialist countryside. A great deal has been done to consolidate the material and technical basis of the collective and state farms. A major step has been taken in providing electricity for the rural areas. Land improvement has been carried out on a large scale. The supply of farm machinery, fertilisers and chemicals to the collective and state farms has been considerably increased. Crop yields and the productivity of livestock farming have been raised, and the output of all farm products has been increased. This has made it possible to increase the state purchases of grain, industrial crops, milk, meat and other produce.

Here are the data on the growing purchases of farm produce:

	Annual Average Purchased (million tons)		
	1961-1965	1966-1970	1966-1970 as % of 1961-1965
Grain—total	51.6	66.0	128
including groats	1.6	2.6	163
of this, rice	0.21	0.67	324
Raw cotton	5.0	6.1	122
Sugar beet	55.4	74.4	134
Sunflower seed	3.4	4.7	138
Potatoes	8.4	11.0	131
Vegetables	6.7	9.4	140
Meat (slaughter weight)	5.2	7.3	139
Milk	31.1	43.2	139
Eggs (thousand million)	8.7	14.4	166

The development of socialist industry and agriculture, and the raising of the living standard would have been impossible without the implementation of an extensive *capital construction* programme. In the five-year period, the coun-

try's basic production assets have grown by almost 50 per cent. Capital investments in the national economy have come to a total of 352 thousand million rubles (in 1969 prices). This is almost as much as was invested in eight preceding years. Such is the scale of our growth.

In accordance with the Eighth Five-Year Plan, new capacities for generating 54 million kw have been commissioned, the world's largest hydropower electric station has been built at Krasnoyarsk with a capacity of 5 million kw, oil and gas pipelines totalling 35,400 kilometres have been started.

In the iron and steel industry, capacities for the production of 9.7 million tons of pig iron, 18 million tons of steel, and 14.3 million tons of rolled metal, and the extraction of 120.5 million tons of iron ore a year have been commissioned. In the non-ferrous industry, the capacities for the production of copper, nickel, zinc, and aluminium have been considerably built up. In the chemical industry, plants for the manufacture of 33 million tons of mineral fertilisers, and man-made fibre and rubber factories have been built. In the building-materials industry, cement factories, and enterprises for the extraction and processing of asbestos have been built. Many enterprises in the light and food industries have been put into operation. As the five-year plan was being fulfilled, a decision was taken to build the country's biggest auto works at the town of Togliatti. Construction on it was started in 1967, and in August 1970 the Volzhsky Car Factory already turned out the first batch of passenger cars.

At the same time, there have been considerable shortcomings in capital construction. Construction periods for some enterprises and installations have run beyond the normal standards, and this has caused unproductive inputs and losses. There is a large volume of uncompleted construction.

Technical progress, improvement in the organisation of production and the raising of the level of the workers' skill have helped to accelerate the growth rate of the *productivity of social labour*. In the national economy as a whole, the productivity of social labour has increased by 37 per cent, as against 29 per cent in the seventh five-year period. In the seventh five-year period, higher productivity of labour accounted for 62 per cent of the increment in indus-

trial production, in the eighth, 73 per cent, and in 1970, as much as 84 per cent. Growth in industrial and agricultural production must increasingly be attained through the boosting of labour productivity. That is the main way of developing the socialist economy.

Marked successes have been scored in reducing production costs. In the five years, the profits of enterprises have more than doubled, and the profitability of production has gone up.

The development of our economy is closely connected with the major achievements of *Soviet science*. Scientists have a great part to play in the development of new machinery, synthetic materials and electronic devices. Considerable scientific results have been achieved in the sphere of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, and space exploration.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government have devoted and continue to devote constant attention to *strengthening the country's defence capability*, and developing the defence industry. We are bound to do this in view of the present international situation and our country's security interests. On the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements, many new types of modern weapons have been developed and are being manufactured, and the combat and technical characteristics of weapons have been improved. We can report to the Congress that the Soviet Armed Forces are equipped with the latest combat materiel of the highest class.

Comrades, the scope of the work done by the Party and the importance of the results of the fulfilment of the Eighth Five-Year Plan are tremendous, but we should not overestimate our successes. We still have many unsolved problems, we have difficulties and shortcomings.

The five-year plan has been fulfilled for the main indicators. However, the building ministries have not quite fulfilled their plan, and not all capacities have been commissioned for the extraction of coal, the production of rolled ferrous metals, chemical fibre, plastics, lorries, tractors, pulp, cement, and a number of projects in the light and food industries have not been put into operation. This has led to the non-fulfilment of output targets for some types of products. Labour productivity growth was short of the target in industry, agriculture, and especially in construction.

It should not be ignored that the country's economic development in the eighth five-year period proceeded in the conditions of an aggravated international situation. This gave rise to the need for carrying through additional measures of a defence character, which called for some diversion of resources and manpower.

At the same time, we have quite a few shortcomings for which the reasons cannot be regarded as being objective. These shortcomings were brought to light at the December (1969) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU. The Party's Central Committee criticised breaches of state discipline by some economic executives: non-fulfilment of plans, of targets for collaborated deliveries, and a weakened sense of responsibility to the people.

Conferences and congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics held before this Party Congress made a thorough critical analysis of the work of a number of economic organisations, ministries and departments. Justified criticism was levelled at some engineering enterprises turning out machine-tools, farm machinery, industrial plant and especially foundry equipment, which fell short of modern technical standards. The light industry has yet to satisfy the demand of the population for high quality garments and knitted goods, footwear and some other products. The updating of products has been much too slow, and raw materials have now and then not been used rationally enough. It has often happened that only the first few batches of new products were of a high quality, which then declined and fell below the level achieved. Sometimes even new enterprises, equipped with modern plant, have turned out obsolescent types of products. There have been many shortcomings in the use of the basic production assets in industry, and there has been delay in bringing the new production facilities to their rated capacities.

In the food, fish, and meat-and-dairy industries large losses of raw materials, and departures from technological specifications have occurred, and this has had a direct effect on the quality of the products. Little attention has been given to extending the range of products. The engineering ministries have failed to provide enterprises in the light and food industries and the public utilities with adequate quantities of the latest highly productive equipment. The Ministry of the Timber and Woodworking Industry of the USSR

and the Ministry of the Pulp and Paper Industry have failed to cope with the task of increasing the manufacture of furniture, paper and cardboard. The quality of furniture has not always satisfied the consumer. There have been interruptions in the marketing of crockery, and many household articles.

Needless to say, we do have many enterprises whose products have won a good reputation. Good consumer products are made by many enterprises in the light and food industries, and also in the ship-building, electronics, aircraft, defence, instrument-making and radio industries. The task is to have all the enterprises without exception do likewise, so that all the goods they turn out are of a high quality and meet the increased requirements of the population.

The Party requires that every administrator should have a high sense of duty to the people, approach the fulfilment of economic tasks with state interests in view, display constant concern for improving the working conditions of personnel, make day-to-day persistent efforts to raise socialist discipline, to organise labour, production and management on rational lines, and rapidly to apply scientific and technical achievements in production.

Summing up the overall result, it is safe to say: our country has been successfully advancing in the political, economic and social respects along the way of communist construction.

All our accomplishments in the eighth five-year period have been the result of the great creative endeavour put in by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Soviet people's fine feat of labour in the past five-year period will go down as another bright page in the history of communist construction!

II.

BASIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC TASKS OF THE NINTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Comrades, the draft Directives are a programme for implementing the Party's economic policy, and solving the key socio-economic problems at the present stage of development of socialist society.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan will be an important stage in Soviet society's further advance along the way to communism, in building its material and technical basis, and in strengthening the country's economic and defence might. *The main task of the five-year plan is to ensure a considerable rise of the people's material and cultural level on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technical progress and acceleration of the growth of labour productivity.*

In putting forward the task of considerably raising the material and cultural level of the people's life, the Party proceeds from the real possibilities created by the whole preceding development of socialist production, from the increased resources of our socialist economy, which are expressed in the country's national income.

In the ninth five-year period, the average annual national income is to reach 325 thousand million rubles, as against 233 thousand million rubles in the eighth five-year period, totalling 1,625 thousand million rubles in the ninth

five-year period as a whole. That is the material foundation for carrying out the tasks of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

Our people is full master of the national income. In socialist society there is no antagonism between accumulation and consumption, which is inherent in the capitalist system: in this country both are used entirely in the interests of the whole people.

The balanced development of the socialist national economy requires that the proportions in the distribution of the national income should be scientifically determined with Marxist-Leninist theory as the guide, that full account be taken of all the factors—the scale of production achieved, the people's living standard, the international situation, and the tasks and prospects of economic development.

From the tasks and conditions of the present stage of communist construction flow the following fundamental features of the new five-year period which are organically interconnected:

first, an even more massive switch of the whole national economy towards improving the people's welfare and their working and living conditions. A considerable increase in resources allotted by the state for raising the welfare of the people is characteristic of the past and of the new five-year period. In the eighth five-year period, the increment of these resources came to 57 thousand million rubles, and for the ninth five-year period it is planned at 75-81 thousand million rubles;

second, greater intensification of the whole of social production and its greater efficiency on the basis of a substantial acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This should be promoted by a considerable improvement in the structure of production, manufacture of technically perfect machinery, equipment and new materials, and extension in the range of products.

The draft Directives set the following key indicators for the development of social production in the ninth five-year period.

In the new five-year period, *high growth rates for the whole national economy* are to be maintained. In the five years, the national income is to go up by 37-40 per cent, industrial output by 42-46 per cent, and the annual average agricultural output by 20-22 per cent. Provision is made for production of the means of production in the five years to

go up by 41-45 per cent, and production of the articles of consumption by 44-48 per cent.

The draft Directives take full account of the targets set by the July (1970) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU, which laid down the guidelines for the development of agriculture.

	1970	1975	Increment for five years	
			1966-1970	1971-1975
National income (in comparable prices), thousand million rubles	266.3	365-373	77.2	99-107
of which:				
consumption fund	197.2	272-278	56.8	75-81
accumulation fund	69.1	93-95	20.4	24-26
Industrial output (in comparable prices), thousand million rubles	373	528-544	125	155-171
Agricultural output (annual average for the five-year period in comparable prices), thousand million rubles	80.3	96-98	14	15.7-17.7
Growth of labour productivity, %				
in industry	—	—	32	36-40
in agriculture (collective and state farms)	—	—	35	37-40
in construction	—	—	22	36-40

It should be emphasised that never before have such vast monetary and material resources been allocated for the development of agriculture and branches connected with the manufacture of goods for the population as in the current five-year period. We are sure that this will soon yield results, and have a tangible effect on the further raising of the people's living standard in town and country.

The Soviet Union, a powerful socialist country, is a leader in the worldwide scientific and technical revolution.

In the ninth five-year period, *a major step is to be made in realising the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution*, which has been exerting an ever growing influence on social production. The scientific and technical revolution opens up possibilities for a radical transformation of production methods, development of fundamentally new and highly productive instruments of labour, and progressive materials, gives rise to new industries, and ensures unprecedented possibilities for enhancing the efficiency of the whole production activity.

In the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie has been

using the achievements of this revolution in its own class interests. However, the scientific and technical revolution has been aggravating the social contradictions inherent in capitalism. Thus, for instance, some acceleration in labour productivity growth in the USA in the past few years has gone hand in hand with rising unemployment; millions of working people have been laid off from factories and plants.

The aggravation of class contradictions is evidenced by the steady growth of the strike movement. According to official data issued by the US Department of Labour, the number of man-days lost through strikes increased from 97 million in 1961-1965 to almost 220 million in 1966-1970.

The socialist system alone creates boundless possibilities for scientific and technical progress. In contrast to the capitalist economy, the high stable growth rates in socialist production assure the Soviet people of full employment, with an accelerated growth of labour productivity.

Only thanks to socialism, and only within the framework of our social system, does the scientific and technical revolution attain its full and comprehensive development, whose results go to all the working people.

The draft Directives provide for priority growth rates in branches which determine technical progress. In the five years, output in industries like electric power, chemicals and petrochemicals, engineering, instrument-making, production of the means of automation, computers and equipment for mechanising labour-intensive operations is, on the whole, to go up by 67 per cent.

Realisation of the possibilities of the scientific and technical revolution demands ever greater outlays. However, at every stage of its development the state has at its disposal definite resources which it can use for these purposes. Hence the need for choice and for preferential development of the key lines of scientific and technical progress, and the formulation and consistent implementation of a uniform state technical policy. The basic tasks of this policy are set out in the draft Directives.

The first task is to develop qualitatively new instruments of labour, new materials and improved technologies. Rather than go on with existing practices, there is need to aim at a level that is above the best world standards. That is the only way to produce machinery meeting the requirements in the construction of the material and technical

basis of communism, and to ensure full victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

The second task is to speed up the rate of renewal and replacement of obsolescent plant. By 1975, the share of new production assets commissioned over the five-year period will come to 46 per cent in industry and to 60 per cent in agriculture. This will substantially raise the technical level of production. Fulfilment of plans for new machinery must become a key criterion in evaluating the work of ministries and enterprises, and also the results of socialist emulation in every branch of the national economy.

One of the primary tasks is extensive mechanisation of labour-intensive operations to make possible the maximum substitution of machines for manual labour. Complex mechanisation of the key production processes in industry, building, agriculture and transport is to be completed. It is necessary to switch on a broader scale to the design of machine systems, and to introduce extensively automated management systems.

The scale of chemisation of the national economy, use of chemical products and materials in the leading branches of industry and in agriculture, and introduction of chemical technological processes should be extended to the utmost. This is an important factor in enhancing the efficiency of social production.

The ever growing volume of production, and the tasks of enhancing its efficiency to the utmost require a complex approach to the development not only of basic production but also of the allied back-up lines of production. Nor should such sectors as storage and packing facilities be overlooked, for on their state depend the safekeeping of and economies in raw and other materials and finished products.

The whole system of relations involving profit-and-loss accounting, notably economically warranted prices for products and the forms of financing and crediting enterprises, must actively promote the tasks of accelerating technical progress.

Our *science* has a great part to play in accelerating technical, economic and social progress. It can fulfil its role successfully if the rapid implementation of the whole complex of operations—from research and development to the application of their results to production—is ensured.

We greatly appreciate the contribution made by our scientists to enhancing our country's economic and defence potential. Our scientists—theorists and experimentators—have all the necessary conditions for fruitful scientific endeavour.

However, we are not always satisfied with the results of research. The research being carried on by some academic and sectoral institutes and institutions of higher learning is insufficient for a solution of key problems in scientific and technical progress.

The further enhancement of the efficiency of research depends on the creative activity of scientific workers. There should apparently also be an improvement in the system of remuneration for scientists so as to take greater account of the actual contribution made by each to scientific and technical progress. This will help to improve the body of scientific personnel, and make research more productive. Production amalgamations must play a big part in consolidating the bonds between science and production. It is advisable to concentrate at these amalgamations the planning and conduct of applied scientific research, and design and experimental work, which should ensure rapid practical utilisation of scientific achievements.

The Party's line *towards intensifying production* determines the need considerably to enhance the productivity of social labour and economies in raw and other materials, improve use of production assets, increase efficiency of capital investments through the introduction of new machinery, scientific organisation of production and improvement of methods of managing the national economy.

In the ninth five-year period, it is planned to raise *labour productivity in industry* by 36-40 per cent, as against 32 per cent in the last five-year period. Labour productivity on collective and state farms is to rise by 37-40 per cent, as compared with 35 per cent in 1966-70. In construction, labour productivity is to go up 36-40 per cent, as against 22 per cent in the preceding five-year period. These targets are of crucial importance for our whole economic development programme. A rise in the living standards directly depends on the growth of labour productivity. In the ninth five-year period, we must obtain 80-85 per cent of the total national income increment through higher labour productivity.

The targets for accelerating the growth of labour productivity are quite realistic. The possibility of their fulfilment is backed up by a rising level of technical equipment of production.

Together with the mechanisation of labour there is need systematically to improve the organisation of production and labour, to popularise advanced methods of work, and drastically reduce losses of working time. We cannot be reconciled to the fact that idle time within shifts at some industrial enterprises comes to 15-20 per cent of total working time. Special attention must be devoted to an improvement of the organisation of ancillary operations, in particular, materials handling, where great numbers of workers may be released for use in the basic production processes.

This is important because, without high level of employment, we cannot expect to have a great growth of production through an increase in the number of workers. Another thing to bear in mind is that in the new five-year period considerably greater numbers of workers are to be directed into the sphere of cultural and everyday services for the population.

There is need to ensure a further improvement of working conditions and labour protection for workers and office employees, and to build adequate capacities for manufacturing modern means of labour safety and labour protection.

Far-reaching measures *for reducing the material-intensiveness of products* are to be implemented. This is a vast reserve in our economy which is still far from being adequately tapped.

Greater extraction of fuel and mineral raw materials, and increased metal production obviously call for large capital inputs. Consequently economies in raw and other materials will make it possible to cut the costs of production and considerably to reduce the requirements in manpower and capital investment. Considering our scale of production, economies in raw and other materials become vast additional reserves.

In order to obtain the maximum results from a reduction of material-intensiveness there is need for novel scientific, technical and design schemes, new technologies in the

processing of raw materials, and a reduction in the weight of articles. It is well known that the great weight of an article in no sense testifies to its high technical qualities, and that, on the contrary, the lighter article is, as a rule, the technically more advanced. In order to reduce the weight of machines, while maintaining and even improving their technical specifications, there is need to raise the level of designing, and also the general technical level of production. Thus reduction of the material-intensiveness of output must become a criterion in evaluating the scientific and technical level of production in the given branch, at every enterprise. Work must be so arranged that more finished products are made from the same quantity of raw materials. In this matter, together with the extensive use of modern scientific methods in technology and the organisation of production, great importance attaches to thrift and strict accounting of material outlays. This must be provided for in the plan of every enterprise.

There is need to do much work *in improving the use of production capacities and basic assets*. It has to be said that many enterprises in some branches still show a reduction of the product-to-assets ratio, that is, a reduction in output per ruble of basic production assets.

The product-to-assets ratio largely depends on the quality of design and the cost of construction. It should be our aim to have the output per ruble of basic production assets and profitability and labour productivity at the new enterprises and in new lines of production higher than at the old ones. This requires that design offices and building organisations should produce more effective technical schemes, and considerably cut down on the time and cost of construction, and that industry should more rapidly start operation of new assets and capacities.

It follows from what has been said that it is necessary to work to improve every indicator of efficiency: labour productivity, material-intensiveness and the product-to-assets ratio, so as ultimately to achieve greater economies in all the outlays of social labour.

The growth of production and the enhancement of its efficiency, provided for by the draft Directives, create a reliable foundation for the fulfilment of an *extensive social programme* in the ninth five-year period. This programme includes:

implementation of a system of measures to improve the living conditions of all sections of the population;

more rational use of manpower resources, and a further improvement in working conditions;

a faster rate of growth of the people's incomes, together with an improvement in the mechanism of their distribution, systems of remuneration and economic incentives for workers;

a considerable increase in appropriations for the upbringing of the rising generation, assistance to families with many children, and improvement of working and everyday conditions for women;

a further growth in the cultural and technical levels of the population and the full introduction of universal secondary education ;

a substantial evening up of the living standards of the rural and the urban population.

The growth of the people's living standard is, on the whole, characterised by the fact that the aggregate real incomes of the population during the new five-year period will increase by a total of 72 thousand million rubles as against the increase of 54 thousand million rubles during the preceding five-year period. In per capita terms real incomes will rise by approximately 30 per cent.

Our enemies slander socialism in an effort to make uninformed people believe that the socialist system is, allegedly, incompatible with highly efficient labour organisation and with incentives for the working people to display and develop ability. Actually, socialism and communism signify the triumph of free, creative labour. The socialist state plans and creates the conditions for the growth of the labour productivity of every worker, for improving his qualifications and, on that basis, ensures the growth of incomes and an improvement in the living standard of the entire population. Much has already been done. During the ninth five-year plan period much more will be done to promote the fruitful labour of all the members of our society.

Comrades, at every stage of its development the Soviet economy has clearly demonstrated its incontestable advantages over the capitalist economy.

These advantages have made it possible to build, within a historically short period, a large-scale and technically modern industrial base, to train many millions of highly skilled personnel for every branch of the national economy, and to draw vast natural resources into the economic sphere. Our economy is free from crises, recessions, and other economic upheavals.

Our country's steady advance is expressed above all in the rate of its economic growth, and in the rapid build-up of its production potential. Here are the data for the past period, 1970 inclusive.

It took the USA 20 years to double its national income, Britain over 30 years, the FRG nearly 15 years, and the Soviet Union, with its vast scale of social production—10 years.

It took the USA 18 years to double its industrial output, Britain 22 years, the FRG over 11 years, and the Soviet Union—8.5 years.

It took the USA 22 years to double its basic production assets, Britain 19 years, the FRG 10 years, and the Soviet Union—8 years.

Such are the strides of the socialist economy. They provide convincing evidence that our economic development is balanced and dynamic. None of these capitalist countries has an economy that is as dynamic.

Ahead of us in the economic competition between the two opposite social systems still lies a long and hard struggle. We Communists are confident that the ultimate outcome of this struggle will be in favour of socialism.

Fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan targets will ensure a fresh upswing in our economy, and make it possible considerably to raise the Soviet people's living standard.

III.

DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION

Comrades, the draft Directives map out a comprehensive programme for the development of all branches of material production. I shall deal with some of the most important tasks.

Industry. It is planned to increase industrial output to 528-544 thousand million rubles in 1975. Let me remind you that a total of 248 thousand million rubles' worth of output was produced in 1965. The volume of industrial output in our country will thus be more than doubled within a decade.

The uninterrupted increase of output is a law of development of our industry. In the new five-year plan provision is made for the rapid growth of all its branches. The following few figures illustrate how industrial output grew in the course of three five-year plan periods. For example, during the seventh five-year plan period the absolute increment in industrial output amounted to 84 thousand million rubles, during the eighth it added up to 125 thousand million rubles, and in the ninth it will total as much as 155-171 thousand million rubles.

Heavy industry has been and remains the foundation of the country's economic might and of the further growth of the people's standard of living. It ensures technical progress and the development of the entire national economy, including agriculture and branches engaged in the produc-

tion of consumer goods, and boosts the Soviet state's defence capability. These are tasks of paramount importance to our people. We are confident that heavy industry workers will honourably cope with them.

First, mention must be made of the *fuel and power industries*. The task of these industries is to satisfy the growing fuel and power requirements of the national economy and the population and improve the fuel and power pattern.

The output of fuel and power during the new five-year plan period will be as follows:

	Output		Absolute Growth of Output	
	1970	1975 according to the draft Directives	8th Five-Year Plan	9th Five-Year Plan
Electric power (thousand million kwh)	740	1,030-1,070	233	290-330
Oil (without gas condensate) (million tons)	349	480-500	107	131-151
Natural gas (thousand million m ³)	198	300-320	70	102-122
Coal (million tons)	624	685-695	46	61-71

New power stations with an aggregate capacity of 65-67 million kw are to be placed in operation during the five years. It is important to note that 12 per cent of the total increase in capacities will come from atomic power stations.

During the coming five years we shall launch a broad programme for the building of atomic power stations, chiefly in the European part of the country, where fuel resources are limited. This programme envisages the commissioning, over the next 10-12 years, of atomic power stations with a total capacity of 30 million kw. This will reduce capital investments for the development of the coal industry by 3 thousand million rubles. We could not start such a programme during the last five-year period because the engineering industry was then not prepared for the manufacture of the necessary quantity of equipment for atomic power stations.

Other radical changes aimed at further accelerating technical progress in this field will take place in the devel-

opment of the power industry under the Ninth Five-Year Plan. In the thermal power industry it is planned to build large, up to 4,000,000 kw, power stations with generating units not only of 300,000 but also of 500,000, 800,000 and 1,200,000 kw each. This will result in a substantial saving of fuel and sharply step up labour productivity in the power industry.

The Integrated Power Grid of the European part of the USSR was completed during the past five-year period. The building of the Integrated Power Grid of the USSR is now to be continued. We shall soon be able to transmit electric power from Siberia and Kazakhstan to the European regions. Almost all the collective and state farms are to be connected to the state power grids.

Under the ninth Five-Year Plan large-scale oil production is to be started at the huge new oilfields at Tyumen and Mangyshlak which will account for 75 per cent of the total increase in the output of oil. A most important task in the old oil-extracting areas of the country's European part is the fuller extraction of oil. To carry out this task it will be necessary to make wider use of efficient methods of oil displacement. An enormous increase in the output of gas will be achieved mainly by developing the new remarkable deposits in Orenburg Region, the Komi Autonomous Republic, Tyumen Region and the Uzbek and the Turkmen Union republics. These deposits will become the country's major sources of gas. Large-diameter pipelines are to be laid for the efficient pumping of vast quantities of oil and natural gas over the thousands of kilometres lying between the oil and gas fields and the major consumer areas.

In the oil-refining industry special attention must be given to the output of high quality oil products, chiefly low-sulphur diesel fuel, high-octane motor petrol and lubricants with highly effective additives.

The draft Directives call for technical re-equipment of the coal industry in order to secure a considerable cut in the cost of coal extraction and improve the working conditions of the miners. The emphasis will be mostly on developing open-cast mining in large quarries; this method of mining will account for nearly one-third of the entire coal output. Comprehensive mechanisation and automation of arduous processes, particularly underground work, will make it possible to raise labour productivity in the coal-

mining industry by about 40 per cent as against 20 per cent during the preceding five years. This means that the 11 per cent increase in coal output as envisaged in the new five-year plan will be achieved with 20 per cent fewer miners.

The second major group of industries whose development must be mentioned consists of the *raw material industries*. Their main task is to keep the national economy supplied with the needed quantity and range of high quality raw and other materials well prepared for subsequent processing.

The draft Directives call for the output of major kinds of raw and other materials in the following volumes:

	Output		Absolute Growth of Output	
	1970	1975 according to the draft Directives	8th Five-Year Plan	9th Five-Year Plan
Steel (million tons)	116	142-150	25	26-34
Output of the chemical and petrochemical industries (thousand million rubles)	21.1	36.2	9.3	15.1
Plastics and synthetic resins (thousand tons)	1,672	3,457	869	1,785
Chemical fibres (thousand tons)	623	1,050-1,100	216	427-477
Pulp (thousand tons)	5,110	8,490	1,875	3,380
Paper (thousand tons)	4,185	5,560	954	1,375
Cement (million tons)	95	122-127	23	27-32

During the five-year period the output of iron and steel is to increase 28 per cent, and non-ferrous metals 40 per cent.

In the metal manufacturing industry there is to be a considerable increase of unit capacities. It is planned to continue building blast-furnaces with a useful volume of 3,200 cubic metres, and provision is made for the building of a blast-furnace with a volume of 5,000 cubic metres in 1975. The share of steel smelted in oxygen converters will increase to 30 per cent of the total steel output; the maximum capacity of converters is to be enlarged from 130 to 350 tons. There is to be a substantial growth in the output of steel produced by continuous pouring.

Iron ore is to be more thoroughly treated in preparation for smelting. The metal manufacturing industry must supply machine-builders with a wider range of shapes and sizes

of rolled stock with the smallest possible deviations from nominal sizes (precision blanks) so as to reduce their working to a minimum in the engineering industry. It is planned to effect a further acceleration of the development of the pipe production and build new capacities for the production of large-diameter gas pipes, thin-walled pipes for the engineering industry and heavy-duty pipes for the oil and gas industries.

To attain the level of non-ferrous metals production envisaged by the draft Directives it will be necessary to complete the building of the aluminium plants in Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk and to enlarge and reconstruct the complexes in Norilsk, Djezkazgan, Almalyk and Gai. More attention must be given to the building of a reliable and more stable raw-material base for the non-ferrous industry. An important task is to secure a further increase in the output of diamonds, and gold and other precious metals.

The huge funds that the state has invested in the chemical industry in past years must yield a full return during the new five-year plan period. The output of mineral fertilisers will reach 90 million tons, of which 80 per cent will comprise highly concentrated and compound fertilisers. The output of chemical fibres is to increase more than 70 per cent, of plastics and synthetic resins 100 per cent and of household chemicals 90 per cent.

To characterise the scale of development of chemical production and its technical equipment I shall give you the following example. Units producing 400,000-450,000 tons of ammonia are at present under construction at the chemical plants in Nevinnomyssk, Severodonetsk and Novomoskovsk. The capacity of one of these units is approximately equal to the output capacity of all the ammonia factories that were in operation in our country in 1948. The labour productivity of these units is 10 times higher than that of the existing lower-capacity units.

The rubber industry is to grow rapidly. The output of tyres will reach 50 million units by 1975. Rubber production is to increase 70 per cent.

In order to speed up the expansion of the chemical industry, it is extremely important to achieve a fully balanced output of all kinds of chemical products: primary raw materials, chemical materials and semi-finished and finished articles.

In the timber and woodworking industry special attention must be given to making fuller use of timber. During the new five-year plan period the utility ratio of timber is to be raised to 75 per cent through comprehensive chemical and mechanical processing. As a result the output of fibre board will go up 180-190 per cent and of pulp 70 per cent.

The *engineering industry* is the material foundation for the technical re-equipment of the entire national economy. Its principal task is to supply highly efficient machines and equipment to all industries. The productivity of the new machines must be higher and the cost per unit of capacity must be reduced.

The draft Directives envisage the following volume of output of engineering products:

	1970	Output 1975 in ac- cordance with the draft Directives	Absolute Growth of Output	
			8th Five- Year Plan	9th Five- Year Plan
Output of the engineering and metalworking industries (thousand million rubles)	88	148	37	60
Motor vehicles (thousand units)	916	2,000-2,100	300	1,084-1,184
of which passenger cars (thousand units)	344	1,200-1,300	143	856-956
Instruments, means of automation and spare parts for them (million rubles)	3,102	6,155	1,684	3,053
Machines and equipment for the light and food industries (million rubles)	771	1,564	263	793
Farm machinery (million rubles)	2,115	3,500	619	1,385
Tractors (thousand units)	458.5	575	104	116.5
(million hp)	29.4	53	8.4	23.6
Grain harvester combines (thousand units)	99.2	138	13.4	38.8

The task confronting machine-builders is to supply all branches of the national economy more fully with machinery for the mechanisation of arduous manual processes, and chiefly with systems of machines for the comprehensive mechanisation of key production processes in all branches, particularly in agriculture. The plan is that by 1975 the output of farm machines is to increase 65 per cent, while

tractor production is to rise 25 per cent with a considerable enlargement of the range of tractor models and an increase of their unit capacity.

The production of instruments and means of automation is to be doubled, and there is to be a substantial development of scientific-instrument making. The output of electronic computers is to increase 160 per cent.

Under the new five-year plan there is to be a big advance in the development of the Soviet motor-vehicle industry. The production of 22 new types of lorries and tractor trucks is to be mastered and their payload increased. The plan will provide for measures that will additionally step up the output of trailers for lorries and wheel tractors. One of the major projects of the five-year plan, the Kama Auto Works, will annually produce 150,000 diesel lorries and truck-and-trailer trains.

The Volzhsky Car Factory, which is to be completed in 1972, is currently being placed in operation. The rated annual capacity of this plant is 660,000 passenger cars. The output of Moskvich cars is to be doubled to reach the figure of 200,000 a year after the reconstruction of the Lenin Komsomol Car Factory in Moscow is completed. Already this year the new Izhevsk Works will manufacture 70,000 cars. Its full rated capacity will allow it to produce 220,000 cars annually. All this will make it possible to increase the production of passenger cars to 1,200,000-1,300,000 by 1975, as against the 344,000 produced in 1970.

In order to enable the engineering industry to cope with the big tasks assigned to it, its own technical re-equipment must be speeded up. Here the decisive role is to be played by the machine-tool industry. Under the new five-year plan there will be a substantial improvement of the pattern of equipment output: more forging and pressing, foundry and welding equipment, grinding and finishing as well as high- and extra-high precision machines are to be produced. The output of automated and semi-automated production lines for the engineering industry is to grow by 60 per cent. Production of programme-controlled machines is to be increased by at least 250 per cent with the result that it will be possible to boost labour productivity 3-4-fold.

The replacement of obsolete plant at operating factories will considerably raise the technical level of the engineering industry. This will absorb 25-30 per cent of the output of

metal-cutting lathes and at least 30 per cent of forging and pressing machines.

A major condition for the rapid development of the engineering industry under the new five-year plan is the pursuance of a firm course towards the further specialisation of production. Specialised factories with a high automation level are to be given priority development. Maximum unification of machine parts, units and tools and also standardisation of production processes must serve as the foundation for the development of centralised and specialised production. At the same time, there must be a considerable expansion of the manufacture of materials handling equipment, power tools, special-purpose equipment and jigs and fixtures.

A higher shift coefficient will constitute a big reserve in the engineering industry. According to the estimates of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, this will result in an additional output worth 7,000-8,000 million rubles and a saving of about 6,000-7,000 million rubles of capital investment. A major requisite for raising the shift coefficient will be mechanisation of labour, which will allow of transferring people from arduous auxiliary jobs to skilled work in the second shift.

In view of the considerable rise of the Soviet people's standard of living, envisaged by the draft Directives, the tasks and role of the *consumer goods industries* are to grow.

The following output levels are set in the draft Directives for these industries:

	1970	1975 according to the draft Directives	Absolute Growth of Output	
			8th Five- Year Plan	9th Five- Year Plan
Light industry output, cultural and household articles (thousand million rubles)	76.5	112.4	27.4	35.9
Furniture (thousand million rubles)	2.8	4.55	1.0	1.75
Refrigerators (thousands)	4,140	6,686	2,465	2,546
Fabrics (thousand million m ²)	8.9	10.5-11	1.4	1.6-2.1
Leather footwear (million pairs)	676	800-830	190	124-154
Food, meat-and-dairy, and fishing industry output (thousand million rubles)	78.8	106.6	19.3	27.8

To ensure the envisaged growth of the output of these goods, it will be necessary to supply more equipment to enterprises of the light and food industries. The production of equipment for them will be doubled. For instance, the textile industry will receive highly efficient spindleless spinning frames, shuttleless looms, finishing equipment, semi-automated and automated transfer lines and other plant, which will raise labour productivity 50-100 per cent. Approximately one-third of all spinning frames and looms are to be replaced with new equipment. The food industry will be supplied with comprehensively automated and mechanised lines for the processing of raw materials, and for bottling and packaging foods. The equipment of the light and food industries with up-to-date plant is a major task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. And we must carry out this task.

There is to be a substantial expansion of the raw material resources of the light and food industries. The output of new synthetic materials is to be stepped up and supplies of agricultural raw materials will be increased.

All this will make it possible to increase the production of fabrics by 19-24 per cent, knitted goods by 47 per cent and footwear by 18-23 per cent.

The output of foodstuffs will be considerably enlarged. It is planned to produce 40-43 per cent more meat and 47 per cent more fish products in 1975 than in 1970. At the same time, the assortment of meat and fish products must be improved.

The draft Directives call for an 80 per cent rise in the output of goods for cultural and household needs. In drawing up the five-year plan the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the Union republics and the ministries and departments must give further consideration to the possibility of further increasing the output of these goods in order to satisfy the population's demand more fully.

In the development of the production of consumer goods heavy industry is called upon to play an important role. In 1975 the consumer goods output of all its branches will be almost double the 1970 figure, while the engineering industry will increase output of these goods by 120 per cent. There is to be a considerable expansion of the consumer goods output by the local industries.

The huge scale of production and modern scientific and technical progress require increasingly better organisation of the work of industry. Particular importance attaches to the precision and efficiency of the work of ministries, amalgamations and enterprises, to the absolute fulfilment of inter-enterprise delivery commitments, to the thorough study of the requirements of the national economy and the population, to the swift and flexible reorientation of production in accordance with changes in these requirements and to a sense of high responsibility to the state and the people for the introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology in production.

We are confident that the workers, engineers and technicians of our industry will continue to be, as they have always been, in the forefront of the drive for new machinery, the most advanced organisation of production and a higher labour productivity.

Agriculture. A highly developed agriculture is an inalienable part of the material and technical basis of communism and an indispensable condition for a rapid rise of the people's living standard.

The following basic indicators will characterise the development of agriculture in the new five-year period.

	Average Annual Output in 1971-1975	Absolute Average Annual Increment of Output under the 9th Five-Year Plan
Gross agricultural output (thousand million rubles)	96.98	15.7-17.7
Major farm products:		
grain (million tons)	195	27.5
raw cotton (million tons)	6.75	0.65
meat (slaughter weight, million tons)	14.3	2.7
milk (million tons)	92.3	11.8
eggs (thousand million)	46.7	10.9
wool (thousand tons)	464.0	67.0

During the ninth five-year period agriculture must yield an average annual increase of 16-18 thousand million rubles' worth of output over the preceding five years, mainly within the same areas.

Increasing grain production remains the key problem. During the five-year period grain yields must be increased

by at least 4 centners per hectare. Though not an easy task, this is quite feasible.

The draft Directives call for a growth in the number of livestock and poultry, an increase in their productivity and an expansion of the output of meat, milk, wool and other products.

The strengthening of the material and technical base of farming and the utmost intensification of farm production are the decisive condition for the further rise of agriculture.

The draft Directives provide for the supply to agriculture of tractors, harvester-combines, lorries, farm machinery and other material and technical facilities fully in accord with the decision of the CC CPSU Plenary Meeting of July 1970.

During the five years agriculture's power resources are to be increased by 161 million hp, or 50 per cent, and its tractor fleet by 540,000 tractors, or 27 per cent. The collective and state farms will begin receiving powerful tractors from the Volgograd, Kharkov, Minsk, Chelyabinsk and Altai tractor plants, and the Kirov Engineering Works in Leningrad, and also highly efficient grain harvesters and other machines. There will be a considerable increase in the supply of machines and equipment for mechanising arduous processes and lightening labour in stock-farming.

It goes without saying that powerful modern machinery requires proper handling and care. The engineering, technical and production servicing of the collective and state farms by the Selkhoztekhnika organisation must be substantially improved.

In agriculture consumption of electricity will reach 75 thousand million kwh, i.e., it will be practically doubled.

One of the major tasks of the new five-year period is to secure the full introduction of the crop rotation system and to go over to sowing only high-grade varietal seed.

Selection plays a tremendously important role in boosting the productivity of crop and livestock farming. The country expects our breeders to evolve high-yielding plant varieties and the most productive breeds of livestock.

In 1975 agriculture will get 75 million tons of mineral fertilisers and feed phosphates as against 46 million tons in 1970. In every soil-climatic zone the most effective methods of utilising mineral fertilisers should be applied. At the

same time, it is necessary to increase the output and use of chemical and biological plant protection means.

The primary liming of acid soils is to be completed throughout the non-chnozyom belt.

During the new five-year period much attention must be given to carrying out a broad programme of land improvement, and creating bases with a guaranteed output of marketable grain in irrigated areas.

The building of irrigation systems must be speeded up so that at least one and a half million hectares of irrigated land are put to use in the Volga area, the North Caucasus and South Ukraine, and 650,000 hectares in Central Asia. In the high-humidity zone it is planned to drain an area of 5 million hectares. Pastures covering an area of over 41 million hectares are to be watered.

In agriculture the total volume of capital investments (by the state and the collective farms) has been set at nearly 129 thousand million rubles, or 47 thousand million rubles more than in the preceding five years. Moreover, the capital investments in industries supplying agriculture with materials and machines (the production of mineral fertilisers, farm machines, mixed feeds, electric power; also the development of the microbiological and other industries) are to be increased by 11.5 thousand million rubles to reach the total of 29.3 thousand million rubles during the five-year period.

All this will make it possible to substantially raise the level of labour mechanisation in agriculture, boost its productivity and secure a considerable advance in placing agricultural production on an industrial basis.

To accelerate the growth of the output of stock-farming and enhance its efficacy provision has been made for the building of mechanised stock units at collective and state farms and the setting up, near the towns, of large state- and collective-farm and inter-collective-farm complexes putting out livestock products by industrial methods, and also of poultry factories.

One of the immediate tasks in the development of stock-farming is *to enlarge the fodder resources*.

There must be a radical change in the attitude to the growing of fodder crops, more mineral fertilisers must be allocated for them, seed-farming must be conducted scien-

tically and the natural fodder areas must be used efficiently.

By the end of the five-year period state enterprises will increase the output of mixed feeds to at least 30 million tons and of protein-vitamin additives to one million tons. The production of mixed feeds must be organised on a large scale on collective and state farms, using grain grown by these farms and the protein-vitamin additives received from state enterprises.

An increase of the number of livestock and poultry personally owned by the rural population must be encouraged (naturally, within definite limits) and help rendered in supplying their livestock with fodder and pastures.

The principle of establishing a stable procurement plan for the years ahead and of encouraging the farms to sell the main products to the state over and above the plan, which was approved at the CC Plenary Meeting in March 1965 and has fully justified itself, will remain in full force during the new five-year period. Profitability in agriculture must be further increased in these circumstances by raising output and reducing production costs.

We must achieve a sharp reduction of product losses at all stages of production, storage and transportation, and considerably enlarge the capacity of storehouses and refrigerators, and ensure an improvement of storage facilities. An end must be put to the situation in which part of the output, on the production of which the labour of our people has been expended, does not reach the consumer.

In agriculture the promotion of labour productivity is of major importance.

For the successful fulfilment of the tasks assigned to agriculture, better use must be made of economic levers, and the transfer of all the state farms to operation on a full profit-and-loss basis must be completed. The further growth of production in the commonly-owned sector of the collective and state farms depends in many ways on the strengthening of discipline, an improvement of labour organisation and of the distribution of incomes, broader application of the profit-and-loss principles, and the promotion and strengthening of collective-farm democracy in accordance with the Rules of the Collective Farm adopted at the 3rd All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers.

The big qualitative changes taking place in the material and technical basis of agriculture are making new demands on its management system. The large-scale highly-mechanised economy of the collective and state farms is drawing ever closer to modern industrial production. Hence the need to apply in agriculture modern forms and methods of management, make wide use of means of mechanisation and automation of management processes and train skilled personnel.

Fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party and the Government in the development of agriculture is the concern of the entire people. There is no doubt that the collective farmers and the state-farm workers, those working in industries supplying agriculture with materials and machinery, and those employed in building, will do everything to attain the five-year-plan targets successfully.

Transport and communications. In order to enhance the efficacy of social production it is imperative that transport should operate with precision and efficiency. However, at present railway and motor transport does not yet fully satisfy the requirements of the national economy, particularly in the autumn and winter.

The following are the indicators for the volume of transport operations planned for the five-year period:

	Rate of growth in 1971-1975
Freight carried by all forms of transport	32-35 per cent
of which:	
railways	22 per cent
motor (general purpose)	60 per cent
marine	40 per cent
river	24 per cent
oil-pipe	over 100 per cent
Passengers carried by all forms of transport	40 per cent
of which:	
air	70 per cent

Under the new five-year plan transport workers are to increase freight traffic by 32-35 per cent, with the railway transport achieving this growth entirely by enhancing labour productivity.

About two-thirds of the entire freight traffic is at present accounted for by *railway transport*. In the preceding five-year period we had set the task of in the main

completing the transfer of the railways to advanced forms of traction. That assignment has been carried out: today 96.5 per cent of all freight is hauled by electric and diesel locomotives. In the ninth five-year period another 6,000-7,000 kilometres of railways are to be electrified. More powerful locomotives will be manufactured and this will make it possible to increase the weight and speed of trains. Machine-builders must supply the railways with 420,000-430,000 large capacity freight cars, mostly all-metal and fitted with roller bearings.

Lines with the heaviest freight traffic, for instance, Moscow-Kazan-Sverdlovsk, Leningrad-Murmansk, Tselinograd-Barnaul and Karaganda-Tashkent, are to get second tracks. Special attention will have to be given to the development of station tracks and the introduction of the latest means of automation and remote control in the handling of railway traffic.

It is planned to lay a number of new railways during the five years. Among these projects it is intended to complete the 700-kilometre Tyumen-Surgut railway, which will link the oil-rich regions of Western Siberia with the country's railway network, and the Khrebtovaya-Ust-Ilim railway, which will make it possible to speed up the development of a new region in Eastern Siberia, where the Ust-Ilim Hydropower Station is being built.

As a result of carrying out the planned projects, the railways will meet the transportation requirements of the national economy much more fully by the end of the five-year period.

The task before *motor transport* is to intensify centralised carriage which is the most economical, provide enterprises with better transport services and relieve the railways of part of their short-run haulage. For this purpose the lorry fleet will be considerably augmented.

In order to improve the transport services for the population the bus fleet will be substantially enlarged in the towns and in rural localities. There will be considerably more taxis and also privately owned cars.

This substantial development of motor transport will require the training of a large number of skilled drivers and an enlargement of the repair and service facilities, including the establishment of a large network of service stations.

Hard-surface motor roads will be lengthened by approximately 110,000 kilometres. We regard this figure as a minimum. The Councils of Ministers of the Union republics and the local Soviets must find additional possibilities for building roads, using local resources on a larger scale and giving every support to the initiative of factories and collective and state farms. It is particularly important to provide the roads with all the facilities for safe and speedy traffic.

During the new five-year period the *merchant navy* will extend its activities in international shipping and in meeting the internal transport requirements of the national economy, particularly in the North and the Far East. The merchant navy will receive a large number of new ships. Many sea ports, particularly in the Far East, must be enlarged and equipped with up-to-date mechanisms.

The *river fleet* is to play a bigger role, chiefly in mixed carriage. Its task is to relieve somewhat the railways of the European part of the country by making better use of the Volga Basin and the Volga-Baltic waterway. The transport links with remote regions in Siberia will be improved. The fleet will get many new vessels, including sea-going and river ships. New mechanised ports are to be commissioned on the Ob, the Lena, in the Northwest and in other basins.

During the five-year period it is planned to more than double the *piping* of oil and petroleum products and thereby substantially relieve the railways. The transportation of gas by this means will increase by approximately 50 per cent.

Air-borne passenger traffic will increase by about 70 per cent during the five years. The fleet of aircraft will receive modern jet airliners, airport services for passengers will be improved and broader use will be made of automated navigation and landing systems. Considerably more use will be made of aircraft for geological surveying and prospecting, at building projects in areas that are difficult of access and also in agriculture and forestry, and for freight carriage to areas remote from other means of communication.

The common task of all modes of transport is to achieve a sharp improvement of the use of transport facilities. The State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the Councils of Ministers of

the Union republics and the ministries and departments should critically evaluate the existing transport links and transport communications between consumers and suppliers, and prevent irrational carriage.

The co-ordinated work of all modes of transport forming the country's integrated transport system, the correct distribution of traffic among them and the co-ordination of traffic control are of paramount importance. The immediate task of the workers in all modes of transport is to mechanise loading and unloading and to enlarge the volume of container transportation.

The national economy and the population are making steadily increasing demands on the *communications service*. During the ninth five-year period the work of building up an integrated automated system of communications is to be continued. The channels of the interurban telephone system are to be nearly doubled in length, and automatic and semi-automatic interurban communication is to be expanded.

Provision is made for the further development and improvement of local telephone communications in towns and at state and collective farms, and the postal service for the population is to be bettered. Particularly much has to be done in the sphere of television and radio-broadcasting. All the necessary technical possibilities exist for this. In particular, broader use will be made of artificial satellites ensuring television transmission to almost every part of the country.

Capital construction and the location of the productive forces. In order to fulfil the economic and social tasks of the new five-year plan it will be necessary to implement a large programme of capital construction. Our advance will depend in many ways on the successful fulfilment of this programme and on how effectively capital investments are used.

In 1971-1975 capital investments will total nearly 500 thousand million rubles, or approximately 40 per cent more than in the preceding five-year period.

The principal tasks for the next five years also determine our capital investment policy. In accordance with this, there are to be essential changes in the size of the capital investments channeled into individual branches of

the national economy. State capital investments in agriculture will be increased by more than 70 per cent, in the tractor and farm machinery industries by approximately 100 per cent, in the development of the production of mineral fertilisers and plant protection chemicals by 60 per cent, in light industry by 90 per cent, and in the food and meat-and-dairy industry by 60 per cent. Altogether, about 30 per cent of all capital investments in the national economy are to be directed into the development of agriculture and the production of food and consumer goods.

During the five years production capacities will be substantially increased in all branches of the national economy. It would not be possible to list even the largest projects of the next five years because each republic plans to build power stations, metalworking and chemical plants, and light industry and food enterprises. The title list of the new projects will be specified and discussed with the Union republics and the ministries in the course of work to draw up the five-year plan.

The utmost enhancement of the efficacy of capital investments is one of the major economic targets of the next five years. The selection of the concrete ways of rationally using capital investments requires profound economic and engineering computations. The biggest effect will be yielded by an increase of the capacities of operating enterprises through the introduction of the most up-to-date technologies, modernisation and the replacement of obsolete plant.

The production development funds have begun to play a large role in technical re-equipment, modernising plant and improving working conditions. Preliminary estimates show that for these purposes during the coming five years enterprises and amalgamations will be able to use about twice as much money as during the past five years. The plan will envisage the necessary material backing for the projects financed out of these funds. Ministries and departments must help enterprises to carry out the latter's building plans financed out of their own production development funds and see to it that these funds are used for the stated purposes.

The quality of designing must be improved and an end must be put to cases of inaccuracy in estimating the cost of construction. Estimates must become a firm foundation for the plan of capital investments and the profit-and-loss

accounting relations between the client and the contractor. Here, there must be strict order.

The CC CPSU and the Government have adopted decisions aimed at achieving a radical improvement of capital construction planning and the drawing up of designs and estimates. These decisions must be put into effect more quickly. The ministries and departments, the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics and the State Building Committee of the USSR must delve deeper into questions of designing, make higher demands on design organisations and intensify control over the quality of designs.

We have a powerful building industry with large building and assembly organisations, skilled cadres and a big fleet of machines and mechanisms.

During the past five years the fixed productive assets of contracting organisations have grown by 83 per cent, and the machine-to-man ratio in construction has gone up by 53 per cent. Nearly 15 thousand million rubles are to be allocated for the further development of the building industry in the next five years, as against the 11.5 thousand million rubles under the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

Today the main thing for all building organisations, and for recipients and suppliers of equipment, is to secure a drastic tightening of building schedules. With present-day powerful, highly productive installations and technological complexes every day saved means a substantial addition to the output of major types of products. Thus, the reduction of the building time of a large blast-furnace by only one day makes it possible to produce from 8,000 to 10,000 extra tons of pig iron. A day's output of a combined oil-refining installation with a capacity of 6,000,000 tons can run to as much as about half a million rubles' worth.

The draft Directives envisage the concentration of capital investments and the reduction of the number of enterprises and other projects being built at one and the same time in order to speed up their commissioning.

In drawing up the five-year plan and the annual assignments it is necessary to make sure that the capital construction programme conforms to the material and technical resources and capacities of the building organisations.

The economic reform that was begun in the building industry last year also serves to ensure the commissioning of capacities and projects within the set time limits. The finan-

cial and economic activity of a building organisation is now evaluated by the fulfilment of its assignments in the commissioning of capacities, and the size of its incentive funds depends directly on this. During the next five years one of the tasks is to complete the transfer of all building organisations to the new system of planning and economic incentives, and go over to advanced methods of settling accounts on completion of projects or by stages of their construction.

Building workers have the responsible task of attaining the five-year plan targets practically without any increase in personnel, i.e., through a growth of labour productivity.

To this end the mechanisation level of building work must be raised. During the new five-year period building organisations are to be supplied with 30-40 per cent more excavators, bulldozers, scrapers and mobile cranes and about 100 per cent more small machines.

An increase in the number of shifts, reduction of machine idle time and an improvement of technical services are the concrete ways of making better use of building machinery. It is necessary to secure a considerable increase in the capacity of the repair and maintenance base and raise its technological level.

A reduction of the loss of working time at building sites is a large reserve for the growth of labour productivity. The reason for these losses lies chiefly in shortcomings in the organisation of building work.

Advanced methods of organising work must be studied and introduced on a larger scale. In particular, the conveyer method of assembling and building large workshops, introduced by the USSR Ministry of Assembly and Specialised Building Work and the USSR Ministry of Construction at the Gorky Auto Works, merits attention.

More use of prefabricated structures brought up to a high level of industrial manufacture must be made during the new five-year period for houses and other buildings. It is particularly important that building and other structures should be lighter.

Today there are possibilities for using lightened metal constructions in industrial building. During the five-year period there will be considerably more possibilities for this following the commissioning of new capacities for the production of aluminium building elements.

It is necessary to introduce essential changes in the structure of the *production of building materials* and step up the output of facing materials, highly prefabricated components, heat-insulating materials and also improved-quality sanitary equipment for housing and industrial construction.

The output of cement, which will reach 122-127 million tons in 1975, and also of glass, slate, soft roofing, and walling materials must be increased.

The iron and steel industry will provide building organisations with increasing supplies of high-strength and superhigh-strength steel, H-beams, bent shapes and steel shape flooring.

The chemical industry must substantially increase the output and range of synthetic materials for building, and improve their quality. There must be a marked increase of the output of foam polystyrene, varnishes, paints and anti-corrosion materials for construction.

The timber and woodworking industry must ensure the fuller satisfaction of the demand of building organisations for high-quality joiner's articles.

It must be pointed out that in some areas building is held up by the inadequate production of local materials. The Councils of Ministers of the Union republics, the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry of the USSR and construction ministries must make provision for the development of this branch of production in their plans.

An important task of the construction ministries is to build specialised enterprises for the production of building structures, components and assembly units in areas with the largest concentration of construction, particularly in the country's Eastern regions.

The reduction of construction time in many ways depends on the delivery of complete sets of highly prefabricated plant within the set time-limits. In this respect the practice of the Ministry of the Chemical and Oil Engineering Industry in delivering complete technological installations merits praise. At the Novomoskovsk Chemical Plant a 180,000-ton capacity installation for producing diluted nitric acid, brought up to a high level of industrial fabrication, was put in operation in 15 instead of the standard 23 months. This good example should be followed by other ministries. Plans for the delivery of complete sets of equip-

ment for the projects to be built in 1971-1975 should be adopted together with the five-year plan.

Today there are seven million people working at building sites throughout our country. The Party Central Committee and the Government passed a decision to broaden the training of building workers and improve their qualifications. Builders' wages have been raised substantially, more housing is allocated for builders and their everyday living conditions are being improved. All this is an inducement for building workers to stay in the trade.

Builders and assemblymen are faced with important tasks. Allow me to express the confidence that they will make every effort to carry out the programme laid down for the five-year period.

* * *

The correct location of the productive forces ensuring the further industrial development of all the Union republics and the unswerving implementation of the Leninist national policy is one of the key conditions for enhancing the efficacy of social production.

During the new five-year period an immense volume of work will have to be done to accelerate the development of the huge natural resources of the European North, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia. A number of new industrial areas and centres of nation-wide importance such as the West Siberia oil and gas, the Bratsk-Ust-Ilim and Sayan areas in Eastern Siberia, the Nurek region in Tajikistan and others are to be developed. The building of new power-intensive enterprises, chiefly of the non-ferrous metallurgical and chemical industries, is being concentrated in the Eastern areas, where the development of the iron and steel industry and the maximum processing of timber are also to make considerable headway. According to preliminary estimates, by the end of the five-year period we shall be in a position to produce in these areas 70-73 per cent of the country's aluminium, about one-third of its pulp and cardboard and many other power-intensive products.

To carry out the envisaged programme for the development of the Northern and Eastern areas it is necessary to improve existing and set up new building organisations in these areas. Provision must be made for priority growth rates in housing, communal and cultural construction in

order to create the conditions for further inducing skilled workers to stay in these areas.

The new five-year period will witness the further development of industry and agriculture in all the Union republics. In most republics industrial production will rise by 40-50 per cent and more. All the Union republics have important tasks in increasing agricultural output through greater specialisation.

The rational location of the productive forces will make it possible to speed up economic development and more correctly and fully to combine countrywide interests with the interests of the development of the Union republics and the economic areas.

IV.

IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

Comrades, important measures designed to bring the forms and methods of economic management up to date with the present stage in the development of the socialist economy were taken in the past five years. The main orientation in reorganising the system of management was determined in the decisions of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. In a decision "On Improving Management in Industry, Enhancing Planning and Accentuating Economic Stimulation in Industrial Production", the September (1965) Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU set out concrete measures designed to improve the whole economic mechanism, which were approved by the 23rd Congress. All this gave the start to the economic reform in our country as a further development of the Leninist principles of socialist economic management.

The results of the Eighth Five-Year Plan speak of the great positive effect of the new system of planning and stimulation on the effectiveness of production.

We have seen a marked increase in the interest of the staffs of enterprises in the economic results of their work, managerial personnel becoming more active and the working people's participation in resolving questions of production economics growing.

However, we cannot but note that some ministries are

still making poor use of the new methods of managing production. All too often the rights of enterprises operating on a profit-and-loss basis are impinged upon, while economic methods are being superseded by administrative ones. At the same time in the light of experience it became clear which aspects of the economic reform required further elaboration and development. The methods of planning and stimulation, the criteria for evaluating the activity of enterprises and amalgamations should evidently be further improved, in order to increase the impact of the reform on speedier scientific and technical progress, better quality of products, higher labour productivity and the greater interest of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries in higher plan assignments. This, at present, is the main thing.

The economic reform is not a single act. It is a process of improving economic management designed to secure the maximum use of all the advantages of the socialist mode of production.

In the new five-year period we shall complete the switch-over to the new system of planning and stimulation of all enterprises and organisations working on the profit-and-loss principle in all fields of material production and in the service sphere. It is necessary to review the past stage of the reform on the basis of available experience and to draw up proposals for its further development.

Soviet *planning* has achievements that have won worldwide recognition. The socialist system of planning, which took shape in the conditions of the new socio-economic formation, is developing steadily in accordance with the requirements of socio-economic progress.

The need has arisen to improve inter-branch planning, the significance of which continues to grow due to the necessity of resolving many major economic problems involving several branches of the economy. I shall cite the motor-vehicle industry, as an example. The planned growth of motor-vehicle production determines the development not only of related branches, but also of road-building, of a broad network of various service stations, and of town-planning. In other words, we need comprehensive plans drawn up not only "vertically", but also "horizontally".

Long-term forecasts are of great importance for solving comprehensive economic problems. They are sure to play an

important role in enhancing the scientific relevance of the long-term plans. Recently, our research centres, the Committee for Science and Technology and the State Planning Committee drew up, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR examined, long-term forecasts of the development of transport, the oil and petrochemical industries, melioration and chemisation of agriculture, and a forecast of the country's fuel balance. At present, we are studying a general plan for the location of productive forces. On this basis we shall be able to approach correctly the framing of a long-term economic development plan of the USSR for, say, 10-15 years, which will occupy an important place in the system of planning.

What we require is a comprehensive study of the problems of scientific and technical progress. It is necessary to improve the system of indicators of the national economic plan, orienting all economic links on raising the technical level of production, speedily adopting the results of scientific research and systematically modernising products. The plans relating to new technology must become an organic component of the entire national economic plan, but, at the same time, all the sections of the national economic plan must be based on scientific and technical progress.

The system of technico-economic norms used in planning must be further elaborated. We must have scientifically-grounded consumption norms for raw and other materials, fuel, electric power and labour. The planning agencies must review the norms in good time, seeing to it that they tie in directly with the achievements of technical progress.

A greater role of long-term plans, exhaustive study of social requirements and consumer demand, balanced growth of all branches of the economy on the basis of progressive consumption norms for material, manpower and financial resources, deeper study of social problems and problems of scientific and technical progress in close relation with the country's economic development—those are the main directions for the further raising of the scientific level of planning. That is the basis on which we can achieve the greater stability of our plans and economic norms, securing the interest of enterprises and amalgamations in optimum plan assignments.

Fulfilling plans which co-ordinate the work of different enterprises and branches of production, as well as the long-term prospects of their development, requires a general tightening of state discipline. It is essential to increase the responsibility of each ministry, amalgamation, enterprise and workers' collective for the timely fulfilment of all plan assignments. An efficient system of *verifying fulfilment* will play an important role in tightening discipline and raising the responsibility of each worker and executive for his work. Local Party and Government organs, people's control bodies with their many millions of activists and state statistics agencies must lay the accent in their activity on systematically verifying the fulfilment of Party and Government decisions and instructions.

It should be noted that the planning organs do not pay enough attention to checking the fulfilment of plans. They must take timely measures to prevent the appearance of disproportions and ensure the precise fulfilment of plans and the fullest possible utilisation of internal potentialities.

Comrade Brezhnev's report draws attention to the need for skilfully using economic levers and improving commodity-money relations. The Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government hold that directive planning is the main and determining factor and commodity-money relations can and must be applied to strengthen planned guidance of the national economy and stimulate the initiative of enterprises and amalgamations operating on a profit-and-loss basis. In our country, commodity-money relations have a new, socialist content. It stands to reason that we reject all the erroneous conceptions that substitute market regulation for the guiding role of state centralised planning.

It is necessary to align more fully the individual and collective interests, the interests of the individual worker, the enterprise with those of the entire society, in order to cultivate in people the attitude that working for society is their prime duty and the main factor in raising the standard of living. In so doing, it is important to raise the interest of the personnel of enterprises, amalgamations and ministries not only in current, but also in long-term results—in broadly introducing the achievements of science and technology and in improving the quality indicators in the work of enterprises. To these aims should be subordi-

nated the further improvement of all economic levers by tying in the system of material incentives directly with the fulfilment of the five-year plan assignments.

The new system of *economic stimulation*, based on strengthening and developing the profit-and-loss principle, presupposes a greater role for profit in the national economy. We regard profit and profitability as important indicators of the effectiveness of production. At the same time, profit is the main source not only of the funds of enterprises and amalgamations operating on the profit-and-loss basis, but also the most important source of state budget revenue.

To be sure, socialist society is not indifferent as to how, by what means and under what conditions profit is increased. Enhancing the effectiveness of production, reducing the cost of production and raising the productivity of labour—that is our way of increasing profit. All attempts to obtain profit by getting round the state-set prices or by raising them, by violating the stipulated assortment and standards, are an anti-state practice. We must increase the responsibility of ministries, departments and amalgamations and of the executives of enterprises and price-formation organs for the strict observance of the state price discipline and for fulfilling the plan as regards product range.

At the same time, it is necessary to continue improving the system of profit distribution, to enhance the interest of enterprises in making more effective use of material, financial and labour resources.

In 1970 industrial enterprises were able to put 3.6 thousand million rubles into their development funds, 1.4 thousand million rubles into funds for socio-cultural measures and housing development, and 4 thousand million rubles into material incentives funds. The total put into these funds was 9 thousand million rubles. With these funds many enterprises were able to extensively modernise production, improve the housing conditions of their workers and employees, and build more kindergartens, crèches and cultural facilities.

The material incentives funds play an increasing role in enhancing the material interest of collectives in improving production. More than one-quarter of the total increase

in the average wages of workers and employees in industry during the past five years came out of these funds. At enterprises switched to the new system it has become a practice to pay bonuses for the results of the year out of the material incentives fund, the sum payable depending on the record of uninterrupted service, discipline, and performance record. Experience has shown that this incentives scheme stimulates growth of labour productivity, reduces personnel fluidity and improves labour discipline.

The stimulation funds of enterprises operating on a profit-and-loss basis come out of their receipts, and a broad *aktiv* of workers and employees must participate in the all-round discussion of how to use them rationally. At the same time, it is necessary to continue improving the system of forming and distributing the stimulation funds.

The effectiveness of the economic levers of planned guidance of the national economy depends in many respects on the system of *price formation*. We have done much to bring wholesale prices of manufactured goods up to date, as a result of which they now reflect more accurately the socially necessary expenditure of labour. This has created conditions for a further strengthening of the profit-and-loss principle. We must continue to improve the system of wholesale prices. As labour productivity rises and production costs decline we shall reduce the wholesale prices of manufactured goods.

A correct system of price formation is sure to enhance the interest of enterprises and amalgamations in modernising their products, improving their quality and speeding up scientific and technical progress. The prices for new machinery should be set with an eye to the economic effect yielded by its use, so that it would be advantageous for both the producer and the consumer. Prices are a powerful lever of economic control in the hands of the socialist state, and we must use it skilfully and effectively.

The *role of credit* has grown in the conditions of the reform. Nearly half the circulating assets and an appreciable part of the fixed assets in the national economy are now formed with the aid of credit. The state extends considerable help by way of credits to collective farms, inter-collective-farm organisations, consumer co-operatives and the population. More than 75 per cent of the payments for goods and services involve credits.

The use of the national loan fund and circulating assets has improved in the past five years. This is evidenced by the acceleration in the turnover of circulating assets in industry and by a reduction of credit repayment time.

It is essential that we should continue to enhance the role of credit relations. When issuing credits to enterprises and organisations the State Bank and the Building Bank must exercise a greater influence on the choice of more effective building and technical re-equipment projects. It stands to reason that under the state plan priority in crediting should go to projects securing rapid recoupment of the expenditure and meeting the priority needs of the national economy.

Big tasks face the system of *material and technical supply*. In recent years we have in effect created a new nationwide system of material and technical supply bodies on a territorial principle. Experience shows that such a system is vital, although quite a few shortcomings still exist in the work of the material and technical supply bodies.

The nationwide supply system enables us to organise a sphere of circulation untrammelled by local departmental restrictions and, at the same time, benefitting from the advantages of the branch management of industry. Of late, permanent ties have begun to develop between enterprises through the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, which guarantees that enterprises get all required supplies within the agreed time.

As our resources grow, we shall be able to develop wholesale trading in means of production. This will enhance the independence and initiative of enterprises and amalgamations in selecting rational economic ties and will help economise material resources, improve the work of and reduce the supply apparatus.

One of the most important tasks to be accomplished in the course of the new five-year period is the further rationalisation of the *administrative structure* of the national economy.

The choice of new schemes of administration suiting the specifics of separate branches should be based on a thorough study of practical experience and scientific data. We must review critically the present standard administrative structures, some of which are already obsolete.

The CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR are taking steps further to improve the organisation of the administration of branches of industry. Recently, the existing administrative structures were analysed and improved in a number of branches. For example, the structure was simplified in the coal industry: coal trusts, found to be an unnecessary link between the mine and combine, were abolished. Similar measures were taken in the oil and chemical industries.

The reorganisation of the administration in the chemical, oil and coal industries showed that a two- or three-echelon system of organising the administration is, as a rule, the most acceptable.

Large production amalgamations working on the profit-and-loss principle have considerable advantages over separate enterprises. Apart from industrial enterprises, the large amalgamations may include research, development and design organisations. This brings science closer to production and creates the conditions for the speediest possible adoption of scientific and technical achievements by the economy.

It is difficult for a single enterprise independently to determine the requirements, to organise supply and sale, to improve specialisation and co-operation, to centralise ancillary jobs, and the like. These functions must be shouldered by amalgamations, the organisation of which presupposes further concentration of production and centralisation of the necessary part of the material and financial resources.

Establishment of production amalgamations is a new important element in improving the administrative system. The development of amalgamations will make it possible to realise more fully the possibilities of the economic reform and to accelerate scientific and technical progress.

The approach to forming amalgamations should be thoughtful and economically grounded. Amalgamation of enterprises should not give rise to additional intermediate echelons between ministry and enterprise, to expansion of administrative staffs and higher outlays for their maintenance.

The ministries must set their course unhesitatingly on introducing this form of administration. This was pointed out quite rightly here at the Congress.

It stands to reason that the organisational structure and forms of amalgamations cannot be identical in all branches; that is where we still need creative search.

Large head enterprises with subsidiaries, and science-production amalgamations where the function of the head organisation is performed by the research organisation, are an effective form of production amalgamation. For the amalgamations to open their own retail shops is a useful way of increasing their responsibility for realising their output and of studying the consumer demand at first hand.

The many amalgamations, such as the Leningrad optico-mechanical amalgamation, as "Svetlana", "Pozitron", the Moscow Likhachev Auto Works and the garment-making amalgamation "Bolshevichka", could serve as an illustration of positive experience.

Once the amalgamations are formed, the ministries can concentrate attention on resolving the fundamental, basic problems of developing their branch. The first such problem is to study the social need for the products of the branch. Satisfaction of this need is one of the most important criteria in evaluating the work of the ministries. If the ministry cannot fully accomplish this task today, it must work out an action plan and determine the ways and schedule of fulfilling it.

Acting on the long-term prospects of development in their branch, the ministries must work out and carry forward a uniform technical policy, and raise the effectiveness of production and building. As an example of poor organisational work by ministries, especially the engineering ministries, we could cite the situation with spare parts for machines and equipment. This is felt most acutely in agriculture. Interruptions in the supply of spare parts do considerable harm, causing stoppages and compelling a large number of people to engage in semi-artisan production, which adds greatly to the cost of equipment overhaul.

It is absolutely intolerable that ministries should shirk the responsibility for supplying spare parts for plant and machines manufactured by them. The situation should be such that the factory supplies the consumer with spare parts immediately upon request. The activity of engineering enterprises and ministries should be evaluated not only by the number of machines produced, but also by

how these machines perform and how they are supplied with spare parts.

At all levels of the economic system, be it the enterprise, amalgamation, ministry or the State Planning Committee, it is necessary to see to it that the *adopted decision should be optimal*.

When drawing up decisions on this or that economic question the different variants should be compared on the basis of not only departmental, but also extra-departmental evaluations by experts. We must require of the development organisations, ministries, departments, the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies that they adopt or propose thoroughly substantiated decisions.

We must combine more effectively the branch principle of administration, which determines the unity of the economic and technical policy of the branch with a system of rational economic ties within republics, economic areas and regions. For this it is necessary to improve the elaboration of inter-branch and territorial economic problems. The responsibility of ministries should be increased for developing inter-branch ties, in particular, for fulfilling deliveries within the framework of co-operation. The socialist way of running the economy is in principle incompatible with departmentalism, which disrupts rational production ties, and with parochialism, which impairs unity in economic activity.

In the present conditions, the improvement of the system of planning and economic management requires broader application of economico-mathematical methods and use of electronic computers, managerial equipment and advanced means of communication. The use of *electronic computers* will speed up receipt and processing of information, elaboration of many variants of the plan and the finding of optimal plan solutions. Thanks to the advantages of the socialist economic system, which makes it possible to direct economic and social processes on a countrywide scale, broad use of electronic computers will make for better substantiation of our plans and will help find the optimal solution for them.

Automated control systems are used with success by a number of ministries and in many enterprises. The State Planning Committee, the State Committee for Material and

Technical Supplies, the Central Statistical Board and a number of other departments have set up computer centres. In these five years it is planned to put into operation at least 1,600 automated control systems at enterprises and organisations in industry and agriculture, communications, trade and transport.

Our planned economy enables us to build up a nationwide automated system for gathering and processing information for accounting, planning and economic guidance on the basis of a state system of computer centres and a single countrywide automated communications network.

Constant concern is required for the question of *managerial cadres*. We are faced with the task of consistently extending and improving the system of training and re-training managerial personnel at all levels, including top executive cadres.

It is the duty of the economic executives to learn the new management techniques based on a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, the theory and practice of management, scientific organisation of labour, new methods of planning and economic stimulation, economic-mathematical methods and modern computing techniques.

A further development of socialist democracy, broader participation of working people in running production, is an important condition for raising the effectiveness of the organisation and management of the economy. This ensures the implementation of that most important principle of our economic activity—the combining of the interests of society, of the collective, with the interests of each working individual.

Once the draft Directives are approved by the Party Congress, they will become a guide for all Soviet people. We must complete drawing up the five-year plan, with assignments broken down for each year, as quickly as we can. It is to be examined by the Government, by the CC CPSU at a plenary meeting, and will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for adoption. The plan must be compiled by not later than August 1, 1971, in order for it to be forwarded in good time to each amalgamation and enterprise.

It stands to reason that drawing up the five-year plan broken down into yearly targets does not rule out the need for corrections necessitated by life.

The main requirement is that the State Planning Committee, the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics and the ministries should maintain correct proportions in the plan, should draw up a balanced five-year plan. This will make it possible to determine more accurately the social requirements, take fuller account of scientific and technical achievements, and define the structure of production more correctly.

Permit me to express the trust that Party and trade-union organisations, and government and economic executives will display creative initiative and perseverance in fulfilling the tasks set by the Party Congress relative to improving management and planning.

V.

FURTHER RISE OF THE LIVING STANDARD AND THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU Comrade Brezhnev set out the Party's policy of raising the living standard of the people.

The draft Directives outline a broad programme of raising the living standard and improving the working and living conditions of Soviet people.

In the new five-year period the living standard of our people will go up chiefly as a result of higher wages and salaries of workers and office employees and the higher incomes of collective farmers, as labour productivity and the qualifications of the working people rise. This will account for the bulk of the increment in people's incomes.

The programme for raising the people's standard of living envisages a number of large-scale measures.

The CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, with the participation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, having weighed up our resources, determined the sequence and schedule of implementing the projected programme.

In accordance with this programme, the minimum monthly wage is to be raised to 70 rubles in 1971, and the basic wages and salaries of the middle brackets of railway workers and employees are to be raised as well. The rates for farm machine operators are to go up in the same year.

As of July 1, 1971, it is envisaged to raise the minimum pension for collective farmers and have the regulations for fixing pensions that apply to workers and office employees apply to collective farmers as well.

As of the same day, that is, July 1, 1971, the minimum workers' and office employees' old-age pensions will be raised.

A new wage minimum is to be introduced during 1972, and at the same time the basic wages and salaries of the middle-bracket workers and office employees will be raised in the Far North and areas of the same status, the European North, the Far East, in Eastern and Western Siberia and in the Urals.

As of September 1, 1972, it is planned to raise the salaries of school teachers and doctors simultaneously throughout the country by an average of about 20 per cent, and those of teachers in children's pre-school institutions by a still higher figure. As of that day, too, the scholarship grants of higher educational establishment students will be raised by an average of 25 per cent and those of technical school students by an average of 50 per cent.

In the course of 1973, a new wage minimum and higher basic wages and salaries for middle-bracket workers and employees will be introduced in the production branches in Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Volga area, the Volga-Vyatka area and the Donets Basin.

The pensions of servicemen's families who have lost their breadwinner will also be increased.

It is envisaged to lengthen the paid leave of absence to attend sick children, the allowance being equal to that paid for temporary incapacity.

The introduction of a new wage minimum and the increases in the basic wages and salaries of middle-bracket workers and office employees in the production branches throughout the rest of the country, and also in education and public health, are to be completed in 1974.

An increase in the pensions of labour and war invalids will be one of the big pensioning measures of the ninth five-year plan period. Disability pensions are to be raised by an average of 33 per cent. The pensions of families that have lost the breadwinner will rise simultaneously by an average of 20 per cent.

The process of introducing the new wage minimum and

increasing the basic wages and salaries of middle-bracket workers and employees is to be fully completed in 1975.

In the course of the ninth five-year period a gradual wage increase is also to be effected in some areas by introducing or raising zonal differentials. In Western Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan (excepting its southern areas) and in some parts of Central Asia differentials will be fixed for the wages and salaries of those workers and employees to whom they did not previously apply. The zonal differentials applicable to wage and salary earners in some economic branches in a number of areas of the Far East and Eastern Siberia will be increased.

The additional payments to workers and office employees for night work are to go up considerably.

The introduction of the new wage minimum, the increase in the basic wages and salaries of middle-bracket workers and employees, and the further improvement of zonal wage and salary regulation are all measures of major socio-economic importance. They will reinforce the role of the wage rate system, help optimize output norms, secure a more correct relationship between wages of skilled and unskilled workers and between wages in different branches and zones.

In step with measures to increase the wage minimum, the income tax for workers and office employees with monthly wages up to 70 rubles will be abolished and taxes on monthly wages of up to 90 rubles reduced.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan envisages the introduction of *allowances for children* to low-income families. The Soviet state already provides help to families with many children. They are afforded reduced charges for accommodation in children's institutions and lower income tax rates depending on the number of dependents. In the ninth five-year period it is planned to introduce children's allowances for families, whose aggregate per capita income (including all types of income) does not exceed 50 rubles a month. These allowances will be introduced in 1974.

It is planned to raise the allowance for meals in hospitals and in urban vocational and technical schools.

To finance all the above-mentioned measures a 120 per cent increase in expenditure is envisaged in the new five-year period as against the previous five years.

The average monthly cash wage of workers and office employees is to rise by 20-22 per cent in the five years, and collective farmers' remuneration for working in the commonly-owned sector is to go up by 30-35 per cent. In 1975 payments and benefits out of the social consumption funds will be 90 thousand million rubles, an increase of approximately by 40 per cent.

As Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, has already reported to the Congress, it is proposed to *redeem the internal state debt before schedule*.

Eleven loans were floated between 1947 and 1956. Under these, the total internal state debt amounts to 25.8 thousand million rubles.

According to the decision of the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of April 19, 1957, the debt was to have been redeemed in the course of 20 years, beginning in 1977.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR examined the matter thoroughly and, having weighed all resources, consider it necessary to start redeeming the loan before schedule, beginning in 1974.

It is envisaged to redeem the loans according to the following schedule: 1 thousand million rubles yearly in 1974 and 1975; 1.2 thousand million rubles yearly in 1976-1980; 1.5 thousand million rubles yearly in 1981-1985; 2 thousand million rubles yearly in 1986-1989 and 2.3 thousand million rubles in 1990.

Thus, the term of redeeming the state loan is to be shortened by *six years*.

The high growth rate of the cash incomes of the population must be accompanied by an increase in consumer goods output and trade turnover. It is one of the provisions of the draft Directives that with an increase of 40 per cent in the population's cash incomes, commodity sales will rise by 42 per cent and the volume of paid services by 47 per cent.

In the new five-year period the market supply of products such as meat, fish, vegetable oil, eggs and vegetables will increase by 40-60 per cent. Sales of garments will go up 35 per cent, knitted goods 56 per cent, cultural and domestic goods 80 per cent. Refrigerators in the possession of the population will rise from 32 per 100 families in 1970 to 64 in 1975, TV sets accordingly from 51

to 72 and washing machines from 52 to 72. By the end of the five years, sales of motor cars to the population will increase more than six-fold as against 1970.

Given the overall increase in the production and sales of consumer goods, it is necessary continuously to expand and improve their range. The task is not only to meet consumer demands in terms of bulk; the main thing is the kind of goods the customer finds in the shops and how satisfied he is with their diversity and quality. This puts higher demands on industry and trade, which must respond speedily to all changes in the demand of customers.

It is high time to increase the responsibility of the trading organisations for correctly estimating their orders of goods from industry and for making commodities available to the consumer when he needs them. For its part, industry should influence consumer demand by producing new and better kinds of commodities.

The turnover in public catering will increase by 50 per cent in the five years. The expansion of the network of restaurants, canteens and cafes should be continued, especially at building sites, enterprises and educational establishments. The main thing in the development of public catering is to improve quality and service.

As pointed out in the draft Directives, the stability of state retail prices will be strictly maintained in the new five-year period. As the stocks of commodities grow, prices will be lowered for some types of goods.

Within the next few years, production and sales of ready-to-cook products, ready-to-serve foods, dehydrated and other products making home cooking easier, should be developed on a large scale. Output of pre-packaged goods, the practice of advance orders, the system of mail orders and other advanced types of commodity distribution, should be appreciably increased.

The extent of *everyday services* is to be at least doubled. For this, we shall have to expand the network of tailoring and shoe-making establishments, repair shops, dry cleaners, laundries and other services. In the present conditions, the services should develop as a large-scale mechanised industry.

With incomes rising, the cultural requirements of broad sections of the population are rising as well, and new needs appear. Tourism, for example, is becoming increas-

ingly popular. We must expand and improve its facilities, provide more hotels, camping sites and other tourist services.

In 1971-1975, it is envisaged in the draft Directives to build new housing totalling 565-575 million square metres. *House-building* will be based increasingly on new designs, which provide for a more convenient layout, better amenities and finish of apartments.

House-building co-operatives should be developed, and aid should also be extended to the building of individual homes in town and countryside.

Considerable attention must be devoted to bettering the utilities and to town improvement. A great majority of towns and big urban communities will be provided with a centralised water supply. Domestic consumption of electric power will increase. In these five years it is planned to bring gas to 17-18 million more homes. Urban dwellings will have gas to the extent of 65-75 per cent and rural homes to the extent of 40-50 per cent.

In the years of the early five-year plans we introduced universal primary education. In the new five-year period we shall *complete the introduction of universal secondary education*. The materialisation of this is of immense political and social significance. Universal secondary education will afford each citizen extensive possibilities for choosing his vocation, applying his abilities for the good of all society to the best advantage.

In the draft Directives considerable attention is devoted to vocational and technical education. Higher and specialised secondary education will be further advanced. It is planned to train about nine million specialists, including experts in new fields of science and technology.

Those who will enter school during these years will be developing the country's economy and culture in the nineties and in the beginning of the 21st century. The curricula and teaching methods in general and technical schools and higher educational establishments must already now increasingly take into account future scientific and technological development.

Of great importance for the fuller satisfaction of the people's cultural requirements are a further expansion of book publishing, of the circulations of newspapers and

magazines, raising their ideological level and improving their design, developing the network of theatres, cinemas and film projecting installations, and providing more facilities for cultural institutions.

In the new five-year period large tasks are set in the field of *health protection*.

It is necessary to improve all types of medical assistance and bring closer the standard of rural medical services to that in the towns. This set of tasks is largely defined in the Public Health Law and in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decisions "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Public Health and the Development of Medical Science in the Country". The building of new hospitals, polyclinics, medical control centres, sanatoria and holiday homes will be continued. By 1975, the number of hospital beds will have risen to 3 million.

Physical culture and sports will continue to develop in the ninth five-year period.

In the interest of public health consideration must be shown for the natural environment, and the sanitary condition of all towns and villages must be improved. It is essential to carry into practice, strictly and consistently, the Fundamentals of Land and Water Legislation adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Comrades, implementation of the social programme of the new five-year plan will raise the living standards of all sections of our society.

The rise in the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people will be effected all along the line by a variety of means and forms at the disposal of the developed socialist society.

It is necessary to ensure a harmonious combination of material and moral labour incentives. Better results at work and creative initiative should be encouraged by various material and moral incentives expressive of society's recognition of the individual's merits and rousing his professional pride.

Raising the people's standard of living and cultural level is inseparably associated with the further consolidation and development of the socialist way of life. The Soviet people see the great advantages of socialism materialising with increasing effect in the course of communist construction.

For the first time in history, socialism is turning the wealth of society into wealth for all members of society. Therein lies one of the causes of the labour heroism of Soviet people, their dedication to the ideals of communism, one of the pillars of the indestructible unity of the Party and the people.

VI.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC TIES

Comrades, it is an important task of the Ninth Five-Year Plan further to develop foreign economic relations with the object of using to the maximum the advantages of the international division of labour. This will help consolidate the international positions of the Soviet Union, to cement the unity and augment the economic power of the world socialist system.

Co-operation with the socialist countries occupies a special place in the foreign economic relations of the USSR. In five years, the aggregate commodity turnover between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has increased by nearly 50 per cent. Co-operation in production and scientific-technical co-operation among the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has expanded considerably.

The draft Directives envisage a number of concrete steps, designed to assure a balanced development of close economic and scientific-technical co-operation between the USSR and the fraternal countries. Deliveries of many types of goods by Soviet industry, including machinery, chemicals, raw materials and fuel, will increase substantially. Oil deliveries to the CMEA countries, for example, will go up from 138 million tons in 1966-1970 to 243 million in the ninth five-year period, natural gas

from 8 thousand million cubic metres to 33 thousand million, electric power from 14 thousand million kilowatt-hours to 42 thousand million, and iron ore (in terms of metal) from 72 million tons to 94 million. In the new five-year period we shall import from the CMEA countries 1.3 thousand million rubles' worth of equipment for our chemical industry, nearly 3 thousand million rubles' worth of railway and water-borne transport facilities and more than 8.5 thousand million rubles' worth of manufactured consumer goods. Larger deliveries to the Soviet Union from the other CMEA countries will enable us to cover more fully some of the needs of our economy.

All-round use of the immense potentialities latent in the co-operation of CMEA countries will be facilitated by the programme of socialist economic integration now being worked out.

Our planning and economic organs will participate with the interested countries in preparing joint projects, with a view to securing a considerable increment in the resources of fuel, raw materials and metals, and pave the way for specialisation and co-operation in different branches of the economy. Solution of these problems is facilitated by the increasing activity of the International Investment Bank, which will help carry out a joint investment policy. This bank, founded in 1970, will promote close co-operation among the CMEA countries in the joint financing of large building programmes.

In the present five-year period our country will devote great attention to extending all-round economic and scientific-technical co-operation and, on this basis, increasing foreign trade also with the other socialist countries—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union has taken a number of steps to develop our trade with China. However, the results achieved in the matter fall far short of the actual possibilities of the two countries. We shall strive to improve trade relations with China in the years ahead on the basis of equality and respect for mutual interests.

A further expansion of the Soviet Union's foreign economic ties with the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is envisaged in the coming five years.

In the case of many of them—India, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and others—our trade and economic co-operation are entering a stage where we may already speak of firmly established mutually advantageous economic ties. Our co-operation with them, based on principles of equality and respect for mutual interests, is acquiring the nature of a stable division of labour, as opposed in the sphere of international economic relations to the system of imperialist exploitation. At the same time, through increased trade with the developing countries the Soviet Union will have an opportunity of satisfying more fully the requirements of its own economy.

It may be said confidently that the economic relations of the Soviet Union with Asian, African and Latin American states help consolidate their national independence and promote the common cause of struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

We stand for broader commercial relations also with the industrially developed capitalist countries. A tendency is shaping in our economic relations with Finland, France, Italy, Japan, the FRG and Austria to conclude long-term agreements that cover trade and economic, scientific and technical, and credit and financial aspects. This creates additional preconditions for the development of trade.

If industrial and commercial circles in the capitalist countries display a sufficient interest in expanding economic relations with the Soviet Union, our trade with those countries will grow more considerably.

The scope of our economic relations with the Western countries could be entirely different, of course, if constructive steps were taken towards resolving the outstanding problems that complicate the international situation at present.

It is well known, for example, that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to convening a European security conference. It is perfectly clear to us that this conference would help increase confidence in Europe, would open up the way for broad economic and scientific-technical co-operation. This could create conditions for carrying forward such matters as the organisation of trans-continental transportation, the building of large power-transmission lines and the establishment on this basis of

a single European power grid, leading to cardinal advances towards solving the problem of the fuel-and-power balance. At the same time, this would help to develop broad co-operation in such important spheres of human activity as the conservation of the natural environment and, first and foremost, of the purity of the seas washing European shores, and the rational utilisation of their resources, and the pooling of the efforts of the scientists of many countries in treating cardiovascular diseases and combating cancer.

Naturally, problems of this kind are of importance not only for Europe. That is why we are prepared to co-operate in this field also with other countries, particularly Canada and Japan. Nor do we rule out developing economic relations with the United States of America to an extent more consistent with the economic potential of the two countries. This kind of co-operation would be a firm basis for consolidating peace and mutual understanding according to the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries work continuously for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We do not regard war as inevitable and therefore stand for economic competition between the two systems. We are against closed groupings of the "common market" type. We stand for a broad development of multilateral economic ties without any discrimination at all. That is our principled position. We are prepared to co-operate with any state that so wishes, providing that it adheres to the principles of peaceful coexistence. Those who expect to harm the Soviet Union by setting up restrictions and discriminatory barriers in economic relations with us, forget one thing: the Soviet Union possesses resources that fully enable it to develop independently.

It is essential that the planning agencies, foreign trade organisations and industry should approach the development of foreign economic ties from the standpoint of their effectiveness for the national economy as a whole, not from the standpoint of an individual department.

The development of our foreign trade and the extension of our economic, scientific and technical cooperation with other countries should promote the successful fulfilment of the tasks of the new five-year period.

Comrades, the history of the five-year plans is a history of the great achievements of the Soviet people, who under the leadership of the Leninist Party have built socialism and are now successfully building the material and technical basis of communism. From one five-year plan to another there has been a steady growth of the economy, of science and culture, of our national income, of the people's living standard, and ever bigger social tasks have been accomplished.

At every stage of our development, our Party's congresses have been and continue to be historical milestones determining the Soviet Union's advance to communism. The general line of further development, which our Party's highest organ is laying down for the next five years, embodies the will and wisdom of the whole Party, of all Soviet people.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan is to be a plan for the further rise of the country's economy and of the living standard of the 250-million Soviet people. Our achievements in this add greatly to the prestige of socialism. The example of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries exercises a tremendous influence, speeding up social progress throughout the world.

The new five-year plan is to be a plan for the further development of socialist relations of production. It will assure the active participation of the broad mass of working people in running production and administering society. The Soviet socialist system is the most advanced, the most democratic, providing the greatest scope for the creative initiative of the working class, the peasants and the people's intelligentsia.

Our five-year plan is a plan for peaceful construction. It shows that the policy of the Soviet state is one of peace and progress. Our plans of peaceful construction, our policy of peace, are counterposed to imperialism's policy of aggression. We are making every effort to ease international tension in the interest of all the peoples.

In the complicated international situation, with imperialist reaction resorting to military gambles and direct aggression, with the US imperialists violating the norms of international law and conducting an ignominious, dirty and piratical war in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos,

and encouraging aggression in the Middle East, with tensions and the threat of war remaining in the world, we have no right ever to forget the need to strengthen our Armed Forces and enhance their combat readiness. The new five-year period will ensure the further strengthening of the defence might of our state.

Fulfilment of the five-year plan will have an immense economic and political bearing on the further development of the Soviet Union as a whole, and of each Union republic, on the life of all the peoples of our great country: it will increase still more its economic might, and raise the living standard of all people making their life still more attractive, materially more prosperous and spiritually more meaningful and interesting.

The Soviet people came to the 24th Congress of their Communist Party with impressive successes in the nationwide emulation movement. The planned targets of the first three months for industry as a whole have been exceeded. Industrial output reached 103 per cent of the planned target. Average daily output was 9.5 per cent higher than that in the first quarter of the preceding year. The industrial output assignment has been fulfilled by all ministries and all Union republics. The planned and the additional assignments for the procurement of animal products, including meat and milk, have also been overfulfilled. This got us off to a good start in the new five-year period.

We are sure that in the effort to fulfil the five-year plan targets, the working people's creative initiative will grow, and that this will be the decisive factor leading to fresh victories in communist construction.

The whole history of Soviet society's development provides striking confirmation of these remarkable words of Lenin's: "The greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."

The labour effort of the masses is guided and directed towards the common goal by the Communist Party. It has the boundless confidence of the working class, of all working people. It is our duty, the duty of Communists, to

be always, in any sphere of activity, a model of selfless labour, deep knowledge, the highest degree of organisation and discipline, a model of a principled attitude and intolerance of shortcomings.

Representatives of nearly all the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world are taking part in the work of our Congress. We are grateful to our friends for their high appraisal of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They regard our economic successes as an important contribution to the consolidation of the world socialist system and to the development of the international communist and working-class movement and of the national liberation struggle.

The international working class and all progressive people the world over regard our five-year plans as great triumphs in the historic contest between socialism and capitalism. The new five-year plan, too, they regard as a step forward in the social development of mankind towards the triumph of communism all over the world.

By our plans, by our policy, we Communists say to the working people of the entire world that the welfare of the working man, the creation of conditions for the full and all-round flowering of the personality, is our main concern, our main goal.

The Directives for the Ninth Five-Year plan which the 24th Congress of our Party will approve are a programme for the whole people.

Compared with all the previous five-year plans, which the Soviet people have successfully implemented, the present five-year plan stands out in scope, in the grandeur of its tasks, and in the fact that it covers all the key aspects of the life of Soviet society.

Every working man and woman in the country will spare no effort in making a contribution to this great cause of the entire people.

Allow me to express the confidence that the Ninth Five-Year Plan will be successfully fulfilled through the will of the Party, and the will and selfless labour effort of the whole Soviet people.

The great Party of Lenin is leading us towards glorious new achievements, to new victories of communism!

Long live the great Soviet people, the builders of communism!

SUMMING UP BY ALEXEI KOSYGIN.

April 8, 1971

Comrade delegates,

Our Congress has completed the discussion of the Draft Directives for the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The results of the discussion are convincing testimony that our Party in the person of its representatives attending this Congress, unanimously endorses this majestic, scientifically-substantiated programme of socio-economic and cultural construction in our country.

The speeches of the delegates continued, summed up and crowned the nationwide discussion of this outstanding programme document of our Party, which preceded the Congress. The main features of these speeches are the Bolshevik principled stand and businesslike approach, competence and a deep understanding of the perspectives for the development of the socialist social system, a creative search of optimal decisions, and a passionate will to win.

Our Congress has vividly demonstrated the unity of the Party and the people, our Party's internationalist solidarity with all the countries of socialism, with the Communists of the whole world, who regard our programme as a reliable guarantee of the Soviet Union's growing contribution to our common struggle for peace and social progress.

Comrades, the Commission set up by the Congress has examined the proposed amendments and addenda to the Draft Directives. The Commission recommends that part of these addenda and amendments be included in the Directives. The text of the Directives with the amendments has been handed out to you.

The Commission recommends that all the other proposals be submitted for consideration to the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Planning Committee, the ministries and departments, so that they can be thoroughly examined and taken into account when drafting the Five-Year Plan.

When drawing up the Five-Year Plan we shall be guided by the main ideas set forth by Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev in the Report of the Central Committee, and will draw broadly on the proposals contained in the speeches of the delegates to the Congress.

The Directives endorsed by the Party Congress will become the basis of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. When drafting the Five-Year Plan new reserves will undoubtedly be revealed for raising the effectiveness of social production and increasing labour productivity, additional resources will be mobilized for meeting as fully as possible the growing material and cultural requirements of the people.

The drafting of the plan, defining the targets of the Five-Year Plan from year to year, and for the individual branches of industry, economic areas and enterprises, should be completed by August 1 this year, after which it will be examined by the Government and submitted for consideration to a Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Thus the new Five-Year Plan will, in line with the principles of socialist democracy, express one united will of the people, and embody the collective wisdom of the Party and the people, their creative endeavours and noble aspirations for the future.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU has inscribed a brilliant page in the history of our Party, in the development of the great, all-conquering teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. And everyone of us, participants in the Party Congress, is experiencing the profound and joyful feeling of involvement in the great cause of planning social progress, whose benefits will belong to all men of socialist labour.

The congresses of our Party are epochal events in the history of our people and the entire world communist movement. The memory of the people retains thankful recollections of every one of our Party congresses.

Our congresses, like giant historical monuments, chart the great road from the capitalist past to the socialist present. Our congresses, like unfading stars, point out the true road to a bright future for all of mankind.

So may the invincible unity of the Party and the people grow stronger and develop in the struggle for the freedom and happiness of the people, for peace on earth, for a communist future!

**DECISION OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION
ON THE CC CPSU DRAFT
"DIRECTIVES OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU FOR THE FIVE-YEAR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN
OF THE USSR FOR 1971-1975"**

Having heard and discussed the Report of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade A. N. Kosygin, on the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

To approve the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall, on the basis of the present Directives, ensure the elaboration before August 1, 1971, of an economic development plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, broken down for the years of the five-year period, and for the ministries, departments and the Union Republics.

While elaborating the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975, consideration shall be given to the proposals made at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, at Party Congresses in the Republics and at conferences in the territories and regions, in cities and districts, at meetings of primary Party organisations and at meetings of working people, and also to the suggestions submitted by workers, collective farmers, specialists and scientists.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR shall submit, before September 1, 1971, a draft of the new Five-Year Plan for consideration by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU considers the elaboration of the five-year economic development plan a most important economic-political task of all Party, government and economic organisations.

RESOLUTION OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION ON THE REPORT
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPSU

Having heard and discussed the Report of the General Secretary of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolves:

wholly and fully to approve the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU;

to approve the proposals and conclusions contained in the Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Congress proposes that all Party organisations should be guided in their practical activity by the Report.

The 24th Congress notes with satisfaction that as a result of the consistent and steadfast effort to fulfil the Programme of the CPSU and the tasks set by the 23rd Congress major successes have been achieved in communist construction. An important accomplishment of the period under review is that the further development of the national economy and the strengthening of the country's defences have gone hand in hand with a considerable rise in the working people's living standards in town and country. Socialist social relations and Soviet democracy have developed successfully. The moral and political unity of the workers, the collective farmers and the

intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR have become even stronger.

The period under review has been marked by a further enhancement of the leading role of the Communist Party in the life of Soviet society. The Soviet people wholeheartedly and unanimously support the Party's domestic and foreign policy.

The international positions of the USSR have become even stronger and steadier. The role of the world socialist system has grown. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have made a great contribution to the struggle for peace and the security of nations, and have exerted a growing influence on the further change in the balance of forces in the world arena in favour of peace, democracy and socialism. The militant alliance of the main revolutionary forces of our day—the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation movement—has continued to grow stronger.

I.

1. The Congress has a high regard for the activity of the CC CPSU, which is aimed at consistently pursuing a Leninist foreign policy.

The attention of the CC has been constantly centred on questions relating to the further cohesion and development of the world socialist system, which has been even further consolidated as the decisive anti-imperialist force, and as the bulwark of peace and social progress. The economic potential of the fraternal socialist states has increased substantially, the political foundation of socialism has been strengthened, the living standards of the peoples have been raised, and culture and science have been further developed. A wealth of collective experience in socialist construction, in tackling urgent social problems and in protecting the gains of socialism has been accumulated. Despite some difficulties and complications, the strengthening of friendship and cohesion of the socialist countries has continued to be the predominant tendency.

The Soviet Union's co-operation with the fraternal states in every sphere has developed and been strengthened successfully. The CPSU's ties with the Communist Parties of the fraternal countries have become firmer

and more diverse. Substantial successes have been achieved in the sphere of co-ordination of foreign-policy activity. Joint proposals and political actions by the socialist states have been exerting a positive influence on the development of the whole international situation. Many plans of the imperialist aggressors have been frustrated thanks to active resistance on the part of the socialist states.

As a result of collective measures the military organisation of the Warsaw Treaty countries has been strengthened. The armed forces of the allied powers are in a high state of readiness and are a reliable guarantee of the peaceful labour endeavour of the fraternal peoples.

Mutually advantageous economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been further developed. The line of the member-states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance towards interstate specialisation and co-operation of production, close co-ordination of national-economic plans, and economic integration is an expression of the objective requirements of the development of world socialism.

A great deal has been done further to strengthen the Soviet Union's bilateral relations with the socialist countries. The purposes and principles of these relations have been written into treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states.

The Congress fully approves and reaffirms the fundamental Leninist line and concrete steps taken by the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government in Soviet-Chinese relations. In a situation in which the Chinese leaders came out with their own specific ideological-political platform, which is incompatible with Leninism, and which is aimed against the socialist countries and at creating a split of the international communist and the whole anti-imperialist movement, the CC CPSU has taken the only correct stand—a stand of consistently defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism, utmost strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement, and protection of the interests of our socialist Motherland. The Congress resolutely rejects the slanderous inventions of Chinese propaganda concerning the policy of our Party and state. At the same time, our Party stands for normalisation of

relations between the USSR and the PRC, and restoration of good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. Improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would meet the vital, long-term interests of both countries, the interests of world socialism, the interests of intensifying the struggle against imperialism.

The Congress fully approves the activity of the CPSU Central Committee in extending, jointly with the fraternal countries, internationalist assistance to the Czechoslovak people in defending the gains of socialism against internal counter-revolution and imperialist reaction. The experience of the events in Czechoslovakia was a fresh reminder of the need to enhance vigilance in face of the schemes of imperialism and its agents in the countries of the socialist community, of the importance of consistently fighting Right-wing opportunism, which on the pretext of "improving" socialism seeks to destroy the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and paves the way for penetration by bourgeois ideology. The peoples of the socialist countries are filled with unflinching determination to safeguard and defend their revolutionary gains.

The experience of the development of the socialist system shows with ever greater clarity the need constantly to consolidate the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in socialist society, ceaselessly to improve the forms and methods of Party leadership, and to take a creative Marxist-Leninist approach in tackling the urgent problems of socialist development. The correctness of the Leninist tenet that for the successful construction of socialism it is necessary to proceed from the general laws of socialist construction, and also to take account of each country's specific features, has been confirmed with fresh force. The Congress notes that, given a correct policy of the Marxist-Leninist Parties, the common social system and the identical vital interests and purposes of the peoples of the socialist countries make it possible steadily to develop and consolidate the world socialist system.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to go on strengthening and developing co-operation with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist states, on which primarily depend the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system; to extend to the utmost co-operation with

the socialist states in the sphere of international policy and economic relations, including the development of economic integration; to strengthen scientific and cultural ties.

2. In the past period, the attempts by imperialism to halt the mounting offensive by the world revolutionary forces and to prevent the strengthening of socialism have again been frustrated.

For the pursuit of their aggressive policy in the international arena and the strengthening of their class domination in their countries, the imperialists have been using the growth of state-monopoly forms of capitalism, inter-state economic integration, and scientific and technological achievements.

Reactionary tendencies and aggressive aspirations are most pronounced in the policy of US imperialism, which presents the greatest danger to the independence of peoples and world peace, and is the main obstacle in the way of social progress. What is especially characteristic of the USA is its aggressive foreign-policy line, and its inflation of militarism, which carries with it the danger of a world war. Forces of war and aggression are also active in the other imperialist countries.

At the present stage, with socialism firmly established on a sizable part of the globe and steadily developing, with forces intent on a revolutionary remaking of society growing within the capitalist states, with the struggle for national liberation in many countries developing into a struggle against the whole system of exploitation and oppression, the fact that imperialism has no historical prospects becomes even more obvious.

The attempts of capitalism to adapt itself to the new conditions do not lead to its stabilisation as a social system. The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen. State-monopoly development results in an aggravation of all the contradictions of capitalism, and in a rise of the anti-monopoly struggle. The leading force in this struggle is the working class, which is increasingly becoming a force rallying all the working sections of the population. The large-scale actions by the working class and the working masses herald fresh class battles which could lead to fundamental social changes, to the estab-

lishment of the power of the working class in alliance with the other sections of the working people. The contradictions between the various capitalist states continue to sharpen.

It is important to make fuller use, for strengthening the positions of peace and social progress, of the potentialities arising from the current aggravation of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The CPSU will continue to consistently pursue its policy of unity and international solidarity with the working-class movement in the capitalist countries.

Imperialism is being subjected to ever greater pressure by the forces which have grown out of the national liberation struggle. The main thing is that the struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practice begun to develop into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist. The countries which have taken the non-capitalist path of development, that is, those which have taken the long-term line of building socialist society, are the advance contingent of the present-day national liberation movement.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in the Latin American countries is growing ever stronger. Important revolutionary-democratic changes have been taking place in the life of a number of peoples on that continent.

The CPSU is invariably true to the Leninist principle of solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. As in the past, the fighters against the remaining colonial regimes can count on our full support. The Congress attaches special importance to extending co-operation with countries taking the socialist orientation.

3. The Congress notes that in the period under review the CC CPSU has consistently pursued a line towards the cohesion of the communist ranks on a Marxist-Leninist basis, and has displayed firmness in standing up for the internationalist principles of the communist movement. Together with other Marxist-Leninist Parties the CC CPSU did much work for preparing and convening the 1969 International Meeting, which was an important stride forward in strengthening the Communists' international unity and consolidating all the anti-imperialist forces, and has made a major contribution to the development of a number of

propositions of Marxism-Leninism. The CPSU regards the fulfilment of the programme of anti-imperialist struggle put forward by the Meeting as an important basis for strengthening unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, and for enhancing the role of the communist movement in the present-day world development. The CPSU favours the convocation in the future of international meetings as the need arises.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to continue steadfastly to work for the cohesion of the communist movement and for enhancing its role in the whole anti-imperialist struggle and to achieve even greater political cohesion of the communist movement and its ideological Marxist-Leninist unity.

The Congress considers that the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and also against Right- and "Left"-wing revisionism, and nationalism continues to be an important and pressing task.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to extend and strengthen the ties with the revolutionary-democratic parties of the developing countries, and to promote joint action and co-operation with mass organisations and movements, and with Socialists and Social-Democrats in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism. At the same time, our Party will carry on a relentless fight against any trends seeking to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of monopoly capitalism, and to undermine the cause of the working people's struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

4. In the period under review, the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government have done their utmost to ensure favourable external conditions for communist construction in the USSR, for the defence of socialism, the freedom of nations and world peace, and for exposing and frustrating action by the aggressive forces of imperialism. In Soviet policy, firm rebuffs to aggression have been invariably combined with a constructive line of settling urgent international problems, with consistent defence of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU to continue to pursue its line of resolutely resisting the imperialist policy

of war and aggression, and of exposing and frustrating schemes hostile to the cause of peace and freedom.

The Congress fully approves the policy pursued by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government aimed at extending all-round support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their just fight against the US aggressors and their accomplices, and supports the proposals made by the lawful representatives of the peoples of these countries, proposals, which have shown the only possible way of solving the problems existing in Indochina.

The Congress, in approving the policy of the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government in the Middle East, instructs them to continue to pursue the line of utmost support for the Arab peoples subjected to aggression by Israel, which is being encouraged by US imperialism, a line of developing close co-operation with the progressive Arab states. The Soviet Union will seek a just political settlement in the area, which implies withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, exercise by each state of its right to an independent existence, and also satisfying the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

One of the key problems in strengthening world peace and easing tensions is to ensure European security on the basis of recognition of the territorial and political realities that have taken shape as a result of the Second World War. Further development and deepening of relations between the USSR and France is of considerable importance in this respect. An important step towards ensuring security on our continent is the conclusion in 1970 of a Soviet-West German Treaty and also of a treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG, whose ratification will help to improve the situation in Europe.

A conference on security and co-operation in Europe should contribute to a further improvement of the European situation.

The Congress instructs the CC CPSU consistently to continue carrying forward into practice the principle of peaceful coexistence, to extend mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is prepared to develop relations also with the United States of America, holding that this conforms with the interests both of the Soviet and the American people and those of world peace. At the same time, the Soviet Union

will always firmly oppose the aggressive actions of the United States and the policy of force.

The Congress fully approves the main directions, formulated in the Report, for the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, for peace, the security of nations, and social progress.

II.

1. In the period under review the Party has perseveringly carried into practice the Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU for the development of the country's economy. The Central Committee has done much work in improving economic guidance. The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that thanks to the selfless labour of the working class, the collective farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people, a new big step forward has been taken in building the material and technical basis of communism, raising the living standard of the people and augmenting the country's might.

The Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1966-1970 has been successfully fulfilled as regards its main indicators. The scope of the economy has grown considerably and its qualitative indices have improved. The growth of the national income and the productivity of social labour has become much more rapid, the volume of industrial production has grown by 50 per cent, and the rates of growth in the production of the means of production and of consumer goods have drawn closer together, with the branches most relevant for the scientific and technological progress in the national economy developing at priority rates.

The marked success in agricultural development is an important result of the activity of the Party and the people. Production of grain, cotton, meat, milk and other crop and animal products has increased substantially. The economic resources of the collective and state farms have expanded and far-reaching measures have been taken to provide farm production with material and technical facilities and economic incentives.

A big capital construction programme has been carried out in the Eighth Five-Year Plan period. The country's economic potential has grown considerably and the basic productive assets of the national economy have been

modernised. All modes of transport and communication have made further headway.

The distribution of the productive forces has been improved, the economies of all the Union republics have developed successfully.

Favourable conditions have been created for the further development of the country's entire economy.

The past five years have been an important period in carrying out social tasks. The assignments relating to the growth of the real incomes of the population, the wages of workers and office employees and the remuneration for collective farmers' labour have been overfulfilled. The social consumption funds have grown. Considerable success has been achieved in developing education, culture and health services. The turnover of state and co-operative trade has increased considerably. The majority of workers and office employees have been transferred to a five-day work week with two days off, and the minimum leave has been lengthened. The Soviet people's housing conditions and everyday services have been improved.

The Congress notes that alongside major successes there have also been shortcomings in the development of the Soviet economy. The planned targets for commissioning new production capacities have not been fully reached and the building and starting-up period for industrial projects are still too long. The projected level of production has not been attained for several important manufactured and farm items, not all enterprises used the available opportunities for accelerating technological progress, raising labour productivity, improving the quality of their product and reducing the cost of production.

Party, government, economic, trade-union and YCL organs must take all the necessary measures to eliminate the above-mentioned shortcomings and to concentrate the efforts of the working people on achieving a further rapid rise in social production, on the successful fulfilment of the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the Ninth Five-Year Plan and the annual national economic plans.

2. The Congress fully approves the tasks set out in the Report for the country's economic development in the period ahead and instructs the Party's Central Committee, all Party organisations, all Communists, to work perseveringly for their fulfilment.

The Ninth Five-Year Plan must become an important stage in the struggle of the Party and the people for the further advance of Soviet society towards communism, in building its material and technical basis and in strengthening the country's economic potential and defence capability. The main task of the five-year period is to ensure a considerable rise in the living standard and cultural level of the people on the basis of high rates of growth of socialist production, its higher efficiency, scientific and technological progress and a more rapid rise in labour productivity.

The Congress fully approves the broad programme of social measures for the ninth five-year period, designed to ensure a higher level of welfare for all sections of the population, to bring the living standards of the rural population closer to those enjoyed by the urban community, to create more favourable conditions for work and leisure, for the all-round development of the abilities and creative activity of Soviet people, for the education of the rising generation.

For these purposes, the Congress considers it necessary in the ninth five-year plan period:

- to raise the real incomes of the population chiefly by effecting a further increase in the payment for labour: the wages and salaries of workers and office employees and the incomes derived by collective farmers from the commonly-owned farms. To increase minimum wage rates, and salaries of middle-bracket earners; to increase zonal allowances in the country's eastern and northern regions;

- to secure the further growth of the social consumption funds, using these funds for further improving the material condition of families with many children and low-income families, of women employed in production, for improving health services, for developing public education and improving facilities for the upbringing of the rising generation, for raising pensions and for increasing students' scholarship grants;

- considerably to increase the output of manufactured goods and food products for the population, to improve their quality and enlarge their range, to develop the service industries;

- to expand house-building and the building of community and cultural facilities, especially in the eastern regions, and to create the necessary conditions for the

work, leisure and physical training of working people. To improve the sanitary condition of towns and workers' communities, to enhance nature protection and make rational use of the natural wealth.

The Congress stresses that the further steady growth of material production, of its efficiency and of the productivity of social labour is the necessary condition for the implementation of the projected measures of raising the living standard of the Soviet people.

The course set by the Communist Party for raising the people's living standard will determine not only the main task of the ninth five-year period, but also the general long-term orientation of the country's economic development. The increased economic potential and the requirements of the development of the national economy make it possible and necessary to concentrate the economy more definitively on accomplishing a variety of tasks related to the raising of the people's standard of living. The Congress holds that our cadres—economic, government, trade union and Party—both in the centre and locally, must display the highest degree of exactingness and responsibility in all matters concerning the life of Soviet people.

3. The Congress considers it necessary to secure high rates of growth and a balanced development of all branches of the national economy in the course of the ninth five-year plan period, considerably to increase the national income—the source of growth of social production and of the improvement of the people's standard of living; to improve the distribution of the productive forces, to develop the economy of all the Union republics, and to develop more rapidly the rich natural resources of the country's eastern regions.

The main task facing industry is to expand and improve the industrial basis of the socialist economy, and to assure the fullest possible satisfaction of the Soviet people's vital requirements. In this connection, necessary changes must be made in the structure of industrial production and higher growth rates secured in the production of consumer goods and in branches assuring more rapid technological progress.

We must continue to develop at high rates heavy industry, the foundation of extended reproduction and of the technical re-equipment of the national economy and the

Soviet state's defensive might. Heavy industry must increase considerably the output of the means of production for the development of agriculture, light industry and the food and the service industries, and must also systematically build up the output of cultural and household goods.

The Congress attaches cardinal importance to capital construction and to raising the effectiveness of capital investments. In planning capital construction it is necessary to secure a concentration of capital investments, to reduce the number of projects built simultaneously, and to match the building programmes with the available resources and possibilities. Building schedules should be drastically shortened, the main efforts and means should be concentrated on completing projects already started, and efforts on the reconstruction of enterprises and modernisation of production should be redoubled. The development of the industrial basis of construction should be continued.

The improvement of the system of foreign economic, scientific and technical relations should facilitate the further increase of the economic effectiveness of the national economy. The Congress attaches great importance to the development of these relations.

The Congress draws the attention of Party, government and economic organs to the fact that by virtue of the vast scope and complicated connections of the national economy, the importance of branches servicing the process of production, especially transport and communications, has increased. The work of these branches must be improved, so that they could satisfy more fully the growing requirements of the country; it is also necessary to improve material and technical supplies.

4. To regard as one of the most important tasks in the new five-year period a substantial increase in agricultural production, fuller satisfaction of the growing requirements of the population for foodstuffs and of industry for raw materials. The Congress approves the broad comprehensive programme worked out by the CC CPSU for the development of agriculture, for its all-round intensification, for expanding its material and technical basis.

Special attention must be devoted to boosting grain production and to the further development of animal husbandry. It is necessary to secure greater yields throughout

the country, to augment the feed resources in animal husbandry and to raise its productivity by speeding up the mechanisation of agricultural production, extending chemicalisation and land improvement, and by improving the utilisation of land, machinery and all material and labour resources on collective and state farms.

The specialisation and concentration of agricultural production should be furthered, the system of technical services in collective and state farm production improved, and inter-collective-farm and state-and-collective-farm production amalgamations developed. All building work in the countryside must be radically improved.

The Congress holds that advance in agriculture is a national matter and calls on Party, government, trade union and YCL organisations, on all people working on collective and state farms, on all industrial personnel, to work perseveringly for the fulfilment of the Party's projected programme of rapid agricultural development.

5. The Congress attaches special significance to increasing the output of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, expanding the utilities and other services, in order to satisfy the growing effective demand of the population, and considers it necessary to allot larger capital investments for these purposes. In tackling this task, state retail consumer goods prices must remain stable and prices for some items must be reduced as their output increases and the necessary resources accumulate.

The organisation of trade and public catering in town and country should be improved, consumer demands should be continuously studied, and commodity stocks should be used more effectively; the facilities of trade should be extended, modern methods used, and the quality of service improved. In performing these tasks it is important to make use of locally available potentialities.

6. The Congress holds that in order to fulfil the projected economic and social tasks successfully, it is necessary to raise the effectiveness of social production in every way and work for more rapid growth rates of labour productivity in all branches of the national economy.

The task is to improve the structure of the economy, to augment output per unit of basic assets, to speed up recoupment of invested funds, to reduce material-intensiveness and labour inputs and to improve product quality in

every way. It is necessary firmly to combat inefficiency, extravagance and waste, to improve the organisation of labour and to take measures designed to raise the professional level and stability of the personnel, to use every minute of working time productively.

Speeding up scientific and technological progress is the decisive condition for raising the effectiveness of social production. Fundamental scientific research should be extended, fuller use should be made of the achievements of science and technology, all branches of the national economy should be steadily re-equipped according to plan on the basis of up-to-date, highly productive machinery, the schedule of developing and introducing new machinery and progressive production techniques should be reduced to the minimum, and advanced home and foreign experience should be applied more actively.

In fulfilling these tasks, a high measure of responsibility devolves on the State Planning Committee of the USSR, the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Science and Technology, on the ministries, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, on all research and design institutions.

The Congress holds that the questions of speeding up scientific and technological progress should be constantly in the focus of the attention of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union republics, the territorial, regional, city and district Party committees, Party, government, economic, trade union and YCL organisations, and the collectives in enterprises and on collective and state farms.

7. The Congress considers it necessary to continue the policy of improving the planning and guidance of the national economy. It is necessary to enhance the scientific substantiation and balance of the plans, to combine sectoral and territorial planning to the optimum degree, and to assure comprehensive planning and solution of the major economic problems. The responsibility of executives for the fulfilment of state plans and assignments must be increased.

Fuller use should be made of material and moral incentives to stimulate the development of production, speed up scientific and technological progress and the growth of labour productivity, improve the quality of products, make

better use of economic levers for a fuller mobilisation of reserves and develop economically justified direct ties between enterprises. The transfer to the new system of planning and economic stimulation of enterprises in all branches of material production, of research and design organisations and the service industries, must be completed; persevering work must be devoted to the further development and deepening of that system. In connection with this, major tasks face economic science.

The concentration of production should be continued by creating production and science-production amalgamations and combines, which should in the long term become the main profit-and-loss units in social production. To improve the structure and reduce redundant subdivisions in the administrative and managerial apparatus, to make broader use of managerial equipment and computers, of automated systems and scientific methods of management and planning.

The Congress holds that at the present stage of communist construction with its high rates of scientific and technological progress, of cardinal importance is the economic education of all personnel, of the broad mass of working people.

The scope and character of the economic tasks set by the Party predicate a radical raising of the level of all economic work. Increasingly broader enlistment of the mass of working people in running production remains one of the central tasks.

8. The new five-year plan is of immense international significance. Its fulfilment will be a big contribution to the common cause of enhancing the economic might of the socialist states and consolidating the positions of the world socialist system in the economic contest between socialism and capitalism.

III.

1. The Congress notes that important social changes are taking place in the process of communist construction in the conditions created by the unfolding scientific and technological revolution and the deep-going changes in the economics and nature of labour. The level of professional training and the proficiency of workers and peasants, the

level of their education and culture are rising; working and living conditions in town and country are gradually drawing closer; the intelligentsia, especially the scientific and technical intelligentsia, is growing numerically. The unity of Soviet society is growing stronger on the basis of the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

The Congress regards it as the principal task of the Party's social policy to uphold steadfastly the leading role of the working class, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and peasants, to bring together the workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, all Soviet people, in their common labour effort.

2. The Congress notes that the past period was highlighted by all-round progress and a further coming together of all the nations and nationalities of our country. The impressive achievements of the peoples of the USSR are the result of their joint labour and the steady implementation of the national policy of the CPSU. A new historic community—the Soviet people—has emerged in the process of socialist construction.

It is necessary to continue carrying forward steadily the Leninist policy of consolidating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of the common interests of the Soviet state, taking into account the conditions of the development of each of its constituent republics, and working steadfastly for the further flowering of all the socialist nations and for their gradual drawing together.

The Congress attaches great importance to educating all working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, pride for the socialist Motherland, for the great achievements of the Soviet people, in the spirit of internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and national exclusiveness, in the spirit of respect for all nations and nationalities.

3. The Congress stresses that the effort to build communism is inseparable from the all-round development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of the Soviet state, the improvement of the entire system of society's political organisation.

As a result of the measures taken by our Party, the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies has be-

come more active and varied; their control over the state of affairs in the main sectors of economic and cultural development has become more effective. The Congress holds that the Soviets should carry forward their functions still more fully and exert an effective influence on the development of the economy and culture, on the improvement of the people's welfare, that they should deal more persistently with matters relating to social, community and other services and to the maintenance of law and order. The principle of the accountability of executive organs to representative organs should be observed more consistently, the prestige and activity of Deputies should be increased and so should their responsibility to the electorate. For this purpose, the Congress considers it expedient to introduce legislation defining the status of Soviet Deputies at all levels, their powers and rights, and the obligations of officials with regard to Deputies.

An important task is to enhance the precision, smooth functioning and efficiency of the state apparatus and all the administrative organs. At every institution a considerate attitude must be adopted to the needs and cares of the working people, and there must be goodwill and respect for man. It is necessary to achieve a further strengthening of socialist legality; the work of the militia, the procurator's office and the courts must be improved. Party organisations, the trade unions and the Komsomol must secure the strictest observance of the law by all citizens and officials and raise the level of the legal education of the people. An improvement must be achieved in the work of the people's control and efforts must be made to have the Leninist ideas on constant and effective control by the broad masses unswervingly translated into life.

While noting the immense importance of the trade unions as a mass organisation of the working people, the Congress considers it necessary to continue improving their work. The Party will continue to make sure that the trade unions successfully fulfil their role as a school of administration, a school of management and a school of communism. The trade unions are called on to intensify the work of further promoting the country's economic development, still more actively draw the working people into the management of production and the administration of social affairs, improve the organisation

of the socialist emulation movement and inculcate a communist attitude to work. One of the basic tasks of the trade unions is to show concern for the legitimate interests of the workers and all other working people, for improving their working and everyday living conditions, for intensifying control over the observance of labour legislation and the rules and norms of labour protection and safety, and for achieving a better organisation of cultured and healthy recreation for the working people.

Under present-day conditions the role and importance of the Komsomol as the reserve and immediate assistant of the Party in the communist education of the rising generation and in the building of the new society are increasing. The Komsomol's central task is to educate young people in the spirit of communist ideology, Soviet patriotism, internationalism, efficient organisation and high discipline, actively propagate the achievements and advantages of the socialist system among young people and work towards making every young person an active builder of the new society. The Komsomol must make better use of the possibilities accorded to it for drawing young men and women into broad participation in social life and in state, economic and cultural development. The Party nucleus in the Komsomol organisations should be further strengthened.

4. The Congress notes with satisfaction that the Party and its Central Committee constantly focus their attention on questions of developing Soviet Armed Forces, of strengthening their might and combat capability. The utmost enhancement of our country's defence might and the education of Soviet people in the spirit of keen vigilance and constant readiness to defend the great gains of socialism must remain one of the most important tasks of the Party and the people.

5. The Congress notes that during the period under review the Party organisations have been working steadily to educate Soviet people in the spirit of communist consciousness.

The Congress emphasises that the moulding in the working people of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, lofty ideological and political qualities and norms of communist morals remains the central task of the ideological work of the Party organisations.

In the Party's ideological work the main emphasis should be on the propagation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and on mounting a relentless offensive against bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The cardinal component of ideological and political work is the moulding of a communist attitude to work and to social property, the promotion of the creative activity of the working people and the strengthening of conscious discipline and organisation.

The Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations must give their unremitting attention to the promotion of the socialist emulation movement as an effective method of economic development and of strengthening socialist relations among people. While improving the forms of material incentives, everything possible must be done to enhance the significance of moral incentives, surround advanced workers with honour and glory and disseminate their valuable experience.

The working production collective plays a great role in socio-political life and in the communist education of the working people. The concern of the collective for every working person, an attentive attitude to his needs and mutual help and exactingness are inalienable features of our way of life and they must be strengthened and developed. Public opinion must be more resolutely directed towards the struggle against violations of labour discipline, money-grubbing, parasitism, embezzlement, bribery and drunkenness. It is necessary to continue the struggle against all survivals of the past in the minds and actions of people. This requires the constant attention of the Party and of all politically-conscious forces in our society.

6. The Congress considers it important to achieve a further improvement of the entire system of education in accordance with the requirements of the development of the economy, science and culture, and of the scientific and technological revolution.

During the new five-year period the transition to universal secondary education shall be completed and measures shall be taken to secure a further expansion of the material basis of the general education school, raise the level of teaching and prepare pupils more actively and more purposefully for socially useful labour.

Vocational training must be further developed and the

network of vocational schools offering a secondary education must be enlarged as much as possible.

In the sphere of higher and secondary specialised education training in new and promising fields of science and technology must proceed on a larger scale, and young specialists must be better armed with up-to-date knowledge, with the experience of organisational and socio-political work, and with the ability to apply their knowledge to practice.

The education and upbringing of young people must be aimed wholly at moulding communist convictions and morals in the new generations and teaching them to be boundlessly devoted to the socialist Motherland.

7. The Congress stresses that the development of Soviet science is one of the main factors in the successful fulfilment of the tasks of communist construction. While promoting scientific research along a wide front, the efforts of scientists should be concentrated on the solution of the most important problems, the link between science and the practice of communist construction should be strengthened, and the application of scientific achievements in the national economy should be accelerated. It is necessary to enhance to the utmost the effectiveness of the work of institutes, departments and laboratories and secure a creative atmosphere, an atmosphere of fruitful discussion and mutual exactingness by scientists in every scientific collective.

Co-operation among scientists working in the natural, technical and social sciences should be strengthened.

8. The Congress notes the growing role of literature and art in creating the cultural wealth of socialist society. The Soviet people want to see works that reflect reality truthfully and assert the ideals of communism with great artistic force.

In questions of literature and art the Party's policy is based on the Leninist principles of partisanship and kinship with the people. The Party stands for a variety and wealth of forms and styles evolved on the basis of socialist realism. It highly values the talent of the artist, communist ideology in the orientation of his work, and intolerance of all that hinders our advance. Our literary and art criticism must pursue the Party line actively, display a more principled stand and combine exactingness with tact and

with a thoughtful attitude to the creators of artistic values.

The Congress considers that the unions of writers, cinema workers, artists, composers, theatrical workers and architects should show day-to-day attention to the creative problems of the development of literature and art, to raising the ideological and theoretical level and professional skill of their members, to instilling in workers in literature and the arts a strong sense of responsibility to society for their work, and to achieving the utmost strengthening of co-operation between creative workers and production collectives.

9. The Congress underscores the growing importance of the Party's educational work among the people. The task is to make the propagation of Communist ideals and of the concrete tasks of our construction more active and purposeful while removing the shortcomings in this sphere. For the present publicizing of the decisions and materials of the 24th Congress of the CPSU must occupy one of the central places in the Party's ideological work.

The Congress attaches great importance to achieving a further improvement in the work of the press, and of the radio and television networks. The Party organisations must make skilful use of the mass media and show concern for achieving greater efficiency in their work and making it more effective, and for raising the political level and skill of journalists and propagandists.

IV.

1. In summing up what has been attained and defining the tasks for the future, the Congress notes with satisfaction that under the leadership of the Central Committee the Party firmly adheres to the Leninist course and honourably fulfils its role as the political leader of the working class, the working people, the entire Soviet people.

Practice has completely borne out the correctness and viability of the 23rd Congress' instructions on the basic questions of Party development. By consistently carrying them out the Party has still further strengthened its ranks, enhanced its influence in all sectors of communist construction and consolidated its ties with the masses. The Party election meetings that have been held showed that

the CPSU came to the 24th Congress as a monolithic organisation closely united round its Central Committee and enriched with new experience of political and organisational work.

The Congress emphasises that the successful implementation of the political line and the concrete programme of work for the coming five years will require the mobilisation of all the strength of the Party and the people. It is necessary to continue making every effort to enhance the Party's leading role and securing the further strengthening of the unity of views and actions of all Communists and of all Soviet people.

2. The period under review was characterised by a further growth of the Party ranks and an improvement of its qualitative composition. The Party organisations are consistently carrying out the 23rd Congress' instructions that in the Party's social composition the leading place should belong to the working class. More than half of the new members admitted to the CPSU are workers. These instructions must continue to be the guideline for they fully conform to the nature of our Party and to the place and role of the working class in Soviet society.

The improvement of the qualitative composition of the membership and the education of Communists must remain one of the Party's cardinal tasks. It is necessary to continue reinforcing the Party ranks with worthy representatives of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia on the basis of strict individual selection.

3. The Congress notes that the Central Committee has perseveringly pursued the line of further promoting inner-Party democracy, observing the Leninist norms of Party life and enhancing the activity of Communists. The principle of electivity and accountability of leading organs and the principle of collective leadership are consistently implemented in the Party. Questions relating to the Party's work are discussed and decided on a broad democratic basis. The Party committees have become more attentive to the critical comments and suggestions of Communists and have intensified control over the realisation of these suggestions. The responsibility of Communists for the situation in their organisations and in the Party as a whole has been enhanced.

The Congress emphasises that strict observance of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism must remain an immutable law of the Party's life, as the decisive condition of its strength and ability to act. In every Party organisation steps should be taken to ensure the active participation of all Communists in discussing, drawing up and carrying out Party decisions, and to promote principled criticism and self-criticism, which is a tested method of removing shortcomings and improving the work. Inner-Party information must be further improved and it must be used more fully as a major instrument of leadership and as a means of education and control.

The strength of the CPSU lies in the high ideological level, activity and dedication of its members. The Party does not tolerate passivity, indifference and political apathy. Every Communist must be a conscious political fighter and be worthy of the lofty title of member of the Leninist Party always and everywhere. While promoting the activity of Communists it is necessary to raise their responsibility for the fulfilment of the requirements of the Programme and Rules of the CPSU and to be intolerant of those who by their conduct discredit the lofty title of Party member or violate Party or state discipline. An important role must be played in this by the Party Control Committee at the CC CPSU and by the Party commissions of the local Party organs.

In view of the fact that the term of validity of the Party membership cards has run out, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to conduct an exchange of Party cards and subordinate this important organisational and political measure to the tasks of further strengthening the Party and increasing the activity and discipline of the Communists.

4. The Congress considers it necessary to improve Party leadership of all sectors of communist construction and achieve a higher level of organisational and political work among the masses.

It should be recognised as expedient to convene regular congresses of the CPSU and congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union republics once in five years in accordance with the established practice of planning economic development for five-year periods. It is to be estab-

lished that territorial, regional, area, town and district Party conferences and election meetings and conferences in primary Party organisations having a Party committee are to be held twice in the five-year interim between congresses.

In order to further enhance the role of Party organisations in the implementation of Party policy, the Congress finds it necessary to grant the primary Party organisations at research institutes, educational establishments and cultural and medical institutions the same rights as enjoyed by the primary Party organisations in production with respect to control over the work of the management. In view of the specifics of their work, the Party organisations at the central and local Government and economic institutions and departments must intensify their control over the work of the apparatus in carrying out the directives of the Party and the Government.

5. The Congress notes that the attainment of a higher level of leadership in all spheres of the life of society, and of the level of the organisational and political work among the masses is inseparably linked with an improvement of the selection, placing and education of cadres. The Party attaches paramount importance to having politically mature, knowledgeable and capable organisers at the head of all sectors of Party, state, economic, cultural, educational and social work. The big and complex tasks facing the Party and the country insistently require that leading cadres should have a thorough knowledge of modern methods of management, have a feeling for the new, be able to discern the prospects for development and have the ability to find the most effective ways of resolving problems as they arise and utilise the knowledge and experience of others. The Party's cadre policy must continue to be aimed at promoting young and promising functionaries while showing a solicitous attitude to veteran cadres and making the maximum use of their experience and knowledge.

The Congress considers that the trust in and respect for functionaries combined with principled exactingness in relation to them, which have taken firm root in recent years, must continue to permeate the entire work with cadres. The responsibility of cadres for the work assigned to them must be raised and it is necessary to take mea-

asures against those who violate discipline, draw no conclusions from criticism and behave incorrectly. Every functionary must remember that socialist discipline is uniform and mandatory for all.

While giving a positive assessment of the work that has been accomplished in recent years in setting up a system of training and re-training leading cadres, the Congress considers it necessary to improve this system. In order to keep abreast of life all our cadres must constantly study, raise their ideological and theoretical level and master the achievements of science and advanced practical experience.

6. The Congress notes that the period under review was characterised by an activation of the Party's ideological and theoretical work and an improvement of the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists.

Profound generalisations of the experience of building socialism and communism and of the world revolutionary movement are contained in the decisions of the plenary meetings of the Central Committee and in the Party documents relating to the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and the 150th anniversary of the births of Marx and Engels.

The Party's theoretical work has been enriched with new conclusions and propositions on important problems such as the ways of building the material and technical basis of communism, raising the efficiency of production, the forms of economic management, and agrarian policy. Fundamental questions of the development of the world socialist system were elaborated and the new phenomena in the development of modern capitalism were studied jointly with the fraternal Parties.

Much attention was devoted to developing the teaching on the Party and on its leading role in the building of socialism and communism. The CPSU mounted an offensive against the ideology of anti-communism and against various bourgeois and revisionist conceptions.

The Party's activity in the field of theory has helped to promote the further strengthening of our society's ideological unity and the growth of the prestige of Marxism-Leninism on the international scene.

The Congress considers that the creative development

and propagation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the struggle against attempts to revise it must remain a central task in the Party's ideological work. The Party's theoretical effort must be directed towards a further elaboration of the pressing problems of modern social development, above all, of questions relating to communist construction.

The Congress binds all Party organisations to pay more attention to the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists, to the education of cadres on the basis of a profound study of Marxism-Leninism and of the views worked out by the Party on the key problems of modern times. It is necessary to achieve a further improvement of the existing system of Party study, resolutely eliminate elements of formalism in Party study and perseveringly secure an enhancement of its influence on the growth of the political consciousness and activity of Communists.

The Party organisations must show constant concern for propagandists and create the most favourable conditions for their effective work.

* * *

In defining the tasks for the further work of the Party and the prospects for our country's development, the 24th Congress of the CPSU charts a lucid and clear-cut programme for economic and cultural development, raising the people's standard of living, promoting socialist democracy and strengthening the unity of Soviet society, a programme of consistent struggle against imperialism and aggression, for peace, democracy and socialism. The Congress expresses the confidence that through the efforts of the Party and the people these tasks will be successfully carried out. Our plans are realistic. Their fulfilment depends on the work of each of us, on our perseverance and ability, organisation and discipline.

On behalf of the many millions of Communists the Congress calls upon the workers, collective farmers and people's intelligentsia, upon the whole Soviet people to work with inspiration for the flourishing of our great Motherland.

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the Communist Party, forward to new triumphs of communism!

DECISION OF THE 24th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION ON PARTIAL CHANGES IN THE PARTY RULES

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has decided:

1. To lay down that

a) the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shall be regularly convened by the Central Committee of the Party not less than once every five years.

b) the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics shall be regularly convened by the Central Committees of these parties not less than once every five years.

c) the territorial, regional, area, city and district party conferences shall be regularly convened by corresponding party committees twice in the five-year periods between the congresses of the CPSU, i.e. at an interval of two-three years.

d) election meetings (conferences) at primary organisations which have party committees shall be held once every two or three years depending on the time the district and city party conferences are held. At all other primary organisations, and also at factory shop party organisations, election meetings shall be held once every year.

2. In order further to heighten the responsibility of the primary party organisations for the implementation of the

policy of the party, and their active participation in it, and in order to raise the level of their organisational and educational work in working people's collectives, it is necessary:

a) to extend the provision in the Party Rules concerning the right to supervise the activities of the management to the primary party bodies of all design organisations and design bureaus, research institutes, educational establishments, cultural, educational, health and other institutions and organisations, the administrative functions of which do not go beyond their collectives.

With regard to the party organisations of ministries, state committees and other central and local government and economic institutions and departments, provision shall be made for their control over the work of the apparatus in carrying out the directives of the party and the government, and ensuring the observance of Soviet laws.

b) to lay down that, when necessary and with the permission of the regional or territorial committees, or the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, primary party organisations may be set up within the framework of several industrial establishments which are part of an industrial amalgamation and which are located in one district or in several districts of a city.

c) when necessary, to allow regional and territorial party committees, and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics to form within party organisations numbering more than 500 communists, party committees at large factory shops, with the party organisations of smaller production sections enjoying the rights of a primary organisation.

3. To make the partial changes in the text of the Party Rules now in effect in accordance with the present decision.

**DIRECTIVES OF THE 24th CONGRESS
OF THE CPSU FOR THE FIVE-YEAR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN
OF THE USSR FOR 1971-1975**

In implementing the decisions of the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress the Soviet people have scored fresh victories in building the material and technical basis of communism. Major successes have been achieved in the development of all the branches of the national economy, in the carrying out of social tasks, and in raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The ideological and political unity of Soviet society has been consolidated, and socialist democracy has been further developed. The international prestige of the Soviet Union has become ever greater; its defence potential has increased.

All our successes are the result of the unremitting efforts of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia—the working people of all the Union Republics. The achievement of these successes is another vivid manifestation of the guiding role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its consistent Leninist policy.

I.

THE PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR NATIONAL ECONOMY FROM 1966 TO 1970

The Directives of the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan for 1966-70 have been successfully fulfilled for the key economic and social targets.

In this period, the national economy of the USSR has been developing at high rates and more effectively than in the preceding five-year period. The population's living standards have been rising much faster.

In 1970, the national income was 41 per cent higher than in 1965; its average annual rate of growth for 1966-70 was higher than in the 1961-65 period.

The volume of industrial production increased by 50 per cent. The economic sectors that make for technological progress and greater effectiveness of social production have been developing at a high rate. In the five-year period, output in the electric power industry has increased by 54 per cent, in the engineering and metal working industry by 74 per cent, including instrument making by over 100 per cent, and in the chemical and petrochemical industries by 78 per cent.

A considerable acceleration in raising consumer goods output has been achieved, the average annual rate of increase being 8.3 per cent as compared with 6.3 per cent in the preceding five-year period. The share of durables in consumer goods output has grown.

The country's economic potential has increased, and the amount of basic production assets in the national economy has grown by 50 per cent in the five-year period.

In the five-year period, the total volume of capital investments in the national economy reached 352,000 million roubles, or 40 per cent more than in the preceding five-year period. New capacities have been put into operation increasing the production of electric power by 54 million kw, of steel—18 million tons, of mineral fertilizers—33 million tons, of cement—17 million tons, of leather footwear—148 million pairs and of knitted goods—400 million pieces; the length of trunk gas pipelines has been increased by 25,000 kilometres. The level of the technical equipment of the economic sectors has been raised.

Extensive measures have been implemented to strengthen the material and technical basis of agriculture, and also to improve material incentives for collective farmers and state-farm workers in order to increase output in crop farming and animal husbandry. Agricultural crop yields and the productivity of animal husbandry have increased. In 1966-70, the average annual gross output in agriculture was 21 per cent higher than in 1961-65. In this period grain output has increased by 30 per cent. In 1970, grain output came to over 186 million tons.

All types of transport and communications have been further developed. On the railways, the substitution of electric and diesel for steam traction has in the main been completed.

Major successes have been achieved in boosting the economy and raising the cultural level in all the Union Republics.

In the country's eastern areas, the fuel industry and a number of power-intensive industries have been developing at a fast rate. The extraction of oil and gas in Western Siberia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan has markedly increased. The economy of the Far East has been strengthened considerably.

Soviet science has made a great contribution to the solution of pressing problems in the development of social production. Achievements in the basic sciences have made it possible successfully to solve many scientific and technological problems in industry, agriculture and other economic sectors. Highly productive machine systems and

new production processes, ensuring a reduction of production costs and an improvement of quality, have been developed and are being successfully put to use. Automated control systems for enterprises and complex production processes involving the use of up-to-date computing devices have been introduced in a number of economic sectors. The latest outstanding achievements in Soviet space exploration are convincing evidence of the high level of the country's scientific and technological development.

The effectiveness of social production has increased on the basis of scientific and technological progress, the improvement of economic management, and the use of new planning methods and economic incentives. The social productivity of labour has been growing at a fast rate. The profits of enterprises and the profitability of production have gone up.

The main targets set by the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress for improving the people's living standards have been overfulfilled. In the five years, per capita real incomes have increased by 33 per cent instead of the planned 30 per cent. The consumption of manufactured goods and foodstuffs has increased considerably, housing conditions have been bettered, and services for the population have been further improved.

The Directives of the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress envisaged an increase in the average monthly wages and salaries of industrial and office workers of at least 20 per cent: they have actually gone up by 26 per cent, from 96.5 roubles in 1965 to 122 roubles in 1970. In every branch of the national economy the minimum wages and salaries of industrial and office workers have been raised. The wage rates and salaries of middle-bracket personnel in construction and the building materials industry have been raised. Benefits have been increased for those who work in the Far North and areas with the same status. Regional differentials ensuring higher wages for industrial and office workers in the Far East, Eastern Siberia and the European North have been introduced. Income-tax rates on wages for some categories of industrial and office workers have been reduced. The bringing of the living standards of the rural population closer to those enjoyed by the urban population has continued. Guaranteed pay for work has been introduced at collective farms. In 1970, the

earnings of collective farmers went up by 42 per cent over the 1965 figures.

Industrial and office workers have been put on a five-day working week schedule, with two days off. The minimum annual leave for industrial and office workers has been increased.

Payments and benefits to the population from the social consumption funds increased by over 50 per cent in the five-year period. They rose from 182 roubles per capita in 1965 to 262 roubles in 1970.

Pensions for disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War have been increased, the pensionable age for collective farmers has been lowered, and social insurance has been improved.

The targets set by the Twenty-Third CPSU Congress for increasing trade turnover have been overfulfilled, with the volume of trade turnover going up by almost 50 per cent in the five-year period. Sales to the population of garments and footwear, consumer durables—television sets, refrigerators, furniture—and also of the most important foodstuffs have gone up.

In the 1966-70 period a total of 518 million square metres of living space has been built in the country, making it possible to improve living conditions for almost 55 million people. Communal services for the population have been expanding at a fast rate, with the volume of services increasing by over 100 per cent (200 per cent in the countryside).

The general educational and cultural level of the population has risen. The transition to universal secondary education for young people has been consistently effected. Schools for 8.1 million pupils and pre-school institutions for 2.5 million children have been built. In the five-year period 2.6 million specialists with a higher education and 4.4 million with a specialized secondary education have been trained. Seven million skilled workers have been trained at the vocational and technical schools. Medical services and recreational facilities for the population have been improved, and the number of cinemas, clubs and libraries has been increased.

The Soviet Union's external economic ties have been extended. The forms of economic cooperation with the CMEA countries and the USSR's participation in interna-

tional production, scientific and technical specialization and cooperation have been perfected.

There were also shortcomings in the carrying out of the five-year plan. The targets for putting new production capacities into commission have not been fully achieved, and in some cases the time limits for building and starting new enterprises and industries have been drawn out. As a result, the planned level of production for some types of industrial output has not been reached. Shortcomings have not yet been overcome in designing and the organization of construction, and this has led to an increase in the cost of construction in some sectors.

Despite the rapid increase in the output of commodities, the growing demand of the people for certain types of products is still not being fully satisfied. In some instances, trading organizations have not made adequate surveys of consumer demands, and have failed to display the necessary flexibility in organizing trade and to set higher standards for industry with respect to the quality and range of goods.

At some enterprises little has been done to raise the technical standards and quality of products, and to introduce scientific methods of organization of production and labour. Some managers have not given enough thought to the questions of raising the effectiveness of production, increasing labour productivity, making better use of reserves in production, promoting the application of scientific and technical achievements in production, and maintaining labour and state discipline.

At many collective and state farms, the productivity of crop farming and animal husbandry is increasing at a slow pace, machines are not fully utilized, there have been cases of loss of mineral fertilizers, and the profitability of production remains low. As a result, the targets for the output of certain farm products have not been fully reached.

Ministries and departments have not sufficiently studied the requirements of the national economy and the population for the products of the economic sector concerned, and have failed to put in the necessary effort for their full and timely satisfaction. Some enterprises have failed to fulfil their plans for the production and marketing of goods, and have allowed losses and unproductive expenses.

Implementation of measures to eliminate the shortcomings in our economic development, faster introduction of scientific and technical achievements into production, and improvement of planning and economic management will help to ensure the further growth of social production and to make it more efficient.

II.

THE PRINCIPAL TASKS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR FOR 1971-1975

The Ninth Five-Year Plan will mark an important stage in the further advance of Soviet society along the road to communism, the construction of its material and technical basis, and the strengthening of the country's economic and defence potential.

The main task of the five-year plan is to ensure a considerable rise in the living standards and cultural level of the people on the basis of rapid development of socialist production and enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technological progress and rapid increase in labour productivity.

To fulfil the main task of the five-year period it is necessary:

to ensure an improvement of the proportions in social production and high growth rates in agriculture and branches producing consumer goods; to make every branch of the national economy much more efficient; to increase in the five-year period the country's national income by 37-40 per cent, with at least 80-85 per cent of the increment coming from higher labour productivity;

to accelerate scientific and technological progress through efficient organization of research in the most promising fields of science, and by reducing the time it takes to introduce the results of scientific research into production, to substitute machine for manual labour on an exten-

sive scale, and to improve the sectoral and intra-sectoral patterns of the national economy;

consistently to raise the working people's level of education and skills, to complete the transition to universal secondary education for young people, and to carry out the necessary measures for training high-skilled specialists and workers and retraining personnel in connection with the introduction of new technology, and improvement of the organization of production;

to continue the work of improving management, planning and the system of economic incentives in production in accordance with the requirements of the present stage of communist construction; and to introduce the latest machines and devices in management; to enlist the working people in economic management on a broader scale;

to do the utmost in introducing scientific organization of labour; to improve the forms and systems of wages, and material and moral incentives for the working people.

Proceeding from the principal tasks of the new five-year period it is necessary:

1. *To implement an extensive programme of social measures:*

In the sphere of the people's incomes. To increase per capita real incomes by roughly 30 per cent, bearing in mind that remuneration for labour must continue to be the main source of the people's growing incomes. To provide for the further raising of minimum wages.

To ensure the growth of the population's real incomes, it is necessary considerably to increase commodity stocks, to saturate the market with high-quality goods in the required assortment, and to extend the volume of the services available to the population, as well as to ensure the stability of state retail prices for consumer goods and to effect a reduction of prices for some types of products as commodity stocks are accumulated.

To increase the *social consumption funds* by 40 per cent, using the increment to improve public health services, develop public education, train personnel and educate children, increase pensions for industrial and office workers and collective farmers, and grants for students.

In the sphere of labour. To make more efficient use of manpower resources. Consistently to reduce, by raising technical levels in production, the use of manual, arduous

and unskilled labour in every sector of the national economy

The utmost shall be done to tighten up labour discipline. Measures shall be taken to reduce personnel turnover.

To ensure a further improvement of working conditions, to step up the equipment of enterprises with up-to-date facilities of labour safety and labour protection.

In the sphere of housing and communal services. To improve the people's housing conditions by further developing housing construction and improving modern conveniences. To continue the work of ensuring broader everyday use of electric power and gas. To provide the bulk of the housing facilities with gas, and to extend the supply of gas to small towns, workers' settlements, and rural localities.

To implement an extensive system of measures to help the population save time and ease household work. To improve every form of trading services. To extend the network of public catering establishments, especially at enterprises. To improve social, cultural and communal services for the population. To increase the supply of household appliances. To improve urban transport and to extend telephone services.

In the equalizing of living standards of the urban and rural population. On the basis of higher labour productivity at the collective farms to bring considerably closer collective farm earnings and the wages of the comparable categories of state-farm workers.

To ensure a faster growth of retail turnover in the countryside, to develop at a high rate cultural and communal services for the rural population, and to provide broad opportunities for young people to acquire farming skills.

Work shall be continued to develop and improve rural settlements.

To extend road building and regular bus services in rural areas.

To carry out work to ensure regular television broadcasts throughout the country.

2. *To accelerate scientific and technological progress and to ensure the implementation of a uniform technological policy:*

to make broader use of the potentialities, created by the scientific and technological revolution in order to accelerate the development of the productive forces;

to create and introduce fundamentally new instruments of labour, materials and production processes superior in their technical and economic characteristics to the best Soviet and world standards;

to do the utmost to improve the quality of products in every branch of the national economy;

to raise more rapidly the technical level of the stock of industrial equipment, and also to accelerate the replacement and modernization of morally obsolescent machinery and units, and to provide for the adequate development of the branches of engineering concerned; to work out and gradually introduce new schedules providing for shorter periods of depreciation of production equipment, limiting the volume of ineffective overhaul, and increasing the proportion of depreciation allowances for the replacement of worn-out and morally obsolescent equipment;

to ensure a reduction in the material-intensiveness of production by improving the sectoral structure of industry, the design of machinery, apparatuses, instruments and other articles, by using progressive technology, by improving the quality of the starting materials and utilizing them more fully and comprehensively, and also by developing finishing lines in manufacturing industries.

In carrying out the tasks of technical improvement of production, to make provision:

in the power industry—for a higher level of electrification of production and efficient use of electric power; broader introduction of electro-technological processes; rational concentration and centralization of steam and hot water production for technological and heating purposes, and the gradual elimination of small boiler and electric power installations.

in materials—for the development and successful use of new economical materials, including polymers and extra pure materials; the development and introduction into production of the latest methods of hardening metals and other industrial materials; the widening of the range of the materials produced;

in the instruments of labour—creation of machine systems for the complex mechanization and automation of the most important production processes in industry, construction, agriculture and transport; an increase in the unit capacity of the principal technological installations with a

view to making them more economical; for ensuring a high rate of growth of output and the installation of automated equipment with programme digital control;

in technology—for extensive introduction of progressive, especially continuous, production processes; acceleration of the development and industrial application of new processes in chemical technology, and processes based on the use of electronics; for the use of up-to-date technology only in putting new capacities into commission;

in organizing production and management—for extensive application of scientific organization of labour, production and management with the use of modern managerial and computing equipment for starting batch production of highly productive computing devices, small computers, and means of relaying information; for effecting batch production of electronic computers in a complex with all the back-up devices for the input and output of information and sets of standard programmes.

To raise the scientific and technical level of establishing standards and enhance their role in improving the quality of products. To revise the existing standards and technical specifications, with a view to replacing obsolete characteristics and duly taking into account the requirements of the national economy thus ensuring a high technical level and quality of products.

To regard as a most important task the unification and standardization of the design of the machinery manufactured, parts and units of machines and mechanisms going into inter-sectoral use, of instruments and technological equipment, typification of the processes for their manufacture, and provision, in the production of similar parts and components, for their complete interchangeability in use.

To raise the technical level and effectiveness of modernization and repair of equipment. To effect a gradual transition from the practice of decentralized manufacture of aggregates, units and parts intended for modernization and repair of equipment to their specialized production organized at the enterprises manufacturing the equipment in question. Specialized facilities for the centralized repair of equipment shall be substantially enlarged. The enterprises making the equipment must be responsible for the provision of replacement and repair parts and units and for their operating qualities.

To improve scientific and technological information, systematically to supply the industries and enterprises concerned with information relating to scientific and technological achievements and advanced experience in the field of machinery and equipment, technology, the organization of production and management.

There shall be extensive development of the working people's creative initiative in the technical improvement of production, and utmost promotion of improvements in the work of innovation and invention. The role of engineers and technicians as organizers and vehicles of scientific and technological progress in production shall be enhanced.

3. To develop to the utmost fundamental and applied scientific research and to ensure faster application of their results in the national economy.

To ensure in the new five-year period:

further investigation of problems in theoretical and applied mathematics and cybernetics for the broader application in the national economy of mathematical methods and electronic computing techniques, automation of production processes and improvement of management;

development of research in nuclear physics, the physics of solids and semi-conductors, quantum electronics, plasma physics, the physics of low temperatures for the purpose of creating new materials and effective methods of processing them; further improvement of energy transformation methods, the commercial use of fast-neutron reactors, wider use of nuclear and radiation processes in science and practice, and further progress in electronics, radio engineering and computing techniques, development of theoretical and applied mechanics;

scientific investigation in space for the purpose of further developing telephone and telegraph communications, television, meteorological forecasting, and the study of natural resources, geographical exploration and the carrying out of other national-economic tasks with the aid of satellites, automated and manned craft, and also continuation of fundamental scientific studies of the Moon and the planets of the solar system;

research in geology, geophysics and geochemistry for the purpose of elucidating the principles of the distribution of minerals, and finding more effective methods of prospecting, extraction and concentration;

development of scientific research in oceanology, physics of the atmosphere, and geography for the purpose of investigating problems of more extensive and rational use of natural wealth, including the resources of the seas and oceans; elaboration of scientific principles of nature conservation and transformation for improving man's natural environment and making the best use of natural resources;

further development of chemical research, with an emphasis on improving the scientific basis for the development of new polymer and inorganic materials, highly effective chemico-technological and electro-chemical processes and economical methods for the production of extra pure substances;

promotion of research in biology and medicine, directed primarily at the prevention and treatment of cardiovascular, oncological and virus diseases, the development of new bioactive agents for medicine, agriculture, and the light and food industries; elaboration of genetic methods of selection for developing new highly productive crop varieties and livestock breeds; investigation of problems relating to the genetics of hereditary diseases;

further development of social sciences, implementation of comprehensive studies of the modern processes of social development for the purpose of providing scientific guidance of the socialist economy and accomplishing the tasks of communist construction; in the sphere of economic science, greater emphasis on the developing of the most effective forms and methods of applying the objective economic laws to the practice of planned economic management, on improving long-term planning, on examining the problems of accelerating scientific and technological progress and intensifying social production and increasing its economic efficiency to the utmost, and also on solving the key problems in the development of the socialist economic integration of the USSR and the other CMEA countries.

Substantially to increase the efficiency of scientific institutions, to concentrate scientific manpower, material and financial resources primarily in the leading branches of science and for solving the most important scientific and technological problems, further to strengthen experimental and pilot production facilities in research, and to promote the application of cost accounting methods in the organization of scientific research. To improve the planning of re-

search and experimental design work, making provision in the plans for every stage of this work, including the practical implementation of its results, and to tighten control over the fulfilment of plans. To strengthen ties between science and production. To implement a system of organizational and economic measures for the mastering and putting into operation of new machinery and equipment and for the realization of inventions and discoveries within the shortest possible time limits. To enhance the stimulating effect of patents and patent information.

4. *Consistently to develop cooperation with the socialist countries, and to strengthen in every way the world socialist system.*

* * *

Below are defined the directions and targets for the development of the sectors of the USSR national economy, for the raising of the people's living standards, for the location of the productive forces, and for the development of the economy of the Union Republics, for the development of external economic ties, and the improvement of management and planning.

III. INDUSTRY

The main task before industry in the new five-year period consists in the extension and improvement of the industrial base for the development of the socialist economy, especially agriculture and allied sectors, the raising of the technical level and effectiveness of production, and a fundamental improvement of the quality of products.

It is necessary to direct the development of all industries towards the fullest satisfaction of the Soviet people's vital requirements, for which purpose provision shall be made for the more rapid growth and a greater proportion of industries turning out consumer goods and the raw materials, machinery and equipment needed for their manufacture.

The electric power industry, especially the atomic power industry, engineering, and the chemical, petrochemical and gas industries shall be developed at an accelerated rate. The rapid development of the most efficient lines of production in every branch of industry shall be ensured. Centralized manufacture of spare parts shall be considerably increased, and the requirements of the national economy for spare parts for motor vehicles, tractors and other types of machinery shall be fully met.

Industrial production over the five years shall be increased by 42-46 per cent, including the production of the means of production by 41-45 per cent, and the production of consumer goods by 44-48 per cent.

The growth of production in every industry shall be ensured above all through raising its effectiveness and using internal economic reserves more fully. For these purposes:

The production patterns shall be improved, inter-sectoral and intrasectoral proportions better balanced, and specialization and cooperation of production extended.

Labour productivity shall be increased at an accelerated rate. Labour productivity in industry shall rise by 36-40 per cent over the five years, with 87-90 per cent of the total increment of production to be obtained from this source.

The technical level, economic characteristics and quality of all types of products shall be improved. In quality and technico-economic characteristics, the newly developed products must meet the highest standards in world science and technology.

More efficient use shall be made of production facilities and fixed assets. Output per unit of fixed production assets shall be increased through the fuller use of machinery and equipment, a higher ratio of shift work, elimination of downtime, reduction of the time limits for bringing new production facilities to full capacity, and further intensification of production processes.

The use of raw materials and other supplies, fuel, and electric and thermal power shall be more effective. An 18-20 per cent economy shall be ensured in the use of rolled ferrous metals in engineering and metal-working through the use of effective types and shapes of metal, metal substitutes, improvement of machine design and technology in the working of rolled stock. Input rates for fuel, electric power, chemicals, timber, raw materials and other material resources shall be reduced by 7-10 per cent. The storage facilities at enterprises shall be improved.

Secondary raw material, fuel and power resources and industrial waste (scrap metal and ferrous and non-ferrous metal waste, waste paper, secondary textile materials, broken glass, worn-out tyres, polymer materials, chemicals and other types of regenerated raw material and other material resources) shall be put to fuller use in the national economy. The technology of regeneration of secondary raw materials for the production of goods shall be improved. The material and technical basis of organizations engaged in the procurement of secondary raw materials and

industrial waste shall be strengthened, and the procurement of secondary raw materials from the population shall be organized more efficiently.

Profits in industry shall be increased and a reduction in the cost of production and an increase in the profitability of operations by enterprises shall be ensured.

The following main lines shall be laid down for the development and volume of production in the branches of industry.

Electric power generation shall be brought up to 1,030-1,070 thousand million kwh. Capacities totalling 65-67 million kw shall be put into commission at electric power stations, mainly through the construction of thermal electric power stations, with the installation of large generating units. The technico-economic values for the operations of power equipment shall be substantially improved. The specific expenditure of fuel at electric power stations shall be reduced by 1975 to 340-342 grams per kilowatt-hour of supplied power.

In the hydropower industry, priority shall be given to projects making possible comprehensive solution of problems of electric power production, irrigation, water supply, development of navigation and fisheries.

The atomic power industry shall be developed considerably through the construction of large electric power plants with the installation of reactor units of one million kw and more. Capacities totalling 6-8 million kw shall be put into operation at atomic power plants.

Work shall be continued on the creation of a single power grid for the country, long-distance a.c. transmission lines of 750,000 and 1,150,000 v, and d.c. of 1,500,000 v, and on the development of electric networks in rural areas; electric power supplies for rural consumers shall be made more reliable.

Labour productivity in the electric power industry in the five years shall be increased by 40 per cent.

In the oil and gas industry output of oil shall be increased by 1975 to 480-500 million tons and of gas to 300-320 thousand million cubic metres. The share of oil and gas in the overall fuel balance shall be increased by 1975 to at least 67 per cent. New, highly productive oil and gas fields shall be brought up to working condition at an accelerated

pace, and the extraction of oil and gas in the old built-up areas shall be developed.

By the end of the five-year period, the amount of oil extracted by methods involving artificial pressure on oil-bearing strata shall be increased to no less than 75 per cent of the total output.

The development of new, more efficient methods of working oil and gas-condensate deposits shall be intensified and the extent of oil and gas-condensate extraction from strata shall be considerably increased.

The capacity of oil wells shall be approximately doubled through the simultaneous exploitation of several strata. 120 oil and 20 gas fields shall be completely automated. The effective use of the well capacity shall be enhanced through a considerable cut on the time required for putting them into commission, the use of advanced methods of operation, and longer service life of equipment.

The technico-economical indices for drilling operations shall be considerably raised. The profitability of drilling operations shall be raised by about 50 per cent.

The introduction of the techniques of well drilling with full control of drilling indices at the well head shall be accelerated.

The use of casinghead gas shall be increased to 80-85 per cent of its resources, the capacities for the efficient processing of casinghead and natural gas shall be considerably increased, and the production of liquified gas, benzine, helium and sulphur expanded.

Work shall be continued on the creation of a single system of gas supply for the country. The most effective flows of gas along the trunk pipelines from the new gas fields shall be ensured to satisfy the fuel requirements of the European part of the country. The full use of the design capacity of gas pipelines shall be ensured, and the carrying capacity of gas pipelines shall be increased through an increase in working pressure in them. At least 30,000 kilometres of trunk gas pipelines shall be laid. 1,420 mm pipes for transporting gas at a pressure of 75 atmospheres, and new high-capacity pumping units shall be extensively introduced.

Underground storage of gas close to industrial centres shall be considerably expanded.

Labour productivity in the oil extracting industry shall

be increased by 40 per cent, and in the gas industry by 30 per cent.

In the oil refining industry output shall be increased by 50 per cent.

The period of design and construction of oil refineries and the period of full engagement of their capacities shall be considerably reduced.

The quality of oil products shall be improved. The production of primarily low-sulphur diesel fuel, high octane petrols, lubricants with highly effective multifunctional additives shall be ensured, and broader use made of methods for the optimum extraction of sulphur from oil products. The production of aromatic hydrocarbons, low-sulphur electrode coke, liquified gas, and primary oil materials for the chemical industry shall be substantially expanded.

Labour productivity at the enterprises of the oil refining industry shall be increased by 50 per cent.

In the coal industry the extraction of coal by 1975 shall be increased to 685-695 million tons. The technical re-equipment of enterprises on the basis of all-round mechanization and automation of production processes shall in the main be completed, as also the changeover to the narrow-grab cutting of coal in pits, and by the end of the five-year period the amount of coal extracted from steep and gently-dipping beds with the use of extraction complexes and mechanized propping will increase to at least 60 per cent of the total extraction.

The development of opencast coal mining shall be given priority, so that the amount of coal mined by this method shall increase to 30 per cent of the total output by 1975.

Labour productivity in the coal industry shall be increased by roughly 40 per cent.

The extraction of peat in the five years shall be increased by 35-38 per cent, and the production of peat briquettes and semi-briquettes shall be considerably increased.

In the iron-and-steel industry the main task shall be to bring about a radical improvement in the quality of metal products through the introduction of advanced methods of metal making and the extension of the assortment of rolled stock, pipes and metal goods so as substantially to enhance the efficiency in the use of metal in the national economy.

The output of steel shall be raised to 142-150 million

tons by 1975, and the manufacture of finished rolled stock to 101-105 million tons. The output of economical types of rolled stock shall be increased, primarily rolled sheet, cold rolled sheet, shaped and formed profiles, high precision profiles, rolled stock from high quality and alloy steel, pipes and metal items. The production of cold rolled dynamo steel shall be organized, and the quality of transformer steel considerably improved.

The output of rolled metals and pipes with anticorrosion coating and hardening thermal treatment, and also of cold-resistant types of metal shall be increased.

New facilities for the manufacture of large-diameter and high-pressure gas pipes, highly durable drilling and casing pipes, thin-walled seamless electric-welded pipes, cold-rolled electrical and stainless steel sheet, and other types of metal products required by the national economy shall be built.

In the iron-and-steel industry production capacities shall be increased through the construction of installations with a high unit capacity, notably blast furnaces with a volume of 5,000 cubic metres and oxygen convertors with a smelting weight of 350 tons.

Construction of enterprises for the iron-ore base of the iron-and-steel industry shall be accelerated. The metal content of commercial ores shall be increased.

The use of advanced production processes, the use of oxygen and natural gas in blast furnace production shall be substantially increased, the output of iron ore pellets shall be increased roughly fourfold, and the industrial production of metallized iron ore raw material organized. By the end of the five-year period, the amount of steel smelting in oxygen convertors shall be brought up to at least 30 per cent of the total output, and the share of electric steel production increased. The volume of continuous pouring of steel shall be increased. Highly effective methods of improving the quality of metals through extra-furnace vacuum treatment of steel with synthetic slags and inert gases, and electric slag and vacuum remelting shall be extensively introduced.

Labour productivity in the ferrous metal industry shall be increased by roughly 30 per cent.

In the non-ferrous metal industry output shall be increased by 40 per cent, including aluminium by 50-60 per

cent and copper by 35-40 per cent. The production of alloy metals and the extraction of natural diamonds shall be considerably increased. The development of the raw material base, especially for the production of alumina, lead, tungsten, molybdenum, antimony, tin and mercury shall be accelerated.

The further development of opencast mining, and also underground mining with the use of highly productive complexes of self-propelled equipment shall be ensured. The provision of mining enterprises with highly productive equipment and means of transport shall be accelerated.

The extraction of metals from ore shall be considerably increased, and the use of raw materials made more efficient; closed production schemes with complete processing of semi-products shall be broadly introduced, and the use of industrial waste at iron-and-steel works organized. The basis for developing plasma metallurgical processes shall be created. The use of combined pouring and rolling of semi-finished products from non-ferrous metals and alloys shall be developed, and the processes for the vacuum coating of various materials with non-ferrous metals and industrial equipment for this purpose shall be developed.

Provision shall be made for the further buildup of capacities for the production of secondary non-ferrous metals, electrode products, rolled copper and copper alloys, fine-section wire, thin-walled pipes and economical sections. The production shall be considerably increased and the assortment extended of pipes and structural sections from aluminium alloys, and also of aluminium foil and strip for the packaging of foodstuffs. The quality of non-ferrous metals and alloys shall be improved.

Labour productivity in the non-ferrous metal industry shall be increased by at least 40 per cent.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry output shall be increased by 70 per cent, including plastics and synthetic resins by roughly 100 per cent, rubber by 70 per cent, and household chemical products by 90 per cent. By 1975 the production of mineral fertilizers shall be raised to 90 million tons, and chemical fibre to 1,050,000-1,100,000 tons. The range of products shall be widened and their quality improved. Intrasectoral proportions shall be better balanced. Provision shall be made for the further development of chemical lines of production through raising the unit

capacity of installations and plants, and also through the introduction of continuous production processes.

The production of high-quality concentrated and compound mineral fertilizers shall be developed at a faster rate so as to raise their output to 80 per cent of the total by the end of the five-year period. The average content of nutrients in mineral fertilizers shall be increased to 35-37 per cent. The production of plant-protection chemicals shall be expanded and their range widened.

The quality of plastics and plastic products shall be improved, and the production of highly durable, heat-resistant, electrical insulating, corrosion-resistant and other new types of polymer materials shall be started. By the end of the five-year period, the output of thermoplastics shall be raised to 40-43 per cent of the total output of synthetic resins and plastics.

The structure of chemical fibre production shall be improved; by the end of the five-year period the share of synthetic fibres in the total output shall be increased to 38-40 per cent; the production of texturized synthetic and artificial yarn, corded staple fibre, bulk dyed chemical fibre, and the supply of synthetic silk and rayon in large reels shall be considerably increased.

The output of new types of high-quality synthetic rubber shall be considerably increased. The output of synthetic rubber as a substitute for natural rubber shall be increased to 55-60 per cent of the total rubber output, thereby reducing the consumption of natural rubber. The output of car tyres of improved design shall be expanded, and the life of car tyres increased by an average of 20-25 per cent.

The production of non-bulk chemical products shall be rapidly increased, and their assortment extended. The production of chemical additives for improving the quality of polymer materials shall be expanded so as to ensure the full satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy. The output of conservants and antiseptics, bioactive substances for medicinal needs and agriculture, additives, reagents and various films for the packaging of foodstuffs, chemical fat substitutes and other food primary products used for technical purposes, synthetic glyserine, synthetic dyes, varnishes, auxiliary substances for improving the quality of fabrics, knitted goods, footwear and artificial leather shall be considerably expanded.

The assortment shall be extended and the quality improved of household chemical products, plastic goods and other types of chemical products for household use.

Labour productivity at enterprises in the chemical industry shall be increased by 60 per cent and in the petrochemical industry by 50 per cent.

Geological exploration and prospecting for mineral and raw material resources shall be furthered above all in the areas of operating mining enterprises, and also in areas with the greatest economic advantages for their commercial working. Prospecting for oil and gas, especially in the European part of the country, coking and power coal, high grade bauxites, the most important non-ferrous, rare and precious metals, diamonds, and primary products for the production of mineral fertilizers, especially phosphates, as well as prospecting for subterranean waters shall be intensified; prospecting and exploration for locating rich iron ore deposits in the areas of Siberia and the Urals shall also be intensified.

Prospecting and exploration shall be started in the littoral shelf zones of the seas and oceans to locate promising off-shore oil and gas deposits. The study of off-shore alluvial deposits of gold, tin and other ore minerals shall be extended. The economic effectiveness of geological exploration shall be enhanced.

In the engineering and metal-working industry output in the five years shall be increased by 70 per cent, including the output of consumer goods by 120 per cent. Priority shall be given to the development of the production of instruments and means of automation, agricultural machinery, building and land-improvement machinery, the most progressive types of metal-working and electrical engineering equipment, gas turbines, equipment for atomic power stations, the chemical industry, the light and food industries, railway rolling stock, and motor industry products. The establishment and expansion of production of various types of machinery and devices for work in Arctic conditions, hot climates and mountainous areas shall be achieved. There shall be a considerable increase in the output of the means of mechanization for hoisting and transport, cargo handling and storage operations. The assortment and the quality of consumer durables shall be improved.

The efficiency of equipment shall be enhanced through increasing the unit capacity of plant, and improving its quality and dependability.

In building new and re-equipping existing engineering enterprises account shall be taken of the need to achieve greater specialization in the manufacture of engineering goods and to create, above all, plants specializing in the making of parts or in production processes, and assembly plants. The shift coefficient in the operation of equipment shall be raised.

The technical re-equipment of the production basis in engineering shall be accelerated. For replacement of obsolescent metal-working equipment, enterprises in this industry shall receive 25-30 per cent of the stock of metal-cutting machine-tools, and at least 30 per cent of the stock of forging and pressing machines. New and progressive production processes shall be introduced much faster.

The production of metal-cutting machine-tools shall be increased by 1975 to 230,000-250,000, and of forging and pressing machines to 60,000-65,000. The priority growth of the production of metal-cutting machine-tools with programme digital control shall be ensured, increasing the output over the five years by at least 250 per cent. The output of high and extra-high precision machine-tools, automated and semi-automated lines, forging and pressing and casting equipment, and also specialized production of metal-cutting and abrasive tools shall be expanded; the quality of these tools shall be improved.

The accelerated development of specialized facilities for the production of castings and stampings and welded units shall be ensured through the reconstruction on a new technical basis of the existing and the construction of new casting and forging and stamping plants and shops. The quality and precision of castings, stampings and welded articles and blanks shall be improved through the introduction of new production processes, modern structural and welding materials, smelted model casting, pressure and vacuum casting, flow and automated lines, and also the introduction of industrial frequency induction furnaces for the smelting of pig iron.

Pressure working of metal shall be practised on a much wider scale; extensive use shall be made of dimensional stamping.

The priority development of centralized manufacture of items of general engineering use shall be ensured.

The production of tractors shall be increased by 1975 to 575,000, and of agricultural machinery to a value of 3.5 thousand million rubles. The capacity and efficiency of tractors, harvester combines, and other farm machinery shall be increased. The production of new, highly efficient grain harvesters, powerful plough and industrial tractors, and complementing machines for timber-felling shall be organized. The development and output of farm machines and equipment required for the all-round mechanization of production operations in agriculture shall be accelerated. The production of self-propelled chassis and mounted implements in the required assortment shall be expanded.

The output of motor vehicles shall be increased by 1975 to 2-2.1 million, including the output of lorries by roughly 50 per cent, and passenger cars by 250-280 per cent. The output of heavy-duty lorries and on that basis of lorry trains with a high-load carrying capacity shall be increased. The output of specialized lorries and trailers, vehicles adapted for operation in the Far North and hot climates, and of timber-hauling lorry trains shall be expanded. The production of tip-up lorries and tip-up lorry trains with a load carrying capacity of up to 120 tons for the mining industry shall be expanded. The output of buses with a larger seating capacity and of cross-country buses shall be expanded. The pre-overhaul life of motors shall be increased by 30-50 per cent.

The output of highly productive manufacturing equipment, fitted with the latest means of automation, for the enterprises in the light and food industry, trade and public catering shall be increased by at least 90 per cent. The output of automatic devices for prepackaging foodstuffs, and of equipment for enterprises providing everyday services for the population shall be considerably increased.

New designs shall be developed and production organized of hoisting and transport complexes of machines and mechanisms with remote and automatic control, and also cyclic-operation machines for automated conveyor transport lines shall be worked out. The production of special transport and loading mechanisms and devices ensuring a reduction of losses in the transportation of loose cargoes—cement, mineral fertilizers and others—shall be expanded.

ded. The construction and reconstruction of plants for the manufacture of goods wagons and containers shall be accelerated.

New types of machines and equipment of high unit capacity shall be developed for the iron-and-steel, coal, mining, chemical, petrochemical and oil refining industries, the power industry, the pulp and paper industry and other industries. Production processes shall be mastered and batch production organized for putting out equipment for blast furnaces with a capacity of 5,000 cubic metres, rotary complexes for stripping operations with a capacity of 12,000 cubic metres per hour, excavators with a 100 cubic metre bucket, complexes of equipment with mechanized propping for the working of thin and thick steep and gently-dipping beds.

Production of complete equipment for power generating units with a capacity of 500,000 and 800,000 kw for thermal power stations, 100,000 kw gas turbines, and also reactor installations with a capacity of 1,000,000 kw and more for atomic power stations shall be ensured. Equipment for a head generating unit of 1,200,000 kw shall be made. A series of new high voltage and transformer equipment for d.c. 1,500 kv and a.c. 1,150 kv electric transmission lines shall be manufactured.

The production shall be started of a new series of electric motors for general industrial use with improved weight, technological and performance characteristics, and with a broad range of capacities, including small motors and micromotors. The development and batch production of electric motors, electrical equipment, and cable products, taking into account the specific features of agricultural production, shall be started. The demand of the population for lighting fixtures shall be satisfied.

Special attention shall be given to the production of diesels, gas engines and gas motor compressors. The capacity of these machines shall be increased by 50-100 per cent. The production of new and powerful diesel locomotives shall be started.

The production of special oil and gas industry equipment for operation in Western Siberia and the Far North, and a series of equipment for laying powerful trunk gas and oil pipelines shall be organized.

The development of construction and road-building engineering shall be accelerated; the output of machines with a high unit capacity for construction shall be increased; and the batch production of new machines on the basis of powerful industrial tractors and wheeled tractors, hydraulic excavators, and sets of machinery for finishing, roofing and other operations shall be started. Automated lines for the building materials industry shall be developed, and the output of machinery and equipment for the needs of the public utilities sector shall be increased.

The industrial output of means and complex systems of automation for the control of production processes in the iron-and-steel, chemical and oil refining, oil, gas and coal industries shall be started.

The manufacture of instruments shall be doubled. The development of a complete series of unified devices constituting a part of the state system of industrial instruments, and their production shall be started. The production of aggregated complexes of general industrial instruments and means of automation with improved performance characteristics and increased dependability shall be started.

The output of computing devices shall be increased by 140 per cent, including electronic computers by 160 per cent. The batch production of a new series of electronic computers on the basis of integrated circuits shall be started. A series of technical means for the automation of the processes of recording, collection, storage, transmission and processing of information, new technical means for a single automated communication system for the country, radio equipment for navigation and control of air communications, electronic medical equipment based on extensive application of integrated circuits shall be created.

Industrial production of modern instruments, apparatuses and laboratory equipment for scientific research, and also of the means of mechanizing and automating production and management operations shall be expanded.

Labour productivity in engineering shall be increased by 50-80 per cent.

In the timber, wood-working, and pulp-and-paper industry further improvement of the production pattern and the comprehensive utilization of timber shall be ensured.

During the five years the output of wood-shaving and wood-fibre boards shall be increased by 180-190 per cent, of pulp by 70 per cent, of cardboard by 80 per cent and of paper by at least 30 per cent.

Special attention shall be given to stepping up the output of types of pulp, paper and cardboard which are in short supply, including those for industrial purposes and the mechanized packaging of foodstuffs, and also to increasing the output of paper articles for the population. The quality of the products shall be improved.

The utilization of timber waste, wood of leaf-bearing and low-quality coniferous trees and waste paper as technological raw material for the pulp and paper industry shall be extended.

Production of commercial timber shall be increased to 87 per cent of the total volume of the timber output.

The processing of timber shall be increased in the country's eastern regions in order to reduce the transportation of round timber.

The existing timber-felling organizations shall be re-organized with special attention to the mechanization of labour-consuming operations at timber-felling sites, the introduction of up-to-date machines and equipment, and the improvement of the motor highways. New highly mechanized timber-felling enterprises shall also be built. The working and living conditions of workers and employees at timber-felling sites shall be improved.

The capacity of the furniture industry, chiefly in the eastern regions of the country, shall be increased and the output of furniture shall be stepped up at existing enterprises through their reconstruction. In furniture production wide use shall be made of the latest technological processes and highly effective materials. During the five-year period the output of furniture shall be raised by not less than 60 per cent.

Labour productivity shall be boosted by approximately 35 per cent at timber and wood-working enterprises and by 45 per cent at pulp and paper mills.

The output of the *building materials industry* shall be expanded by 40 per cent, and the output of a broad range of materials and articles of a higher level of prefabrication, and also of industrial constructions and light fillings reducing the weight of buildings and structures, shall be or-

ganized. Cement production shall be increased to 122-127 million tons in 1975. The assortment of facing materials and plumbing and sanitary equipment shall be considerably extended. The output of bricks and other local materials shall be increased. Wide use shall be made of the by-products of other industries (slag, ash and non-metallic materials) for the production of building materials. Production of lime meal and ceramic drainage pipes for agriculture, and also pipes for irrigation shall be increased.

The technical level of enterprises shall be raised, and the mechanization and automation of production processes accelerated. In the building materials industry labour productivity shall be raised by approximately 35 per cent.

Light industry. In order to satisfy more fully the Soviet people's requirements for clothes, footwear and other light industry goods, the volume of productions in this industry shall be increased by 35-40 per cent; in 1975 the output of fabrics shall be increased to 10,500-11,000 million square metres, and of leather footwear to 800-830 million pairs; the output of knitwear shall be increased by 50 per cent, of garments by 40 per cent, and of porcelain and faience crockery by 100 per cent. The range of items shall be opportunely changed and enlarged, and their quality and design improved.

Light industry enterprises shall be technically re-equipped through the introduction of new machinery and advanced technologies and also through mechanization and automation. Highly productive spindleless spinning machines, shuttleless looms, comprehensive automated production lines for the cotton, wool and knitwear industry, continuous technological processes for the finishing of fabrics and knitwear, and for the production of garments and footwear shall be widely introduced.

In the light industry labour productivity shall be increased by 34 per cent.

In the food, meat and dairy and fish industries output shall be increased by 33-35 per cent: meat by 40-43 per cent, whole-milk products by 29 per cent, sugar roughly by 34 per cent, and fish products by at least 47 per cent. Quality shall be bettered, the assortment widened and the nutritive value and taste of the products improved. Priority shall be given to raising the output of children's and dietetic foods, canned fruit and vegetables and high-quality confec-

tionery. The output of weighed and packed foods as well as various ready-to-cook and ready-to-serve foods shall be increased.

The comprehensive utilization of food raw materials shall be extended. The building or reconstruction of food, meat and milk enterprises and the installation of modern, highly productive equipment shall be ensured.

The output of live and chilled fish, fish fillet, ready-to-cook fish, cured fillet, and smoked and dried fish and the supply of these products to trading organizations shall be considerably increased.

The fishing fleet shall be enlarged with modern vessels fitted with automated and mechanized fishing and processing lines ensuring the comprehensive processing of the catch and the utmost utilization of waste for the production of feed meal. The exploitation of the fishing fleet shall be considerably improved; new, advanced means of locating and catching fish shall be widely introduced; and ship-repair capacities and sea fishing ports, particularly in the Far Eastern basin, shall be developed.

The output capacities of enterprises comprehensively processing sea fish and producing a wide range of high-quality fish products shall be enlarged.

Surveys of the raw material reserves for the fish industry in the World Ocean shall be extended. Measures shall be taken to secure a considerable increase in the valuable food fish reserves in inland reservoirs. The output of pond fisheries shall be raised by 170 per cent.

At enterprises of the food, meat and dairy, and fish industries labour productivity shall be increased by 30-33 per cent.

The production of articles for everyday use and household appliances shall be developed in all industries and increased by 80 per cent. In the various branches of the heavy industry output of articles for everyday use and household appliances shall be increased as follows: by 200 per cent in the non-ferrous metallurgical, chemical engineering and machine-building industries; by 120-150 per cent in the heavy engineering, instrument-making, ship-building and electronics industries; by 80-100 per cent in the aircraft, defence, electrical engineering, chemical, petrochemical, in light and food industries machine-building, in building materials and radio engineering industries; and

by 50-70 per cent in the auto, pulp and paper, timber, wood-working and iron and steel industries.

Every effort shall be made to enlarge and constantly change the range of articles, improve their quality, organize the production of new commodities, and enhance the reliability and durability of technically intricate household machines and appliances which lighten domestic work.

Steps shall be taken to organize specialized enterprises and workshops for the production of items of everyday use and household appliances, and to raise the technological level of the production of these items at enterprises already in operation.

The output of the *local industries* shall be increased by 70 per cent. The production of high-quality handicraft articles, souvenirs, small-size household utensils and other consumer goods shall be substantially expanded, and maximum use shall be made of local resources of raw and other materials for these purposes. The technical re-equipment and specialization of existing enterprises and the building of new enterprises shall be undertaken chiefly in small and medium-sized towns.

The enlargement of the *microbiological industry* shall be accelerated. The output of feed yeasts shall be increased by 250-270 per cent. The production of protein-vitamin concentrates shall be developed, and the output of amino-acids and microbiological plant protection chemicals, non-medicinal antibiotics and feed vitamins shall be considerably extended. The production and range of enzyme preparations used to intensify technological processes and improve the quality of the products of the food and light industry, of agriculture and other industrial branches shall be enlarged. The microbiological industry shall be equipped with highly efficient production lines with increased-capacity units.

In the flour and groats industry steps shall be taken to ensure the production of the necessary quantity of high grades of flour, enlarge the range of groats, and increase the processing of rice twofold and of buckwheat 1.5-fold. The material and technical resources of the grain elevators, and of the flour-and-groats and the compound feeds industries shall be increased.

The medical industry shall step up production by 60 per cent. The output of pharmaceuticals in the necessary as-

sortment shall be raised to a level ensuring the full satisfaction of the requirement of the population. The output of vitamins and antibiotics shall be considerably increased. Priority shall be given to the development and production of new anti-virus, anti-bacterial, anti-fungi and anti-tumour medicines. The output and assortment of ready-made medicines shall be increased. Production of medical equipment and technical means used for the prevention and diagnosis of diseases and for the treatment and care of patients shall be expanded.

IV. AGRICULTURE

In agriculture the task is to increase the average annual output of farm products by 20-22 per cent as compared with the preceding five-year period and to secure fuller satisfaction of the growing food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of industry. The utmost enlargement of the material and technical basis of agriculture and its consistent intensification through chemicalization, the comprehensive mechanization of crop and animal farming and large-scale land improvement are the key conditions for fulfilling this task. Production shall be more rationally located and increasingly specialized and concentrated, and better use shall be made of farmland, machinery and the labour resources of the collective and state farms.

The crop yield shall be increased in all parts of the country by enhancing soil fertility, and by the use of advanced technologies, the rational application of mineral and organic fertilizers, large-scale land improvement, anti-erosion measures, improved seed-farming, the introduction of the most productive crop varieties and hybrids, and systems of disease, pest and weed control measures, the elimination of harvest losses, the improvement of the structure of crop areas and by proper crop rotation. Land resources shall be husbanded with care and no extravagance

shall be permitted when allocating land for non-agricultural purposes. The responsibility of land-users and of agricultural, water economy and forestry bodies for the implementation of anti-erosion and land-improvement measures shall be enhanced.

During the five-year period the average annual grain crop throughout the country shall amount to not less than 195 million tons. Grain crop yields shall be considerably increased at every collective and state farm; in the new five-year period the raising of grain output shall remain the key task in the development of agriculture. Grain production on irrigated and reclaimed land shall be increased, and the work of developing large districts with a guaranteed output of marketable grain shall be intensified in the irrigated areas in the south of the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus and in the Volga area. Production of high-grade strong and hard wheat, rice, groat crops and malting barley shall be increased. Machinery used in grain production shall be continually improved.

Production of potatoes and other vegetables, particularly of the early-ripening varieties, shall be increased; irrigated and flood-lands shall be used more effectively for raising these crops, the specialised zones for their market production shall be enlarged and new hothouse enterprises shall be set up; the output of fruit, berries and grapes shall be increased. The size of general storage and cold storage facilities shall be considerably expanded, and the capacity of enterprises processing farm produce at state and collective farms and at purchasing organizations shall be better supplied with specialized transport, and the system of purchasing potatoes, vegetables and fruit shall be improved.

In 1975 the output of raw cotton shall be increased to 7-7.2 million tons through the planting of higher-yielding, disease-resistant varieties of cotton, implementing cotton-lucerne rotation and enlarging the cotton crop area on newly irrigated land. The level of mechanization in cotton-growing and picking shall be raised, and all cotton-growing areas shall be fully supplied with the necessary mineral fertilizers, herbicides and other agricultural chemicals.

There shall be an increase in the output of sugar beet, tea leaves, hops, tobacco, flax, hemp, sunflower seeds, soya

beans and other oil and industrial crops, chiefly through a considerable enhancement of the per-hectare yields.

The further *development of livestock farming* shall be ensured in each agricultural unit through a system of effective measures to enlarge the feed resources, improve the breed of livestock and poultry, and enhance their productivity while at the same time securing a growth of the livestock population.

During the five-year period the average annual output of meat in the country shall be raised to at least 14.3 million tons (slaughter weight), of milk to 92.3 million tons, of eggs to 46,700 million, and of wool to 464,000 tons.

Intensive dairy cattle farming shall be further developed, and the specialized beef cattle, pig and poultry farming shall be promoted. The population and productivity of sheep and goats shall be considerably increased.

The building of a stable fodder base for animal farming at the earliest possible date shall be considered a major task. A considerable increase shall be effected in the production of hay, silage, grass meal and root crops for the full satisfaction of the requirements of livestock farming on collective and state farms as well as of the husbandries of collective farmers and state-farm workers owning livestock. The production of maize, barley, oats and legumes shall be substantially increased mainly by enhancing yields, particularly on irrigated and drained land, enlarging the crop areas and boosting the yield of perennial grasses. Wider use shall be made of advanced methods of laying in and storing fodder, hay-making with crimpers and forced ventilation, and the preparation of haylage and vitamin-rich grass meal. Highly productive meadows and pastures shall be created, larger basin-irrigation areas shall be put under fodder crops. Steps shall be taken to increase the productivity of natural fodder lands, particularly in the large sheep and cattle breeding areas of Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Volga area, West and East Siberia and the North Caucasus, and the necessary work shall be carried out to secure the effective utilization of the "Black Land" and the Kizlyar pastures. To provide livestock farming with high grade feeds, the compound feed and microbiological industries shall be developed at a rapid rate. By the end of the five-year period the production of compound feeds at state enterprises

shall be raised to not less than 30 million tons, and the output of protein-vitamin concentrates shall be increased to one million tons.

The production of compound feeds shall be organized on a large scale at collective and state farms with the utilization of grain grown by these farms and of protein-vitamin concentrates produced by state enterprises. The production of mineral supplements shall be increased, and wider use shall be made of the waste of the food, and meat and dairy industries for feeds.

In order to speed up the production of animal products and enhance its efficiency, mechanized livestock units shall be set up on collective and state farms, and large state, collective farm and inter-collective farm complexes using industrial methods to put out livestock products, and also poultry factories shall be built in the vicinity of towns. The intensive fattening of calves and pigs on state and collective farms, and on the ancillary farms of industrial enterprises and catering establishments shall be organized.

Deer raising, fur farming, rabbit breeding, pond-fish farming, bee keeping and silkworm breeding shall be promoted.

Veterinary services shall be improved.

Collective and state farms shall provide the rural population with the necessary assistance in their ancillary husbandries and in increasing the livestock and poultry population.

Measures shall be taken *to improve the quality* of grain, meat, potatoes, fruit and vegetables, sugar beet and raw cotton, and also of other products and agricultural raw materials.

Decisive measures shall be taken to prevent losses and deterioration of quality at all stages of production, harvesting, transportation, storage and sale.

The principle of *stable plans for the purchase* of farm products shall be sustained and farms shall be encouraged to sell products to the state over and above plan at higher purchasing prices. For every collective and state farm engaged in the production of marketable grain and for every region, territory and republic, the target shall be not only the fulfilment of the fixed plan but the selling to the state, on the basis of increased agricultural production, a minimum of 35 per cent of grain over and above the plan dur-

ing the five-year period; it shall be ensured that every collective and state farm shall annually sell the state not less than 8-10 per cent of its livestock output over and above the plan.

Direct links between industrial enterprises and trading organizations, and collective and state farms shall be developed and strengthened to the utmost, and a change-over shall be made to the receipt of products directly at the farms and their delivery by specialized transport belonging to the purchasing organizations.

In 1975 the supply of mineral fertilizers to agriculture shall be increased to 72 million tons, and of feed phosphates to 3 million tons.

Depending on the soil and climatic zones, effective methods shall be introduced for the utilization of mineral fertilizers in combination with organic fertilizers, the liming of acid soils, land improvement and a general enhancement of the efficiency level of farming.

More effective utilization of mineral fertilizers and a reduction of losses in storage, transportation and application shall be ensured. There shall be a gradual change-over to specialized bulk transportation of mineral fertilizers and comprehensive mechanization of handling and applying fertilizers. More storage facilities for fertilizers shall be built. Mineral fertilizer storehouses shall be sited with a view to achieving minimum transportation. A large network of fertilizer mixers shall be set up at storehouses and on the farms. The production and use of chemical and biological means of plant protection shall be increased.

During the five-year period three million more hectares of *irrigated lands*, including basin-irrigation lands, shall be put under crops; pastures over an area of 41,200,000 hectares shall be irrigated and the existing irrigated lands shall be supplied with more water.

The building of large water-economy projects in the Kakhovka and Kuibyshev irrigation systems and also in the zone of the Big Stavropol, North Crimean and Saratov canals shall be speeded up. The building of engineering systems for rice crops shall be continued in Krasnodar Territory and in Astrakhan and Rostov regions, Primorye Territory, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Rice output shall be increased to 2,000,000 tons in 1975.

Some 650,000 hectares of new irrigated lands shall be sown to cotton, chiefly by speeding up the work in the Karshi and Sherabad steppes, the zone of the Kara-Kum Canal and the Ferghana Valley, and by completing the work in the Golodnaya Steppe.

In excessively humid areas, 5,000,000 hectares, of which 3,000,000 hectares shall have closed drainage systems, shall be reclaimed for crops.

The quality of the construction of irrigation and land improvement facilities shall be raised, and its costs reduced.

Better use shall be made of irrigated and drained lands; a considerable increase in the yields of all crops on irrigated land shall be secured and the necessary quantity of fertilizers and machinery shall be supplied for this purpose.

Technically advanced irrigation and watering systems with automated water distribution and highly efficient watering techniques, and also drainage and drainage-watering systems providing the optimum biological regime for the soil shall be planned and built.

During the five-year period *labour productivity* at collective and state farms shall be increased by 37-40 per cent, and production costs shall be substantially lowered. To this end steps shall be taken:

to supply these farms with higher-capacity tractors, highly efficient harvesters, wide-cut and multi-row machines and combined machines performing several technological operations simultaneously;

to provide agriculture with larger numbers of highly efficient earth-moving and land-reclamation machinery, lorries with an increased cross-country and carrying capacity, tip-up lorries, lorry and tractor trailers, specialized lorries and buses;

to produce new types of machines and equipment necessary for the comprehensive mechanization and automation of agricultural production, particularly in animal farming and feed production, including machines, equipment and technological lines for livestock complexes using industrial methods of production;

to develop equipment for fruit and vegetable store-houses with automatically regulated temperature and

humidity for the storage of potatoes, vegetables, fruit and grapes, and also for industrial vegetable-growing hot-houses.

In the course of the five-year period agriculture shall be supplied with 1,700,000 tractors (including 705,000 plough tractors), 1,100,000 lorries, 1,500,000 tractor trailers, 87,000 excavators, 82,000 bulldozers, 42,500 scrapers, and 15,000 million roubles' worth of farm machinery, including 541,000 grain harvesters, 230,000 silage-harvesters and 60,000 sugar-beet combines, and 6,000 million roubles' worth of machinery for mechanizing labour in livestock-farming and the production of feeds. The demand for spare parts for tractors, lorries and farm machinery shall be met in full. The technical level, quality, reliability and durability of the machines and equipment supplied to agriculture shall be raised. The use and maintenance of all kinds of farm machinery at the collective and state farms shall be improved.

The further expansion of repair facilities and the building of lorry servicing stations shall be ensured in agriculture. The quality of repairs and of the technical servicing of machines and equipment shall be improved. The engineering, technical and production servicing of collective and state farms by *Soyuzselkhoztekhnika* enterprises and organizations shall be bettered.

The per capita electric power consumption shall be increased in agriculture, and the volume of power for agricultural production as well as for the communal and household requirements of the rural population shall be doubled. All collective and state farms in the country, and the production premises, cultural and service facilities and dwelling houses at the farms shall be supplied with electric power mainly from state power grids and power stations. Agriculture shall also be supplied with the necessary electric equipment and appliances and cable articles, including those for control and automation systems.

State capital investments amounting to 82,200 million roubles shall be allocated for the development of agriculture, including the building of production premises, dwelling houses and public service establishments and the purchase of machinery.

Material and technical resources shall be provided for collective-farm capital investments amounting to 46,400 million roubles.

Additional financial and material resources shall be tapped and channelled into the development of agriculture in the course of the fulfilment of the annual plans.

The efficiency in the utilization of capital investments shall be considerably enhanced, and the planning of agricultural projects shall be fundamentally improved. The cost of agricultural construction shall be lowered. The development and application of the most economical designs shall be ensured.

The further *development of ancillary industries*, chiefly for processing and storing farm produce and producing building materials and consumer goods from local raw materials, shall be ensured at the collective and state farms in order to secure fuller and more rational utilization of the labour resources in rural localities throughout the year, strengthen the economy of the farms and boost labour productivity. Production links shall be promoted between agricultural and industrial enterprises. The building and improvement of inter-collective farm and state-collective farm enterprises and organizations, and the creation of agrarian-industrial complexes and amalgamations shall be facilitated.

The effectiveness of *scientific research in agriculture* shall be enhanced. The attention of research organizations shall be concentrated on the basic problems of agricultural production, the accelerated introduction of efficient production processes and the means of achieving their comprehensive mechanization, the implementation of advanced methods of protecting plants and animals against pests and diseases, and on resolving the problem of securing the most rational utilization of farmland, machinery and labour resources.

The work of developing new varieties of plants and new breeds of cattle and poultry shall be intensified. The development of non-lodging and disease-resistant varieties and hybrids of grain crops for irrigated and drained lands, and for conditions requiring high rates of mineral fertilizer application shall be considered a major task. The introduction of highly productive varieties of farm crops and breeds of livestock shall be ensured on a large scale.

The material and technical facilities of research and educational institutions shall be enlarged.

The necessary steps shall be taken to *provide collective and state farms with permanent staffs* of farm machine operators, livestock breeders, team leaders and other experts, to raise their qualifications and improve the working and living conditions of people engaged in agriculture. The training of agronomists, livestock experts, veterinary surgeons, engineers, economists and other specialists planning to work in agriculture shall be improved.

The efficiency of collective and state-farm production shall be enhanced. Better labour organization shall be achieved on the collective and state farms, and the system of remuneration for labour shall be improved by giving the personnel greater material incentives to step up production, improve quality, reduce costs, and effectively use the machinery. The changeover to full cost accounting shall be completed on the state farms.

The *forestry service* shall be improved by raising the level of its technical equipment and chemicalization; fuller use shall be made of the forest resources and state forest lands, and the productivity and qualitative composition of the forests shall be improved. Reforestation and afforestation shall be conducted on an area of up to 12 million hectares; drainage shall be effected in forests on an area of 1,300,000 hectares, forest conservation and the protection of forests against diseases, pests and fires shall be promoted on a larger scale.

Measures for the protection of nature shall be intensified. Ministries, departments, factories, offices and organizations shall bear greater responsibility for the rational utilization of natural resources: land, water, atmosphere, minerals, and for the conservation of flora and fauna.

V.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Measures shall be taken to further the development of transport, increase the capacity and mobility of the transport system in order to secure the uninterrupted and timely satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy and the population, speed up the delivery of freight and passenger traffic and set up reserve traffic and transportation capacities. The freight turnover on all modes of transport shall be boosted 32-35 per cent.

The technical equipment of transport shall be improved, and the network of communications shall be enlarged and strengthened, particularly in the country's eastern regions. Measures shall be taken to enhance the safety of traffic.

Transport efficiency shall be enhanced, improved utilization of transport means and better co-ordination of the work of all modes of transport shall be secured, and all unwarranted carriage shall be eliminated. The transportation of container and packaged freight with the use of large containers shall be expanded. Idle time and empty runs shall be reduced. The level of comprehensive mechanization in loading and unloading shall be raised. The capacities of enterprises repairing vehicles and producing spare parts shall be increased. The technology of repairing vehicles shall be improved and its specialization shall

be secured on a larger scale. Fuel consumption in transport shall be cut by an average of 10-12 per cent.

The further development and technical improvement of all types of industrial transport shall be ensured.

In the development of the *railways* the main task shall be to increase the traffic and freight capacity.

The freight turnover of the railways shall be increased approximately 22 per cent.

Railways totalling 7,000-8,000 kilometres shall be double-tracked between the Kuzbas and the Urals, the Urals and the central regions, the Donbas and the country's western regions and in other areas with a heavy freight traffic. Between 6,000 and 7,000 kilometres of railways shall be electrified and the installation of automatic blocking and centralized dispatcher control systems shall be continued. Between 5,000 and 6,000 kilometres of new railways shall be built to service the new industrial regions and to cater for their growing transport and economic links. During the five-year period the railway lines shall be provided with 420,000-430,000 goods wagons. The weight and speed of trains shall be increased through the use of heavy-duty wagons and powerful locomotives. The transportation of freight by through trains and super-long trains shall be practiced on a larger scale.

The handling capacity of stations, junctions and industrial sidings shall be increased. The percentage of advanced means of traction in shunting shall be raised to 80-82. The tracks shall be strengthened through the use of reinforced-concrete sleepers, jointless tracks and rails subjected to thermal treatment, and the level of mechanization in track-laying shall be boosted.

On the railways, labour productivity shall be increased approximately 23 per cent.

The *freight turnover of marine transport* shall be increased 40 per cent. The marine transport shall be augmented with highly economical, universal and specialized vessels with comprehensively automated control of on-board mechanisms and systems, including ships for the transportation of large containers, equipment and perishable freight. More freight shall be carried by sea-river-sea vessels.

The handling capacity of sea ports shall be developed and highly mechanized, specialized installations shall be

built for the handling of containers, bulk freight and timber. The building of the first section of a deep-water port near Nakhodka in the Far East shall be completed, and the building of a port on the Black Sea shall be started. The capacities of ship-repair yards shall be increased.

River transport shall be further developed and its freight turnover shall be increased approximately 24 per cent. The improvement of inland waterways in the country's eastern regions shall be continued. The handling capacity of river ports and wharves shall be extended through the installation of highly efficient loading equipment and the building of new mechanized wharves. The river fleet shall be augmented with big freighters and barge-trains with a large payload, including for non-stop transportation on the high seas and on rivers, and also with fast passenger ships. Transportation costs shall be substantially reduced.

The enlargement of the network of trunk *pipelines* shall be speeded up. A large system of oil pipelines shall be built to transport oil from Western Siberia to the European and eastern regions of the country.

A total of 27,000 kilometres of trunk pipelines for oil and oil products shall be constructed. The quantity of piped oil and oil products shall be more than doubled.

The further development of *motor transport*, primarily of general-purpose motor transport, shall be regarded as a major task. A 60 per cent growth of the freight turnover on general-purpose motor transport shall be ensured. The building and reconstruction of motor roads, particularly in rural and new industrial regions, shall be expanded.

The structure of the lorry fleet shall be improved and the ratio of lorries with a large payload and of lorry-trains shall be increased. An increase shall be secured in the number of lorries with a small payload, and of specialized vans for consumer goods. The technical servicing of motor transport shall be improved. Empty runs and idle time shall be reduced. The per-day working time of lorries shall be extended.

There shall be a substantial improvement of *transport services for the population*. Passenger traffic on all modes of general-purpose transport shall be increased 40 per cent, including 70 per cent on air lines, 60 per cent on buses and 24 per cent on railways. Urban electric transport facilities for passengers shall be developed, the fleet of taxis en-

larged and the service for the population by these modes of transport improved. A considerable growth of transport services for tourists and excursions shall be ensured.

New comfortable, fast and more economical aircraft shall be used by the airlines. The operation of supersonic airliners shall be started. The network of airports on the main and local airlines shall be enlarged.

The railways shall receive new, improved, comfortable carriages. Railways with heavy suburban traffic shall be electrified in order to provide better commuting facilities for the population of large cities, and the frequency of the suburban train service shall be increased.

The bus fleet shall be considerably enlarged. The number of stations servicing motor transport, including personally owned cars, shall be increased 2.5-fold.

The further development of *communications and of radio and TV broadcasting* shall be ensured through the use of the most up-to-date equipment. The length of trunk-line telephone channels shall be increased by 90 per cent through the development and better use of the network of communication cables and radio-relay lines. The building of inter-city automatic and semi-automatic telephone communication facilities shall be continued. The capacity of telephone stations in towns and rural localities shall be increased 50 per cent. The network of radio and TV broadcasting stations shall be enlarged and greater use shall be made of communications and TV-relay satellites. Reliable reception of programmes on at least two channels shall be ensured in the capitals of the Union republics and in the major industrial centres. All forms of communications services shall be considerably expanded and the quality of these services for the population shall be improved.

VI.

CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION

In order to achieve the targets in economic development and in raising the living standard and cultural level of the people provision shall be made for a 36-40 per cent increase of capital investments in the national economy during the five-year period.

The *efficiency of capital investments* shall be considerably *enhanced* and the most rational use shall be made of the material and financial resources allocated for construction in order to secure the highest possible rate of output growth per ruble of investment. To this end measures shall be taken:

to increase capacities, chiefly at operating enterprises, through the introduction of up-to-date technologies, modernization, the replacement of obsolete plant and other measures, making it possible to step up output, in most cases, without expanding production areas, with smaller outlays and within a shorter period than would be required for building new projects;

to ensure the necessary concentration of capital investments and reduce the number of enterprises and projects being built at one and the same time in order to place them in operation more quickly and create the necessary capacity reserves; not to allow uncompleted building projects to accumulate above the permitted limit;

to reduce the time needed for the building of enterprises and for the commissioning of the capacities of these enterprises, and bring these schedules into line with the established norms;

to improve the quality of building and assembly work;
to implement the practice of building industrial projects simultaneously with dwelling houses, childrens' institutions, trade and service establishments and other non-production projects;

to extend the practice of building industrial enterprises with common ancillary facilities and services, engineering structures and communications.

Designing and cost estimation shall be improved. Design organizations, ministries, departments and commissions of experts shall bear greater responsibility for the quality of design and the correct estimation of the cost of building projects. In designing new projects and in enlarging operating enterprises use shall be made of the most up-to-date technological, building, architectural and planning methods. The estimated cost of building shall be reduced at least 3-5 per cent through the development of more rational designs.

A high rate shall be achieved in developing the capacities of building organizations. The level of industrialization of construction shall be raised. The extent of prefabrication of building elements and units shall be increased. The practice of fully prefabricated construction shall be extended. The use of new effective materials and lightened structures shall be ensured on a mass scale. Wider use shall be made of local building materials. The utilization of material resources in building shall be improved, and in the course of the five years there shall be a saving of 9-11 per cent of rolled metal, 8-10 per cent of cement, 18-20 per cent of timber, and 10-12 per cent of glass.

Construction projects shall be provided with more highly efficient machines, tools and means of transport, and the replacement of obsolete earth-moving equipment shall be accelerated. A radical improvement shall be achieved in the utilization of building machinery. The maintenance and operation facilities in the building industry shall be expanded and their technical level shall be raised.

Specialized district and inter-district production facilities shall be set up for the building industry in areas with the largest number of new projects, and the material and technical base of building organizations shall be enlarged.

Building organisations shall be switched to a new system of planning and economic stimulation.

In building, labour productivity shall be increased 36-40 per cent,

VII.

RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

A new, substantial rise in the people's standard of living shall be secured through a steady growth of social production, rapid development of agriculture, extension of the output of consumer goods and development of the services industry. In the course of the five years, per capita real incomes shall be increased approximately 30 per cent.

The system of remuneration for labour shall be improved in accordance with its quantity and quality. The wages and salaries of workers and office employees shall be raised by an average of 20-22 per cent, and remuneration for the collective farmers' labour on collective farms shall be increased 30-35 per cent.

In the course of the five-year period the minimum monthly wage of workers and office employees shall be raised to 70 rubles in all branches of the national economy throughout the country; the wage rates and salaries of the medium-paid brackets shall be raised simultaneously.

The differentials in the remuneration for labour by industries and by categories of workers and office employees shall be improved with due account of the conditions of their work and their qualifications.

The role of the wage rate system shall be enhanced, and workers and office employees shall be given greater incentives to step up labour productivity, reduce production costs and improve the quality of products.

The minimum wages, rates and salaries of the medium-paid brackets in branches of material production shall be raised gradually by regions, beginning with the northern and eastern regions.

In order to ensure that economically promising areas are provided with more personnel, payment for work shall be increased by introducing wage differentials for employees of factories and organisations located in Western Siberia, the Urals and some regions in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, where differentials have not yet been established; the existing wage differentials shall be increased in some industries in a number of regions of the Far East and Eastern Siberia, and more benefits shall be instituted for people working in some regions of the European North.

In non-production spheres salaries shall be raised first for doctors, teachers, and instructors at preschool children's institutions, and then for other personnel in education, the health services and other non-production spheres.

Additional payments for night work shall be raised.

The system of forming and distributing incentive funds shall be improved. Material incentives aimed at encouraging workers and office employees to develop and introduce up-to-date plant and swiftly to master the production of new commodities shall be intensified.

In addition to providing industrial and office workers, and collectives of workers, with more material incentives to improve their work, everything shall be done to enhance the role of moral incentives. Discipline shall be strengthened and every industrial and office worker shall bear a greater responsibility for his work.

Rate-setting for work quotas shall be improved, scientific organization shall be introduced on a larger scale in every branch of the national economy and the application of accurately established rates shall be extended so that the remuneration of the labour of every factory and office worker shall accord with his labour contribution to social production.

The further reduction and abolition of income taxes shall be continued. Wages of up to 70 rubles a month shall be tax-free, and the tax rate on wages of up to 90 rubles a month shall be reduced.

The system of economic incentives for highly productive labour on the collective farms shall be improved.

The redemption of state loan bonds held by the population shall be started ahead of schedule.

The further development of the social consumption funds, as an important source for raising the Soviet people's standard of living and cultural level, *shall be ensured*. During the five-year period the volume of free material benefits and services as well as of cash allowances to the population from these funds shall be increased by 40 per cent.

In order to provide better conditions for bringing up the rising generation, material aid to families with children shall be increased, and more benefits shall be instituted for working mothers; allowances shall be introduced for children in families in which the income per member does not exceed an average of 50 rubles a month; the number of paid days for tending a sick child shall be increased; payment for pregnancy and maternity leaves shall amount to the full wage regardless of the work record.

The number of children's institutions shall be increased. During the five-year period children's institutions with accommodation for over 2,000,000 children shall be built at state expense, and the number of pupils in prolonged-day schools and groups shall be increased by 1,500,000.

Social insurance and the pension scheme shall be improved; the minimum old-age pension shall be raised for workers and office employees and collective farmers, and the same pension terms shall be instituted for collective farmers as for factory and office workers permanently resident in rural localities and linked with agriculture. Conditions shall be created for drawing more able-bodied pensioners into labour activity, and disablement pensions and pensions for the loss of the breadwinner shall be raised.

In line with the growth of the population's incomes and the extension of consumer goods output *retail trade shall be increased* by 40 per cent.

A further improvement shall be secured in the diet of the population by increasing the production and consumption of meat, fish and dairy products, eggs, vegetables and fruit, and enlarging the range of these and other foodstuffs.

More and better ready-to-cook foods, concentrates, cooked foods and other items shall be produced in order to

achieve a substantial reduction of the time spent on cooking at home.

There shall be a considerable extension of the network of public catering establishments, particularly at places of work and at educational institutions. The turnover of public catering establishments shall be increased. The output of products by them shall be raised by at least 50 per cent with a simultaneous substantial improvement in the quality and enlargement of the assortment of these products.

A wide choice of garments and footwear, particularly for children, shall be ensured. The sale to the population of crockery, furniture, refrigerators and other items of everyday use and household appliances, and also of fuel and building materials shall be considerably increased.

The network of shops, refrigerator plants and vegetable storage facilities shall be extended with special emphasis on the installation of modern equipment in shops. Every effort shall be made to promote advanced forms of trade, and the pre-packaging of commodities shall be increased in the necessary proportions.

The supply of consumer goods to the rural population shall be improved. The trading, purchasing and production activity of consumers' cooperatives, which promote economic links between town and country, shall be developed. The gathering and purchase of mushrooms, berries and other wild plants shall be increased. The organisation of trade at the collective-farm markets shall be improved.

The ties between industry and trading organizations shall be improved, considering that the output and range of consumer goods must be determined by the orders placed by trading organizations.

During the five-year period dwelling houses with a total floor space of 565-575 million square metres shall be built with funds from all sources of financing. Every effort shall be made to speed up the building of houses in the eastern and northern regions of the country and also for the workers and employees of enterprises under construction outside towns and of new state farms. More hostels shall be built for students of higher educational establishments and pupils of secondary specialised schools.

Building cooperatives, which are an important means of providing the population with better housing, shall be

promoted. Assistance shall be rendered in individual dwelling construction.

The quality of new dwelling houses and their architecture and external finishing shall be improved, their building schedules shall be shortened and a gradual transition shall be made to building them in accordance with standard designs providing for a more convenient layout and improved finishing and fittings. The management and maintenance of dwelling houses shall be improved.

More shall be done to modernize population centres and improve communal services. The urban population shall, in the main, be provided with a centralized water supply, and water piping is to be laid on in 700 towns and workers' settlements during the five-year period. The proportion of homes provided with gas shall be brought up to 65-75 per cent in towns and urban type settlements, and 40-50 per cent in rural localities. Considerably more electricity shall be made available for household needs.

Further efforts shall be made to improve the sanitary condition of population centres and their environment. For this purpose the building and reconstruction of installations purifying industrial waste and household sewage, and also of gas- and dust-trapping installations shall be speeded up, and measures shall be taken to reduce noise and the pollution of city air by the exhaust fumes of motor vehicles. Work shall be expanded to plant trees and shrubs in towns and other population centres, and to secure rational utilisation and protection of the country's water resources. Water supply projects shall be placed in operation with a view to improving the supply of water to towns, workers' settlements and industrial enterprises.

Everyday services for the population shall be substantially improved. Steps shall be taken to ensure the fuller satisfaction of the people's demand for all kinds of services, the efficiency and quality of these services shall be enhanced and the time taken to fulfil orders shall be reduced. Everyday services shall be expanded as a major mechanised industry by enlarging the network of everyday service establishments and supplying them with modern machines, mechanisms and equipment, applying scientific and technological achievements and making more effective use of production capacities. The organisation of the repair of household appliances shall be improved.

During the five-year period the volume of everyday services shall be at least doubled in the country as a whole and increased 2.8 times in rural localities.

Steps shall be taken to secure a further improvement of the health services and the development of physical culture and sports. Large specialized and general hospitals, polyclinics and disease-prevention centres shall continue to be built in order to improve the quality of specialized medical aid and to provide more fully all forms of this aid for the population; the number of first-aid stations and epidemiological centres shall be increased. The requirements of the population and medical institutions for pharmaceuticals shall be met. By 1975, the number of hospital beds shall be increased to 3,000,000. Medical institutions shall be better provided with the latest medical equipment, apparatus and instruments.

The allowance for meals in hospitals shall be increased.

Research into key problems of medicine and public health shall be promoted on a wider scale.

The number of doctors shall be increased. The training level of medical personnel shall be raised.

Sanatorium treatment and health and recreation facilities for the people shall be further developed.

Better conditions shall be provided to make it possible for more people to engage in physical culture and sport by building new and making better use of existing sports facilities.

Measures shall be taken to promote tourism on a large scale and to provide a larger material base for it. River, sea, railway, motor and air tourist itineraries shall be extended. More hotels, tourist camps and other facilities for tourists shall be built.

The number of homes for invalids and the aged shall be increased. Invalids shall be provided with better movement aids and artificial limbs.

There will be a further all-sided development of *public education and socialist culture*. The process of education and upbringing shall be improved. A higher training and qualification level of teaching personnel shall be achieved. More shall be done to help schoolchildren to select a profession with due account for their inclinations and the national economy's need for trained personnel.

General education schools with at least 6,000,000 places

shall be built and the number of boarding schools in the countryside shall be increased with state capital investments.

Extra-school work with children shall be substantially improved and more Houses of Young Pioneers, Young Technicians' and Young Naturalists' centres, sports schools for children and juveniles, and other children's institutions engaged in the upbringing of the rising generation shall be built. Their material resources shall be enlarged.

Higher and secondary specialised education shall be promoted in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress, and the quality of the training and ideological and political education of future specialists shall be improved. During the five-year period approximately 9,000,000 specialists shall be trained at institutions of higher learning and secondary specialised schools, with special attention to the training of specialists in new fields of science and technology, for the rapidly growing branches of production and for the services industry.

Grants for students of institutions of higher learning and secondary specialised schools shall be increased.

The educational and material facilities of general education and vocational schools, particularly in rural localities, and of higher and secondary specialised institutions of learning shall be expanded, and they shall be provided with modern equipment and technical means of training.

Research shall be promoted at institutions of higher learning. The ties of the higher and secondary specialized institutions of learning with production shall be strengthened in every way.

More skilled workers shall be trained at vocational schools, particularly in rural areas, so that young people should, as a rule, learn a trade before starting work. During the five-year period, not less than 9,000,000 skilled workers shall be trained at vocational schools for all the branches of the national economy. The training of cadres for agriculture, the building industry, the light and food industries and the services industry shall be speeded up. In 1975 the number of students enrolled in vocational schools training skilled workers for the most complex trades and, at the same time, giving them a secondary education shall be increased to 300,000-400,000.

The allowance for meals in urban, vocational and technical schools shall be increased.

The training and the raising of qualification level of workers directly at their places of work shall be improved. The utmost shall be done to strengthen evening (shift) schools for young workers and collective farmers.

In order to secure the fuller satisfaction of the people's cultural requirements, the further development of the press, television and radio broadcasting, literature and art shall be ensured and the material and technical facilities of cultural institutions shall be expanded. Further attention shall be paid to the development of people's universities and other forms of self-education for the cultural development and aesthetic and artistic education of the people. Radio and television programmes shall be improved.

Provision shall be made to secure a further increase in the output of books and in the circulation of newspapers and magazines, their design and range of themes shall be further improved, and the network of cinemas and film-projecting facilities shall be developed. The most up-to-date equipment and new materials, paper and film shall be introduced in the printing and film industries.

Special attention shall be paid to improving the cultural services to the population and, in the main, completing the building of houses of culture in district centres and of cultural establishments in all large population centres. Library services shall be perfected.

Cultural and art establishments shall be staffed more fully with skilled personnel and they shall play a greater role in socio-political life and in the leisure-time activities of the people.

VIII.

LOCATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION REPUBLICS

A further improvement of the location of the productive forces shall be achieved and territorial economic ties shall be enhanced. The Union Republics and the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies shall be given a bigger role in deciding the location of the productive forces.

The rational combination of sectoral and territorial planning shall be ensured.

The further accelerated development of the natural resources of the country's eastern regions and the build-up of their economic potential shall be regarded as an extremely important task in the location of the productive forces and the improvement of territorial proportions in the national economy. In view of the availability of cheap power resources in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia new power-intensive industries shall be sited chiefly in these areas. In the eastern areas, priority shall be ensured for the development of the building materials and building industries.

The policy of limiting the growth of large cities shall be steadfastly pursued; as a rule, no new industrial enterprises, with the exception of those concerned with providing services for the population and the municipal economy, shall be located in the large cities.

Small specialised enterprises and branches of factories situated in big cities shall be located in small towns and

workers' settlements. Industries shall be located in industrial centres with due account for the rational utilisation of male and female labour.

The further economic development of the Union Republics and of the economic regions shall be promoted in accordance with the following principal targets:

In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic industrial output shall be increased by 44-47 per cent, with accelerated growth rates set for the engineering, gas, oil and chemical industries.

In 1975 production of electric power shall be increased to about 660,000 million kwh, of oil—up to 400 million tons, of gas—141,000 million cu.m, of coal—373 millions tons, of rolled ferrous stock—59 million tons, of mineral fertilizers—43 million tons, of pulp—7.8 million tons, of cement—78 million tons, of fabrics—7,500-7,900 million sq.m., of leather footwear—406-420 million pairs, of meat—5.2 million tons, of whole-milk products—15.4 million tons and of furniture—to an amount worth 2,600 million roubles.

The average annual grain harvest shall be increased to 116 million tons. Large areas for the production of marketable grain shall be developed on irrigated lands, and the areas under rice shall be substantially extended. The production of sugar-beet, fibre-flax and sunflower seed shall be expanded. An area of 1.2 million hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation, and 18 million hectares of marshy and water-logged lands drained. Seven million hectares of land not requiring drainage shall be improved.

Animal husbandry shall be further developed, the population of all types of livestock and poultry increased and their productivity raised. Beef cattle and sheep farming shall be developed at an accelerated pace. The average annual production of meat in slaughter weight shall be increased to 7.3 million tons; milk, to 51 million tons; eggs, to 27,000 million and wool, to 228,000 tons. Measures shall be implemented to build up stable fodder resources for animal husbandry. Water shall be brought to 2.4 million hectares of pastures, and highly productive meadows and pastures shall be developed on not less than 6.3 million hectares. The yields and total production of le-

gumes and feed grains, root crops, perennial and annual grasses and silage crops shall be considerably raised.

In the European part of the RSFSR, prospecting and development of new oil and natural gas fields shall be stepped up in the North European areas. Construction of the North-Onega bauxite mine and the Vologda ball-bearing works shall be accelerated. Capacities shall be put into operation at the Leningrad and Kola atomic power stations and at the Kirishi thermal electric station. Construction of an oil refinery in the Arkhangelsk Region and of the Pechora thermal electric station shall be started.

Measures shall be carried out for the comprehensive development of industry and the public utilities of Moscow and Leningrad and the technical re-equipment of factories located in these cities, for ensuring an increase in output by raising labour productivity. Capacities shall be put into operation at the Kostroma, Kashira and Ryazan thermal electric stations and the heat and power plants of the Moscow power grid. Construction shall be started of the Smolensk atomic power station. Engineering works making automated transfer lines shall be built in Sukhinchii and Sasovo. A compound fertilizer factory shall be built in the Tula Region.

The building of a new industrial complex of nationwide importance on the basis of the mineral resources of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly shall be started, the production of iron ore in the area shall be increased to about 40 million tons. Capacities shall be put into operation at the Novovoronezh and Kursk atomic power stations.

Construction of the Volga motor works and allied enterprises shall be completed, and the accelerated mastery of their capacity ensured. The first section of a plant producing powerful tractors shall be completed in the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. A complex of factories for the production of lorries in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and allied enterprises in adjacent districts shall be developed. Construction of a complex of petrochemical enterprises in Nizhnekamsk shall be speeded up. Construction of chemical enterprises in Togliatti, Volzhsk, Kazan, Ufa and Novocheboksarsk shall be completed.

Work shall be continued on the comprehensive utilization of the water power resources of the Volga, the Kama

and the rivers of the North Caucasus. The area of irrigated lands shall be extended by 500,000-600,000 hectares in districts of the Volga area, and by 350,000-400,000 hectares in the North Caucasus. The Big Stavropol canal and the Nikolayev hydropower project on the Don River shall be built; widening of the main Don canal shall be started. The development of the Volga-Akhtuba flood-plain to be used for the growing of vegetables and melon crops and rice shall be accelerated.

In the Urals reconstruction of existing enterprises shall be continued, and new industrial enterprises shall be built, first of all in the Kizel and other coal-fields which are being exhausted. Electric power facilities shall be expanded, and new capacities at the Iriklinisky and Reftinsky thermal electric stations and a chemical complex at the Perm oil refinery shall be put into commission. Building of the third Berezniki and Solikamsk combined potash mines and works shall be accelerated. The further development of the oil, pulp and paper, light and food industries shall be secured. Water supply for all major cities shall be improved. A new big district for the extraction and processing of gas shall be developed in the Orenburg Region, and the prospecting and tapping of new oil-fields speeded up.

In Siberia high growth rates shall be ensured for power-intensive branches of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industry, the chemical, timber, wood-working, pulp and paper, fuel and electric power industries, and agriculture—above all, grain farming and animal husbandry.

An oil industry base, the largest in the country, shall be built up in Western Siberia; by 1975 oil output shall be increased to not less than 120-125 million tons; gas processing works with an annual processing capacity of 5,000-6,000 million cu. m of gas shall be built. Working of the powerful gas fields in the north of the Tyumen Region shall be speeded up. Construction of large petrochemical complexes shall be started in the vicinity of Tobolsk and Tomsk; capacities shall be put into commission at the Surgut thermal electric station; building of the Tyumen-Tobolsk-Surgut railway shall be completed. Construction on the Tobolsk and Surgut river ports shall be completed. The network of motor roads, airfields and communication

lines shall be expanded. Building of pipelines for delivering gas to the Urals and the European part of the USSR and of oil pipelines to refineries of Siberia, Kazakhstan and the European part of the USSR shall be ensured.

Total coal output in the Kuznetsk fields shall be increased to 135 million tons. Development of the Yerunakov deposit of coking coal shall be started. Building of the Rospadskaya Nos. 1-2 and the Biryulinskaya N. 2 collieries and the Novo-Kolbinsk opencast mine and the reconstruction of the Kedrov opencast mine shall be completed. Construction of the West Siberian iron and steel works shall continue. Building of a plant producing coke and coke-oven by-products (with the commissioning of its first section), a synthetic fibre factory and a number of engineering works in the Altai Territory shall be undertaken.

The Achinsk oil refinery shall be built at an accelerated pace; construction of the Krasnoyarsk aluminium factory shall be completed; and the production of copper and nickel at the Norilsk combined mines and metallurgical works considerably expanded. The mining and use of Kansk-Achinsk coals shall be increased. Development shall be started of the Sayany territorial industrial complex consisting of the Sayany hydroelectric station, an aluminium plant, a large steel foundry, non-ferrous metal manufacturing enterprises, a waggon-building factory, electrical equipment enterprises, and light industry and food industry enterprises. Construction of the Zima combined electrochemical works shall be speeded up.

Further development of the Bratsk territorial-industrial complex shall be ensured; building of the Bratsk aluminium plant and the Bratsk timber and wood-working complex shall be completed; the first units of the Ust-Ilim hydroelectric station shall be put into operation, and the building of the Ust-Ilim timber and wood-working complex started. Construction of the Zhireken combined molybdenum mining and concentration works shall be carried on in the Chita Region.

The felling and comprehensive processing of timber in Siberian areas shall be expanded and construction of new large enterprises of the sawmill, wood-working, pulp and paper and microbiological industries shall be launched in these areas.

Work for the accelerated development of the productive forces of the *Far East* shall be continued. The production of coal, tin, tungsten, mercury, gold and diamonds shall be increased. Expansion of the Komsomolsk oil refinery shall be completed, and building of another refinery started. The first units of the Zeisk hydroelectric station and the Primorsk thermal electric station shall be put into commission, and construction of the Kolyma hydroelectric station shall be undertaken. The production of sawn timber, pulp, cardboard, furniture, foodstuffs, and fish products shall be substantially increased. The material and technical facilities of the fishing industry shall be improved; the capacity of ship-repair yards shall be enlarged, and the seaports and piers reconstructed and enlarged.

The output of soya beans and rice shall be increased. An area of 48,000 hectares of irrigated lands shall be brought under cultivation, 380,000 hectares of swampy lands drained, and land improvements carried out on 352,000 hectares.

A further growth of hunting, fishery and whaling, and of fur farming shall be secured in the Northern and Far Eastern areas, and the productivity of reindeer farming shall be raised.

Conditions shall be provided for the further influx of population to the areas of the Far East and East Siberia and for the permanent settlement of workers in these areas; priority should be given to the expansion of housing construction, public utilities, cultural and service establishments.

In the *Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 38-41 per cent, with particularly high growth rates set for the electric power, chemical, oil refining and petrochemical and engineering industries.

The production of electric power shall be increased to about 200,000 million kwh in 1975. Building of the Slavyansk, Tripolye, Ladyzhenka, and Kurakhovka thermal electric stations and the Krivoi Rog thermal electric station-2 shall be completed, and capacities commissioned at the Zaporozhye and Ulegorsk thermal electric stations, the Chernobyl atomic power station and the Kiev heat and power plant-5. Building of the Kanev hydroelectric station and the second sections of the Dnieper hydroelectric sta-

tion, together with the shipping lock, shall be completed. Construction of two thermal and two atomic power stations shall be undertaken, and a 750,000v power transmission line shall be built from the Donbas to the Western Ukraine.

Coal production shall be raised to about 215 million tons. Reconstruction of operating collieries shall be completed in the main, and the building of new pits shall be accelerated in the Donetsk fields, including large anthracite and coking coal mines. The prospecting and tapping of new oil and gas fields shall be stepped up.

In 1975, the production of rolled ferrous stock shall be increased to 37-38 million tons, and of steel pipes to 6.6 million tons. The "3600" thick sheet steel rolling mill and the oxygen converter shop at the Azovstal works, an electric welding pipe shop at the Khartsyzsk pipe mill and the wheel rolling shop at the Nizhne-Dneprovsk pipe rolling mill shall be put into operation. Construction of the Pobuzh nickel plant shall be completed.

The volume of oil processing shall be increased by 150-160 per cent. Additional capacities shall be commissioned at the Kremenchug oil refinery; the Lisichansk oil refinery shall be built and put into operation; and construction of two new refineries shall be started. The Belaya Tserkov tyre factory shall be put into operation.

In 1975 the production of mineral fertilizers shall be increased to 16.6 million tons, and of chemical fibres to 152,000 tons.

The output of the engineering and metal-working industry shall be raised by 70 per cent. Construction of a complex of factories for the production of T-150 tractors shall be completed. Capacities for the production of rail wagons at the Kadiyevka, Kryukov and Dneprodzerzhinsk wagon-building works shall be enlarged. A plant for the production of automated machine-tools shall be built in Zhitomir.

Production of cement shall be raised to about 22 million tons by 1975. Building of the Kamenetsk-Podolsk and Balakleya cement factories shall be completed.

By 1975 the production of fabrics shall be increased to 840-925 million sq. m., of knitwear—to 346 million pieces, of leather footwear—to 166-172 million pairs, of granulated sugar (from sugar-beet)—to 6.4 million tons, of

meat—to 1.9 million tons, of whole-milk products—5.4 million tons, and of furniture—to an amount worth 860 million roubles.

Building of the Ternopol and Donetsk cotton and Cherkassy silk mills shall be completed. Construction of the Krivoi Rog worsted cloth mill shall be started. Enterprises of the flax processing, cotton, woollen, knitted goods and other branches of the light industry, two sugar refineries and a vegetable oil mill shall be built.

Higher growth rates of industrial production shall be ensured in the western regions of the Republic, with priority given to the development of enterprises of the light and food industries and labour-intensive branches of the engineering industry.

In agriculture, an increase in the production of grain and industrial crops and the development of animal husbandry shall be ensured. The average annual grain harvest shall be increased to 40 million tons, with emphasis on the growing of winter wheat, maize, rice, buckwheat, pulses and feed grains. The production of sugar-beet, sunflower seed, tobacco, hemp, fibre-flax, potatoes, vegetables, especially the early varieties, fruit, grapes and melon crops shall be increased.

A substantial increase in the production of stock feed, further increase in the population of all kinds of livestock and poultry and a rise of their productivity shall be ensured. The average annual production of meat in slaughter weight shall be increased to approximately 3.2 million tons; milk, to 20.3 million tons; eggs, to 10,400 million, and wool, to 27,000 tons.

Measures shall be carried out to develop irrigation facilities, water supply and waterways. About 400,000 hectares of irrigated and 600,000 hectares of drained land shall be brought under cultivation. Building of the North Crimean canal shall be continued; construction of the first section of the North Rogachik irrigation system shall be completed, and building of the Kakhovka irrigation system shall be accelerated. Land-improvement work shall be carried out on 700,000 hectares. Water supply to big industrial centres shall be improved. Building of the first section of the Dnieper-Donbas canal shall be continued; the handling capacity of the Severski Donets-Donbas

canal shall be increased and the Dnieper-Krivoi Rog canal reconstructed.

In the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic industrial output shall be increased by 53-56 per cent. The branches of engineering which are not metal-intensive—the radio equipment, electrical equipment, electronic and precision instrument industries—and also the chemical and petrochemical industries shall be developed at an accelerated rate.

The production of electric power shall be increased by 80 per cent; oil, approximately 100 per cent; primary processing of oil and the production of peat briquettes and semi-briquettes, 90 per cent; mineral fertilizers, 70 per cent; chemical fibres, 170 per cent; fabrics, 40 per cent; knitted goods, 50 per cent; and meat and whole-milk products, 40 per cent.

Construction of units of the third section of the Orsha linen mills for the production of fine linens shall be completed; the Byelorussian tyre factory and new capacities at the Lukomlskoye thermal electric station, the Mogilev synthetic fibre factory and the Polotsk chemical works shall be put into operation. There shall be built and started the Mozyr oil refinery, Baranovichi automatic production line works, the Luninets electric motor factory, the Bobruisk factory for tractor fertilizer spreaders, the Orsha factory for the manufacture of standard tools for automatic production lines, the Pinsk factory for the manufacture of units for automatic production lines, the crushed dolomite mill in the Vitebsk Region, the Mogilev silk mills and the Grodno yarn and thread mill. Building shall be started of a nitrogen fertilizer factory, the fourth Soligorsk combined potash mine and factory, a worsted spinning mill in Slo-nim, three specialized cotton mills in the Gomel Region and a linen mill in Osipovichi. Factories for the comprehensive processing of flax shall be built.

Further production specialization in beef, and dairy farming, pig farming, poultry farming and the growing of potatoes and flax shall be ensured. The average annual output of grain shall be increased to 5.2 million tons; meat in slaughter weight, to approximately 840,000 tons; milk, to 6.1 millions tons; and eggs, to 1,800 million. Extensive work shall be done to improve the fertility of soils and to treat them with lime, 1,100,000 hectares of water-logged

and swampy land shall be drained and 800,000 hectares of land improved; highly productive meadows and pastures shall be developed on 900,000 hectares and better use shall be made of improved lands.

The Vileika-Minsk water system shall be completed and put into operation.

In the *Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 46-49 per cent. Development of the electric power, non-ferrous, chemical, gas and light industries shall be ensured.

The manufacture of irrigation equipment, cotton picking and other machines for cotton-growing shall be substantially increased. Large-scale production of chemical fibres shall be organized. Production of mineral fertilizers shall be increased by 60 per cent; silk fabrics by 120-160 per cent; knitted underwear, 80 per cent; leather footwear, 50-70 per cent; tinned fruit and vegetables, 60 per cent, and goods for cultural and household needs, by more than 100 per cent, including domestic refrigerators by 320 per cent.

The further development of the gold mining industry shall be ensured, and the capacities for the production of zinc and copper at the Almalyk combined mines and metallurgical works shall be expanded.

The first units of the Syr Darya thermal electric station, the second section of the Almalyk ammophos factory, capacities for the production of ammophos at the Samarkand superphosphate factory and a cement factory in Navoi shall be put into operation. Building of a rubber factory in Angren, an electro-chemical combine in Navoi and the reconstruction of the Bekabad metallurgical works shall be undertaken. The Bukhara cotton mill and the Khiva carpet factory, the Ferghana imitation leather factory, the Kokand tannery, a porcelain factory, a number of cotton ginneries, silk-reeling, knitted goods, clothing and footwear factories shall be put into operation. Construction of the Andizhan cotton mills shall be started. The Urgench vegetable oil mill and a number of other food factories shall be built.

Cotton-growing shall be further developed with the object of increasing the production of raw cotton to 4.9 million tons in 1975: special attention shall be paid to increasing the output of fine-staple cotton, introducing cot-

ton-lucerne crop rotation systems and raising the cotton yield. Rice-growing, the production of fruit, grapes, vegetables, melon crops and tobacco shall be expanded.

465,000 hectares of new irrigated lands shall be brought under cultivation. Work shall be continued on developing a new large cotton-growing district in the Karshi Steppe and increasing the irrigated areas in the Golodnaya Steppe, the Surkhan-Sherabad valley and the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Building of the Andizhan reservoir and the Tyuyamuyun hydropower project shall be stepped up. The condition of irrigated land shall be improved on an area of not less than 600,000 hectares, and work continued on eliminating the salinization and marshiness of irrigated lands and improving water supply to low-water irrigation systems.

The further development of sheep farming, particularly of karakul sheep, shall be ensured; the average annual wool clip shall be increased to 24,000 tons. The production of meat, milk and eggs shall be expanded. Water shall be brought to 1.5 million hectares of pastures, and the hydraulic engineering installations on irrigated pastures shall be reconstructed on 3.5 million hectares.

In the *Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 57-60 per cent, the further development of the electric power, non-ferrous metals and iron-and-steel, fuel, chemical, engineering, light and food industries, shall be ensured.

The production of refined copper shall be raised by 70 per cent, mineral fertilizers by 140 per cent and agricultural machinery by 160 per cent. In 1975, the production of coal shall be increased to about 91 million tons, oil, 30 million tons; rolled stock, 5 million tons; cement, 7.3 million tons; meat, 673,000 tons; cotton fabrics, 108-118 million sq. m; woollen fabrics, 40 million sq. m; leather footwear, 34-39 million pairs, and knitwear, to 98 million pieces.

The capacity of the Ekibastuz open-cast mines shall be increased to 56 million tons by the end of the five-year period. A coking coal dressing factory in Karaganda, the first sections of oil refineries in Northern and Southern Kazakhstan and a gas processing works on Mangyshlak shall be built. Construction of the Kapchagai hydroelectric station and the Yermakov thermal electric station shall be completed.

Development of the ore base of the iron, lead and copper-zinc industries shall be speeded up. The Jezkazgan complex of mines and metallurgical works shall be further expanded, and the capacity for the production of alumina at the Pavlodar aluminium factory enlarged. Building of the Karaganda iron and steel works shall be completed in the main, and construction of combined mines and dressing factories accelerated.

Capacities for the extraction of phosphorites in the Karatau deposit shall be substantially expanded, and the building of the Chimkent phosphorite factory and the Jambul double superphosphate factory completed; capacities at the two new phosphorite factories in Southern Kazakhstan shall be put into operation. Building of the first section of the Pavlodar chemical works and the Karaganda industrial rubber goods factory shall be completed. Construction of the Chimkent rubber and asbestos factory shall be started. Building of the Pavlodar tractor plant, the Kazakh agricultural machinery factory in Tselinograd and a battery factory in Taldy-Kurgan shall be completed. New capacities for the production of cement shall be put into operation at the Novo-Karaganda cement factory.

The first section of a glassware factory, worsted spinning mill and a number of other light industry factories shall be built, and construction of a glass factory and two porcelain-faience factories started. A considerable increase in the capacity of meat-packing plants and enterprises in the confectionery and other branches of the food industry shall be secured.

Work on ensuring stable grain production shall be continued, a complex of measures shall be carried out to protect the soils from wind erosion and to plant shelter belts; and the cropping pattern shall be improved. The average annual grain yield shall be increased to 24 million tons. Work shall be continued of building water supply lines for groups of communities. The growing of beets, vegetables, melon crops, fruit and grapes in the southern part of the Republic shall be expanded. About 420,000 hectares of irrigated land, including 200,000 hectares of estuary irrigated land, shall be brought under cultivation. Construction of the Kzyl-Kum irrigation system shall be completed, and irrigation work continued in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya so as to expand rice production.

Beef cattle farming and sheep farming shall be developed at an accelerated pace, and the fodder resources of animal husbandry consolidated. An average annual production of meat of about one million tons, milk, 4.2 million tons, eggs, 2,100 million and wool, 110,000 tons shall be ensured. Highly productive meadows and pastures shall be developed on about 3.8 million hectares. Water shall be brought to not less than 32 million hectares of pastures, and hydraulic engineering installations on watered pastures shall be reconstructed on 23 million hectares.

Building of the Makat-Alexandrov Gai railway shall be started, and the Omsk-Pavlodar-Chimkent oil pipeline laid.

In the *Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 39-42 per cent, with higher growth rates set for the branches of the engineering industry which are not metal-intensive and for the chemical industry.

An increase shall be ensured in the production of electric power by 70 per cent; mineral fertilizers, 130 per cent; chemical fibres, 60 per cent; instruments and automation devices, 240 per cent; agricultural machinery, 130 per cent; slate, 100 per cent; woollen fabrics, 50 per cent; tinned fruits and vegetables, 40 per cent, and furniture by 100 per cent.

Capacities at the Inguri hydroelectric station and the first link of the chain of Vartsykhe hydroelectric stations shall be put into operation and the building of the Zhinval hydropower complex shall be started. Construction of the Madneul copper ore concentration complex shall be completed. A porcelain-faience factory shall be built, and the capacity of enterprises in the light and food industries enlarged.

In 1975, tea-leaf production shall be increased to 285,000 tons, and the production of grapes, tobacco and citrus fruits shall also be increased. An area of 70,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation; 50,000 hectares of water-logged land shall be drained and sown chiefly to perennial subtropical crops. The production of meat, milk and eggs shall be expanded, and the fodder resources of animal husbandry consolidated.

In the *Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial production shall be increased by 43-46 per cent. The engin-

eering, chemical and food industries and the production of building materials shall be developed at an accelerated pace. In the oil industry special attention shall be paid to tapping the offshore oil resources.

The output of mineral fertilizers shall be raised by 60 per cent; synthetic rubber, 60 per cent; instruments and automation devices, 100 per cent; woollen fabrics, 40 per cent; silk fabrics, 40-60 per cent; leather footwear and knitted goods, 60 per cent; tinned fruits and vegetables, 70 per cent; must, 130 per cent; refrigerators, 300 per cent, and furniture, 100 per cent. The production of porcelain-faience and other goods for household and cultural purposes shall be expanded.

Construction of a soda ash factory in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Shamkhor hydroelectric station shall be started. Factories of the instrument-making and electronic industries shall be built.

The production of raw cotton shall be increased to 380,000 tons in 1975. The production of grapes, vegetables, fruit and tobacco shall be expanded. An area of 33,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation. The condition of irrigated land in the Kura-Araks lowland shall be improved, for which purpose work shall be carried out on desalinizing the soil on 200,000 hectares, reconstructing the irrigation systems and improving their water supply on 200,000 hectares. Water shall be brought to pastures on 400,000 hectares. The further development of animal husbandry and consolidation of its fodder basis, and an increase in the production of meat, milk, eggs and wool shall be ensured.

In the *Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 46-49 per cent, with a considerable expansion of branches of the engineering industry which are not metal-intensive and of the light and food industries.

Production of electric power shall be increased by 50 per cent; mineral fertilizers, 70 per cent; fabrics, 80 per cent; refrigerators, 250 per cent, and furniture, 70 per cent.

The first section of an oil refinery, new capacities at the Lithuanian thermal electric station and the first units of a heat and power plant in Kaunas shall be put into commission. The Ignalina factory for the production of drainage pipes, a meat-packing plant in Utena and a big milk

factory and cannery shall be built. The capacity of the Akmyane cement factory and enterprises for the processing of agricultural raw material shall be enlarged.

The further specialization of agriculture in meat and dairy farming and pig breeding for bacon shall be ensured. Water-logged and swampy lands shall be drained on 750,000 hectares and land improvement carried out on 400,000 hectares. Highly productive meadows and pastures shall be developed on 300,000 hectares.

The Vilnius railways junction shall be electrified.

In the *Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 56-59 per cent. The electric power, instrument-making and light and food industries shall be developed at a rapid rate.

The output of tractors for orchards and vineyards shall be raised by 90 per cent; domestic refrigerators, 80 per cent; silk fabrics, 60 per cent; knitted goods, 50 per cent; tinned fruit and vegetables, 60 per cent, and must, 160 per cent. Additional capacities shall be put into commission at the Moldavian thermal electric station; three canneries shall be built, the Kishinev imitation leather and industrial rubber goods factory and a factory producing household chemicals, a number of enterprises of the electrical equipment and other branches of the engineering industry shall be enlarged and reconstructed. A factory for the manufacture of complete sets of refrigeration equipment for fruit storage and a sugar refinery shall be built. Construction of a textile mill, a factory manufacturing food industry equipment and a factory producing laundry equipment shall be started.

Provision shall be made for a further increase in the production of fruit, grapes, vegetables, especially the early varieties, tobacco, essential oil-bearing plants, and animal husbandry products. Building of enterprises for the primary processing and storing of agricultural raw materials shall be speeded up. The condition of the land shall be improved. An area of 50,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation.

In the *Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 35-38 per cent. The further development of the electrical, radio electronic, medical, light, meat and milk industry and fishing industry shall be ensured.

The production of instruments shall be increased by 60 per cent; knitted garments, 90 per cent; tinned milk, 60 per cent; and furniture, 50 per cent. The centralized manufacture of goods for inter-industry consumption shall be expanded.

Construction of the Riga hydroelectric station shall be completed, and the first units at the Riga heat and power plant No. 2 and a gas pipeline to Riga shall be put into operation. Building of the Popov radio factory and a factory producing mini-buses shall be completed.

The further specialization of agriculture in dairy and meat farming and pig breeding for bacon shall be ensured. Measures shall be taken to increase the herds and the productivity of livestock and the output of meat and milk. 490,000 hectares of land shall be reclaimed and land improvement work carried out on 90,000 hectares. Not less than 140,000 hectares of highly productive pastures and meadows shall be developed.

The merchant marine shall be further developed and replenished with modern vessels.

In the *Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 45-48 per cent. The further development of the electric power, engineering, non-ferrous metals and light industries shall be ensured.

The output of farm machinery shall be increased by 70 per cent; fabrics, 190-230 per cent; knitted garments, 70 per cent; and tinned vegetables and fruits, 80 per cent. The production of goods for cultural and household needs shall be considerably expanded.

Building of the Toktogul hydroelectric station shall be completed, and the construction of the Kurpsai hydroelectric station started. A factory producing electronic computers, the second section of a cotton mill, a worsted spinning mill and a meat-packing plant in Tokmak shall be built; the farm machinery factory shall be reconstructed.

Further development of the fine-fleece and semi-fine-fleece sheep farming shall be ensured, and the average annual production of wool increased to 30,000 tons. The production of meat, milk, tobacco, fruit and vegetables shall be increased. An area of 30,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation, and the Kirovsk and Tortgul reservoirs built. Irrigation systems shall be

reconstructed and their water supply improved on 90,000 hectares, and water brought to 400,000 hectares of pastures. Water supply for existing pastures shall be increased.

In the *Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 37-40 per cent, with particularly high rates of development set for the electric power, non-ferrous metals and engineering industries.

The production of electric power shall be increased by 110 per cent; mineral fertilizers, 50 per cent; cotton fabrics, 30 per cent; knitted garments, 90 per cent, and tinned fruit and vegetables, 50 per cent. The manufacture of goods for cultural and household needs shall be considerably expanded.

Work on building up the Southern Tajik territorial industrial complex shall be continued; the first units of the Nurek hydroelectric station and capacities at the aluminium factory and electrochemical works shall be put into commission; the periods when they are put into operation shall be coordinated. Additional capacities shall be put into operation at the Anzob mine and metallurgical works complex, and the Termez—Kurgan-Tyube—Yavan railway will be put into operation. A trunk gas pipeline to Dushanbe shall be built. Construction of a synthetic fibre factory in Leninabad and a porcelain-faience factory shall be started. The capacity of the Kairakkum carpet factory shall be enlarged.

In 1975, production of raw cotton shall be increased to 760,000 tons; the production of fine-staple cotton, grapes, fruit, vegetables and tobacco shall be increased. An area of 70,000 hectares of newly-irrigated land shall be brought into cultivation. Irrigation and development of the lands of the Yavan-Obikiik valley and the second stage of the work for irrigating the Dalverzin and Golodnaya Steppes shall be completed. The further development of the fodder facilities for animal husbandry, and an increase in the production of meat, milk and eggs shall be ensured. Water shall be brought to 250,000 hectares of pastures.

In the *Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be increased by 60-63 per cent. Further development of the non-ferrous metals industry, the branches of the engineering industry, which are not metal-intensive, and the light and food industries shall be ensured.

Production of electric power shall be increased by 70 per cent; copper, 30 per cent; instruments and automation devices, 120 per cent; cement, 160 per cent; tinned fruit and vegetables, 60 per cent; fabrics and knitted goods, 30 per cent; footwear, 20 per cent; refrigerators, 150 per cent; and furniture, 90 per cent; the output of goods for cultural purposes and household needs shall be increased.

The Zod gold mines and capacities for the production of alumina and chemicals at the Razdan combined mining and chemical works shall be put into commission. Construction of an atomic power station shall be started and the first unit put into operation; additional capacities shall be put into operation at the Razdan thermal electric station. Building of a chain of hydroelectric stations on the Vorotan River shall be continued. Capacities for the production of chemical fibres, synthetic resins and plastics shall be enlarged.

An increase in the production of grapes, fruit, vegetables, tobacco, essential oil-bearing crops and animal products shall be ensured. An area of 50,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation, and 130,000 hectares of pastures irrigated.

In the *Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 55-58 per cent; and high development rates for the gas, oil and chemical industries shall be ensured.

The production of electric power shall be increased by 90 per cent; gas, 330-370 per cent; oil, 50 per cent; fabrics, 50 per cent; leather footwear, 130 per cent; vegetable oil, 60 per cent, and tinned fruit and vegetables, 50 per cent. The output of goods for cultural and household needs shall be considerably expanded.

Trunk gas pipelines shall be built to supply gas from the western and eastern areas of the Republic to the European part of the USSR. The first section of the Charjou oil refinery and the first units of the Maryisk thermal electric station shall be put into operation. The mineral resources of Kara-Bogaz Gol shall be utilized more comprehensively. The capacity of cotton ginneries shall be enlarged, and a vegetable oil mill shall be built in Charjou.

The production of raw cotton shall be increased to 900,000 tons in 1975, with emphasis on the fine-staple

varieties. The production of vegetables, grapes and melon crops shall be increased.

An area of 105,000 hectares of irrigated land shall be brought under cultivation; the improvement of irrigated lands on 200,000 hectares shall be ensured. Development of land in the zone of the third section of the Kara Kum canal shall be completed, and the construction of the canal continued.

Measures shall be carried out to considerably expand the fodder resources of animal husbandry. Water shall be brought to 3.9 million hectares of pastures; hydraulic engineering installations on watered pastures shall be reconstructed on 2.3 million hectares. The average annual production of wool shall be increased to 15,200 tons, and the production of karakul pelts, milk, meat and eggs shall be increased.

In the *Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic* industrial output shall be raised by 36-39 per cent, and the development of the electrical, instrument-making and other branches of the engineering industry, which are not metal-intensive, and the light and meat-packing and dairy industries shall be ensured.

In 1975, the production of shales shall be increased to 26 million tons; the production of electric power shall be increased by 40 per cent, instruments, 50 per cent and the output of the fishing industry, by 40 per cent.

Construction of the Estonian thermal station shall be completed, and building of the Tallinn heat and power plant started. The building of enterprises for the extraction of shales and for supplying fuel to the Baltic and Estonian thermal electric stations shall be stepped up. Capacities for the production of wood-fibre boards from low-quality timber and timber waste shall be expanded.

The further development of agriculture with specialization in dairy and meat farming, pig-breeding for bacon and potato-growing shall be ensured. An area of 210,000 hectares of water-logged and swampy land shall be drained, and land improvements carried out on 150,000 hectares. Highly productive meadows and pastures shall be developed on 130,000 hectares.

The Tallinn merchant port and the Tallinn railway junction shall be enlarged.

IX.

EXTERNAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Economic, scientific and technical ties between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, aimed at further strengthening cooperation and consistently promoting the economic integration of the CMEA countries, shall be improved and extended in every way. Comprehensive forms of cooperation with other socialist countries encompassing the spheres of material production, science and technology, mutual trade and trade on the markets of third countries, shall be developed in a planned way.

A policy shall be pursued of furthering international cooperation in production and developing effective forms of specialization in industry and agriculture, of pooling the resources, on a mutually beneficial basis, of the interested socialist countries for developing the fuel and power and raw material industries in order to satisfy more fully the demand for the products of these sectors, of developing and rationalizing transport and communication facilities in order to increase the exchange of goods and promote technological progress in these sectors.

Development of stable external economic, scientific and technological ties with developing Asian, African and Latin American countries shall be continued on terms of mutual benefit and in the interest of strengthening their economic independence.

Economically justified commercial, scientific and technological contacts with industrially developed capitalist countries which show willingness to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union in these spheres, shall be extended.

Foreign trade turnover shall be increased by 33-35 per cent during the five-year period, primarily through the utmost expansion of trade with socialist countries.

The methods and forms of external economic ties shall be improved. The initiative and responsibility of ministries and enterprises in developing external economic ties beneficial to the national economy shall be enhanced. The principles of cost accounting shall be consistently applied in external economic relations; the material interest of all links of foreign trade and industry in discharging international commitments and attaining high efficiency of economic, scientific and technological cooperation, and also their responsibility in this matter, shall be enhanced.

X.

IMPROVEMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

In the improvement of the system and methods of management and planning, efforts shall be concentrated on ensuring all-round intensification of social production and raising its efficiency, which is the main line of the country's economic development both for the next few years and for the long-term perspective, and which is a major requisite for building the material and technical basis of communism.

For these purposes:

The further improvement of the system of planning and economic stimulation of production shall be ensured; the change-over of all cost-accounting enterprises and organizations in the material production and service sphere to the new methods of planning and economic stimulation shall be completed in the new five-year-plan period.

The scientific level of evolving plans shall be raised, above all, by making them more balanced and through more thorough analysis of socio-economic problems, problems of scientific and technological progress, and questions of an intersectoral nature.

Planning agencies shall have greater control over the implementation of plans and elaboration of measures to ensure the fulfilment of plan targets and balanced development of the national economy.

The techniques of the long-term planning of national economic development shall be improved. A long-term eco-

conomic development plan of the USSR shall be drawn up, using forecasts of scientific and technological progress, population forecasts, forecasts for natural resources and others.

Guided by the targets of the five-year national economic development plan of the USSR for 1971-75, enterprises and collective farms shall draw up their own five-year plans that will ensure attainment of the planned targets with the least input of labour and material resources.

Large-scale and active participation of workers, collective farmers, engineers, technicians and office employees in drawing up the five-year plan for 1971-75 shall be ensured.

Greater incentives shall be provided to enterprises and production associations to increase the output of goods needed by society, especially new and technically superior ones, and to accelerate the growth of labour productivity so that output at existing enterprises can be raised without increasing the number of workers.

The interest and responsibility of enterprises and associations, collective and state farms in drawing up optimal plans which make maximum provision for intensive utilization of the available fixed assets and improvement of the organization of labour and production, shall be enhanced.

Planning and methods of stimulating scientific and technological progress in all sectors of the economy and at enterprises shall be improved. Enterprises, associations and ministries operating on a cost-accounting basis shall be further encouraged to achieve maximum production results with the least input of labour, material resources and capital investments. The stimulating role of wages and salaries and of long-term economic standards in accomplishing these tasks shall be enhanced.

Planning of the wage funds shall be improved and control over their spending tightened. Responsibility of executives of enterprises, associations and organizations for the proper spending of the wage fund shall be increased.

Cost-accounting shall play a bigger part in the activity of research and designing organizations so as to raise the efficiency of research and development work and accelerate the introduction of scientific achievements in production.

Measures shall be carried out to further improve the system of wholesale prices of industrial goods. The role of wholesale prices in stimulating technological progress and improving the quality of goods, shall be enhanced.

Planning of profit as the principal source of state revenue shall be improved, and the role of reducing production costs in forming profits shall be increased. The turnover of circulating assets shall be speeded.

Financial and banking agencies shall play a greater role as regards the fuller mobilization of the resources of production and increasing its efficiency. The financial and credit machinery shall be utilized more widely for accelerating technological progress and intensifying production.

The work of improving management of the national economy shall be continued. A changeover to a two- and three-link system of management in industry shall be effected. The responsibility of ministries for the full satisfaction of society's requirements for the products of their respective sectors, for the technological level and quality of the products shall be decisively raised. Measures shall be carried out to improve the work of the ministries as the highest link in sectoral management.

Ministries shall pay greater attention to questions of long-term development of their sector, technological policy, raising the effectiveness of capital investments, better placement and use of specialists.

The work of the middle link in sectoral management of the economy shall be improved. The work aimed at achieving further concentration and cooperation in production, specialization of enterprises and the rationalization of economic ties between them, of setting up large industrial associations and integrated works, taking into consideration the distinctive characteristics of individual industries, shall be stepped up.

Methods shall be improved for determining the requirements of the economy in means of production and for establishing technologically substantiated rates of consumption of raw and other materials, fuel and electric power and also standards for the use of equipment, machines and mechanisms; for these purposes electronic computers shall be widely used and, on this basis, fuller coordination of the scope of production, capital construction and other assignments with the material, technical and

financial resources, shall be ensured. The role of sectoral ministries in this matter shall be enhanced.

More thorough economic analysis of supply plans and of ways of ensuring their fulfilment shall be carried out, in order to locate all potentialities in the national economy; there shall be stricter control over the use of material resources.

Economically expedient direct and long-lasting economic ties of enterprises shall be developed in a planned way. Wholesale trade through territorial supply and sales centres, warehouses and shops shall be expanded and improved. The nationwide system of material supply shall be further improved on the basis of scientific management methods and wide introduction of electronic computers. The strengthening of the material and technical basis of supply and sales organizations and their rational location shall be ensured.

Measures for the designing, specialized production and rational use of packaging and container facilities for all sectors of the national economy shall be elaborated and applied.

Supply agencies shall expand their services rendered through the centralized delivery of complete sets of goods on orders of consumers, and the guaranteed comprehensive supply to enterprises shall be introduced.

The role of economic contracts and the responsibility for their fulfilment shall be enhanced. Cost-accounting relations shall be extended between enterprises and supply and sales organizations and also between central administrations (associations) of industrial ministries and supply and sales agencies. Contractual relations of collective and state farms with procurement and trading organizations and also with industrial enterprises and associations shall be consolidated.

The mechanism of planning, of the formation and use of state reserves and stocks of material resources in the national economy shall be improved.

The wide employment of economico-mathematical methods and the use of electronic computer and organizational techniques and means of communication shall be ensured for the purpose of improving the planning of the national economy and management. The system of account-

ing and accountability shall be improved in every way, and statistics modernised.

Work shall be started on creating and introducing automated systems of planning and management in economic branches, territorial organizations, associations and enterprises, with the object of creating a nationwide automated system of collecting and processing information for accounting purposes, for planning and managing the national economy on the basis of a state system of computing centres and a single nationwide automatic communication network. Moreover, from the very outset the application of the principle of the organizational, methodological and technological unity of this system shall be ensured.

Automated systems of controlling production processes at enterprises shall be widely introduced.

The system of training and retraining personnel—organizers of production at all levels, including the highest executives—shall be consistently extended and *improved*, in the first place in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist economic theory, the theory and practices of management, scientific labour organization, new methods of planning and economic stimulation, the application of economico-mathematical methods and modern computing equipment. The training of highly competent instructors in management and planning shall be expanded.

State discipline in all sectors of the national economy *shall be consolidated* in every way. Socialist legality shall be strictly observed in economic relationships. All economic executives shall have greater responsibility for the timely fulfilment of the set plans and assignments, for the quality of goods, careful and rational spending of money and material resources, the proper use of equipment and raw materials, the fulfilment at the fixed dates of all deliveries by way of industrial cooperation and the observance of production discipline.

All Party and Soviet bodies as well as people's control agencies shall pay the greatest possible attention to the task of verifying fulfilment of the directives of the Party and the Government, a task of foremost importance in present-day production conditions.

The work of further improving the administrative-managerial apparatus and cutting the cost of maintaining it

shall be continued, and superfluous links of this apparatus shall be resolutely eliminated.

* * *

Our economy is developing according to a single plan; this ensures high growth rates, balance and efficiency in the development of its sectors, steady rise of the living standard of the working people and comprehensive development of socialist culture. It is thus necessary that on the basis of the full-scale five-year economic development plan for 1971-75 drawn up in accordance with the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU all links of the national economy—ministries, associations, enterprises, collective and state farms, research, designing and other organizations—draw up their own five-year plans with a breakdown of assignments by years for the five-year period.

Economic plans are carried out by people. Every Soviet citizen by his labour brings nearer the triumph of communism. Creative work is being done throughout the country aimed at raising the efficiency of production, utilizing most fully the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, stepping up production and improving, on this basis, the economic performance indices in industry, agriculture, construction and the transport system. But much remains to be accomplished. Purposeful work for high efficiency of production must become a primary condition of socialist management, the basic content of socialist emulation among all production collectives, the millions of working people. Labour is the source of wealth. Only a rise in labour productivity at every work bench and an increase in the efficiency of the entire national economy will augment the benefits which Soviet people receive to the extent of the labour contribution of everyone to social production. The greater the national income, the richer our country, the better every Soviet citizen will live.

The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, the territorial, regional, city and district committees of the Party, primary Party organizations must launch broad political and organizational work aimed at ensuring the fulfilment of state plans for all sectors of

economic construction, must be deeply concerned with the activities of enterprises, collective farms and state farms, critically analyze the state of affairs and bring to light potentialities for raising the efficiency of social production, and strive for the strictest observance of state discipline. Constant efforts by the Party and the entire people to carry out the Ninth Five-Year Plan will ensure the further strengthening of our Homeland's might, bring nearer the completion of building the material and technical basis of communism and facilitate in every way the shaping of communist social relations and the education of the new man.

An important role in implementing the outlined measures is assigned to the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies. They are called upon to exert a greater influence on the development of social production and exercise their rights for the accomplishment of tasks of economic, social and cultural development.

The trade unions are faced with big tasks. Their role as a school of management, a school of communism is revealed now clearer than ever before. The trade unions are called upon to enlist the working people on a still wider scale for managing production and accomplishing tasks of scientific and technological development, to raise still higher the banner of socialist emulation, to teach the masses, through their practical experience, socialist discipline and a communist attitude to labour and social property, to publicize in every way the experience of the best workers and trail-blazers in production, to display greater initiative and determination in improving the conditions of labour, life, rest and leisure of the working people, strictly to watch over the observance of the labour laws.

The Leninist Komsomol and the entire Soviet youth must make an important contribution to fulfilling the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the Soviet intelligentsia are getting ever more cultured and technically educated personnel, capable of successfully coping with the highly intricate tasks arising in conditions of the contemporary scientific and technological revolution. The broadest field for the application of enthusiasm, energy and knowledge is opened before the young people who always strive for the new, and they must be in the front ranks in the effort to create new,

improved technology, persistently introduce it in all sectors of the national economy and raise the productivity and efficiency of labour, introduce in everyday life new, genuinely communist social relations and the lofty principles of communist morality.

Implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan will be of great international significance. The growth of the Soviet economy will further strengthen the forces of the world socialist community and once again demonstrate the advantages of the planned socialist economic system. By fulfilling the five-year plan, the Soviet people will make a worthy contribution to uniting all the forces fighting for peace, democracy and socialism.

The five-year plan will ensure further growth of the Soviet Union's defence potential, which will make it possible to provide still more reliable protection for the Soviet people, for all countries of the socialist community, from the danger of imperialist aggression and strengthen the positions of the peace-loving and liberation forces throughout the world.

The five-year period which our country has entered will offer fresh convincing proof of the advantages of socialism; it will mark an important step on the road to communism.

The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the CPSU voices firm confidence that the working people of the Soviet Union will make every effort not only to attain, but to exceed the targets of the new five-year plan.

FREEDOM AND PEACE TO THE PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA!

Address of the 24th Congress of the CPSU

On behalf of the Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people, the 24th Congress of the CPSU sends hearty fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam, its militant vanguard, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and the courageous patriots of Laos and Cambodia, fearless fighters against US imperialism, for the freedom, independence and peaceful future of the countries of Indochina.

We wish the staunch defenders of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam further victories in repulsing imperialist aggression, and new achievements in socialist construction.

We declare our unreserved solidarity with the liberation forces of South Vietnam and wish them further success in delivering their country from interventionists and the mercenary Saigon regime, and winning the right to decide their future independently.

Our sympathy and support are on the side of the patriotic forces of Laos and Cambodia, which are fighting resolutely against the US imperialist intervention, for their just cause.

The Soviet people are proud of the victories of the heroic people of Vietnam and the glorious patriots of Laos

and Cambodia, who are striking crushing blows against the US interventionists and their hirelings.

The reckless designs of the US aggressors have turned into an endless chain of ignominious failures. Neither bombs and shells nor cunning political intrigues could break the will of the people of the socialist country, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the patriots of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. And this will hold true in the future as well. The implementation of the so-called Vietnamisation, the diabolical principle of "killing Asians with Asian hands", will not help the US imperialists to achieve their criminal aims. The tenacity and courage of the freedom-loving peoples of Indochina, augmented by the unflinching support of the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries, the world communist movement and all other progressive forces, are the guarantee of their victory over the enemy.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Laos Patriotic Front and the National Unity Front of Cambodia, are a constructive basis for resolving Indochina's problems.

The Soviet Communists hold that in the prevailing situation it is essential to consolidate in every way and everywhere the solidarity with the fighting peoples of Indochina, to act vigorously against the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the United States.

The Soviet Union has rendered, and continues to render, every possible aid and support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in building socialism, reinforcing her defence capability and repulsing imperialist encroachments, and has sided consistently and firmly with the liberation movement in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which is making an outstanding contribution to peace and to the national independence of the peoples. The 24th Congress of the CPSU solemnly declares that the Soviet Union will continue to follow this policy.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU addresses all those who cherish freedom, peace and progress:

Let your voices resound still more vigorously in protest against the bloody US imperialist aggression in Indochina!

Expose the crimes of the US military with resolve and courage, and give every support to the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia!

May the world movement for the termination of the imperialist aggression in Indochina, for the withdrawal from there of all troops of the USA and her allies, and for the materialisation of the legitimate right of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to be masters in their own land, grow and gain strength!

Drive the US aggressors out of Indochina!

The just cause of the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia will triumph!

FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Statement by the 24th Congress of the CPSU

We who represent 14 million Soviet Communists, expressing the will of the peoples of the Soviet Union, strongly condemn Israel's imperialist aggression against the Arab states conducted with US imperialist support and declare our fraternal solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, independence and social justice.

The struggle of the peace-loving forces against the Israeli aggression has now entered a phase in which the expansionist aspirations of Israel's ruling group and Zionist circles have been fully exposed. The international isolation of the Israeli aggressors and their patrons—the US imperialist circles who hypocritically declare their wish for peace but who, in effect, encourage the Israeli extremists—is becoming greater.

The constructive stand of the Arab countries, primarily that of the United Arab Republic, provides favourable conditions for the full implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

The persistent refusal of the Israeli rulers to withdraw their troops from captured Arab territories is an open challenge to world public opinion and the decisions of the United Nations.

Therefore, it is the duty of all peace-loving forces to concert efforts in curbing the Israeli aggressors, force them to respect the universally accepted standards of international life and the legitimate rights of the Arab states, and to withdraw their troops from captured Arab territories.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU expresses its firm conviction that the attempts of the imperialists and their henchmen to impose their diktat on the peoples of the Arab countries, to subvert the progressive regimes in the Middle East and to defeat the national-liberation movement in that part of the world, are doomed to failure. The legitimate rights and interests of all Arab peoples, including the Arabs of Palestine, will triumph. The Israeli aggressors will be compelled to get out of the Arab territories seized by them in 1967. The guarantee of this is the unbending will of the Arab peoples, their striving for independence, freedom, peace and social progress, their close alliance with the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of the other socialist countries, with all anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU declares that, consistently pursuing the Leninist policy of international peace and friendship, the Soviet Union will continue to support the just cause of the Arab peoples who suffered from Israeli aggression, to support their efforts at regaining their violated rights, to secure a fair political settlement in the Middle East, and to protect the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

We call on all fraternal Parties, on all peace-loving peoples and states to redouble their solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries and to render them active support in their struggle.

For united action by all forces opposing imperialist aggression, for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East!

Long live the inviolable Soviet-Arab friendship! May it go from strength to strength!

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, elected by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was held on April 9, 1971.

The Plenary Meeting unanimously elected Comrade Brezhnev L. I. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting elected the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, composed as follows: Members of the Politbureau comrades Brezhnev L. I., Voronov G. I., Grishin V. V., Kirilenko A. P., Kosygin A. N., Kulakov F. D., Kunayev D. A., Mazurov K. T., Pelshe A. Ya., Podgorny N. V., Polyansky D. S., Suslov M. A., Shelepin A. N., Shelest P. Ye., Shcherbitsky V. V.

Alternate Members of the Politbureau comrades Andropov Yu. V., Demichev P. N., Masherov P. M., Mzhavanadze V. P., Rashidov Sh. R., Ustinov D. F.

Comrades Brezhnev L. I., Demichev P. N., Kapitonov I. V., Katushev K. F., Kirilenko A. P., Kulakov F. D., Ponomaryov B. N., Solomentsev M. S., Suslov M. A., Ustinov D. F. have been elected Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Plenary Meeting endorsed the appointment of Comrade Pelshe A. Ya. Chairman of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee.

**CONCLUDING SPEECH
BY LEONID BREZHNEV
AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS.**

April 9, 1971

Comrade delegates,

Permit me to report to you the results of the first Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee elected by the 24th Congress of our Party.

At this Plenary Meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of unity and cohesion, the Central Committee of the Party unanimously elected its leading organs.

L. I. Brezhnev has been elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The following comrades have been elected Members of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU: Brezhnev L. I., Voronov G. I., Grishin V. V., Kirilenko A. P., Kosygin A. N., Kulakov F. D., Kunayev D. A., Mazurov K. T., Pelshe A. Ya., Podgorny N. V., Polyansky D. S., Suslov M. A., Shelepin A. N., Shelest P. Ye., Shcherbitsky V. V.

The following comrades have been elected Alternate Members of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU: Andropov Yu. V., Demichev P. N., Masherov P. M., Mzhavanadze V. P., Rashidov Sh. R., Ustinov D. F.

Comrades Brezhnev L. I.—General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Demichev P. N., Kapitov I. V., Katushev K. F., Kirilenko A. P., Kulakov F. D., Ponomaryov B. N., Solomentsev M. S., Suslov M. A., Us-

tinov D. F. have been elected Secretaries of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee approved Comrade Pelshe A. Ya. Chairman of the Party Control Committee.

The Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU elected Comrade Sizov G. F. its Chairman.

Comrade delegates,

The Central Committee you elected asked me to thank the Congress for its great trust. We value this trust and are well aware of the great responsibility to which it commits us. Allow me to assure you that the Central Committee of the Party, the Politbureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU will do all they can to translate into life the historic decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrade delegates,

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is about to close.

For ten days, the envoys of our great Party, the plenipotentiary delegates of all its glorious detachments, met at their Congress to discuss the results of five years of work and to work out a political course for the years ahead.

For ten days the attention of all our Party, of the entire Soviet people, who justly regard Party congresses as important landmarks in their history, in their advance to the summits of communism, was centered on the Kremlin, on our Congress.

For ten days, the eyes of the whole world were turned on this hall, for the enormous role played by the socialist countries and Communist Parties, by our socialist state and our Leninist Party, in the historical process and in world events has long been realized all over the world. By their heroic struggle and selfless labour the working class, the working people of the world and their communist vanguard have ushered in the era when world history cannot disregard socialism and communism and cannot develop apart from them.

Summing up the results of the Congress, we have every reason to say that much has been done, that its documents, the speeches of the delegates were a worthy reflection of the immense and all-round experience of our Party, of its

collective wisdom. The decisions and documents of the Congress will for long remain in the focus of the ideological activity of the Party and the people. Our Communists and all Soviet people will find in them a source of inspiration; the decisions of the Congress will serve them as a reliable guide to action.

Comrades,

I have already had occasion to say that Soviet Communists regarded their Party congresses not only as reports to their own Party, but to all Communist Parties, to the world working-class movement as well. With this attitude we have also come to the 24th Congress.

In its work, as you know, more than a hundred delegations from Communist and Workers' Parties, as well as from national-democratic and socialist Parties of the world, took part. Hardly ever in history had such a representative forum of world revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces gathered. For us, Soviet Communists, this is a source of profound satisfaction.

While listening to the speeches of our foreign friends and brothers, we felt ever more strongly that we were an inalienable, integral part of the great international movement called upon to transform the world. And we realized with particular force the worldwide significance of what our Party and our people are doing, the significance of the contribution we have made, and will be making by our successes in communist construction to the world revolutionary process.

We could see once again that the foreign comrades unanimously approve the course of our Party, its principled Marxist-Leninist line in the world communist movement, its unflinching and consistent efforts aimed at strengthening the unity of this movement, at rallying all revolutionary forces.

Dear foreign brothers and friends! Permit me on behalf of the Congress, on behalf of all our Party and the entire Soviet people, to thank you for the great contribution you have made to the work of our Congress. Permit me to thank you for the very interesting and profound speeches which still more vividly revealed to us the picture of the world, the picture of the revolutionary battles taking place on all continents. Allow me to thank you for the warm words addressed to our Party, to the Soviet peo-

ple, for the sentiments of solidarity and internationalism which permeated your speeches.

Comrade delegates,

The 24th Congress has armed our Party and the entire Soviet people with a clear-cut political line, a political programme for the period ahead. The essence and the content of this line are clearly expressed in the Report of the Central Committee, in the Report on the Draft Directives for the forthcoming Five-Year Plan, in the decisions and resolutions our Congress has just adopted.

In the sphere of economic policy the Party line is a line designed to improve the living conditions of the Soviet people. Without slackening attention to the development of heavy industry, including its defence branches, the Party sets forth as the main practical task of its entire economic work a considerable rise in the people's welfare. This is our goal, comrades, and to attain it we must use to the full all the reserves, all the opportunities inherent in our economy.

In the sphere of social policy the Party line is a line designed further to strengthen the unity of Soviet society, to bring still closer together the classes and social groups, all the nations and nationalities that make up Soviet society. It is a line for the consistent development of socialist democracy and the enlistment of increasing numbers of people for the management of public and state affairs; it is, further, a line for raising the communist consciousness of all working people, for all-out development of science and culture, for further intellectual development of the Soviet man, for asserting a moral and political atmosphere in the country in which people would find it easy to breathe, joyous to work and peaceful to life.

In the sphere of Party development—it is a line for improving the methods of Party guidance of society, strictly observing Leninist norms of Party life, further rallying our Party ranks; it is a line for the all-out strengthening of the bonds of the Party with the working class and the entire Soviet people.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Party line is a line of peace and international security, of strengthening the fraternity of the countries of socialism and alliance with the liberation anti-imperialist forces of the world. It can already be said that the programme of struggle for peace,

freedom and independence of the peoples, set forth by the 24th Congress, has met with the broadest response on all continents throughout the world.

Thus, the action programme worked out by the 24th Congress is focussed on the most vital interests of the Soviet people. And already today, we see that this is the way the Soviet people—both Communists and non-Party people—regard the work of the 24th Congress and the main content of its decisions. I should like to express the confidence that this will impart to the Soviet people still greater strength, energy, inspiration in their work, in their efforts to implement the Directives for the new Five-Year Plan, for the realization of all the decisions adopted by the Congress.

Comrade delegates, you represent all our Republican, territorial and regional Party organizations. You represent all the branches of our national economy, all walks of social life, all sections of communist construction. You represent all the generations of Soviet Communists. All this made it possible for the Congress to discuss thoroughly the problems posed, to find solutions which to the greatest possible extent accord with the tasks in hand, with the interests of the Party and the people.

In a few days you will all return to your towns and villages, to your Party organizations. May I express the confidence that in the course of your day-to-day work, you, comrade delegates, will transmit to all Communists and all working people the charge of energy, inspiration and enthusiasm which every one of us has received at the Congress.

The main thing, now that we have worked out a reliable and correct political course, is to carry it out successfully.

The scope of the tasks set by the Congress is such that their implementation demands that all our work—economic, ideological-political, Party-organisational—be raised to a considerably higher level. It is precisely on this that all Party organizations should concentrate after the Congress. In a word, there is much to be done—much interesting and absorbing work lies ahead. We are looking forward to years of selfless and inspired endeavour. Only in this way shall we translate into life what the Congress has charted.

Best wishes of success to you all, comrade delegates!
Best wishes of success to our Party, the Party of Lenin,
the recognized leader of the Soviet people!

Best wishes of success to all Soviet working people,
the architects of their own destiny, the architects of their
own happiness!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the heroic Soviet people!

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism—forward to
new victories of communism!

Comrade delegates, allow me to declare the 24th Con-
gress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed.

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