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Prime Minister.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Agree that the Queen should
be advised to send the
message at X?

11 April 1984

John [unclear]

A.F.C. 12/4.

Possible Message to the New Soviet President

The Supreme Soviet meeting on 11 April elected Mr Chernenko to the position of Soviet President in succession to Mr Andropov (in addition, of course, to his position as General Secretary of the CPSU).

The Foreign Secretary believes that The Queen should be advised to send a message of congratulations. This would follow the precedent of the appointment of the last two Presidents: Brezhnev in 1977 and Andropov in 1983. *this* Reflecting our recent efforts to improve Anglo-Soviet relations, the text we propose is slightly warmer than that sent to Mr Andropov in June 1983 which was:

"I send you my congratulations on the occasion of your assumption of the office of Chairman of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet".

On this occasion we propose:

X.

"On the occasion of your assumption of the office of Chairman of the Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I send you my congratulations and my best wishes to you and to the people of the Soviet Union".

We would anticipate that, as in 1983, all our major Allies and partners will send similar messages. We will give them advance notice of the text of The Queen's message as soon as we hear that the Prime Minister is content.

I think this is better to warn. I should prefer the previous phraseology.

[Handwritten signature]

(R B Bone)
Private Secretary

A J Coles Esq
10 Downing Street

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 1AA

1 APR 1984





FILE

rw

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

12 April, 1984

POSSIBLE MESSAGE TO THE NEW SOVIET PRESIDENT

Thank you for your letter of 11 April.

As I told you on the telephone this morning the Prime Minister considers that the proposed text of the message from The Queen to the Soviet President is rather too warm. She would prefer the phraseology used in the message sent to Mr. Andropov in June 1983.

A. J. COLES

R.B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office



FILE

SH

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

2 March, 1984

Soviet Union

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from the Ambassador of the Soviet Union which in turn encloses the text of the speech made today by Mr. Chernenko "before his constituents".

BE +
I should be grateful for your advice as to how we should reply. I should also be grateful for a note on the speech which I can show to the Prime Minister.

ATC

R. B. Bone, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

SH

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~~Sc~~ P. C. Craddock

2 March, 1984

Dear Mrs. Thatcher,

It gives me a genuine pleasure to send you the full text of the speech made today by K. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, before his constituents.

The positions of our country and indeed her constructive approach towards international problems of the present day world are set forth in this speech as well as prospects of socio-economic development of the Soviet Union.

I hope the speech will be of great interest to you and will be useful for understanding both foreign and internal policy of the USSR.

Yours sincerely

V. Popov

V. Popov
USSR Ambassador

The Rt. Hon. M. Thatcher,
Prime Minister,
10 Downing Street,
London

PARTY AND PEOPLE UNITED

MOSCOW MARCH 2 TASS - FOLLOWS THE FULL TEXT OF TODAY'S SPEECH BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO TO VOTERS WHO NOMINATED HIM AS THEIR CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR:

+DEAR COMRADES,

ALLOW ME TO EXTEND MY SINCERE THANKS TO ALL THE SPEAKERS HERE, TO ALL WORKING PEOPLE OF MOSCOW'S KUIBYSHEV DISTRICT WHO NOMINATED ME AS THEIR CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR. I REGARD THEIR CONFIDENCE AS SUPPORT FOR OUR PARTY'S LENINIST COURSE, AS APPROVAL OF THE ACTIVITY OF ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE, OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. I ASSURE YOU THAT I WILL DO MY BEST TO JUSTIFY THE HIGH HONOUR OF BEING YOUR DEPUTY.

QUITE RECENTLY, WE SUFFERED A HEAVY LOSS -- YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV, AN OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE, PASSED AWAY. HE WAS A LEADER OF THE LENINIST TYPE. HE COULD NOT STAND ROUTINE AND STEREOTYPE, AND KNEW HOW TO OVERCOME INERTIA AND ATTUNE PEOPLE TO CONCERTED WORK IN THE NAME OF STRENGTHENING THE MOTHERLAND'S MIGHT, IN THE NAME OF PEACE ON EARTH. IT IS UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE LAUNCHED MAJOR POSITIVE CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY'S LIFE.

THE COLLECTIVELY DEVELOPED GUIDELINES ON THE KEY DIRECTIONS OF SOCIETY'S DEVELOPMENT, EVERYTHING THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED OF LATE CONSTITUTE A WEIGHTY POLITICAL CAPITAL. AND WE WILL TAKE CARE

OF IT, AND MULTIPLY IT.

COMRADES,

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS NEARING COMPLETION. THIS YEAR, IT WAS CHARACTERISED BY GREAT ACTIVITY, BUSINESSLIKE COURSE OF VOTERS' MEETINGS. IT BECAME VIVID EVIDENCE OF THE UNSHAKEABLE UNITY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE. THE CPSU ATTACHES IMMENSE IMPORTANCE TO THE ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET. FOR THIS IS, IN FACT, AN ACCOUNT BY SOVIET POWER TO THE WORKING PEOPLE. THIS IS ALSO A FORM OF THE MASSES' CONTROL OVER THE PERFORMANCE OF THOSE WHOM THEY EMPOWERED TO GOVERN THE SOCIALIST STATE.

IT IS IN KEEPING WITH THE PARTY'S TRADITIONS TO CONDUCT AN OPEN, HONEST CONVERSATION WITH THE MASSES. PRECISELY THIS APPROACH PERMEATES THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S ADDRESS SETTING FORTH THE PARTY'S ELECTION PLATFORM.

WHEN ADDRESSING VOTERS, MY COLLEAGUES IN THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKE IN DETAIL ABOUT OUR HOME AND FOREIGN POLICY, ABOUT PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. ALLOW ME AS WELL TO SET FORTH SOME IDEAS ON THIS MATTER.

1.

YOU KNOW WELL HOW MUCH ATTENTION THE PARTY IS GIVING TO ECONOMIC ISSUES. THEY FEATURED MOST PROMINENTLY IN THE WORK AND DECISIONS OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS. THEY WERE SUBJECT OF A REALISTIC ANALYSIS AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S PLENUMS IN NOVEMBER 1982 AND IN DECEMBER LAST YEAR. THE IMPORTANCE OF A NUMBER OF CARDINAL PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS STRESSED AT THE FEBRUARY PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

WHAT CAN BE SAID IN THIS RESPECT ABOUT THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE PREVIOUS ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET?

ON THE WHOLE, THIS WAS A FRUITFUL PERIOD. THE COUNTRY'S PRODUCTIVE FORCES BECAME STRONGER AND SUBSTANTIALLY RENOVATED. MORE THAN A THOUSAND INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES, FITTED OUT WITH MODERN MACHINERY, WERE MADE OPERATIONAL. THE RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION OF THE OPERATING PLANTS AND FACTORIES WERE CONDUCTED ON A LARGE SCALE. BUT, I'LL PUT IT BLUNTLY, LESS WAS DONE IN THIS SPHERE THAN WE WOULD LIKE. THE FUEL AND ENERGY BASE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY WAS DEVELOPED. ABOUT 40,000 KILOMETRES OF TRUNK GAS PIPELINES WERE BUILT -- UNPRECEDENTED SCALES AND TEMPO IN WORLD PRACTICE. WE SUCCEEDED IN TRANSFERRING A MULTITUDE OF FACTORIES, CITIES AND VILLAGES TO USE OF NATURAL GAS. THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE USING GAS AT HOME GREW BY 30 MILLION.

THESE YEARS SAW SUBSTANTIAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN MANY OTHER FIELDS TOO. A UNIQUE NUCLEAR REACTOR WITH A CAPACITY OF 1.5 MILLION KILOWATT, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS DEVELOPED IN OUR COUNTRY. POWERFUL ATOMIC ICE-BREAKERS, BUILT IN OUR COUNTRY, OPENED A NEW CHAPTER IN THE EXPLORATION OF THE ARCTIC. MINERAL PROSPECTING WITH THE HELP OF ULTRADEEP WELLS WAS STARTED. TECHNICAL LASERS ARE NOW EXTENSIVELY USED IN INDUSTRY AND MEDICINE.

QUITE A LOT WAS DONE TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE. POWER AVAILABILITY PER WORKER IN THIS SPHERE INCREASED BY 30 PER CENT.

MINERAL FERTILIZER DELIVERIES TO COLLECTIVE AND STATE FARMS GREW NEARLY BY A THIRD. COMBINED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, THIS PRODUCES TANGIBLE RESULTS.

JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES. WE WERE UNLUCKY WITH THE WEATHER LAST YEAR AS WELL, BUT THE GRAIN CROP EXCEEDED 190 MILLION TONNES. PRODUCTIVITY OF LIVE-STOCK FARMING NOTICEABLY GREW TOO. ALL THIS CONFIRMS ONCE AGAIN THAT WELL-ORGANIZED, PERSISTENT WORK YIELDS FRUIT EVEN IN DIFFICULT CONDITIONS. THE CONCRETE POINT AT ISSUE NOW IS MOBILIZING PEOPLE, PREPARING ALL MACHINERY AND ENSURING A SMOOTH ORGANIZATION OF FIELD-WORK. THERE IS NO TIME TO WASTE -- THE SPRING SOWING IS NOT FAR OFF. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO SEE TO THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE WINTERING OF CATTLE.

DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS, THE COMPLEXITIES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE COMPELLED US TO DIVERT CONSIDERABLE RESOURCES TO THE NEEDS CONNECTED WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SECURITY. BUT WE DID NOT EVEN THINK OF CURTAILING SOCIAL PROGRAMMES, SINCE THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF ALL OUR WORK IS IMPROVING THE WELL-BEING OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. AND OUR APPROACH TO THIS TASK IS BROAD. WE WANT THE PEOPLE NOT ONLY TO BE BETTER OFF MATERIALLY, BUT ALSO HEALTHY PHYSICALLY, DEVELOPED SPIRITUALLY, ACTIVE IN SOCIAL LIFE.

FOUR FIFTHS OF THE NATIONAL INCOME WERE DIRECTED OVER THE PAST PERIOD TO PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING. THE REAL INCOMES OF THE POPULATION INCREASED. THE PUBLIC CONSUMPTION FUNDS BECAME RICHER AS WELL. AND THIS IS THE SOURCE FROM WHICH MONEY IS DRAWN FOR EDUCATION, HEALTH SERVICE, PAYMENT OF PENSIONS, AND UPKEEP OF HOUSES.

OUR FOOD PROGRAMME, AS WELL AS THE PROGRAMME OF DEVELOPING THE MANUFACTURE OF CONSUMER GOODS AND SERVICES SYSTEM, CURRENTLY BEING DRAWN UP, ARE ALSO DIRECTED AT RAISING THE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING. MUCH IS BEING DONE NOW TO EXPAND THE PRODUCTION OF POPULAR COMMODITIES OF GOOD QUALITY. THE MODERNIZATION OF LIGHT AND FOOD INDUSTRY ENTERPRISES HAS BEEN STARTED. IN THIS AREA, WE ARE ACTIVELY COOPERATING WITH CMEA COUNTRIES.

AMONG THE PARTY'S PERMANENT PRIORITIES ARE SUCH VITAL PROBLEMS AS CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING, CHILD-CARE CENTRES, EXPANSION OF THE NETWORK OF HOSPITALS AND POLYCLINICS. LAST YEAR, MORE THAN TWO MILLION FLATS WERE BUILT -- MORE THAN IN ANY OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS. THE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION TARGET FOR THE CURRENT FIVE-YEAR-PLAN PERIOD IS VERY HIGH. BUT THERE ARE GROUNDS FOR BELIEVING THAT IT WILL BE MET.

WE REALIZE, OF COURSE, THAT THE HOUSING PROBLEM IS FAR FROM BEING RESOLVED, AND WE WILL LOOK FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE FURTHER HOUSING CONDITIONS. WHAT THIS IMPLIES IS NOT ONLY CONSTRUCTION WITH STATE MONEY. IT APPEARS THAT THE EXPANSION OF COOPERATIVE AND INDIVIDUAL CONSTRUCTION SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED MORE VIGOROUSLY. AS TO KINDERGARTENS AND NURSERIES, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN EASING THE TENSION HERE. MUCH, HOWEVER, REMAINS TO BE DONE.

IT IS PLANNED TO INCREASE IN THE COMING YEARS THE SALARIES OF TEACHERS AND OTHER WORKERS ENGAGED IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. ATTENTION WILL BE GIVEN IN THE FUTURE AS WELL TO WAR AND LABOUR VETERANS, LARGE FAMILIES, NEWLY-WEDS, AND TO IMPROVING LIVING STANDARDS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

IT IS, PROBABLY, WORTHWHILE MAKING SPECIAL MENTION OF THE YEAR 1983. AS YOU KNOW, THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORKED OUT IN NOVEMBER 1982 A PACKAGE OF MEASURES WHICH IMPARTED GREATER DYNAMISM TO OUR ECONOMY. WE STARTED OVERCOMING THE UNFAVOURABLE TREND OF THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE FIVE-YEAR-PLAN PERIOD WHEN ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES HAD SLOWED DOWN. OF PARTICULAR VALUE IS THAT LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY STARTED GROWING FASTER AND THAT QUALITY INDICATORS IN MANY BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY IMPROVED.

TO TAKE YOUR DISTRICT, FOR EXAMPLE. THE ENTIRE INCREMENT IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT HAS BEEN OBTAINED WITHOUT INCREASING THE WORKFORCE. YOU HAVE ACTIVELY JOINED THE ONGOING CAMPAIGN FOR OVERFULFILLING THE PLAN ASSIGNMENT ON LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH AND REDUCTION OF PRODUCTION COSTS. ALLOW ME TO CONGRATULATE WITH PERSONAL LABOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS MARIA DMITRIYEVNA POLESHCHUK, A WEAVER, ALEXANDER MIKHAILOVICH GORBUNOV, A TURNER, NINA SERGEYEVNA IZMAILOVA, A GLASS-BLOWER, ALEXANDER NIKOLAYEVICH SEROV, A FITTER, ALL FRONT-RANKING WORKERS OF KUIBYSHEV DISTRICT.

OF COURSE, COMRADES, WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IS ONLY A BEGINNING OF GREAT WORK. THERE ARE STILL MANY THINGS, AND URGENT ONES, TO BE DONE. WE CAN AND WE WANT TO MOVE FORWARD FASTER. WE CAN AND SHOULD BE MUCH MORE VIGOROUS IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF INTENSIFYING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. FOR IT IS ONLY ON THIS BASIS THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO MEET EVER FULLER THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

IN BRIEF, SPEAKING ABOUT PLANS FOR THE FUTURE, ONE SHOULD NEVER FORGET ONE SIMPLE TRUTH: IN ORDER TO LIVE BETTER, IT IS NECESSARY TO WORK BETTER. IN ORDER TO ADVANCE SUCCESSFULLY IN IMPLEMENTING OUR SOCIAL PROGRAMMES, IT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE A STABLE, DYNAMIC GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY AND, ABOVE ALL, ITS EFFICIENCY. THIS WAS THE TOPIC BOTH AT THE DECEMBER AND THE FEBRUARY PLENUMS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

WE HAVE SUCCEEDED SO FAR IN IMPROVING ECONOMIC INDICATORS CHIEFLY THROUGH RESERVES LYING, SO TO SAY, AT HAND, ON THE SURFACE. WE STARTED ENHANCING ORDER, ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE.

AND THIS IMMEDIATELY PRODUCED A NOTICEABLE ECONOMIC EFFECT.

IT IS NECESSARY TO ADVANCE FURTHER -- TOWARDS PROFOUND QUALITATIVE CHANGES IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

OUR ECONOMY STILL HAS NO FEW SECTORS WHERE LAGGING JUST LEAPS TO THE EYE. THE AVAILABLE PRODUCTION POTENTIAL IS FAR FROM BEING FULLY USED. THE EXPERIMENTAL BASE OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING IS IMPERMISSIBLY WEAK. THE SHARE OF ARDUOUS MANUAL AND UNSKILLED WORK IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND CONSTRUCTION IS BEING REDUCED SLOWLY.

IT IS A MUST THAT WE ENSURE A SWIFT AND CONTINUOUS MODERNIZATION OF ALL BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ON THE BASIS OF THE LATEST ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THIS IS ONE OF OUR BASIC TASKS. WITHOUT THIS, PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY IS SIMPLY UNTHINKABLE.

THE PARTY ALSO LAYS KEEN EMPHASIS UPON THE ISSUE OF STARTING A LARGE-SCALE IMPROVEMENT OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM. THE MAIN GUIDELINES FOR THIS WORK HAVE BEEN DEFINED. THEY FULLY ACCORD WITH THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

WE SHOULD, NO DOUBT, STRENGTHEN CENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING, ENSURE THAT THEY ARE MADE MORE EFFECTIVE AND FLEXIBLE. THINGS SHOULD BE ARRANGED IN SUCH A WAY THAT NATIONAL-LEVEL ECONOMIC BODIES DIRECT ALL THEIR RESOURCES AT RESOLVING THE QUESTIONS OF REALLY KEY IMPORTANCE FOR THE COUNTRY. SOME OF THEIR PRESENT DUTIES CAN WELL BE HANDED OVER TO SUBORDINATE ORGANIZATIONS, EITHER BRANCH OR LOCAL ONES.

WE HAVE AND WILL CURB ANY ACTIONS THAT ARE DICTATED BY NARROW DEPARTMENTAL OR PAROCHIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

BUT, COMRADES, NO DENYING IT, THERE ARE STILL INSTANCES WHEN LOCAL INITIATIVE IS FETTERED UNDER THE PRETEXT OF CURBING PAROCHIALISM. THAT WON'T DO AT ALL. ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC INITIATIVE, CREATIVE WORK AT THE LEVELS OF ECONOMIC REGIONS, AMALGAMATIONS AND FACTORIES IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS PRECISELY OF A COUNTRY-WIDE CHARACTER.

THIS IS, I'D SAY, ALSO THE QUESTION OF FURTHER CONSOLIDATING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF OUR COUNTRY -- ONE OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY'S LENINIST POLICY. IT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE A GROWTH OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF EACH REPUBLIC TO MAKE AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPING THE SOVIET UNION'S ECONOMY AS A SINGLE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX. OF COURSE, THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE SHOULD BE PLACED HIGHEST. THIS DIRECTLY FOLLOWS FROM THE INTERNATIONALIST NATURE OF OUR SOCIETY, FROM OUR WORLD OUTLOOK.

FORMS OF MANAGEMENT, COMRADES, SHOULD CORRESPOND TO PRESENT-DAY DEMANDS. THIS WILL BE, UNDOUBTEDLY, FACILITATED BY THE CURRENT ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS. THEIR ESSENCE IS THAT MORE RIGHTS BE GIVEN TO ENTERPRISES AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITY ENHANCED, WHILE EXCESSIVE SUPERVISION FROM THE CENTRE BE REMOVED. EXPERIMENTAL TESTING WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO TURN FROM THE STAGE OF SEARCH TO CONFIDENT ADVANCE. BUT, OF COURSE, COMRADES, THE SEARCH FOR AND INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO ENTERPRISES INVOLVED IN THIS OR ANOTHER EXPERIMENT.

IT IS, FOR EXAMPLE, OBVIOUS FOR ALL THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO GIVE THE GREEN LIGHT TO THE UNIVERSAL INTRODUCTION OF COST-ACCOUNTING PRINCIPLES. EVERYTHING THAT IS STANDING IN ITS WAY SHOULD BE REMOVED.

ONE OF OUR CHIEF CONCERNS IS THAT THE SOCIALIST PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO ONE'S WORK BE PUT INTO LIFE ALWAYS AND EVERYWHERE. THOSE WHO WORK WITH COMPLETE DEVOTION SHOULD BY ALL MEANS HAVE A BETTER PAY. SOME MAY SAY: BUT WE CAN, EVEN TODAY, PUNISH SLACKERS FINANCIALLY AND AWARD BONUSES TO CONSCIENTIOUS WORKERS. THIS IS SO. BUT, IT SEEMS, THE PENALTIES STILL LACK STRICTNESS, WHILE MATERIAL INCENTIVE LACKS PROPER FAIRNESS AND, SOMETIMES, I WOULD SAY, GENEROSITY. THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY DEALT WITH, AND WITHOUT DELAY EITHER.

IT IS NECESSARY TO OVECOME RESOLUTELY ANY CONSERVATISM AND SLUGGISHNESS. IN BRIEF, THE SLOGAN OF THE DAY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE SHOULD BE: FROM THE CORRECT IDEA, PRIMED WITH EXPERIENCE -- TO BOLD ACTIONS (EXCLAMATION)

2.

AS YOU SEE, COMRADES, A GREAT DEAL OF WORK IS BEING DONE TO RAISE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THIS, NATURALLY, IS NOT EASY WORK. AND THEN, AT THE HEIGHT OF THIS WORK, IN JUNE LAST YEAR, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE GATHERED FOR A PLENARY MEETING TO EXAMINE QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK OF THE PARTY AMONG THE MASSES. WHY? WHAT CONNECTION IS THERE WITH OUR ECONOMIC TASKS? THE RELATIONSHIP IS DIRECT, INSEPARABLE.

THE MATTER IS THAT TODAY, AS NEVER BEFORE, SUCCESSES OF PARTY GUIDANCE OF SOCIETY DEPEND ON THE CONSISTENT OBSERVANCE OF THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITY OF IDEOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL AND ECONOMIC WORK. BUILDING SOCIALISM AND PERFECTING IT MEANS NOT ONLY CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN FACTORIES AND POWER PLANTS, MAKING OUR LAND, OUR VILLAGES AND CITIES MORE BEAUTIFUL. THIS IS A NECESSARY, BUT FAR FROM SOLE CONCERN OF COMMUNISTS. WHILE TRANSFORMING THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF PEOPLE, IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE FOR THEIR IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL ELEVATION. OBVIOUSLY, THE TASKS OF PERFECTING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM CANNOT BE RESOLVED WITHOUT A GREAT DEAL OF WORK TO SPIRITUALLY DEVELOP PEOPLE AND THEIR SOCIALIST EDUCATION.

IT IS PRECISELY THE ESSENCE OF THE JUNE PLENUM'S DECISIONS THAT ALL CREATIVE FORCES, CONTAINED IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTION OF THE MASSES, BE PUT INTO MOTION. THIS IS THE BASIS OF THEIR LABOUR AND SOCIAL ACTIVITY.

I HAVE MENTIONED THE NEED FOR A DRASTIC RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. IT IS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT IMPROVEMENT OF THIS SYSTEM IS IN NO WAY LIMITED TO ELIMINATING SHORTCOMINGS IN THE WORK OF THE, SO TO SAY, MANAGERS BY PROFESSION. ANOTHER THING IS NO LESS IMPORTANT: CONDITIONS SHOULD BE MADE FOR ENHANCING THE INITIATIVE AND CREATIVE SPIRIT OF THE BROADEST SECTIONS OF THE WORKING MASSES IN THEIR ENTIRE FRUITFULNESS AND STRENGTH.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT INDUSTRIAL ROBOTS HAVE STARTED PERFORMING SOME PRODUCTION OPERATIONS AT SEVERAL ENTERPRISES OF YOUR DISTRICT. THERE WILL BE MORE OF THEM WITH TIME, OF COURSE. BUT EVEN THEN, I ASSURE YOU, THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT WE CALL THE HUMAN FACTOR OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS WILL NOT BE LESSENER. BY THIS WE MEAN THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE, THE INTERESTS AND MOOD OF PEOPLE. FOR WORK IS DONE BY MAN AND RENOWNED THROUGH MAN. THIS OLD TRUTH WILL NEVER BE MADE OBSOLETE BY SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS.

IN PRODUCTION, THE SOVIET MAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE THE FULL-FLEDGED AND RESPONSIBLE MASTER. THIS AIM IS SERVED BY THE LAW ON WORK COLLECTIVES WHICH WAS ADOPTED LAST YEAR. IT IS AIMED AT FURTHER DEVELOPING PRECISELY THE MANAGERIAL INITIATIVE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE.

THE EDUCATIONAL FORCE OF MORAL INCENTIVES IS TREMENDOUS IN THE LIFE OF EVERY WORK COLLECTIVE. IN OUR COUNTRY WORK IS THE BASIS FOR THE SOCIAL RECOGNITION OF MAN, HIS SOCIAL PRESTIGE. THE PEOPLE ARE JUSTLY INDIGNANT AT SHIRKERS, JOB-SWITCHERS AND DRUNKARDS, WHO TRY TO USE THE LOFTY NAME OF THE WORKING MAN AS A COVER FOR THEIR OWN LAZINESS AND SLIPSHODNESS, AND EVEN DEMAND PUBLIC RESPECT FOR THEMSELVES. ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK IS TO FORM AND STRENGTHEN IN SOCIETY AN ATMOSPHERE OF RESPECTFUL ATTITUDE TO WORK AND, AT THE SAME TIME, OF INTOLERANCE AND CONTEMPT TO ALL KINDS OF IDLENESS, SLOPPINESS AND IRRESPONSIBLE ATTITUDES.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO MAKE SPECIAL MENTION OF THE FOLLOWING. THE PARTY AND THE STATE, AS YOU KNOW, HAVE STEPPED UP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SUCH DISGRACEFUL PHENOMENA AS SQUANDERING OF STATE FUNDS, EYEWASH AND ABUSE OF OFFICE, EMBEZZLEMENT AND BRIBES. THIS IS NOT A TEMPORARY CAMPAIGN. THIS IS A LINE WHICH WILL BE PURSUED PERMANENTLY AND UNDEVIATINGLY. THERE IS AND THERE WILL BE NO INDULGENCE TO ANYBODY IN THIS RESPECT. NOBODY SHOULD HAVE ANY ILLUSIONS ABOUT THAT. THEREFORE, IT TAKES EVEN HIGHER RESPONSIBILITY AND INSISTENCE ON HIGH STANDARDS ON THE PART OF EXECUTIVES, PERMANENT ATTENTION TO THOSE ISSUES OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND WORK COLLECTIVES, ALL SOVIET PEOPLE, EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE PEOPLE'S CONTROL, LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE ORGANS.

COMRADES, THERE IS, PERHAPS, NO SUCH CORNER IN OUR VAST COUNTRY, WHERE THE PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE SOVIET SCHOOL WERE NOT DISCUSSED. THE QUESTION OF ITS REFORM HAS LEFT NOBODY INDIFFERENT. IT CONCERNS LITERALLY, AS THEY SAY, BOTH OLD AND YOUNG. THE NATION-WIDE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT REFORM OF THE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL IS GRAPHIC EXAMPLE OF HOW ISSUES OF GENERAL STATE SIGNIFICANCE ARE RESOLVED BY THE SOVIET POWER, AN EXAMPLE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY. YOU ARE, CERTAINLY, FAMILIAR WITH THE GUIDELINES OF THAT REFORM. I WOULD LIKE TO DWELL HERE ONLY ON ONE ASPECT -- THE LABOUR EDUCATION.

LABOUR WILL NEVER BE AN AMUSEMENT, A PASTIME, EVEN UNDER COMMUNISM IT WILL REMAIN, AS MARX PUT IT, A DEVILISHLY SERIOUS MATTER. WORKING IS DIFFICULT, AND NOTHING CAN BE DONE ABOUT THAT. YET PARENTS ARE AT TIMES TEMPTED TO SPARE THEIR CHILDREN OF DIFFICULTIES. BUT IT IS ONLY SOCIALLY USEFUL LABOUR THAT MAKES HUMAN LIFE MEANINGFUL. THAT IS WHY CHILDREN SHOULD BE TAUGHT NOT WHAT IS EASY, THEY WILL THEMSELVES COPE WITH THAT, BUT WHAT IS DIFFICULT. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION IS TO INSTILL IN THE SCHOOLCHILDREN LOVE FOR WORK, TO INCLUDE, IN FULL MEASURE, THE IMPACT OF PRODUCTIVE LABOUR INTO THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION.

THE POINT, AS YOU UNDERSTAND, IS BY NO MEANS TO BELITTLE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENERAL CULTURAL STANDARDS, OF KNOWLEDGE, TO INTRODUCE SOMETHING LIKE LABOUR CONSCRIPTION. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE REFORM OF THE SCHOOL HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE IDEAS, THAT ARE DISHED BY HOSTILE RADIO VOICES. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS DIFFERENT: A MAN, WHO HAS NOT BEEN EDUCATED TO WORK, CANNOT BE A CONSCIOUS BUILDER OF THE NEW WORLD.

-9-

WE TAKE PERMANENT CARE TO TRAIN SUCH YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WILL NOT FALTER, NOT BEND BENEATH THE WEIGHT OF HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COUNTRY'S DESTINY, FOR THE DESTINY OF SOCIALISM AND PEACE. SUCH YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WOULD BE ABLE NOT ONLY TO ASSIMILATE THE EXPERIENCE OF THE OLDER GENERATIONS, BUT ALSO TO ENRICH IT WITH THEIR OWN ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THIS IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOL AND THE FAMILY, BUT NOT ONLY OF THEM. THIS IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, TRADE UNIONS AND WORK COLLECTIVES.

THIS IS A MAJOR TASK OF THE PARTY. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THE QUESTION OF RELIABLY ENSURING OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND'S FUTURE. WE ARE RESOLVING THIS TASK, AND DOING IT SUCCESSFULLY.

3.

COMRADES, IT WAS WAY BACK ON THE EVE OF THE BIRTH OF THE WORLD'S FIRST STATE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS THAT LENIN WROTE: + UNDER SOCIALISM... THE MASS OF THE POPULATION WILL RISE TO TAKING AN INDEPENDENT PART, NOT ONLY IN VOTING AND ELECTIONS, BUT ALSO IN THE EVERY-DAY ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE.+ AND TODAY THE KEY TO FRESH SUCCESSES IN THE WORK OF THE BODIES OF OUR PEOPLE'S POWER, ABOVE ALL, OF THE SOVIETS, LIES IN THE EVER-WIDER DRAWING IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE STATE OF CONSCIOUS, POLITICALLY MATURE AND CREATIVELY THINKING CITIZENS. THESE ACTIVISTS OF THE SOVIETS, WHO NUMBER TENS OF MILLIONS, SHOULD BE REALLY ACTIVE. THE POSSIBILITIES FOR THAT HAVE CONSIDERABLY GROWN IN RECENT YEARS. THE ROLE OF THE SOVIETS OF ALL LEVELS HAS GROWN IN RESOLVING DIVERSE ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-POLITICAL TASKS.

IT IS TOTALLY JUSTIFIED THAT THE LOCAL SOVIETS HAVE BEGUN TO COORDINATE TO A GREATER EXTENT THE ACTIVITIES OF ENTERPRISES OF DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES IN THEIR TERRITORIES. AND IT IS A GOOD THING THAT THEY ENHANCE CONTROL OVER THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SERVICES, OVER ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. GENERALLY SPEAKING, THE SOVIETS' FUNCTIONS OF CONTROL SHOULD BE ENHANCED FURTHER. THERE IS MUCH ROOM FOR WORK HERE.

IT IS INVALUABLE FOR THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS OF THE SOVIET STATE TO KEEP PEOPLE BETTER INFORMED OF THE REAL STATE OF AFFAIRS AND TO ENHANCE PUBLICITY IN THE WORK OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS. THE MASS MEDIA HAVE A GREAT ROLE TO PLAY HERE. THEIR WORK HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT INTENSIFIED DURING THE RECENT PERIOD. HOWEVER, WE EXPECT FROM THEM MORE INDEPTH AND INTERESTING MATERIALS ABOUT THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD AT LARGE, AND A BOLDER APPROACH TO OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS.

AND, OF COURSE, IT IS ALWAYS NECESSARY TO BE SENSITIVE TO THE PROPOSALS AND CRITICAL REMARKS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND TO BE INTOLERANT OF ANY FORM OF THE SUPPRESSION OF CRITICISM.

WE COMMUNISTS TAKE PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT THE PARTY AS THE NUCLEUS OF THE ENTIRE POLITICAL SYSTEM HAS A GREAT INFLUENCE IN THE SOVIETS. MOREOVER, THIS IS ENSURED NOT BY THE NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY OF PARTY MEMBERS IN THE SOVIETS: AS EVERYONE KNOWS, WE HAVE MORE NON-PARTY DEPUTIES. THE PARTY ASSERTS ITS POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY BY TIRELESS EFFORTS FOR THE GOOD AND HAPPINESS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND BY THE ABILITY TO DRAFT AND IMPLEMENT A POLICY MEETING THE NEEDS OF ONE STAGE OF OUR DEVELOPMENT OR ANOTHER.

THE PARTY ATTACHES MUCH IMPORTANCE TO ANALYSING THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE PRESENT PERIOD AND TO DETERMINING IN A SOBER, ENTIRELY NON-UTOPIC WAY THE LEVEL OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MATURITY OF THE NEW SOCIETY WE HAVE ACHIEVED. DETERMINING IT, WE WORK OUT STRICTLY SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE CPSU'S POLICY. A GREAT ROLE IS PLAYED HERE BY THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM AS AN HISTORICALLY PROTRACTED PERIOD, AT THE BEGINNING OF WHICH OUR COUNTRY IS NOW. IT IS IN THE PROCESS OF ACCOMPLISHING THE TASKS OF PERFECTING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM THAT GRADUAL ADVANCE TOWARDS COMMUNISM IS TAKING PLACE.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERESTIMATE THE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THESE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN BY THE PARTY. THEY MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE A CLEARER PICTURE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY IN ALL ITS COMPLEX, CONTROVERSIAL AND MULTIFACETED ENTIRETY. THEY HELP TO REMOVE IN PRACTICE THOSE DISCREPANCIES WHICH HAVE SOMETIMES BEEN ALLOWED TO OCCUR BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS, BETWEEN THE REAL POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIETY AND UNSUBSTANTIATED FORECASTS. IT IS WITH THESE POINTS IN VIEW THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS DOING TODAY THE EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT WORK OF PREPARING A NEW EDITION OF THE CPSU PROGRAM.

THE PARTY IS STRIVING TO ENSURE THAT LENIN'S STYLE IN ALL ITS DIVERSITY AND RICHNESS BECOMES A HEARTFELT NEED AND AN IRREPLACEABLE WORKING TOOL OF EVERY PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT OFFICIAL. OUR LEADERS HAVE VAST POWERS AND RIGHTS, BUT ALSO BEAR VAST RESPONSIBILITY. THERE CAN BE NOTHING WORSE FOR A LEADER THAN ARROGANCE AND CONCEIT, AND +USING THE POWER CRUDELY,+ IN LENIN'S WORDS, +AS NOTHING BUT POWER, AS THOUGH TO SAY: 'I HAVE THE POWER, I HAVE GIVEN MY ORDERS, AND YOU MUST OBEY'.+ THE STRENGTH OF THE LEADER LIES IN HIS ABILITY TO BLEND TOGETHER HIS AUTHORITY OF AN OFFICIAL AND THAT OF A PERSONALITY.

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CADRES WIN THE AFFECTION AND RESPECT OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE FIRST AND FOREMOST IN PRACTICAL PUBLIC ACTIVITY, WIN THEM BY THEIR ENERGY AND KNOWLEDGE, BY THEIR PERSONAL EXAMPLE AND CONDUCT THAT ARE FREE OF ANYTHING WHICH OFFENDS THE MORAL FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE. THE LEADER CAN BE EXACTING TOWARDS OTHERS PRECISELY BECAUSE HE IS EVEN MORE EXACTING TOWARDS HIMSELF. IN THIS WAY HE GETS A MORAL RIGHT IN ADDITION TO HIS OFFICIAL RIGHT TO SHOW FIRMNESS WHEN IT IS BETTER, AS THE SAYING GOES, +TO SPARE WORDS WHEN AUTHORITY MUST BE INVOKED.+ THE BASIS OF THE LEADER'S AUTHORITY IS POPULAR APPROVAL AND SUPPORT. AND THOSE WHO LOSE THEM, WHO ARE DEAF TO THE OPINION OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE, CANNOT AND MUST NOT HOLD POSTS OF AUTHORITY.

THERE IS ANOTHER MATTER. WE HAVE QUITE A FEW EFFECTIVE FORMS OF THE INITIATIVE OF THE MASS OF PEOPLE AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE AFFAIRS OF SOCIETY AND THE STATE. BUT THERE ALSO ARE ARTIFICIALLY INVENTED FORMS, WHICH SHOULD BE DROPPED.

FOR INSTANCE, THERE IS AN UNDUE LIKING IN SOME DISTRICTS AND REGIONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL SORTS OF HEADQUARTERS AND COMMISSIONS ON ANY OCCASION. SOMETIMES THERE ARE SO MANY OF THEM THAT THE ORGANIZERS THEMSELVES CANNOT SORT OUT WHO HAS TO DO WHAT AND WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT. SOME OFFICIALS CHAIR WELL NIGH A DOZEN DIFFERENT COMMISSIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY TO THE PREJUDICE OF THEIR IMMEDIATE OFFICIAL DUTIES. ALL THIS ONLY DRAWS AWAY PEOPLE TO ATTEND SUPERFLUOUS MEETINGS, SCATTERS FORCES BUT IN NO WAY HELPS BUSINESS. SOMETIMES CERTAIN OFFICIALS, INSTEAD OF TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR JOB, ONLY +TAKE SHELTER BEHIND COMMISSIONS,+ AS LENIN APTLY REMARKED.

OUR DEMOCRACY IS ESSENTIALLY A DEMOCRACY THAT ACTS, WORKS. ITS EXTENSION AND THE PERFECTION OF SOVIET STATEHOOD IN ITS ENTIRETY CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT DIRECTION OF THE ADVANCE OF OUR SOCIETY. AND THE PARTY IS THE POWER PACK, THE MOTIVE FORCE OF THIS PROGRESS. BY ITS ENTIRE INTERNAL LIFE IT SETS AN EXAMPLE OF GENUINELY SOCIALIST DEMOCRATISM, OF A HARMONIOUS COMBINATION OF INALIENABLE RIGHTS AND IRREVOCABLE DUTIES.

4.

NOW LET US TURN TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND INSISTENT INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SOVIET VOTERS WAS, IS AND WILL REMAIN THE INSTRUCTION TO SAFEGUARD PEACE LIKE THE APPLE OF OUR EYE AND TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF OUR HOMELAND. I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE PARTY AND THE SOVIET STATE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING UNSWERVINGLY THIS INSTRUCTION, DOING SO IN DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.

YOU KNOW THAT THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE SEEN A DRAMATIC INTENSIFICATION OF THE POLICY OF THE MORE AGGRESSIVE FORCES OF U.S. IMPERIALISM, A POLICY OF BLATANT MILITARISM, CLAIMS TO WORLD DOMINANCE, RESISTANCE TO PROGRESS, AND VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES. THE WORLD HAS SEEN QUITE A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THIS POLICY. THESE INCLUDE THE INVASION OF LEBANON, THE OCCUPATION OF GRENADA, THE UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST NICARAGUA, THREATS TO SYRIA AND, FINALLY, THE TURNING OF WESTERN EUROPE INTO A LAUNCHING SITE FOR U.S. NUCLEAR MISSILES TARGETED AT THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES.

ALL THIS COMPELS US TO ATTACH MOST SERIOUS ATTENTION TO STRENGTHENING THE COUNTRY'S DEFENCES. THE SOVIET PEOPLE WANT NOT AN ARMS BUILDUP BUT THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS BY BOTH SIDES. BUT WE MUST TAKE CARE TO ENSURE SUFFICIENT SECURITY FOR OUR COUNTRY, ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES. THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT IS BEING DONE. AND LET EVERYONE KNOW THAT NONE OF THOSE GIVEN TO ARMED VENTURES WILL CATCH US UNAWARES AND NO POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR CAN HOPE TO AVOID DEVASTATING RETALIATION.

AT THE SAME TIME IT IS PRECISELY THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION THAT COMPELS US TO REDOUBLE AND TRIPLE OUR EFFORTS IN PURSUING A POLICY OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

ONE CAN HARDLY RECALL A PROBLEM OF IMPORTANCE TO STRENGTHENING PEACE ON WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE NOT PUT FORWARD DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS CONCRETE AND REALISTIC PROPOSALS. THE INITIATIVES OF OUR COUNTRIES ARE WINNING EVER BROADER SUPPORT FROM OTHER STATES. THIS HAS BEEN FORCEFULLY CONFIRMED BY THE LATEST SESSION OF THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

IMPERIALIST POLITICIANS ARE TRYING IN EVERY WAY TO LIMIT THE INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO IMPAIR THEIR COHESION AND TO ERODE THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM WHEREVER THEY THINK THEY CAN COUNT ON SUCCESS. IN THESE CONDITIONS IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY OF FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE LEADERS OF THE WARSAW TREATY COUNTRIES AGAIN UNANIMOUSLY EXPRESSED THEIR CONVICTION OF THIS DURING THEIR RECENT MEETING IN MOSCOW.

THE USA USES AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND MILITARY THREATS AGAINST SOCIALIST CUBA. BUT THE HOPES TO SCARE IT AND TO MAKE IT SWERVE FROM ITS CHOSEN ROAD ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE. THIS IS GUARANTEED BY THE UNFLINCHING WILL OF THE HEROIC CUBAN PEOPLE RALLIED AROUND THEIR COMMUNIST PARTY. THIS IS GUARANTEED BY THE SOLIDARITY DISPLAYED WITH THE ISLAND OF FREEDOM BY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA AND BY MANY PARTICIPANTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. THE CUBAN PEOPLE ARE RESOLUTELY SUPPORTED BY THE FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. AS FOR THE USSR, IT WAS, IS AND WILL REMAIN ON CUBA'S SIDE IN FAIR WEATHER AND IN STORM.

THE NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA COULD, OF COURSE, CONTRIBUTE TO THE GROWTH OF THE ROLE OF SOCIALISM IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. WE ARE CONSISTENT PROPONENTS OF THIS NORMALISATION. POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS SHOW, HOWEVER, THAT THERE REMAIN DIFFERENCES ON A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE. IN PARTICULAR, WE CANNOT MAKE ANY AGREEMENTS TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE INTERESTS OF THIRD COUNTRIES. EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS CONTINUES, HOWEVER, AND WE CONSIDER IT USEFUL. THE SOVIET UNION STANDS FOR THE LEVEL OF CONTACTS BEING RAISED TO THE EXTENT ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES.

IT IS ALSO USEFUL THAT MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CONTACTS IN THE ECONOMY, CULTURE, SCIENCE AND OTHER FIELDS ARE BEING GRADUALLY RE-ESTABLISHED. THIS IS NOT TO THE LIKING OF THOSE WHO WANT TO BENEFIT BY THE AGGRAVATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND CHINA. BUT IT IS TO THE GOOD OF BOTH OUR COUNTRIES AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE OVERALL WORLD SITUATION.

THE DANGER OF THE IMPERIALIST POLICY OF THE INCESSANT ESCALATION OF TENSION HAS BECOME OBVIOUS. THE GRAVER THREAT IT POSES TO HUMAN CIVILISATION, THE STRONGER MANKIND'S FORCES OF SELF-PRESERVATION GROW. INDIGNATION IS RISING IN WESTERN EUROPE OVER THE ACTIONS OF THOSE WHO ARE SACRIFICING ITS SECURITY TO THE IMPERIAL AMBITIONS OF WASHINGTON. MILLIONS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANTI-MISSILE MOVEMENT ARE QUITE VOCAL IN MAKING THIS KNOWN.

ALSO, FAR FROM ALL THE LEADERS OF WESTERN COUNTRIES AND INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL PARTIES APPROVE THE ADVENTURISM OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. IT WORRIES A CONSIDERABLE SEGMENT OF THE U.S. PUBLIC ITSELF AS WELL. THEY ARE REALIZING EVER CLEARER THERE THAT THE INTENSIVE MILITARISATION AND THE AGGRAVATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION HAVE NOT BROUGHT NOR ARE GOING TO BRING THE USA MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS. THEY ONLY LEAD EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD TO THE ESCALATION OF CRITICISM OF WASHINGTON'S BELLIGERENT COURSE. PEOPLE WANT PEACE AND TRANQUILITY RATHER THAN WAR HYSTERIA. I CAN SAY THAT OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF MANY FOREIGN DELEGATIONS WHO ATTENDED THE FUNERAL OF YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV CONFIRMED THAT WITH SUFFICIENT FORCEFULNESS.

ALL THIS INSPIRES THE HOPE THAT DEVELOPMENTS WILL EVENTUALLY BE TURNED AROUND TOWARDS PEACE, THE LIMITATION OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

DETENTE HAS STRUCK DEEP ROOTS. THIS IS EVIDENCED, IN PARTICULAR, BY THE CONVOCATION OF THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE.

OF COURSE, IT IS THE BRIDLING OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE THAT IS OF KEY IMPORTANCE TO PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF PEOPLES. THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION ON THAT ISSUE IS CLEAR. WE ARE AGAINST RIVALRY IN BUILDING UP NUCLEAR ARMS ARSENALS. WE WERE AND REMAIN PROPONENTS OF THE PROHIBITION AND ELIMINATION OF ALL TYPES OF THOSE WEAPONS. OUR PROPOSALS ON THIS SCORE WERE SUBMITTED LONG AGO, BOTH TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO THE GENEVA DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE, BUT DISCUSSION ON THEM IS BEING BLOCKED BY THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES.

AS FOR EUROPE, WE STILL STAND FOR IT BEING FREE FROM NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BOTH MEDIUM-RANGE AND TACTICAL ONES. WE STAND FOR BOTH SIDES MAKING THE FIRST MAJOR STEP IN THIS DIRECTION WITHOUT WASTING TIME. IN SO DOING, THE SOVIET UNION HAS NO INTENTION OF STRENGTHENING ITS SECURITY AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS BUT WANTS EQUAL SECURITY FOR ALL.

REGRETTABLY, THE UNITED STATES HAS TURNED ITS PARTICIPATION IN TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT INTO A TOOL OF PROPAGANDA TO CAMOUFLAGE THE ARMS RACE AND COLD WAR POLICY. WE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN THIS GAME. THE AMERICANS CREATED OBSTACLES TO THE TALKS BOTH ON +EUROPEAN+ AND ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY DEPLOYING THEIR MISSILES IN EUROPE. IT IS THE REMOVAL OF THESE OBSTACLES (WHICH WOULD ALSO REMOVE THE NEED FOR OUR MEASURES TAKEN IN RESPONSE) THAT OFFERS THE WAY TO WORKING OUT A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE ACCORD.

THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS LATELY BEGUN TO MAKE PEACEABLY SOUNDING STATEMENTS, URGING US TO ENTER A +DIALOGUE.+

ATTENTION WAS DRAWN WORLDWIDE TO THE FACT THAT THESE STATEMENTS ARE IN SHARP CONFLICT WITH EVERYTHING WHAT THE PRESENT UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION HAS SAID, AND, WHICH IS THE MAIN THING, DONE AND CONTINUES DOING IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ASSURANCES OF ITS GOOD INTENTIONS CAN BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY ONLY IF THEY ARE SUBSTANTIATED WITH REAL ACTIONS. AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED, IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FOR A SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO CONCRETE QUESTIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF BOTH COUNTRIES, FOR THE BENEFIT OF PEACE. THERE ARE QUITE A FEW SUCH QUESTIONS. AND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION HAS MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO PROVE ITS PEACEABLENESS BY DEEDS.

WHY SHOULD NOT THE USA, FOR EXAMPLE, RATIFY THE TREATIES WITH THE USSR ON THE LIMITATION OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS AND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, WHICH WERE SIGNED ALMOST TEN YEARS AGO, AND NOT TO COMPLETE DRAWING UP AN AGREEMENT ON THE GENERAL AND COMPLETE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS? I WILL REMIND THAT THE TALKS ON THESE ISSUES WERE BROKEN OFF BY THE UNITED STATES. THE USA CAN ALSO MAKE A NO SMALL CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHENING PEACE BY CONCLUDING AN AGREEMENT ON THE RENUNCIATION OF THE MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE. THE USSR IS KNOWN TO HAVE PROPOSED IT FOR A LONG TIME.

THE PEACEABLE ASSURANCES BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION WOULD INSPIRE BY FAR MORE TRUST HAD IT ACCEPTED THE PROPOSAL ON A MUTUAL FREEZE ON AMERICAN AND SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SO MANY WEAPONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN ACCUMULATED THAT THIS STEP WOULD NOT CREATE EVEN THE SLIGHTEST THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF EITHER SIDE. BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, IT WOULD CONSIDERABLY IMPROVE THE GENERAL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE, AND, IT MUST BE BELIEVED, WOULD FACILITATE REACHING AGREEMENT ON A REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS.

A VERY IMPORTANT TASK IS TO DELIVER MANKIND FROM THE POSSIBLE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. TALKS ON THAT HAVE BEEN IN PROGRESS ALREADY FOR A LONG TIME, BUT NOW IT SEEMS THAT PREREQUISITES ARE BEGINNING TO RIPEN FOR RESOLVING THIS QUESTION. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS THE COMPLETE AND GENERAL PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION, DESTRUCTION OF ALL OF ITS STOCKPILES. WE ARE OVER AN EFFECTIVE CONTROL FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, THAT CONTROL SHOULD COVER THE WHOLE PROCESS OF DESTRUCTION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- FROM BEGINNING TO END.

IT IS NOT RULED OUT THAT REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ISSUES WOULD SIGNAL THE START OF A REAL DRASTIC CHANGE IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AS A WHOLE. WE WOULD WISH SUCH A DRASTIC CHANGE. NOW IT IS UP TO WASHINGTON TO ACT.

THE POLICY OF THE POWERS POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN OUR TIMES. THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE OF MANKIND, THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATESMEN TO THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS REQUIRE THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE POWERS SHOULD BE REGULATED BY CERTAIN NORMS. OUR IDEA OF THESE NORMS IS AS FOLLOWS:

--TO REGARD THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AS THE MAIN OBJECTIVE OF ONE'S FOREIGN POLICY. TO PREVENT SITUATIONS FRAUGHT WITH NUCLEAR CONFLICT. IN THE EVENT SUCH A DANGER EMERGES, URGENT CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE HELD TO PREVENT A NUCLEAR CONFLAGRATION FROM BREAKING OUT.

--TO RENOUNCE THE PROPAGANDA OF NUCLEAR WAR IN ANY OF ITS VARIATIONS -- EITHER GLOBAL OR LIMITED.

-- TO UNDERTAKE NOT TO BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

-- NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES, IN WHOSE TERRITORY THERE ARE NO SUCH WEAPONS. TO RESPECT THE STATUS OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE ALREADY CREATED AND TO ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF NEW NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE WORLD.

-- TO PREVENT THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ANY FORM: NOT TO HAND OVER THESE WEAPONS OR CONTROL OVER THEM TO ANYBODY SEMICOLON NOT TO DEPLOY THEM ON THE TERRITORY OF THE COUNTRIES, WHERE THERE ARE NO SUCH WEAPONS SEMICOLON NOT TO SPREAD THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE TO NEW SPHERES, INCLUDING OUTER SPACE.

-- TO PRESS STEP BY STEP, ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL SECURITY FOR THE REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS, UP TO THEIR COMPLETE LIQUIDATION IN ALL THEIR VARIETIES.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE THESE PRINCIPLES THE FOUNDATION OF ITS POLICY. WE ARE READY TO REACH AGREEMENT AT ANY TIME WITH THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS ON THE JOINT RECOGNITION OF NORMS OF THIS KIND AND IMPARTING THEM A MANDATORY CHARACTER. I THINK THAT THIS WOULD MEET THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS NOT ONLY OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, BUT ALSO OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

COMRADES, ALL WE HAVE, ALL WE ARE PROUD OF -- THE FREEDOM AND MIGHT OF THE HOMELAND, ITS HIGH PRESTIGE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THE FULL-BLOODED PEACEFUL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE - WE ALL OWE TO THE INTENSIVE CREATIVE WORK OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE. IT IS THIS WORK THAT IS AN INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE OF OUR CONFIDENCE OF THE FUTURE.

THE WORKERS AND COLLECTIVE FARMERS, SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS, PHYSICIANS AND WORKERS IN CULTURE, TEACHERS AND SERVICEMEN ARE MEETING THE ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET WITH NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN THEIR WORK. MAY THESE ACHIEVEMENTS FURTHER MULTIPLY. AND THEN OUR STATE -- THE BULWARK OF LASTING PEACE AND SECURITY OF PEOPLES--WILL BE EVEN STRONGER. THEN THE LIFE OF EVERY SOVIET FAMILY WILL BECOME EVEN BETTER. THEN OUR COUNTRY WILL EVEN MORE SUCCESSFULLY ADVANCE ALONG THE ROAD OF BUILDING COMMUNISM.+

ITEM ENDS+++++



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