

# Resolution on the political report of the CPSU Central Committee

MOSCOW, March 6, TASS: Here follows the full text of the resolution of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the political report of the CPSU Central Committee:

HAVING heard and discussed the political report of the Central Committee of the CPSU delivered by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes that our Leninist Party has come to its Congress enriched with new experience in constructive activity, and closely united.

As they carried out the programme targets of the CPSU and the decisions of the Party's 26th Congress, the Soviet people made considerable economic, social and cultural advances. The positions of the Soviet Union in foreign affairs have grown stronger, its international prestige has risen. The CPSU is holding high the banner of struggle for peace and social progress.

At the present turning point, in a qualitatively new situation inside the country and on the world scene, the Party has again shown its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its ability to deeply examine and realistically evaluate the situation, to draw the right lessons from experience, find ways of resolving the urgent problems, and overcome all that is outdated and no longer viable.

At its April 1985 plenary meeting, the CPSU Central Committee has thoroughly analysed the situation in the national economy and other spheres of society, and formulated the strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development, which won the whole-hearted support of the communists, and of all Soviet people. The plenary meeting courageously demonstrated the shortcomings, told the people frankly of the difficulties and deficiencies, provided a powerful impulse to our advance and gave the start to a radical turn towards vigorous practical actions and a resolute tightening of discipline and heightening of efficiency.

The countrywide approval of the decisions of the Central Committee's April plenary meeting and of the drafts of the new edition of the CPSU Programme, the amendments to the Party Rules, and the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, is evidence of a further strengthening of the unity of the Party and the people, of an extension of the Party's leading role, and offers new opportunities for fuller use of socialism's economic and spiritual potential.

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union hereby decides:

To approve the political course and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee;

To approve the provisions, conclusions and tasks set forth in the political report of the Central Committee to the Congress, and instruct all Party organisations to take guidance in them in their work.

## I.

1. The Congress reaffirms and supports the analysis of the basic tendencies and contradictions in contemporary world development contained in the political report of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and its evaluations and conclusions.

2. In the 20th century progress is rightly associated with socialism. World socialism is a powerful international entity. It reposes on a highly developed economy, an up-to-date scien-

tific base, and a dependable military-political potential. Socialism is continuously demonstrating the fact that social problems can be resolved on a fundamentally different, collectivist basis, and has taken the countries that follow this path to new heights of development.

Socialism is tirelessly improving social relations, augmenting its achievements purposefully, building up the power of attraction and credibility of its example, demonstrating readiness to participate in broad international co-operation for peace and the prosperity of nations on an equal and reciprocal basis. By so doing, socialism is erecting an increasingly dependable barrier to the ideology and policy of war and militarism, reaction and force, to all forms of man-hating, and actively contributing to the social progress of mankind.

3. Under the impact and in the setting of the scientific and technological revolution, modern-day capitalism is making the conflict between the immensely greater productive forces and the social relations based on private ownership still more acute. We are witnessing a further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism. Capitalism is running into an unheard-of intertwining and mutual aggravation of all its contradictions, into a quantity of social, economic and other crises and clashes that it has never run into before in its history. It is responsible for all the main problems of our time, for the fact that they continue to exist and are becoming more acute.

In modern-day conditions one of the effects of the exacerbation of capitalism's basic contradiction, that between labour and capital, is the grave danger of a further considerable rightward shift of policy, of the entire situation in some of the leading capitalist countries.

4. In modern-day conditions, imperialism is a growing threat to the very existence of mankind. Militarism is its most monstrous offspring, seeking to subordinate the whole political machinery of bourgeois society to its influence and interests, and to exercise control of spiritual life and culture.

The responsibility for the wars and conflicts of our century, for the instigation, continuous exacerbation, and opening of new channels of the arms race, lies on imperialism and none other than imperialism. Imperialism, which was the first to use nuclear weapons, is now preparing to take a new, possibly irreparable step and carry the arms race into outer space, training its sights on the entire planet.

Imperialism has created a refined system of neocolonialism. Brutal exploitation of the developing countries is increasingly becoming an important source for financing imperialism's militarist preparations, its home policy, its very existence. Imperialism is counterposing itself more and more strongly to all mankind.

5. The course of history and of social progress requires ever more insistently that states and nations constructively and positively interact on the scale of the entire planet. The combination of competition and historical contest between the two systems with the mounting tendency towards the interdependence of states within the world community is the real dialectics of modern-day world development. Through the struggle of opposites there is taking shape a controversial but interdependent, and in many ways integral, world. World affairs, their present stage, set especially rigid demands on every state, and this in foreign policy, in economic and social activity, and the spiritual pattern of society.

The last few decades of the 20th century confronted the nations of the world with difficult and acute problems. The need for solving the most vital global problems should prompt them to joint action, to triggering the tendencies towards the self-preservation of humanity. The course of world development has created the requisite material, social and political conditions for this. For the Congress this is a stimulus to make decisions and actions consonant with the realities of our time.

The forces of peace and progress all over the world can neutralise the threat created by imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the edge of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield. Human life, the possibilities of its all-round development, the interests of society's development, rank uppermost. And to this end the Congress is directing the practical activity of the CPSU and the Soviet State.

## II.

1. The Party's chief sphere of activity is the economy, as it has always been. It is here that conditions are created to provide a materially and spiritually prosperous and socially rich life for Soviet people in the setting of peace, to achieve a new qualitative state of society.

The Congress notes that in the quarter of a century since the adoption of the Third Programme of the CPSU, the country's economy has moved ahead considerably. The national income has gone up nearly 300 per cent, industrial production 400, and agricultural output 70 per cent. In output of a number of key items, the Soviet Union firmly holds first place in the world. The people's well-being has improved. Real per capita incomes have gone up 160 per cent, and the social consumption funds more than 400 per cent. Most families have had their housing improved. The successes in Soviet science, education, health and culture are universally recognised.

While giving due credit to what has been achieved, the Congress calls attention to the difficulties and the negative processes in social and economic development, which made themselves felt in the 70s and the early 80s. At that time, the rate of economic growth and of the productivity of labour had gone down visibly, some other indicators of efficiency declined, scientific and technological progress slowed down, and the imbalances in the economy became more distinct. The five-year plan targets were not being fulfilled, and social undertakings were not fully carried out. The Congress holds that the main reason for the lags was the failure to produce a timely political assessment of the change in the economic situation; the urgent and acute need for converting the economy to intensive methods of growth was not apprehended; nor was due perseverance and consistency shown in tackling the urgent matter of readjusting economic policy, the economic mechanism, the very psychology of our economic activity. Despite the effort of recent times, we have not yet managed to fully remedy the situation.

In these circumstances, the most crucial task of the whole Party and the whole country is to overcome the unfavourable tendencies in economic development firmly and to the end in the shortest possible time, to impart a high degree of dynamism to the economy, to give scope to truly revolutionary changes, and to enlist broad segments of the working people in these processes.

2. The Congress wholeheartedly approves the CPSU Central Committee's concept of accelerating the country's socio-economic development, and the practical steps towards this end. The Party's strategic course is to change to a more highly organised and more effective running of the economy with versatile and developed productive forces, mature socialist relations of production, and a smooth-working economic mechanism. The 12th five-year plan period is an important stage, making for deep-going qualitative change in production.

The Congress makes it incumbent on all Party, government, economic and mass organisations to direct all their activity to the unconditional fulfilment of the programme provision of converting the economy to the intensive way of development. The economic management at all levels must shift the emphasis from quantity indicators to quality and efficiency, from the intermediate to the end results, from expanding production capacities to their modernisation, from building up fuel and raw materials resources to improving their utilisation, and to the crash development of science-intensive industries. The structural and investment policies are to be changed accordingly.

The Party regards as the main lever for the intensification of the economy, a cardinal acceleration of scientific and technological progress, a broad introduction of new generations of machinery and of fundamentally new production techniques that make for the highest possible productivity and effectiveness. The foremost task set by the Congress is that of carrying out a deep-going technical reconstruction of the economy on a basis of up-to-the-minute achievements in science and technology. Each industry, enterprise and association must have a clear programme for the continuous modernisation of production. And those managers who substitute showy postures and half-hearted decisions for the real thing, and who distort the very idea of technical reconstruction, must be called strictly to account.

Engineering, which must attain the highest possible technical standards in the shortest possible time, is called upon to play the leading role in accelerating scientific and technological progress. A most important task is to develop and start up the mass production of up-to-date computers. There must be a radical reconstruction of the fuel and energy complex; the Energy Programme must be fulfilled. Much remains to be done in advancing metallurgy and the chemicalisation of the economy, in meeting the demand for new structural and other progressive materials. The Party attaches immense significance to the retooling of the industrial infrastructure, first of all transport and communications, and also to a priority development of the light industry and other economic branches that directly meet the needs of the people.

In view of the drive aimed at reconstructing the economy, the Congress points to the need for a radical improvement of capital construction, for raising the entire building complex to a new industrial and organisational level, and substantially reducing the investment cycle.

The Congress sets the task of turning science conclusively towards the need for the economy's technical modernisation, for bringing it closer to production, using new, tested forms of integration and interaction for these purposes, speeding up the introduction of the results of research in practice, enhancing the work of academy and sectoral institutes, of the scientific potential of higher educational establishments, and improving the training of rising generations of scientists.

3. It is the priority task of Party, government, and economic bodies, of all communists, of all people, to perseveringly carry into effect the Party's up-to-date agrarian policy and to fulfil the Food Programme of the USSR. An effective advance is required in developing the agro-

industrial complex, so as to visibly improve food supplies to the population already in the 12th five-year plan period. It is important to secure the smooth, economically integrated functioning of all the links of the agro-industrial complex, and to enhance the impact of scientific and technological progress on the achievement of a more stable growth of agriculture and related industries.

While consistently building up the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, it is essential to radically improve the efficient use of the already existing powerful production potential, to concentrate efforts and resources on trends that yield the best results. Special attention should be devoted everywhere to the introduction of intensive techniques, to extending the use of collective contracts based on genuine cost accounting, reducing losses of produce at all levels of agro-industrial production, and to building up in the shortest possible time requisite storage facilities and plant for the processing of industrial crops. The social reconstruction of the village must be speeded up, and constant concern shown for those who work in rural areas, for their working and living conditions.

These tasks will be furthered by the reorganisation and the new far-reaching measures aimed at shaping an effective managerial mechanism within the agro-industrial complex, which will provide conditions for a broad use of incentives—and profit-oriented methods in the work of its subdivisions, for a considerable extension of the independence and initiative of collective and state farms, and other enterprises, and for raising a dependable barrier to mismanagement and parasitism. Any radical change at village level calls for a serious improvement of the style and methods of management at the level of the agro-industrial complex. We must put an end to incompetent interference in the functioning of work collectives, and duplication of the work of the administrative bodies of the agro-industrial complex. In the new setting, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and the councils of ministers of union republics will bear greater responsibility than before for supplying the country with food and industrial crops.

4. The policy of accelerating socio-economic development necessitates a deep-going restructuring of the economic mechanism, the shaping of an integrated, effective and flexible system of management based on the principle of democratic centralism and allowing for a fuller utilisation of socialism's possibilities. The Congress herewith instructs the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to carry through at the earliest possible time a set of measures that will put the forms and methods of economic management abreast of current needs.

For this purpose:

—centralised guidance in securing the fulfilment of the main tasks of the Party's economic strategy must be made more efficient; at the same time we must enhance the role and independence of associations and enterprises, and also their stake in and responsibility for attaining the highest possible end results on the basis of genuine cost accounting, self-sufficiency and self-financing, and by pegging the incomes of work collectives to the efficiency of their work;

—incentives- and profit-oriented methods of management must be introduced at all levels of the economy; planning and the finance-and-credit mechanism must be improved; so must price-setting; the supply of technical equipment and materials must be restructured;

—management must get up-to-date organisational structures with an eye to the tendency towards concentration, specialisation and co-operation in production, the development of complexes of inter-related industries, territorial production complexes and other inter-industrial formations;

—an optimum combination must be secured of

economic management at branch level with that at territorial level, as well as a comprehensive economic and social advancement of republics and regions, a further expansion of the rights of republican and local bodies, first of all in guiding the building industry, inter-industrial enterprises, and the social and productive infrastructures.

Any improvement of management calls for a readjustment of the mentality, a clear understanding of the new tasks by Party activists, the managerial personnel and the mass of the working people, and renunciation of prevailing stereotypes. It is essential to improve research in the theoretical aspects of management connected above all with the dialectics of the interaction of the productive forces and the relations of production under socialism, the development of socialist property, the use of commodity-money relations, and the blending of centralism with the independence of economic enterprises.

5. The Congress stresses that successful fulfilment of the projected tasks calls for the maximum mobilisation of the untapped potentialities available in the national economy. Party, government, economic and public bodies must concentrate on tightening organisation and discipline, and on combating mismanagement. The main emphasis should be laid on the full use of operating production capacities, all-out economising of raw and other materials, fuel and energy, on utilising resource-saving and waste-less production techniques, on utilising recycled materials, on making production operate more rhythmically, and on seeing to it that contract deliveries are made without fail. The maximum effort should be applied to securing a radical improvement of the quality of output and the quality of all work. Attainment of this crucial nationwide objective calls for the utmost mobilisation of the resources of all enterprises, all levels of management, with reliance on the latest achievements of science and technology. Persevering and day-to-day efforts to raise quality must become the cause of every communist, every working person.

All economic, organisational and political work must be aimed at securing people's involvement in production as its true masters, at securing their ever more active participation in running their enterprise, enhancing the creative initiative of the working people, and organising effective socialist emulation in the drive to fulfil the 12th five-year plan targets. It is essential to enhance the role of the moral factor in stimulating frontline workers, and to step up the traditions of shock work and the Stakhanov Movement.

6. The Congress attaches top importance to an active, integral social policy, to the programme of raising the standard of living, which encompasses all aspects of people's lives as projected for the 12th five-year period and the longer term. It is necessary to orient the planning agencies and managerial bodies on the social needs, and to eliminate once and for all the underrating of the urgent problems in that sphere. Any lack of consideration for the needs of people, any impingement on their lawful interests, is impermissible on the part of officials. The Party will strictly follow the principle of social justice and will work persistently to eliminate everything that interferes with its constant implementation.

The CPSU is setting in motion a full-scale programme for raising the well-being of people to a qualitatively new level. The improvement of people's lives must be indissolubly tied in with the growing labour and public activity of every working person, every production collective.

The Congress deems it necessary to tighten control over the measure of labour and consumption, to peg wages and salaries more strictly to the productivity of labour, and labour's quality indicators. Levelling must be firmly eliminated, and payment of unearned money and unmerited bonuses stopped; it is essential to uncompromisingly combat unearned incomes

and root out other departures from socialism's basic principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his work'. Additional measures must be taken in the immediate future against parasites, pilferers of socialist property, and bribe-takers.

Party, government and economic bodies at the centre and locally must radically alter their attitude to the question of amply supplying the market with quality goods and services, ensuring unconditional fulfilment of the comprehensive programme for the development of the production of consumer goods and services, and increasing the contribution of every republic, territory and region, every branch of the national economy, the work collectives, to this most important task. The responsibility of local bodies for satisfying the consumer demand must be increased.

To supply every family with a separate flat or house within the projected time, we must increase the scale of building new and modernising available housing, and encourage in every way the building of co-operatives and individual houses, and of housing for young people, and improve the housing distribution procedures.

7. Achievement of qualitative advances in the social sphere definitely presupposes deep-going changes in labour and its content, calling for a heightening of productivity, a sizeable reduction of manual and unskilled jobs, and improvement of the state system of posting and reposting cadres.

The Congress is setting the task of shaping a single system of uninterrupted education. For this purpose, it is essential to consistently carry out the reform of the general and vocational school, to work perseveringly in raising the effectiveness of education and upbringing, ensure that all pupils learn how to handle computers, and radically improve the training of young people for independent life and work. It is essential to restructure higher and specialised secondary education, and improve the system of training specialists and their use in production. The refresher courses and courses for the retraining of workers and specialists must be adjusted to current needs.

Cardinal measures are essential to improve health protection, mass physical culture and sports, tourism, and people's, especially young people's, rewarding leisure. The Congress notes the exceptional importance of the drive started on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee and actively supported by the Soviet people, aimed at asserting a wholesome way of life and combating hard drinking and alcoholism. There must be no backsliding in the struggle against this evil.

The problem of environmental protection and rational use of natural resources is acquiring great importance in the current conditions. The advantages of socialism and its plan-governed production and humane world outlook must be used to the full in resolving this global problem.

8. The Party considers it highly important to carefully examine in its policy the common basic interests of classes and social groups, and their specific interests, as an essential condition for the firm unity of Soviet society and the successful solution of the tasks of communist construction. As the Congress sees it, it is the cornerstone of CPSU policy to ensure the leading role of the working class, to strengthen the alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the working intelligentsia. As we improve the socialist way of life it is essential to provide the maximum opportunities for the assertion of collectivism and the development of the personality.

Measures should be carried out to further strengthen the family, heighten the responsibility of parents for the upbringing of their children, improve the working and living conditions of women so as to enable them to successfully combine motherhood with a job and public

activity. It is essential to completely meet the demand of the population for children's pre-school institutions within the next few years.

It is the duty of Party and government bodies and public organisations to show daily care for war and labour veterans, and facilitate their broader participation in production and in socio-political life.

9. Faithful to the Leninist principles of its nationalities policy, the CPSU will continue tirelessly to strengthen the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country, educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and show special tact and care in everything that concerns national relations, affects the interests of each nation and nationality, and the national feelings of people; all problems arising in this sphere must be promptly resolved, and a relentless struggle conducted against any signs of nationalism, chauvinism and localism.

It is incumbent on Party organisations to constantly care for the all-round development of the republics, to increase the contribution of each of them to the consolidation of the country's overall economic complex, to the economic power and defence capability of our multinational state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

### III.

1. The strategy of accelerating our development includes further improvement of the social relations, renewal of the content, forms and methods of the work of the political and ideological institutions, and the deepening of socialist democracy.

The Congress makes a high assessment of the steps being taken by the Central Committee to improve society's political system, to increase the activity of the soviets, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the work collectives, and people's control, and to practise broader publicity. The Party guiding itself by Lenin's words that "living, creative socialism is the product of the masses themselves", will continue to pay constant attention to making more effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy, to steadily broadening the participation by the mass of the people in drafting, adopting and implementing governmental and other decisions, and will be the leading force and guarantor of the consistent deepening of the people's socialist self-government.

2. The Congress emphasises the importance of making increasingly constructive and fruitful the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the supreme soviets of the constituent and autonomous republics in developing legislation, in exercising supervision over the work of the bodies accountable to them, in guiding the soviets of people's deputies at all levels. We should steer a still firmer course towards enhancing the role of the local soviets and improving their work in mobilising the masses to accelerate society's socio-economic and intellectual development and in settling all matters connected with the people's daily lives and in meeting their needs and requirements. In this context it is necessary, already in the very near future, to draw up measures to increase the autonomy and responsibility of soviets, and to refine the mechanism of their relations with enterprises and organisations subordinated to higher authorities. The Congress believes that it is correct and timely to raise the question of perfecting the electoral system.

It is necessary to pay constant attention to the further deepening of the democratic principles in administration, to increase efficiency and promptness in the work of the executive committees of soviets and in the work of other government bodies, and resolutely eradicate manifestations of a departmental approach, localism, irresponsibility, red tape and a formal and indifferent attitude to people. It is

necessary to ensure a regular and effective system of reports by executive committees, judges, ministers and the heads of other administrative bodies to work collectives and meetings of working people, and to make more effective use of various forms of supervision by working people over the functioning of the administrative machinery. The Congress supports the proposal to introduce a certification procedure for executives of government and non-government bodies.

3. The present stage of development confronts the mass organisations with important tasks.

The trade unions, being the largest of the mass organisations, should display a high sense of responsibility in their efforts to mobilise the working people to carry out the national economic plans, to expand socialist emulation, to tighten discipline, and to raise the productivity of labour. The trade unions and their elected bodies are called upon to display more purposefulness and persistence in protecting the working people's lawful interests, in looking after labour protection and safety techniques, in developing and operating health-building, sports, community and children's centres, and to take a more active part in implementing the entire social policy.

Party organisations are obliged to give utmost assistance to the Leninist Young Communist League in carrying out its fundamental task of training active, politically conscious builders of the new society, who are dedicated to the ideals of communism, who are industrious and are ready for feats of valour and self-sacrifice. The striving of young people to show their worth in various spheres of the life of society should be supported. There should be a consistent policy of promoting deserving young people to high posts in production, science, the cultural sphere and management.

With the aim of further enhancing the role of trade unions, the YCL, the unions of creative workers, voluntary societies and women's organisations, the Congress considers it necessary to broaden the range of questions on which state bodies can take decisions only with the participation or prior consent of the respective mass organisations, and to give the latter the right to suspend administrative decisions in a number of cases.

4. The Party pays special attention to the exercise of all forms of direct democracy, first and foremost to stepping up the activity of work collectives, establishing an atmosphere of socialist mutual assistance and exactingness in them, and making them feel they are full-fledged masters of production, with a high sense of responsibility for the performance of their duties to society. It is necessary to radically improve the machinery for putting into practice the democratic principles and norms enshrined in the law on work collectives, to expand the range of matters on which decisions taken by work collectives are final, to enhance the role of general meetings of factory and office workers, and responsibility for fulfilment of the decisions taken by these meetings. The Congress supports the proposals to set up, at the level of enterprises, councils of work collectives which would function in between their general meetings, and also the proposal to gradually broaden electivity of managerial personnel at enterprises. Party and state bodies should more intensively develop democratic principles of self-government by collective farms and co-operative societies, including strict respect for their rules.

The practice of nation-wide discussions and referendums on major issues of the country's life and discussion by the population of drafts of decisions drawn up by local soviets should be further improved, and other channels of developing direct democracy, such as citizens' meetings, constituents' mandates, the press, radio and television, letters by working people and all other means of studying public opinion should be

put to better use.

The Congress attaches fundamental importance to broader publicity in the work of government and other bodies and to keeping the population better informed about decisions they take as well as on follow-up activity.

5. The Congress attaches cardinal significance to strengthening the legal foundation of governmental activity and of the life of society, to the strictest observance of the laws, to consolidating the guarantees of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. We must persistently raise the responsibility of the personnel of the law-enforcement and other bodies connected with practical implementation of the laws, protection of law and order, protection of socialist property and the lawful interests of Soviet citizens; resolutely raise the efficacy of procurators' supervision; improve the functioning of courts of law and the bar; improve the work of state arbitration, and the legal service in the soviets and at enterprises and organisations, in further consolidating legality in economic interrelations and combating administrative and contractual irregularities. The inculcation of a sense of civic duty, and the moral and legal education of Soviet people, especially young people, should effectively promote their socio-political activity, irreconcilable attitude to shortcomings and violations of the law, and commitment to the interests of society and the state.

6. Against the background of imperialism's increasing subversive encroachments against the USSR and other socialist countries, substantially greater responsibility devolves upon the state security bodies, which must display supreme vigilance, promptly expose and firmly thwart all attempts to undermine or weaken our political and social system.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that thanks to the unflagging attention by the Party, by its Central Committee and by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Soviet Union's defence capability is maintained at a level which reliably guarantees the peaceful constructive labours of the Soviet people. Today, as before, it is one of the most important tasks of the Party, the state and the people to raise to the maximum the combat readiness of the armed forces, to educate the men and officers of the army and navy, and all Soviet people, in a spirit of vigilance and constant preparedness to defend the great gains of socialism.

#### IV.

1. The principal objective of the CPSU's strategy in foreign policy is to ensure to the Soviet people the possibility of working under conditions of enduring peace and freedom. For that reason the struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace must remain the main direction of the Party's activity on the international scene in the future as well.

The Congress emphasises that there is no alternative to this policy. The character of present-day armaments leaves no country with the hope of defending itself only with military-technical means, by creating even the most powerful defence, since not only nuclear war itself but also the arms race cannot be won. Its continuation on Earth, let alone its spread to outer space, will accelerate the already critically high rate of stockpiling and perfecting nuclear and other types of armaments, with the result that even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, the safeguarding of security is increasingly seen as a political problem that can only be resolved by political means.

2. The analysis made by the CPSU Central Committee of the character and dimensions of the nuclear threat has allowed formulating the conclusion, which is important in both theoretical and practical terms, that the objective conditions

now obtaining on the international scene are such that the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed only and exclusively in forms of peaceful competition and peaceful contest.

Proceeding from this, the Congress instructs the Central Committee to work consistently, steadfastly and perseveringly to resolve the problems of international security, orienting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on an unswerving course towards peaceful coexistence, on firmly upholding our principles and positions, on tactical flexibility, on the readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, and a striving for a dialogue and mutual understanding. The Congress stresses the need for a further vitalisation of Soviet foreign policy all along the line, for quests for a just peaceful settlement of conflict situations, for promoting good-neighbourly, mutually beneficial relations with all countries.

3. The central direction of Soviet foreign policy for the coming years must be the efforts to carry out the programme set out in the statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee on January 15, 1986, for destroying weapons of mass annihilation and averting the threat of war. Fulfilment of this programme, which is epoch-making for its dimensions and significance, would open for humanity a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility of concentrating exclusively on constructive work.

The Congress reaffirms the immutability of the defensive orientation of the Soviet military doctrine, based on the fact that the USSR is a confirmed opponent of nuclear war in any of its variants. Our country advocates eliminating weapons of mass annihilation from use and limiting military potentials to a reasonably adequate ceiling. But the character and level of this ceiling continue to be restricted by the postures and actions of the USA and its bloc partners. The Soviet Union lays no claim to more security but it will not settle for less.

4. The Congress notes that the prerequisites that have of late begun to take shape for improving the international situation are not yet the turning point itself: the arms race continues, the threat of nuclear war remains. However, international reaction is not omnipotent. The development of the world revolutionary process and the growth of massive democratic and anti-war movements have dramatically extended and reinforced the huge potential of peace, reason and good will, which is a powerful counter-balance to imperialism's aggressive policy. The CPSU intends to continue making the utmost contribution towards strengthening this potential.

5. The destinies of peace and social progress are today interlocked more than ever before with the dynamic economic and political development of the socialist world system. The Congress expresses confidence in socialism's ability to cope with the most complex tasks and notes the importance of the increasingly active interaction among the socialist countries, an interaction that serves as a catalyst for accelerating their common progress.

The Congress unequivocally approves the new positive qualities that have manifested themselves in the relations with the countries of the socialist community following the April plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. The heart and soul of the political co-operation among the countries have been and remain the interaction among the ruling communist parties, the perfection and renewal of its forms and methods, which allow for prompt comradely exchanges of opinion on the entire range of problems of socialist construction. This approach is in keeping with the imperatives of the day and enriches the content of the relations at all levels between our parties and countries.

In view of the international situation, the Congress underscores the great significance of

the prolongation, by a unanimous decision of its signatories, of the Warsaw Treaty, which is an effective and constructive factor of European and of world politics.

The CPSU regards as particularly significant the adoption of the comprehensive programme of scientific and technological progress of the CMEA countries, and holds that for the Soviet Communists, scientists, engineers and workers it is a matter of honour to approach key areas of socialist economic integration in a spirit of innovation and initiative.

In advocating broad contacts among work collectives, mass organisations and individual citizens of socialist countries, the Congress stresses the growing importance of a mutual enrichment of considerations, ideas and experience of socialist construction. This helps to resolve the problems posed by life, forestall the crisis situation being created and used by the class adversary, counter his attempts to set some socialist countries against others, harmonise the interests of the various socialist states, and find mutually acceptable solutions for the most complex problems.

6. The CPSU stands for honest, open relations with all communist parties and all countries of the socialist world system, and comradely exchanges of views with them. The Party welcomes every step towards the drawing together of socialist countries, and every positive change in relations among them.

In this context, the Congress notes with gratification the certain improvement in the relations of the USSR with its great neighbour, socialist China, and the possibility, despite the distinctions in the approach to a number of international problems, of promoting co-operation on a basis of equality without affecting third countries. In the opinion of the Congress, there are huge potentialities for such co-operation because they are consistent with the vital interests of both countries, for the peoples of which the dearest things—socialism and peace—are indivisible.

7. The CPSU, flesh of the flesh of the international communist movement, sees its primary internationalist duty to this movement in the Soviet Union's successful progress along the road opened and blazed by the October Revolution.

The Congress proceeds from the premise that the diversity of the communist movement is not a synonym of disunity, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with hierarchy, with interference of some parties in the affairs of others, or with a striving by any party to a monopoly over truth. The communist movement draws its strength from its bold, creative approach to the new realities in keeping with the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, from its class solidarity and equal co-operation among all fraternal parties in the struggle for common aims—peace and socialism. Precisely these aims are the main, definitive thing that unites the communists of different countries. The Congress instructs the CPSU Central Committee to do its utmost to facilitate the strengthening of such solidarity and such co-operation among the communist and workers' parties.

8. The tendency towards a change of the balance of strength on the world scene in favour of peace, reason and good will is enduring and in principle irreversible. However, this correlation is taking shape in the course of an acute and dynamic struggle between progress and reaction. The Congress, therefore, reaffirms the CPSU's immutable solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social emancipation, its course towards close interaction with socialist-oriented countries, with revolutionary-democratic parties, and with the Non-Aligned Movement, towards the promotion of contacts and co-operation with the socialist democratic movement, towards the extension of relations with all who act against war, for international security.

9. The Congress notes the special sig-

nificance of the fundamental principles for creating an all-embracing system of international security advanced in the Central Committee's political report. Guided by them it would be possible to make peaceful coexistence the highest universal principle of state-to-state relations. On behalf of the CPSU, the Congress calls upon all governments, parties, and mass organisations and movements, which are really concerned about the future of peace in the world, upon all peoples, to co-operate more closely and productively for the sake of achieving success in the battle against war, a success that would be a historic victory of all humanity, of each person on our planet.

## V

1. The present stage, a stage of society's qualitative transformation, requires of the Party and of all its organisations new efforts, a principled stand in assessing their work, a business-like attitude and dedication. The further enhancement of the Party's leading role and of its influence on the work of all units of socialist society will be promoted by consistent implementation of the provisions of the new edition of the CPSU Programme and of the Party Rules, both of which embody and enlarge upon the Bolshevik principles of Party building, the style and methods of Party work, and the ideological and moral norms of the behaviour of communists, all of which were worked out by Lenin and tested in practice. In their practical work Party organisations should proceed from the premise that the influence of the Party on social processes will be all the stronger and more effective, the more diverse and meaningful inner-Party life becomes and the more scrupulous becomes compliance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

2. Today, when the scale, novelty and complexity of the tasks being tackled make high demands of all the Party's political, ideological and organisational work, it is of cardinal importance to ensure a fundamental readjustment of Party work, the assertion in every Party organisation of an atmosphere of creativity, principled exactingness and self-criticism, and quest for new and effective solutions of social, economic, scientific, technological, ideological and educational problems.

While positively assessing the spirit of innovation and initiative in the approach to the fulfilment of the tasks set by the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Congress notes that the need for readjustment is still not appreciated everywhere and by everybody. Many organisations are slowly surmounting inertia, formalism, and stereotypes in work. The central committees of the communist parties of union republics and the Party territorial, regional, area, town and district committees have to be more resolute in uprooting bigotry and conservatism in all their manifestations and the striving to embellish the actual state of affairs, and perseveringly surmount the chronic gravitation towards over-organisation, the penchant for useless conferences, and paper-work. To call things by their names, make judgements without equivocation, provide objective information to higher Party bodies and the rank and file, and show exactingness and honesty always and in everything—such must be an immutable rule of the Party work.

Primary Party organisations have a responsible role to play in asserting a business-like, creative style everywhere. Party committees should constantly rely on these organisations, promote independence in work, and strive to ensure in every Party organisation a full-blooded life, characterised by openness, publicity of plans and decisions, humaneness, a mutual exactingness of communists, and their tireless concern for the common cause. There must be a significant growth in the influence of the Party organisations

of ministries and departments on the work of the administrative apparatus and whole branches of the economy.

3. Proceeding from the belief that a healthy, normal life of each Party organisation is inconceivable without strict compliance with inner-Party democracy and the principle of collective leadership, the Congress considers that it is essential to give a large role to collegiate bodies—plenary meetings of Party committees, and bureau and Party meetings—in working out well-considered, substantiated decisions and in exercising control over fulfilment and over the work of leading cadres.

To assert healthy principles in our life, to inspire cadres with the desire and ability to work in a new way requires that the Party organisations should do their utmost to promote criticism and self-criticism, step up the efforts to eradicate ostentation, and correct those functionaries who in words favour readjustment but think and act in accordance with outdated patterns and react painfully to criticism levelled at them. Resolute steps must be taken to cut short any attempts at bridling criticism and at persecuting people for it. Where criticism and self-criticism die down, there Party work is deformed, and a situation of complacency and impunity arises that leads to stagnation in work and to the degeneration of functionaries. In the Party there should not be organisations that are outside the pale of criticism, that are closed to criticism. Not a single leader should be fenced off from responsibility to, above all, the primary Party organisations for his actions and deeds.

4. The guarantee of successful fulfilment of the set tasks, of the achievement of our programme aims, lies in the uninterrupted development and self-perfection of the Party, the unbreakable unity of its ranks and the untiring efforts to maintain the purity and integrity of the Party member. In the past few years there has been a further growth and strengthening of the CPSU's creative potential and its roots in the working class, in all strata of society. The Party ranks have been augmented with fresh forces prepared to serve the communist cause selflessly. All the more intolerable are the cases, still to be met, of a relaxation of exactingness in admitting to Party membership persons who join it out of careerist considerations, counting on getting some advantages in life and allowances before the law.

A Party member enjoys no privileges. There are only additional duties: this Leninist postulate must be the point of departure in the work of every Party organisation in selecting persons for Party membership and educating communists as political fighters and organisers of the masses, as active proponents of the Party's general line and directives. Strict mutual exactingness, well-considered ideological and educational work and the entire organisation of inner-Party life must create an atmosphere enabling Party members to display a personal example, the point of departure being that there is no vanguard role of the communists in general, that this is expressed in concrete deeds, practical work, and unimpeachable fulfilment of the duty to society.

It is a cardinal task of Party organisations to educate communists in the spirit of the great Bolshevik traditions and genuine comradeship, to eradicate flattery, servility and toadyism from the Party milieu and from the whole of our society. Adherence to principle, modesty and a self-critical approach should be second nature to the communist. More exacting demands must be made of communists and Party organisations as concerns adherence to the provisions of the Programme and Rules and strict observance of the norms of Party life. The Party ranks must be cleansed of all who are unworthy of being called a member of the CPSU.

5. The Congress unanimously approves the Central Committee's measures to strengthen the Party, government and economic sectors by appointing energetic, well-trained cadres, by

replacing cadres that have compromised themselves or have fallen behind the demands of the times, and the measures aimed at resolutely overcoming violations of Party norms that were committed in a number of organisations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU, local Party bodies and all Party organisations are obliged to continue the consistent and persistent implementation of the principled cadre policy, which corresponds to the Party's present-day demands and tasks. There must be no departures from Lenin's principles of selecting, appointing and educating cadres. There must be a more energetic struggle against the habitual irresponsibility and permissiveness, and against breaches of Party and administrative discipline, ethics and morality, which have struck deep roots in a number of organisations. Important lessons must also be drawn from the mistakes made by some Party organisations in cadre matters. The Party will not reconcile itself to the alien practice of protectionism, of promoting cadres because of their personal devotion or because they come from the same town or locality.

Ideological and moral qualities performance, and an ability to carry out effectively the Party's political line, should be the decisive criteria in all cadre appointments. Every high-ranking executive should be distinguished by ideological staunchness, a high level of political thinking, competency, an ability to organise collective work and to inspire people by his own example, commitment to principles, firm moral convictions and a constant urge for contacts with the masses, for sharing the interests and needs of others. Special demands should be made of communists who are appointed to head Party organisations.

The Party will continue to pursue a policy of combining experienced and young personnel in the leadership, and of improving the organisation of work with cadres, the training of a reliable reserve for promotion and the system of Party and political education, and will practise broader publicity in settling questions relating to cadres. To prevent stagnation in the work, to build up cadres who have a wide range of experience and who are receptive to everything that is new and progressive, it is advisable to transfer to other organisations and regions functionaries who have been in one place a long time, and to rotate cadres between the centre and the localities. More women should be more vigorously promoted to leading posts.

6. Efficiency is especially needed to speed our advance. Many functionaries still lack this quality. They are inclined to replace real work by fruitless discussions and ungrounded assurances and promises. Party organisations must help cadres to reorient themselves to a higher level of efficiency. We must constantly bear in mind that any discrepancy between what is said and what is done deals damage to the main thing, to the prestige of the Party's policy. And this cannot be tolerated in any form. There must be a decisive battle against red tape, which is today a big obstacle to a radical reorganisation of the economic mechanism and is a brake on all worthwhile work.

Party committees must concentrate their attention and efforts on the key problems of our development, introduce new, progressive methods in all spheres of life, and raise organisation to a higher level. In doing this they should not confuse the functions of the Party and those of other bodies, or allow any substitution for, or petty tutelage over, administrative and economic organisations. It is important to organise matters in such a way that everybody works well in the sector entrusted to him, acts energetically, with professional skill, and is not afraid of responsibility.

The Congress draws attention to the need to tighten supervision over practical implementation of the adopted decisions and plans. As we move forward, supervision should hold an increasingly large share in our work. The lines along which the style and methods of Party

leadership should be perfected are as follows: to make an objective analysis of the state of affairs, realistically assess the situation and the work of functionaries, take thorough-going measures in all cases, and raise all organisational work to a level commensurate with political tasks.

7. The Congress supports the CPSU Central Committee's line of directing the tremendous transforming power of the Marxist-Leninist ideology to accelerating our country's social and economic development, to increasing the role of the human factor, and to overcoming habitual approaches that have outlived themselves. The Party's present political course creates exceptionally favourable possibilities for considerably raising the effectiveness of ideological work, possibilities as yet used to a small degree. Important shortcomings still remain in the sphere of ideology: energetic but short-lived drives, educational work that is divorced from the realities of life, underestimation of acute problems that have come to a head, elements of scholasticism and idle contemplation, and education by words which is far from always linked up either with education by example, or with the socio-political experience of the masses.

The content, forms and methods of ideological and political education of the people should be brought into conformity with the realities of domestic and foreign affairs and tied in with organisational and economic activities. Raising the maturity of socialist society and building communism means steadily raising the consciousness of the people, enriching their inner world and setting their creative potential into motion.

8. The Congress emphasises that the more precisely the objective laws governing social development are taken into account in policy and the more active the role which Marxist-Leninist theory plays in the interpretation of living practice, the more successfully will the perfecting of socialism go ahead. Manifestations of stagnation and dogmatism and also of hustling in ideological and theoretical work should be persistently overcome; the collective thinking of the Party should be enhanced, and cadres should be trained to have an appreciation of theory and an ability to apply the Leninist methods of analysing social processes.

Fundamental problems of accelerating our society's progress and of raising society to a qualitatively new level should hold the central place in investigations in the social sciences. The social sciences should react quickly to life's needs; they should draw up well-grounded forecasts and constructive recommendations for practical work.

The Party committees and organisations and ideological institutions must make full use of the ideological wealth of the Party Programme, of the political report of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 27th Party Congress decisions in shaping an integral Marxist-Leninist world-view, in raising the Soviet people's political awareness, labour activity and participation in the life of society. They must reorganise the system of political and economic studies, designed to equip communists and all working people with the ability to think and act with political maturity, to promote the dissemination and consolidation of advanced forms of organising work and production.

9. The chief emphasis in ideological work, the Congress holds, should be on the education of the working people in the spirit of communist ideological commitment and loyalty to the Soviet motherland, in the spirit of proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscientious attitude towards work and public property, and intolerance of everything that is foreign to socialism, to our culture and to our collectivist morality.

Work-oriented education must be aimed at arousing in every Soviet person an organic need

for working with initiative, for doing good work and attaining a high productivity of labour with the least possible expenditure of resources. Constant care should be shown for the development of the glorious traditions of the Soviet working class, and for raising by all possible means the political and moral prestige of the innovators of production, masters of their trade.

The ideological commitment of the builders of communism is indivisibly welded with integrity, conscientiousness and decency. It is incumbent on communists to strengthen the moral pillars of socialism and to work actively for the elimination of all signs of petty-bourgeois psychology, for the consolidation of the principles of collectivism and social justice. It is their duty to skilfully safeguard the historic justice of our case, to show the attractiveness of socialist ideas, to vividly propagate the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union, to come to grips with bourgeois ideology and morality, anti-Soviet provocations, and imperialism's acts of ideological subversion, and with attempts at using religion for anti-socialist purposes.

10. The Congress notes the growing role of the mass and propaganda media in promoting the Party's economic strategy, its social policy, and in cultivating the socialist consciousness; it regards television, radio and the press as powerful vehicles of publicity and instruments of public control. We must use the mighty ideological potential of television more effectively, and heighten the impact of the entire propaganda and information complex; its material facilities must be expanded. The work of the mass media will be more fruitful, the more thoughtful and prompt it will be, and the less it will chase after accidental and sensational items.

11. The Congress orientates the activity of Party organisations in the field of cultural development to see to an increasingly fuller satisfaction of people's intellectual needs and interests, to provide conditions for them to develop their abilities and to use their leisure time rewardingly. It is essential to resolutely update the methods used by the unions of creative workers and cultural institutions in their activity, to fill it with a profound ideological content.

The Congress calls on writers and artists to create works that will be worthy of the greatness of the Party's and the people's innovative undertakings, and that will truthfully reflect the life of Soviet people in its diversity and motion with a

high degree of artistry. Literary and art critics must shake off their equanimity and worship of high titles, take guidance in clear aesthetic and class criteria in their assessments, and come out more actively against uncommitted and ostentatious proliferation, nosing about in people's lives, time-serving, and narrow-minded pragmatism.

The Party supports and will always support all talented work in literature and art committed to the Party's ideals and having a profound feeling of affinity with the people. High ideological and artistic standards, respect for talent, and tact are the criteria which Party organisations follow in their work with the artistic intelligentsia.

12. It is essential to perfect the organisation of ideological work, to see to it that all leading cadres take part in it, to require a comprehensive approach to education, and to keep the concrete individual at the centre of all work. We must secure unity of education at the work place, the study desk and in the neighbourhood.

The contribution of ideological workers, of activists, to the Party cause of moulding the new man, must keep increasing. The Party will continue to upgrade the prestige of the ideological cadres who practise what they preach, who think analytically, have a taste for theory, and are broadly knowledgeable, professionally trained, and capable of resolving the problems of our new times.

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Adopting a Lenin-style, bold, realistic, mobilising and inspiring strategy in the fight for the triumph of communist ideals, of peace and progress, the 27th Congress of the CPSU expresses the Party's unshakeable resolution to honourably follow our great road, and open up new vistas for the creative energy and revolutionary initiative of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia.

The Communists of the Soviet Union will always be in the frontline of all constructive work, will show models of dedication and faithful fulfilment of their duty to the people, of high responsibility to the future generations.

The Congress calls on all Soviet people to dedicate all their strength, knowledge, ability and creative enthusiasm to the great goals of communist construction, and to worthily continue Lenin's victorious revolutionary cause, the cause of the October Revolution! □

## Andrei Gromyko meets Heng Samrin

MOSCOW, March 4, TASS:

THERE was a meeting in the Kremlin today between Andrei Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Heng Samrin, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party and President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Heng Samrin heads the delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea to the 27th CPSU Congress.

Taking part in the conversation were Men Sam On, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, and Hor Nam Hong, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the USSR, who are also members of the delegation of the PRPK to the 27th CPSU Congress.

Heng Samrin spoke highly of the work of the

forum of the Soviet Communists. He stressed that the Congress was of historic importance as a turning point in the struggle of the Soviet people for the triumph of communist ideals.

The exchange of opinions confirmed the community of views and assessments of the state of the international situation and its prospects. On behalf of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Government and people of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin proclaimed resolute support for the Soviet Union's programme for the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere, the non-militarisation of outer space and the ridding of humanity of the threat of self-annihilation in nuclear war.

The participants in the meeting condemned the intrigues of the forces of imperialism and reaction in the Asian-Pacific region and emphasised the importance of the search by all Asian countries for a common comprehensive approach to the shaping of a system of security and durable peace in the Asian continent.

The Soviet side expressed support for the policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at establishing a constructive dialogue with all ASEAN countries.

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