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83RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1985

March 11, 1985, Monday, BC cycle

*File
Gorbachev Speeches*

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 1171 words

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Soviet- Excerpts

BODY:

Following are excerpts from Mikhail Gorbachev's maiden speech as the new leader of the Soviet Union:

'All of us, all our party and country are in deep grief. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a true Leninist, an outstanding figure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, of the international Communist movement, a person with a responsive heart and of a big organizational talent, has passed away.

'Konstantin Ustinovich traversed a long and glorious road. Every post, assigned to him by the Party, ever fuller revealed his talent, ability to work with people. At the post of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko devoted all his efforts and knowledge to developing the economy of the country, raising the well-being and cultural level of the people, ensuring the security of the motherland, preserving and consolidating peace on Earth.

'Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko regarded as the apple of his eye the unity of the Communist Party, the collective character of the activity of the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. He always sought to achieve that the party act at all levels as a close-knit, well-adjusted and spirited organism. He regarded the unity of ideas and deeds of the Communists as an earnest of successes, of overcoming shortcomings, as an earnest expression of steady advance.

'The strategic line, worked out at the 26th Congress, at the subsequent Plenary meetings of the Central Committee with vigorous participation of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has been and remains unchanged. This is the line towards speeding up the country's social and economic development, toward perfecting all aspects of the life of society. The point at issue is restructuring the material and technical base of production.

'The point at issue is the perfection of the system of social relations, above all economic ones. The point at issue is also the development of the individual, qualitative improvement of the material conditions of his life and work, of his spiritual makeup.

'We are to achieve a decisive turn in transferring the national economy to the tracks of intensive development. We should, we are bound to attain within the briefest period the most advanced scientific and technical positions, the highest world level in the productivity of social labor.'

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 11, 1985

'In the foreign policy sphere our course is clear and consistent. This is the course of peace and progress.

'The first precept of the Party and the state is to preserve and strengthen in every way the fraternal friendship with our closest friends and allies -- the countries of the great socialist community. We will do everything that depends on us to expand cooperation with socialist states, to enhance the role and influence of socialist in world affairs. We would like a serious improvement of relations with the Chinese Peoples Republic and believe that, given reciprocity, this is quite possible.

'The Soviet Union has always supported the struggle of peoples for liberation from colonial oppression. And today our sympathies go out to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are following the road of consolidating independence and social renovation. For us they are friends and partners in the struggle for a durable peace, for better and just relations between peoples.

'As to relations with capitalist states, I would like to say the following. We will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence. To goodwill the Soviet Union will always respond with goodwill, as it will respond with trust to trust. But everyone should know that we shall never waive the interests of our motherland and those of its allies.

'We value the successes of the relaxation of international tensions achieved in the 1970s and are ready to take part in carrying on with the process of establishing mutually beneficial cooperation between states on the basis of principles of equality, mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs. New steps along these lines could duly mark the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism.

'Never before has so terrible a threat loomed so large and dark over mankind as these days. The only reasonable way out of the existing situation is agreement of the confronting forces on an immediate termination of the race in arms, above all, nuclear arms, on Earth and its prevention in space. An agreement on honest and equitable basis without attempts at outplaying the other side and dictating terms to it. An agreement which would help all to advance toward the cherished goal - the complete elimination and prohibition of nuclear weapons for good, toward the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war. This is our firm conviction.'

'After the end of the plenary meeting, the members of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of regional committees, and all participants in the plenary meeting will go to their areas in order to get down to work with fresh vigor. A good deal is to be done. First of all, it is essential to successfully complete work for the implementation of the economic and social development plans of this year and thereby to ensure a confident start of the next five-year-plan period.

'The severe winter has somewhat slowed down the attainment of planned targets in a number of sectors. It means that one should muster one's energies, tap reserves and make every effort to make up for what has not yet been done and to attain the planned targets by the end of the year.

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 11, 1985

'Comrades, these days we feel still more keenly how mighty and monolithic the ranks of the Communists are and how united our Soviet people are. At the recent elections Soviet people again expressed unanimous support for the course of our party and the state. This support is both inspiring and binding.'

'Today, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee placed upon me the complex and great duties of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I am well aware of the great trust put in me and of the great responsibility connected with this. In the forthcoming work I count on the support and active assistance of the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee, and the Party's Central Committee as a whole. Your versatile experience is the gist of the historical experience of our people. I promise you, comrades, to do my utmost to faithfully serve our party, our people, and the great Leninist cause.

'Allow me to express confidence that, looking ahead to the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the people and the Party, rallied round the Central Committee, will do everything for our Soviet motherland to become still more rich and powerful and for the creative forces of socialism to reveal themselves still more fully.'

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The Associated Press

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March 12, 1985, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 1009 words

HEADLINE: Excerpts from Gorbachev's Speech Monday to Central Committee

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Gorbachev- Excerpts

BODY:

Following are excerpts from the speech Monday by the new Communist Party general secretary, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, after his selection for that top leadership post. The excerpts were transmitted by the English-language service of the official Soviet news agency Tass.

On relations with the United States and the West:

We will firmly adhere to the Leninist course of peace and peaceful co-existence. The Soviet Union will always respond by goodwill to goodwill, by trust to trust. But everybody ought to know that we will never waive the interests of our country and its allies.

We value the successes of relaxation of international tensions achieved in the 1970s and are ready to take part in carrying on with the process of establishing peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between states on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-intervention in the internal affairs. New steps along these lines could duly mark the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism.

On the Geneva arms talks with the United States, beginning Tuesday:

Negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America will open in Geneva tomorrow. The approach of the U.S.S.R. to these negotiations is well known. I can only reaffirm that: We do not strive to acquire unilateral advantages over the United States, over NATO countries, for military superiority over them. We want termination, and not continuation of the arms race and, therefore, offer a freeze of nuclear arsenals, an end to further deployment of missiles. We want a real and major reduction of the arms stockpiles and not the development of ever new weapons systems, be it in space or on earth.

We would like our partners in the Geneva negotiations to understand the Soviet Union's position and respond in kind. Then agreement will be possible. The peoples of the world would sigh with relief.

On the arms race in general:

The Associated Press, March 12, 1985

Never before has so terrible a threat loomed so large and dark over mankind as these days. The only reasonable way out of the existing situation is agreement of the confronting forces on an immediate termination of the race in arms _ above all, nuclear arms on earth _ and its prevention in space; an agreement on an honest and equitable basis without attempts at 'outplaying' the other side and dictating terms to it; an agreement which would help all to advance toward the cherished goal, the complete elimination and prohibition of nuclear weapons for good, toward the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war. This is our firm conviction.

On foreign policy:

The first precept of the party and the state is cherishing and strengthening in all ways fraternal friendship with our closest friends and allies _ countries of the great socialist community. We will do our utmost to expand cooperation with socialist states, to enhance the role and influence of socialism in world affairs. We would like a cardinal improvement of relations with the People's Republic of China, and believe that, given reciprocity, this is quite feasible.

The Soviet Union has always backed the peoples' struggle for the liberation from colonial oppression. At present, as well, our sympathies are with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are marching along the road of strengthening independence and social renovation. They are our friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace, for better, fair relations between peoples.

On his predecessor, Konstantin U. Chernenko:

All of us, all our party and the country are in deep grief. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a true Leninist, an outstanding figure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state and of the international communist movement, a person with a responsive heart and of a great organizational talent, has passed away.

Konstantin Ustinovich guarded as the apple of his eye the unity of the Communist Party. He always sought to achieve that the party act at all levels as a close-knit, well-adjusted and spirited organism.

On Soviet defense:

In the complex international situation, it is of importance as never before to maintain the defense capacity of our motherland at such a level that potential aggressors would know well: An encroachment upon the security of the land of the Soviets and its allies, upon the peaceful life of Soviet people, will meet with a crushing retaliatory strike. Our glorious armed forces will have, in future as well, everything necessary for that.

On party policy and the Soviet economy:

The strategic line, worked out at the 26th Congress (in 1981), at the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee with vigorous participation of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has been and remains unchanged. This is the line towards speeding up the country's social and economic development, towards perfecting all aspects of the life of society. The point at issue is restructuring the material and technical base of production.

The Associated Press, March 12, 1985

The severe winter has somewhat slowed down the attainment of planned targets in a number of sectors. It means that one should muster one's energies, tap reserves and make every effort to make up for what has not yet been done and to attain the planned targets by the end of the year.

On becoming party leader:

Today the plenary meeting of the Central Committee placed upon me the complex and broad duties of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I am well aware of the great trust put in me and of the great responsibility connected with this. In the forthcoming work I count on the support and active assistance of the members of the political bureau, alternate members of the political bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee, and the party's Central Committee as a whole. Your versatile experience is the gist of the historical experience of our people. I promise you, comrades, to do my utmost to faithfully serve our party, our people, and the great Leninist cause.

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Proprietary to the United Press International 1985

March 13, 1985, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 434 words

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Soviet- Text

BODY:

Excerpts from the speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, new secretary general of the Soviet Communist Party, at Wednesday's funeral of President Konstantin Chernenko:

'We will continue to work purposefully ... on speeding up the country's social and economic development and strengthening its economic and defensive might.

'Satisfying the growing requirements of the Soviet people while improving the conditions of their work and life have always been and remain the major concern of the party and the state.

'The development of the initiative and creative endeavor of the masses, strict observance of law and order and the consolidation of labor, state and party discipline will remain the center of attention.

'We will support, encourage and in all ways elevate those who by deeds and practical results, rather than by words, show their honest and conscientious attitude toward civic duty.

'We shall fight any manifestations of showiness and idle talk, swagger and irresponsibility, and everything that contradicts the socialist way of life.

'The central committee (of the Communist Party) will continue tirelessly to strengthen the party's cohesion and its bonds with the masses, as well as to perfect the style of party, state and social activities.

'Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's name is associated with the implementation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state and the major peaceful initiatives aimed at terminating the arms race and removing the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe.

'Our party and state will continue to step up efforts in this direction while doing everything to preserve peace.

'We proceed from the conviction that the right to live in peace and freedom is the prime human right.,

'We again reaffirm our readiness to maintain good-neighborly relations with all countries on the principle of peaceful co-existence and on the basis of equality and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 13, 1985

'The Soviet Union never has threatened anyone. But no one will ever be able to dictate his will to us.

'Socialism, as Lenin taught, will prove its advantages, but it will prove them not by force of arms but by force of example in all fields of society's life -- economic, political and moral.'

'Our party will continue to do everything for broader interaction between the fraternal (Communist) countries and the enhancement of their positions in international affairs.'

'Bowng our heads before you, our dear comrade and associate, we promise unswervingly to follow the course of our Leninist party, to serve its cause and to serve the people.'

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Summary of World Broadcasts

March 13, 1985, Wednesday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; C. CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM OF 11TH MARCH

PAGE: SU/7898/C/1

LENGTH: 2325 words

HEADLINE: Plenum Speech by Gorbachev

SOURCE: Moscow home service 1600 also Soviet television 1800 and Tass in English 1829 gmt 11 Mar and 'Pravda' 12 Mar 85

Text of speech by Gorbachev read by an announcer

BODY:

Dear comrades, a grave loss has befallen all of us and our whole Party and the country. A true Leninist, an outstanding figure of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the international communist movement, a man of a sensitive heart and great organising talent, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has passed away.

Konstantin Ustinovich travelled a long and glorious journey. In each sector that the Party entrusted to him, his talent and his ability to work with people was displayed more and more fully. In the office of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko devoted all his efforts and knowledge to the development of our country's economy, the growth of the people's well-being and culture, ensuring the motherland's security and to maintaining and consolidating peace on earth.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko cherished as the apple of his eye the unity of our Communist Party and the collective nature of the activity of the Central Committee and its Politburo. He always strove to ensure that at all levels the party acted as a cohesive, harmonious and militant organism. He saw in the unity of thought and deeds of communists the guarantee of all successes and the surmounting of shortcomings, the guarantee of steady advance.

The strategic line worked out at recent plenums ['Pravda': at the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums] of the Central Committee with the active participation of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has been and remains unchanged. This is a line towards acceleration of the country's socio-economic development and towards perfecting all sides of life of society. It is a matter of transforming the material-technical base of production. It is a matter of perfecting the system of social relations, and first and foremost, economic relations. It is also a question of the development of man himself and the qualitative improvement of the material conditions of his life and work, and his spiritual self.

We are faced with striving to achieve a decisive turning point in switching the national economy on to a path of intensive development. We must, we are obliged to move out to the most advanced scientific-technical positions in a short space of time and to a supreme world level in productivity of social

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labour. In order to tackle this task more successfully and more quickly, we must continue persistently to improve the economic mechanism and the whole system of management. In proceeding along this path and selecting optimum decisions, we must creatively apply the basic principles of socialist management. This means constantly implementing the planned development of the economy, strengthening socialist ownership, broadening rights, enhancing the independence (Russian: samostoyatel'nost) ['Sovetskaya Rossiya': and responsibility] of enterprises, and increasing their interest in the end results of work. This means subordinating all economic development in the final analysis to the interests of man ['Pravda': interests of Soviet people].

The Party will unswervingly pursue the social policy it has worked out. Everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man - this programme principle must be filled with ever more profound and specific content. It is understandable that an improvement in the living conditions of man must be based on his growing contribution to the common cause. Wherever deviations from this principle are permitted, social justice - which is a most important factor of the unity and stability of socialist society - is inevitably violated.

The Party sees as one of the fundamental tasks of its internal policy the further perfection and development of democracy and the whole system of socialist self-government (Russian: samoupravleniye) of the people. The tasks here are multifaceted. Quite a lot is being done in this respect. One has in mind here the enhancing of the role of the soviets, and the intensification of the work of the trade unions, the Komsomol, people's control and labour collectives. Persistent work along the directions already earmarked, and along new ones, too, lies ahead.

The deepening of socialist democracy is inseparably linked with enhancing people's social consciousness. The effectiveness of educational work is revealed ['Pravda': above all] in the way people ['Pravda': workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia] participate in the tackling of problems big and small, in the way they work and fight against shortcomings. Enhancing the work and social activeness of Soviet people, strengthening discipline, and educating them in patriotism and internationalism - this is how the results of all ideological activity are measured ['Pravda': this is an important task of all ideological activity]. In this we shall continue to take resolute measures to introduce order everywhere, to cleanse our life of alien phenomena and from any encroachment on the interests of society and its citizens ['Pravda': and to strengthen socialist legality]. The Soviet state must be firm and consistent in this ['Pravda' omits this sentence].

We must continue to increase publicity in the work of Party, local government and state and public organisations. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said that the state is as strong as the consciousness of the masses. Our practice has fully confirmed this conclusion. The better informed people are, the more conscientiously they operate; the more actively they support the Party and its plans and programmatic objectives.

In the sphere of external policy our course is a clear and consistent one. It is a course of peace and progress.

The first precept of the Party and the state is to treasure and strengthen in every way fraternal friendship with our closest comrades-in-arms and allies - the countries of the great socialist community. We shall do everything

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dependent on us to broaden inter- action with all the socialist states and to enhance the role and influence of socialism in world affairs. We would like a serious improvement in relations with the People's Republic of China, and consider that, given reciprocity, this is fully possible.

We have always ['Pravda': The Soviet Union has] supported the struggle of the peoples for liberation from the colonial yoke, and today too our sympathies are on the side of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are following the road of strengthening their independence and social renewal. To us they are friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace and better and just relations between the peoples.

As for relations with the capitalist states, I want to stress this: We shall resolutely ['Pravda': firmly] pursue the course of the Leninist policy of peace and peaceful coexistence. We shall always respond to good will with good will, and to trust with trust. But everyone must know that we shall never waive the interests of our homeland and those of our allies.

We value the successes of ['Pravda': international] detente achieved in the 1970s, and are prepared to participate in the continuation of the process of establishing peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation between states, on the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. With new steps in this direction one could fittingly mark the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism.

Never before has such frightful threat loomed over mankind as in our day. The sole sensible way out of the present situation is an accord between opposing forces on immediately ending the arms race, first and foremost the nuclear arms race on Earth, and not allowing it in space. An accord on an honest and equal basis, without attempts to out- play the other side and dictate its conditions to it. An accord which will help us all to move forward towards the desired goal: the complete destruction and banning of nuclear weapons for ever, and the complete elimination of the threat of nuclear war. We are firmly convinced of this.

The talks between the Soviet Union and the USA begin tomorrow in Geneva. The Soviet Union's approach to these negotiations is well known. I can only confirm yet again: we are not striving to achieve unilateral advantages over the USA or over the NATO countries, or for military superiority over them. We want the termination of the arms race and not its continuation, and therefore we are proposing to freeze nuclear arsenals and cease the further deployment of missiles. We want a real and major cut-back in the armaments that have been stockpiled, and not the creation of more and more weapons systems, in space or on Earth.

One would like our negotiating partners in Geneva to understand the position of the Soviet Union and to reciprocate. Then an agreement would be possible, and the peoples of the world would breathe a sigh of relief. The CPSU is a Party by nature inter- national. The people who share our views abroad can be certain: in the struggle for peace and social progress, Lenin's Party, as always, will be co-operating closely with the fraternal communist, workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties and will advocate the unity and the active interaction of all revolutionary forces.

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Comrades, the solution of the complicated tasks facing us presupposes the further strengthening of the Party and the raising of its organising and directing role. The CPSU has always proceeded and still proceeds from the Leninist idea that a principled policy is the only correct policy. This policy, elaborated collectively, will be implemented consistently and steadfastly. The Party is precisely the force which is capable of taking account of the interests of all classes and social groups, all the nations and ethnic groups of the country, uniting them into a cohesive whole and directing the people's energy into the common channel of communist creation.

The Party's policy has been and will continue to be directed at strengthening the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia and at the steady strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of our great multinational power.

The Party ['Pravda': CPSU] will continue to support ['Pravda': develop in every way] the creative initiative of young people and to show concern for improving women's working and living conditions and the needs and requirements of war and work veterans.

In a complicated international situation it is more important than ever before to maintain the defence potential of our socialist homeland at such a level as to ensure that potential aggressors will know well that any encroachment on the security of the Land of the Soviets or that of its allies ['Pravda': and on the peaceful life of Soviet people] will be met with a shattering retaliatory blow. Our glorious armed forces will continue to have at their disposal everything necessary for this.

At present extensive preparations are under way for the 27th CPSU Congress. It will discuss the new revised edition of the Party Programme. The prospects for the country's development for the next Five-Year Plan and to the year 2000 have been defined.

The time demands strenuous, creative work by all Party organisations, from top to bottom. In all sectors, everywhere, communists must set an example of the fulfilment of civic duty and conscientious work for the welfare of society ['Pravda': and everywhere establish the Leninist style of work]. This relates primarily to the Party cadres and the Party and state leaders. The Party will unswervingly pursue the course of making greater demands and enhancing responsibility for the entrusted matters.

After the conclusion of the Central Committee plenum ['Pravda': members of the Central Committee, oblast committee first secretaries, and all] its participants will go away to their posts to set about their business with new energy. And there is no small amount to be done. Above all, we must successfully complete the work ['Pravda': on the fulfilment of the plans of economic and social development] in the current year and thereby ensure a confident start to the next Five-Year Plan.

The severe winter has somewhat slowed down the implementation of the plan tasks in a number of sectors. That means we must now get together, mobilise reserves and exert all our strength in order to make up for what has not been done and reach the outlined targets by the end of the year.

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Comrades, we are at the moment feeling even more acutely how powerful and monolithic the ranks of the communists are, and how united and unified our Soviet people are. At the recent elections the Soviet people again expressed unanimous support for the course of our Party and state. This support inspires us and places commitments on us.

Today, the Central Committee plenum placed on me the complex and great obligations of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I understand full well the magnitude of the trust shown in me and the magnitude of the responsibility connected with this. In the work ahead I am counting on the support and active help of the members of the Politburo, candidate members of the Politburo, the Secretaries of the Central Committee, and the Party Central Committee as a whole. Your multifaceted experience is the essence of our people's historical experience. I promise you, comrades, that I shall do my utmost faithfully to serve our Party, our people and the great Leninist cause.

Allow me to express the conviction that, going towards the 27th CPSU Congress, the Party and people, united around the Central Committee, will do everything to make our Soviet homeland even richer and more powerful and to ensure that the creative powers of socialism are released more fully.

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March 27, 1985

SECTION: Volume XXXVII, No. 9; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 2210 words

HEADLINE: Chernenko Dies; Gorbachev Takes Over;
Gorbachev Stresses Intensive Economic Development, Hopes for Better East-West
Relations and Success at Geneva Arms Talks

SOURCE: SPEECH BY COMRADE M. S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON MARCH
11, 1985.

Pravda and Izvestia, March 12, p. 3. Complete text

BODY:

Dear comrades! All of us, our whole Party and the whole country are in deep mourning. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko -- a true Leninist, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state and of the international Communist movement, a person with a sensitive soul and great organizational talents -- has left us.

Konstantin Ustinovich traveled a long and glorious path. In every sector that the Party entrusted to him, his talents and his ability to work with people were disclosed more and more fully. In the posts of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko devoted all his energy and knowledge to developing the country's economy, improving the people's well-being and culture, ensuring the security of the homeland, and preserving and consolidating peace on earth.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko guarded, as the apple of his eye, the unity of the Communist Party and the collective nature of the activity of the Central Committee and its Politburo. He always sought to have the Party operate on all levels as a united, harmonious and militant organism. He saw the unity of the Communists' thoughts and deeds as a pledge of success, of overcoming shortcomings and of progress.

The strategic line worked out at the 26th Congress and at subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee, with the active participation of Yury Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, remains unchanged. This is a line aimed at the acceleration of the country's social and economic development and at the improvement of all aspects of the life of society. It involves the transformation of the material and technical base of production. It involves the improvement of the system of social relations, economic relations above all. It also involves the development of man himself and the qualitative improvement of his material living and working conditions and his spiritual makeup.

We will have to achieve a decisive turn in switching the national economy onto the tracks of intensive development. We must, we are obliged, in a short time to attain the most advanced scientific and technical positions and to reach the highest world level in the productivity of social labor.

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In order to accomplish this task more successfully and more quickly, it is necessary to continue to persistently improve the economic mechanism and the entire system of management. While advancing along this path and selecting optimal decisions, it is important to creatively apply the basic principles of socialist economic management. This means that we must steadfastly carry out the planned development of the economy, strengthen socialist ownership, expand the rights of enterprises, enhance their independence and responsibility, and give them a greater stake in the final results of work. This means that we must subordinate all economic development, in the final analysis, to the interests of Soviet people.

The Party will steadfastly pursue the social policy it has devised. Everything in the name of man, for the good of man -- this programmatic proposition should be filled with ever deeper and more specific content. Of course, the improvement of man's living conditions should be based on his growing contribution to the common cause. Wherever deviations from this principle occur, social justice, which is a highly important factor making for the unity and stability of socialist society, is inevitably violated.

The Party regards the further improvement and development of democracy and of the entire system of socialist self-government by the people as a fundamental goal of domestic policy. The tasks here are multifaceted. A good deal is being done in this respect. I have in mind the further enhancement of the role of the Soviets and the stepped-up activity of the trade unions, the Young Communist League, people's control and labor collectives. Persistent work lies ahead, both along lines already mapped out and along new lines.

The deepening of socialist democracy is inextricably linked with a rise in social consciousness. The effectiveness of upbringing work is manifested above all in how workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia participate in the solution of large and small problems, in how they work and in how they combat shortcomings. Heightening the labor and social activeness of Soviet people, strengthening discipline and instilling patriotism and internationalism are important tasks of all ideological activity.

At the same time, we will continue to take resolute measures for the further establishment of order, the cleansing of alien phenomena and all encroachments on the interests of society and its citizens from our life, and the strengthening of socialist legality.

We are obliged to continue to expand publicity in the work of Party, Soviet, state and public organizations. V. I. Lenin said that the state is made strong through the awareness of the masses. Our practice has fully confirmed this conclusion. The better informed people are, the more intelligently they act and the more actively they support the Party and its plans and programmatic goals.

In the field of foreign policy, our course is clear and consistent. It is a course of peace and progress.

The first precept of the Party and the state is to safeguard and strengthen in every way the fraternal friendship with our closest comrades-in-arms and allies -- the countries of the great socialist commonwealth. We will do everything in our power to expand cooperation with the socialist states and to enhance the role and influence of socialism in world affairs. We would like a serious improvement of relations with the Chinese People's Republic, and we

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believe that, given reciprocity, this is completely possible.

The Soviet Union has always supported the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial oppression. Today our sympathies are on the side of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are following a path of strengthening independence and social renovation. For us, they are friends and partners in the struggle for a lasting peace and for better and just relations among peoples.

As far as relations with the capitalist states are concerned, I would like to say the following. We will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union will always respond to goodwill and to trust with trust. But everyone should know that we will never forgo the interests of our homeland and of its allies.

We value the successes in the easing of international tension that were achieved in the 1970s, and we are ready to participate in continuing the process of establishing peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation between states on the basis of equality, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. New steps along these lines could fittingly mark the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism.

Never before has such a terrible threat loomed over mankind as in our days. The only reasonable way out of the existing situation is an accord by the opposing forces on the immediate termination of the arms race -- above all in nuclear arms -- on earth and the prevention of an arms race in space. An accord on an honest and equitable basis, without any attempts to "outsmart" the other side and dictate one's own terms to it. An accord that could help everyone to move toward the desired goal -- the complete elimination of nuclear arms and their prohibition once and for all -- and toward the complete elimination of the threat of nuclear war. We are firmly convinced of this.

Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America will begin in Geneva tomorrow. The USSR's approach to these talks is well known. I can only reaffirm once again that we do not seek to achieve any unilateral advantages over the United States or over the NATO countries or military superiority over them; we want the termination, not the continuation, of the arms race and, therefore, we propose that nuclear arsenals be frozen and the further deployment of missiles be stopped; and we want a real, major reduction in stockpiled arms, not the creation of more and more new weapons systems, whether in space or on earth.

We would like our partners in the Geneva talks to understand the Soviet Union's position and to reciprocate. Then an agreement will become possible. The world's peoples would sigh with relief.

The CPSU is, by its nature, an internationalist Party. People abroad who hold the same views can rest assured that in the struggle for peace and social progress the Party of Lenin, as always, will cooperate closely with the fraternal Communist, Workers' and revolutionary-democratic Parties and will advocate unity and active cooperation among all revolutionary forces.

Comrades! The accomplishment of the complex tasks confronting us presupposes the further strengthening of the Party and the heightening of its organizing and directing role. The CPSU has always proceeded and continues to proceed from Lenin's thought that a principled policy is the only correct policy. Such a

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policy, worked out collectively, will be carried out consistently and steadfastly. The Party is the force that is capable of taking account of the interests of all classes and social groups and of all nations and nationalities in the country, of uniting them and of mobilizing the people's energy for the common cause of communist construction.

The Party's policy has been and will continue to be directed toward consolidating the alliance of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia and toward the steady strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of our great multinational power.

The CPSU will develop the creative initiative of young people in every way and will show concern for improving women's working and living conditions and for the needs of veterans of war and labor.

In the complex international situation, it is more important than ever before to maintain our homeland's defense capability at a level that will let potential aggressors know very well that encroachments on the security of the Soviet country and its allies or on the peaceful life of Soviet people will meet with a crushing retaliatory blow. Our glorious Armed Forces will continue to have everything necessary for this.

Preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress are now under way on a broad scale. It will consider a new edition of the Party Program and will map out prospects for the country's development in the next five-year plan and up to the year 2000.

The times call for intensive, creative work by all Party organizations, from top to bottom. Everywhere, in all sectors, Communists should set an example of the fulfillment of civic duty and of conscientious labor for the good of society, and they should affirm a Leninist style in work everywhere. This applies first of all to Party cadres and to Party and state officials. The CPSU will steadfastly pursue a line aimed at intensifying exactingness and increasing responsibility for the assigned task. After the plenary session is over, the members of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of the province Party committees and all participants will leave for their homes and get down to work with new energy. A good many things will have to be done. Above all, we must successfully complete work to fulfill this year's plans of economic and social development and thereby ensure a confident start on the next five-year plan.

The harsh winter has somewhat slowed the implementation of plan assignments in a number of branches. This means that now we must pull ourselves together, mobilize reserves and exert every effort to make up unfinished work and attain the planned targets by the end of the year.

Comrades, these days we feel even more keenly how mighty and monolithic the ranks of the Communists are and how united our Soviet people is. In the recent elections, Soviet people again expressed unanimous support for the course of our Party and state. This support inspires us and puts us under an obligation.

Today the plenary session of the Central Committee has entrusted me with the complex and important duties of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I am well aware of the great confidence that has been shown in me and of the great responsibility associated with this. In the work to come, I count on the support and active assistance of the members of the Politburo, the candidate

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members of the Politburo and the Secretaries of the Central Committee and of the Party Central Committee as a whole. Your multifaceted experience is the historical experience of our people in microcosm. I promise you, comrades, to exert every effort to faithfully serve our Party, our people and the great Leninist cause.

Allow me to express confidence that, as we move toward the 27th CPSU Congress, the people and the Party, rallied around the Central Committee, will do everything to make our Soviet homeland even richer and mightier and to allow the creative forces of socialism to disclose themselves even more fully.

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April 3, 1985

SECTION: Vol. XXXVII, No. 10; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 1002 words

HEADLINE: Cherenko is Buried at the Kremlin Wall;
GORBACHEV EULOGIZES CHERNENKO, PLEDGES CONTINUITY IN POLICY

SOURCE: SPEECH BY M. S. GORBACHEV. (Pravda and Izvestia, March 14, p. 1.
Complete text

BODY:

Dear comrades! We are taking Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko on his last journey.

In this hour of mourning, Soviet people are paying their deep respects to a loyal son of our Party and people, a staunch fighter for the noble communist ideals and an outstanding Party and state leader.

From his youth, Konstantin Ustinovich devoted himself wholly to serving the cause of the Party and the interests of the people. In whatever sector of Party or state work he was employed -- at a border post, in Siberia or the Volga region, in Moldavia or in Moscow -- everywhere Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko worked at peak efficiency, spoke out as a passionate propagandist of Marxism-Leninism, inspired and united people, and skillfully directed their efforts into important, useful work. He was always distinguished by lofty ideological conviction, creative enthusiasm, businesslike efficiency, Party devotion to principle, sensitivity and attentiveness to people.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's rich political experience was manifested most fully in the posts of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Under his leadership, the Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee adopted and implemented important decisions with respect to fundamental problems of the country's economic, social and political life and the communist upbringing of the masses.

Konstantin Ustinovich did a great deal to implement our Party's Leninist course -- a course aimed at strengthening the might of our homeland and preserving and consolidating peace on earth.

Today the Communist Party, its Central Committee and the Politburo of the Central Committee announce to the Soviet people their unshakable resolve to faithfully serve the great cause of socialism and communism, the cause of peace, social progress and the happiness of the working people.

The Party's line aimed at the all-out intensification of production, a further upswing in the people's material well-being and spiritual culture, the deepening of socialist democracy and the improvement of the political system of society was collectively worked out and implemented with the active participation of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

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We will continue to conduct a purposeful struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) and subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee with respect to accelerating the social and economic development of the country and strengthening its economic and defensive might. The satisfaction of Soviet man's growing needs and the improvement of his working and living conditions have always been and remain a highly important concern of the Party and the state.

The development of the initiative and creativity of the masses, strict observance of order and legality and the strengthening of labor, state and Party discipline will continue to be at the center of attention.

We will in every way support, encourage and elevate those who show their honest and conscientious attitude toward the fulfillment of public duty not in words but in deeds, in practical results.

We will combat all manifestations of ostentation, windbagery, conceit and irresponsibility and everything that is at variance with the socialist norms of life.

The Central Committee will continue to tirelessly strengthen the solidarity of the Party and its ties with the masses and to improve the style of Party, state and public activity.

The name of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko is associated with the implementation of the foreign-policy course of the Soviet state and with major peaceable initiatives aimed at ending the arms race and eliminating the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe. Our Party and state will continue to step up efforts in this area and will do everything to preserve peace. We proceed from the premise that the right to live in conditions of peace and freedom is man's chief right.

We reaffirm our readiness to maintain good-neighbor relations with all countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence and on the basis of equality and mutually advantageous cooperation. The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone. But it will never allow anyone to dictate his will to us.

Socialism, as Lenin taught, will prove its advantages, but it will do so not by force of arms but by force of example in all fields of the vital activity of society -- economic, political and moral.

The growing might and solidarity of the countries of the socialist commonwealth reliably serve the cause of peace and social progress. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are doing everything necessary to make their fraternal alliance even stronger and to develop and deepen their political and economic cooperation. True to the principles of socialist internationalism, our Party will continue to do everything to expand cooperation among the fraternal countries and to consolidate their positions in international affairs.

We are convinced that the goals set by the Party, which is moving toward its 27th Congress, will be achieved. The guarantee of this is the selfless labor of Soviet people and the indestructible unity of the Party and the people.

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On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government, allow me to express gratitude to the fraternal parties, to the working people of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and to the governments and peoples of other states -- to everyone who has honored the shining memory of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

In this hour of farewell to Konstantin Ustinovich, I want to express sincere and deep condolences to his family and relatives.

As we bow our heads to you, our dear comrade and companion-in-arms, we promise to steadfastly follow the course of our Leninist Party. To serve its cause is to serve the cause of the people. We will fulfill this duty of ours to the end.

Good-bye, our dear Konstantin Ustinovich!

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The Associated Press

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April 23, 1985, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 820 words

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Gorbachev Excerpts

BODY:

The following are excerpts from Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev's speech Tuesday to the Communist Party Central Committee, as translated into English by the Soviet news agency Tass:

We come out for even, correct and, if you like, civilized, inter-state relations based on genuine respect for standards of international law. But let it be absolutely clear that international relations can be put in the channel of normal cooperation only provided imperialism abandons its attempts to settle militarily the historical dispute between the two social systems.

It must be said with all certainty that responsibility for the present situation rests, in the first place, with the ruling circles of the United States. They continue to come out as initiators of the arms race and sabotage disarmament, of which the world community knows well. It is at their initiative that ever new types of mass destruction weapons are developed. At present attempts are being made to spread the arms race to space. Hundreds of American military bases, scattered all over the globe, also tend to destabilize the situation in the world.

The United States openly claims the "right" for itself to interfere everywhere, ignores and, not infrequently, directly tramples underfoot the interests of other countries and peoples, the traditions of international intercourse and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates seats of conflicts and war danger, heating up the situation now in one area of the world, now in another. The United States is threatening militarily today the heroic people of Nicaragua in an effort to deprive it of freedom and sovereignty, as was the case in Grenada.

The economic expansion of the United States is being broadened and stepped up. Manipulation of bank rates, the predatory role of transnational corporations, political restrictions in trade, all kind of boycotts and sanctions create an atmosphere of tension and distrust in international economic relations, disorganize the world economy and trade and undermine its legal basis.

The exchange of opinions we had in mid-March with the leaders of the parties and states, members of the Warsaw Treaty, gives us grounds to assert with confidence: We are unanimous in the belief that the Warsaw Treaty organization

The Associated Press, April 23, 1985

is to continue to play, as long as the NATO bloc exists, an important part in upholding the positions of socialism in Europe and the world and to serve as a dependable instrument for preventing nuclear war and strengthening international security.

The Soviet Union will continue persistently and with a sense of purpose to strengthen mutual ties and develop cooperation with other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China. Our position on this matter is well known and it remains in force.

Everybody knows our readiness to improve our relations also with the United States of America for mutual benefit and without any attempts to infringe each other's legitimate rights and interests. ... But the completed first stage of the Geneva talks already gives ground to say that Washington does not seek agreement with the Soviet Union.

This is to be seen if only from the fact that it refuses in general to discuss the question of preventing the arms race from spreading to space simultaneously with the discussion of the question of nuclear arms limitation and reduction. It thus violates the accord, reached in January, on the interconnection of the three subjects _ on prevention of the arms race in space, on nuclear strategic arms reduction and reduction of medium-range nuclear armaments in Europe.

Certain circles in the United States still want to attain a dominant position in the world, especially militarily. We have told the American side more than once that such ambitious plans are hopeless.

It is impossible to reconcile an arms race and disarmament talks. This is clear if one does not indulge in hypocrisy and does not try to mislead public opinion. The Soviet Union will not encourage such a course, and let this be known to all those who are now engaged in a political game and not serious politics. We would not like to have a recurrence of the sad experience of the previous talks.

(The need for Soviet social and economic improvement) includes above all the scientific and technological renewal of production and the attainment of the highest world level of labor productivity. This includes the perfection of social relations, first of all economic relations. This includes social changes in the sphere of work, the material and cultural conditions of life.

Revolutionary changes are needed (in scientific and technological progress). What is at issue in actual fact is the retooling of all sectors of the national economy on the basis of latest scientific and technological advances.

Immediate and energetic measures are needed concerning the entire range of problems of management.

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April 24, 1985, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 714 words

HEADLINE: EXCERPTS FROM GORBACHEV REMARKS TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: MOSCOW, April 23

BODY:

Following are excerpts from Mikhail S. Gorbachev's speech to the Communist Party Central Committee today, as distributed in translation by the Soviet press agency Tass:

We come out for even, correct and, if you like, civilized, interstate relations based on genuine respect for standards of international law. But let it be absolutely clear that international relations can be put in the channel of normal cooperation only provided imperialism abandons its attempts to settle militarily the historical dispute between the two social systems.

It must be said with all certainty that responsibility for the present situation rests, in the first place, with the ruling circles of the United States. They continue to come out as initiators of the arms race and sabotage disarmament, of which the world community knows well. It is at their initiative that ever new types of mass destruction weapons are developed. At present, attempts are being made to spread the arms race to space. Hundreds of American military bases, scattered all over the globe, also tend to destabilize the situation in the world.

The United States openly claims the 'right' for itself to interfere everywhere, ignores and, not infrequently, directly tramples underfoot the interests of other countries and peoples, the traditions of international intercourse and existing treaties and agreements. It constantly creates seats of conflicts and war danger, heating up the situation now in one area of the world, now in another. The United States is threatening militarily today the heroic people of Nicaragua in an effort to deprive it of freedom and sovereignty, as was the case in Grenada.

U.S. Economic Expansion

The economic expansion of the United States is being broadened and stepped up. Manipulation of bank rates, the predatory role of transnational corporations, political restrictions in trade, all kind of boycotts and sanctions create an atmosphere of tension and distrust in international economic relations, disorganize the world economy and trade and undermine its legal basis.

The exchange of opinions we had in mid-March with the leaders of the parties and states, members of the Warsaw Treaty, gives us grounds to assert with

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confidence: we are unanimous in the belief that the Warsaw Treaty organization is to continue to play, as long as the NATO bloc exists, an important part in upholding the positions of socialism in Europe and the world and to serve as a dependable instrument for preventing nuclear war and strengthening international security.

The Soviet Union will continue persistently and with a sense of purpose to strengthen mutual ties and develop cooperation with other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of China. Our position on this matter is well known and it remains in force.

Relations With the U.S.

Everybody knows our readiness to improve our relations also with the United States of America for mutual benefit and without any attempts to infringe each other's legitimate rights and interests.

But the completed first stage of the Geneva talks already gives ground to say that Washington does not seek agreement with the Soviet Union.

This is to be seen if only from the fact that it refuses in general to discuss the question of preventing the arms race from spreading to space simultaneously with the discussion of the question of nuclear arms limitation and reduction. It thus violates the accord, reached in January on the interconnection of the three subjects - on prevention of the arms race in space, on nuclear strategic arms reduction and reduction of medium-range nuclear armaments in Europe.

Certain circles in the United States still want to attain a dominant position in the world, especially militarily. We have told the American side more than once that such ambitious plans are hopeless.

It is impossible to reconcile an arms race and disarmament talks. This is clear if one does not indulge in hypocrisy and does not try to mislead public opinion. The Soviet Union will not encourage such a course, and let this be known to all those who are now engaged in a political game and not serious politics. We would not like to have a recurrence of the sad experience of the previous talks.

TYPE: text

SUBJECT: Terms not available

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April 29, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe; C. WARSAW TREATY SUMMIT

PAGE: EE/7937/C/1

LENGTH: 1425 words

HEADLINE: Mikhail Gorbachev's Speech in Reply

SOURCE: Tass in English 1658 gmt 26 Apr 85 with alternative versions and additions in square brackets from Soviet television 1700 gmt 26 Apr 85

Agency 'full text' of speech by the CPSU General Secretary on behalf of the delegations attending the Warsaw Treaty summit

BODY:

Dear Comrade Jaruzelski, dear comrades, friends, permit me on behalf of the Soviet delegation and on behalf of all participants in this meeting first of all to express cordial gratitude for hospitality to the leaders of the PZPR and the Polish state. We also convey a fraternal greeting to the residents of heroic and beautiful Warsaw, to all the working people of People's Poland, wishes of success in building socialism.

An act of historic importance was done today here, in Warsaw, the city that has given the name to our alliance. The Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, signed 30 years ago, was renewed. It was renewed, as Comrade Jaruzelski said about it, with the conviction that our alliance is vitally needed by all its members, needed to strengthen peace and the security of peoples.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin stressed: revolution must be able to defend itself. And in the Warsaw Treaty the peoples of our countries have got a staunch defender of revolutionary gains. What has the Warsaw Treaty given to us all? It has given us the possibility of peaceful creative work. The inviolability of the borders has been reliably ensured. A stout barrier has been put in the way of the latter-day subverters of [forces working to overthrow] socialism, the claimants to world dominance.

History has not known another alliance like ours where relations are based on the full equality and comradely mutual assistance of sovereign states. An alliance which is in the true sense of the word an alliance of peoples. An alliance which does not threaten anybody but is wholly devoted to the defence of peace. We build relations with the countries of the other social system on the principle of peaceful coexistence - the sole sensible basis, especially in the nuclear age.

It is with the Warsaw Treaty that the major initiatives of our countries, aimed at consolidating peace in Europe and ensuring detente, are associated. Today's meeting reaffirmed our shared readiness to continue to search collectively for ways of removing the threat of war and expanding international co-operation. We stand for making the confrontation of the two

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military-political alliances less acute, which would meet the interests of all peoples on earth.

It is not the Soviet Union and other socialist states that have initiated the split of Europe and the postwar world. That has been done by the creators of NATO, while our alliance was formed only six years later. Since then we have expressed readiness more than once to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty if NATO agrees to respond in kind. This principled position wholly stands. But, regrettably, the other side did not and does not have such an intention. On the contrary, new aggressive doctrines are being put forward there and a crash effort is being exerted to build up both nuclear and conventional arms before our eyes. And this makes us think now of further enhancing the Warsaw Treaty organisation.

Mankind has been put before this choice: either it is able to rectify the unfavourable course of events or the risk of outbreak of a nuclear war will continue to grow. And this risk is multiplied by US military plans in space. No matter what their authors say and how they justify themselves, the essence of these plans is clear: to acquire a possibility to deal the first nuclear blow and do that with impunity. Since the USA and NATO flatly refuse to follow the example of the USSR and pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, their intentions assume an especially dangerous nature.

The development of weapons for 'Star Wars' is just beginning. But it is already making the presentday world develop a fever and leading to the destabilisation of the entire system of international relations, to even sharper political and military confrontation. This should not be forgotten both by the initiators of the above provocative undertaking and by those who are being invited to share in it.

We take a fundamentally different approach: not to make space into a new source of the threat of war, not to create space attack weapons, and to scrap the existing anti-satellite systems. Simultaneously we propose coming to terms on a radical reduction of nuclear systems and moving towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons altogether.

Such a simple and natural move as a freeze on nuclear potentials of both sides, prompts itself. An objection is put forward: to agree to that means to solidify the Soviet military superiority. But, firstly, there is no such superiority. We have repeatedly proved that citing figures, and Washington failed to disprove them a single time. And secondly, who said that we want to stop at a freeze? On the contrary, we insist that a drastic reduction in nuclear arms follow after it.

We have already suggested that both sides reduce strategic offensive arms by one-quarter by way of an opening move. But we would have no objections to making deeper mutual cuts. All this is possible if the arms race does not begin in space, if it is peaceful.

The Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries seek no superiority either on earth or in space. We are not striving to compete at who will build a higher nuclear fence. But we shall prevent the military-strategic parity from being upset. This is a common and firm position of the Warsaw Treaty members. If preparations for 'Star Wars' go on we will have no other choice but to take response measures including, of course, a build-up and improvement of offensive nuclear arms.

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The just-ended first round of Soviet-US negotiations on nuclear and space arms has demonstrated that they are not plain sailing [proceeding with difficulty]. It is clear that the negotiations can be a success only in case [on condition that] the principle of equality and equal security is observed and the accord on the [ultimate] objective of the negotiations and interrelated resolution of the questions discussed is adhered to.

The Soviet Union, as has already been announced, unilaterally halted the deployment of intermediate-range missiles and implementation of other response measures in Europe. The moratorium went into effect starting from 7th April. The world public and many sober-minded American and Western European politicians have estimated that move of ours at its true worth. We have the right to hope that Washington and capitals of other NATO countries will be more serious and thoughtful in evaluating our initiative and in their turn show restraint on the issue of siting of US missiles in Western Europe. For mutuality on that issue could assist in directing the Geneva negotiations to the plane of practical decisions and play its role in the settlement of more complex problems.

The Warsaw Treaty has been in effect for almost one-third of a century and for the entire duration of that time it acted as an initiator of constructive ideas directed toward detente and arms limitation, toward developing European co-operation. Its growing weight in international politics has a positive effect on the general climate in the world. And this is a result of collective efforts, contribution of each fraternal country.

Comrades, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism we once again recall the solemn oath the victors swore over the graves and ruins of the world war two: war must not recur^ We remember that, we remember what the lessons of war teach us and one of the principal lessons among them is the example of co-operation of powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Today we call upon all states of Europe and other continents to rise above the differences and become partners in fighting a new danger that threatens the whole mankind - the danger of nuclear extinction.

Prolonging the Warsaw Treaty we once again express our firm conviction: war can and must be prevented through joint efforts. Such is the will of the peoples of our countries. This is where the policy of our parties and governments, all the activities of the defensive alliance of socialist states are directed.

To further co-operation of our parties and states, their stronger unity and cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism^

Let the fraternal alliance of socialist countries - the Warsaw Treaty - grow stronger^

To the people's socialist Poland, to the health of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski and members of the Polish leadership, all participants in our meeting^

To a durable peace on earth^

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The Associated Press

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May 21, 1985, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 848 words

HEADLINE: Excerpts of Gorbachev Speech

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Gorbachev Excerpts

BODY:

Following are excerpts from a speech Tuesday night by Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev at an official Kremlin dinner for the visiting prime minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi. He spoke in Russian and the translation is by Tass, the official news agency:

We are glad to welcome in Moscow the prime minister and the personages accompanying him, who represent a country for which people in the Soviet Union have great respect.

Our cooperation with India, cooperation which has today so many dimensions, is free of any pressure, of imposition of any terms. The Soviet Union consistently supported India at all stages of its struggle for stronger independence and has displayed, and continues to display, effective solidarity with this great country which is upholding its sovereignty, its dignity, its right to an independent path of development.

The magnitude of what has already been achieved should not be allowed to overshadow the existing great opportunities for further advance. A desire for this was expressed by both sides during today's talks. We are well in a position to raise jointly our cooperation to a qualitatively new level in many areas.

All peoples strive for peace and progress and none of them wants war. But there are forces which pursue other aims. They do not wish to reckon with the legitimate interests of others and the political realities of the present-day world. It is these forces, chasing the chimera of military superiority, that have brought the world to the threshold of a new spiral of the arms race, a spiral of unprecedented scale, which threatens to grow into a qualitatively new phase with uncontrollable processes.

What, for instance, can be brought to the peoples by the notorious "Star Wars" program which they in Washington are trying, for purposes of camouflage, to pass off as a "defense initiative?" first of all, increased risks of nuclear war. And, certainly, a sharp reduction of chances for achieving an accord on disarmament matters. Enormous funds will be thrown additionally into the furnace of the arms race, including the nuclear arms race. And these funds could serve the interests of the peaceful development of mankind, specifically help solve

The Associated Press, May 21, 1985

such ripe problems as those of eliminating poverty and hunger, disease and illiteracy.

Therefore, the problem of preventing the militarization of space affects the interests of all countries and peoples and leaves no one on the roadside. We think that before it is too late and before an irreversible situation is created under the cover of soothing statements, all peace-loving states should raise their voice against this new danger.

One of the realities of the present-day world is the appearance in the world arena of dozens of states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which strive to overcome the pernicious consequences of colonialism. The overwhelming majority of them follow a policy of non-alignment.

We think that such a step as the assumption by every permanent member of the U.N. Security Council of an obligation to observe strictly the principles of non-interference, non-use of force or threat of force in relations with the countries of these continents and not to draw them into military blocs would help remove seats of tension and promote peaceful settlement of a number of conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The concept of detente came into existence in Europe. It will be 10 years soon since the day when a historic document was signed in Helsinki, a document which summed up, as it were, what the peoples imply by this great, meaningful word. Much of what was built on this basis has been destroyed by the icy winds blowing from overseas. But many things have stood out, survived, struck firm root and are bringing tangible benefits to the peoples.

In Asia, the problems of peace and security are today no less and, in some areas, even more acute and painful than in Europe.

The proposal for making the Indian Ocean a peace zone was supported by the U.N. General Assembly and the non-aligned movement, specifically by its recent conference in New Delhi. Nor can one underestimate the fact that both of the nuclear powers lying in the Asian continent _ the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China _ have pledged not to make first use of nuclear weapons.

Now the question arises: Is it not advisable, considering all these initiatives and, in some measure, Europe's experience, to think of a common, comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia and a possible pooling of efforts by Asian states in this direction? of course, the way to this is a complicated one. But the road to Helsinki was not smooth and even either. Here different methods are evidently possible: bilateral talks and multilateral consultations, up to holding at some point in the future an all-Asian forum for an exchange of opinions and a joint search for constructive solutions.

We think that India, as a great power enjoying much prestige and respect both in Asian countries and throughout the world, can play a very important part in this process.

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May 29, 1985, Wednesday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/7963/A1/1

LENGTH: 1307 words

HEADLINE: Gorbachev Meeting with Brandt: Luncheon Speeches

SOURCE: (b) Tass in Russian for abroad 1400 and in English 1337 and Moscow home service 1500 gmt 27 May 85

'Full text' of speech by Gorbachev at luncheon for Brandt

BODY:

Allow me cordially to greet Willy Brandt, leader of the SPD and Chairman of the Socialist International. We have just had a detailed conversation, and I think that we can honestly say that our talk was full in content and useful and helped us to understand each other's positions better.

Our people have a simple but wise saying: As you sow, so shall you reap. You, Mr Brandt, sowed in the recent past a good seed in the field of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG and in the field of European co-operation. The signing of the historic Moscow Treaty in August 1970 is inseparably linked with your name. That treaty ushered in a period of new, constructive and truly good-neighbourly relations between our two countries and peoples. At the same time it paved the way for productive co-operation in a broader context, between European capitalist and socialist countries or, as they say, between East and West.

Regrettably, the main achievement of those years, detente - while it continues to a considerable extent to bear fruit for the peoples of our continent - has been exposed to fierce attacks by conservative and reactionary forces. The word itself has been outlawed, as it were, by a number of Western statesmen from their political vocabulary.

In discussing the international situation today, we both stated that there are many things in it that are of profound concern to all those who care for world peace and value the ideals of progress. Indeed, the threat of war has grown and become more acute during the years of confrontation. The world has approached a very dangerous point. The arms race is being continued and has reached unprecedented proportions. Moreover, those same forces which provoked it are now making threatening gestures towards space.

There are no people in the world who would not be alarmed by the US plans to militarise space. This alarm is well founded. Let us take a realistic view of matters: the implementation of these plans would thwart disarmament talks. Moreover, it would dramatically increase the threat of a truly global, totally annihilating military conflict. Anyone capable of unbiased analysis of the situation and sincerely wishing to safeguard peace cannot but oppose 'Star

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Wars''.

Space will always attract Man, of course. Space exploration, as we have learned in practice, can do a good deal for the development and improvement of our life on Earth. It would be good, of course, if states could pool their efforts in some form and organise co-operation; not to make space a source of death and destruction but to explore it for peaceful purposes, in the interests of all the peoples and in accordance with their peaceful requirements. The USSR is for such co-operation.

We have a firm political desire for peace, averting war, and reducing arms to the point of the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. It is a desire for detente and for establishing normal relations of good-neighbourliness and mutual co-operation with all countries regardless of their social systems. And we are translating this desire of ours, as you well know, into constructive initiatives and clear-cut proposals which do not allow contradictory interpretation. It is in this spirit that we are acting at all current talks, those in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna.

I wish to note with satisfaction, Mr Chairman, that your party, the SPD plays a prominent role in the struggle for solving matters of war and peace. This is shown by the positions expressed in SPD documents and in your statements opposing ''Star Wars'' plans and advocating containing the arms race; reducing arms, primarily nuclear ones; concluding between countries of East and West a treaty on the mutual non-use of force; stopping outside intervention in the affairs of sovereign countries and peoples; and ending armed conflicts and aggressive adventures in various parts of the world. These views, at which your party and you have arrived by your own ways, following your political convictions, are in many ways consonant with our ideas of the present-day world and the tasks for improving it.

We recently all celebrated the 40th anniversary of the rout of Hitler fascism. That date brought again most sharply to mind the importance of immediately solving the urgent problem of guaranteeing security for the peoples of our continent today. This task is all the more topical in that there are in the world - including in the FRG - forces which have not drawn the due conclusions from the lessons of the last year. Aloud and without shame they deliberate on the transformation of Europe into a ''theatre of war''. We highly appreciate the firm position of your party, which advocates that war should never again be started from German soil.

The Soviet Union, as you know, for its part is doing everything to effect a genuine strengthening of European security. We consider that a reliable way to do this is to completely rid our continent of nuclear weapons, medium-range and tactical ones alike, and also chemical weapons. We are entirely ready for such a resolution of the matter.

A progression to large-scale measures can also be effected step by step. Various options for this progression have already been proposed. I have in mind, for instance, the ideas to establish nuclear-free zones in various parts of Europe and the proposal by Mr Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister, to establish in Europe a zone free from battlefield nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has already voiced support for the creation of such zones, and we have not revised our view. We similarly share and energetically support the idea of your party on the establishment in Europe of a zone free from chemical weapons.

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We know well, Mr Brandt, what attention you pay to the problems of relationships between developed and developing states. You have our profound understanding here. Human conscience cannot tolerate the fact that dozens of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America die from hunger and disease or live illiterate and impoverished. The normal development of liberated countries, the overcoming of the backwardness inherited by them from their colonial past, and the establishment of truly equal relations between them and the industrialised capitalist countries are important preconditions for the normalisation of international relations as a whole.

The time seems to be coming when the questions regarding establishing equal international economic relations without any discrimination and a new world economic order, including the problem of the developing countries' indebtedness, will have to be discussed internationally on a large scale. We would be in favour of this. The world community has good reason to concern itself with ensuring continued economic security of states and peoples.

Obviously, Mr Brandt, our views on many present-day problems are close and even identical in many respects. I think that we agree on identical ideas and proposals because we are aware of the gravity of the danger faced by mankind and because our parties sense the mood of the mass of people, who want a lasting peace and are strongly opposed to policies escalating the threat of nuclear war.

Of course, we have had and will continue to have our ideological differences. But they should not interfere with co-operation between communists and Social Democrats on the most important and acute problems of our day.

Let me propose a toast to the successful development of constructive co-operation between our parties and between the CPSU and the Socialist International, in the name of safeguarding peace and security for the peoples.

I offer you, Mr Brandt, your wife and the notable Social Democrat leaders who accompany you, my best wishes for your health and well-being.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

June 3, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 2. EASTERN EUROPE

PAGE: SU/7967/A2/1

LENGTH: 1590 words

HEADLINE: Dinner Speech by Gorbachev

SOURCE: Moscow home service 1800 also Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union in Russian for abroad 1620 gmt and in English 1535 gmt 31 May 85

'Full text' of Gorbachev's speech at 31st May Great Kremlin Palace dinner in Husak's honour

BODY:

Dear Comrade Husak, Dear Czechoslovak friends, comrades, the official friendship visit to our country of the leader of fraternal Czechoslovakia is drawing to a close. If we sum up in brief the results of the visit, we may say that another important step has been taken in the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak co-operation and in strengthening friendship and the relations of alliance between our Parties and peoples.

We are all sincerely glad to have had this new meeting with Comrade Husak, a prominent figure in the international communist movement and long-time and loyal friend of our country. Recently the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia re-elected him President of the Republic. I want once again to congratulate you cordially, dear Comrade Husak, and wish you the best of health and every success in your important Party and state work.

Comrades, at the beginning of this month of May, we formally celebrated the anniversary of the great victory over fascism and simultaneously the 40th anniversary of the completion of the national liberation of your country from the Nazi invaders. The whole subsequent development of Czechoslovakia has been inseparably tied to those historical events.

Good proof of this fact is the national jubilee exhibition Czechoslovakia 1985, which opened in Moscow today. It is an impressive account of the results of the road travelled by the country, a sort of report by the people's rule on the transformations carried out, and graphic evidence of the superiority of the socialist system and its boundless potential. At the same time, it is a marvellous example of how greatly socialist countries benefit by co-operation and mutual assistance and of what they can accomplish by pooling their efforts.

While the exhibition makes it possible to evaluate present-day achievements, the Programme of Long-Term Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, signed by us for the period up to the year 2000, offers a glimpse of the future. It defines both guidelines for our economic co-operation and major joint projects whose implementation will be important to the national economies of both countries.

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Economic contacts between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have reached considerable proportions. The Soviet Union has long been Czechoslovakia's leading foreign trade partner, while Czechoslovakia is our country's second biggest trading partner. What is to be done today is to go much farther. What I mean is the development of those areas of our co-operation which offer the greatest return, namely, specialisation and co-production in engineering and other industries.

Clear prospects and confidence in the future and tremendously important in the present-day world, with its complicated conditions for economic growth, dramatic market fluctuations and tough competition. It is these prospects and this confidence that are given to the fraternal countries by socialist economic integration and by their co-operation on a bilateral and multilateral basis within the CMEA framework. But these are riches which certainly do not lie on the surface. It is necessary to work well to make good use of them. We still have to accomplish a good deal and resolve a number of major problems together.

The priority task here is to work together to accelerate scientific and technical progress. Today, this offers the key to the intensification of social production, raising the living standards of the population and improving the whole socialist way of life, and, of course, strengthening the defences of the socialist countries.

Another important task is to look for an optimum and most efficient mechanism of co-operation among the CMEA member countries and to introduce economic forms and methods which would stimulate the pooling of efforts in material production, scientific research and design and experimental work.

Understandably, both problems - advance to the foremost frontiers of science, technology and [technological] processes, and the development of more flexible and efficient mechanism of economic co-operation - are closely inter-related. All the fraternal countries have an interest in resolving these problems. In the course of our talks today the sides reiterated the resolve of the USSR and Czechoslovakia, together with the other CMEA members, to make a befitting contribution to that vitally important cause.

We are convinced that the rise to higher levels of economic integration will mean a new quality of co-operation among fraternal countries in all the other spheres as well. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin pointed out on more than one occasion the interdependence and mutual influence of economics and politics. Practice is bearing out over and over again the correctness of this idea. The objective processes of social development prompt today the need to expand the international socialist division of labour and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the peoples following the road of socialism.

This is especially important in the present-day heated international situation.

We cannot close our eyes to realities. Regrettably, the world situation remains complex and dangerous. American first-strike nuclear missiles continue to be deployed in Western Europe. West German revanchism is again making itself heard; and the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the allied powers and the results of post-war development are called in question with obvious encouragement from across the ocean.

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The actions of the aggressive imperialist circles in different parts of the world, their trampling upon the norms of international law and their disregard for world public opinion are deplorable.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, together with other fraternal countries, stand consistently for putting an end to the escalation of tension by imperialism, which can lead to nuclear conflict, and are patiently working for the solution of outstanding problems.

Our clear position and initiatives on this score are well known. We proposed to the USA at the Geneva talks to take joint measures to prevent the militarisation of space and terminate the arms race on Earth. This would be immensely important for lessening and eventually eliminating the threat of war.

The second round of these talks opened in Geneva yesterday. The Soviet Union, as before, will work at these talks for honest and fair decisions in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Naturally, we need reciprocity in this matter of vital importance.

The Soviet Union reiterates its proposal of an immediate moratorium on nuclear and space weapons. Such a moratorium would suspend the arms race on Earth now and prevent it from being extended into space. Given the rough balance of forces today, a moratorium on nuclear and space weapons would not give an advantage to either side, but would fully meet the principle of equality and equal security.

The introduction of a moratorium is viewed by us just as a first step which can help to strengthen mutual trust and to make the transition to the road of radical reductions in nuclear arms. We suggest that in introducing the moratorium, the Soviet Union and the USA agree that at the talks they will put forward within a specific period, say a month or two, their practical proposals on all the matters under consideration, including the levels to which they would be prepared to reduce their strategic offensive arms; naturally, on condition that space strike weapons are banned.

We stand for returning Soviet-American relations to normalcy, to the road of detente and mutually beneficial co-operation. It is time for the American side, too, to translate into the language of practical action its statements about its readiness to move in that direction.

I would like to stress with satisfaction that our Czechoslovak friends and we have a common approach to outstanding international problems. We draw on unity for strength. For three decades now, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has been ensuring for our countries security and the possibility to live and work in peace. Recently, it was unanimously decided to extend it. We shall continue to perfect and strengthen our defensive military and political alliance.

Comrades, the Soviet and Czechoslovak communists are now advancing towards the regular congresses of their Parties. The eve-of-congress period, as usual, involves the summing up of results, the identification of reserves and the formulation of tasks for the future. The most important of these tasks is the strengthening of friendship between allied socialist states, our associates in the struggle for common goals.

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Friendship among the peoples of the socialist countries is the greatest achievement, one may say, our common priceless asset, one that we should preserve and augment.

Let us then continue to do everything possible to strengthen comprehensive interaction between our fraternal Parties and to expand relations of comradeship and friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

Let us continue resolutely to stand up for our common cause, socialism and peace.

Allow me in conclusion, speaking on behalf of the Soviet leadership, on behalf of our whole Party and the Soviet people, to wish Comrade Husak, the leadership of the CPCZ and all the communists and working people of fraternal Czechoslovakia fresh great success in work for the good of their socialist homeland.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

June 13, 1985, Thursday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; C. GORBACHEV ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

PAGE: SU/7976/C/1

LENGTH: 13801 words

HEADLINE: Conference Speech on 'The Fundamental Issue of the Party's Economic Policy'

SOURCE: Soviet television 1700 gmt 11 Jun 85

Text of recording of speech, with insertions in square brackets from the home service announcer-read - 1200 gmt and Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union

BODY:

A conference on matters concerning the acceleration of scientific and technical progress opened at the CPSU Central Committee today. Taking part in the work of the conference are Comrades Gorbachev, Aliyev, Vorotnikov, Grishin, Gromyko, Kunayev, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Tikhonov, Chebrikov, Shcherbitskiy, Demichev, Dolgikh, Kuznetsov, Ponomarev, Sokolov, Shevardnadze, Zimyanin, Kapitonov, Nikonov and Rusakov; and secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and of kray and oblast Party Committees, ministers and chairmen of state committees, well-known scientists, leaders and chief specialists of associations, enterprises, building organisations, collective and state farms, scientific research and planning institutes, front-ranking workers and collective farmers and production innovators.

[Ligachev] Comrades, permit me to invite Comrade Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeevich, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, to take the floor to deliver his report: [applause]

[Gorbachev] Comrades, all of you know with what approval the resolutions of the April plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the programme it put forward for speeding up the country's social and economic development have been received in our Party and amongst the broad strata of the people. Testimony of this is provided by the results of the plenums of Party committees and by the numerous responses that are reaching the central organisations. Soviet people welcome the open and truthful discussion of problems that have become ripe in society and completely approve and support the course of being more demanding, introducing order everywhere and resolutely improving methods of economic management. They respond to it with practical deeds. The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the plan for May is clear evidence of this. A good, business-like atmosphere is taking shape in party organisations, in labour collectives and in the country as a whole. The Politburo of the Central Committee values highly the confidence of the working people in the policy of the CPSU. But support is also a kind of credit: it places us under an obligation to consolidate what has been achieved and go further, evaluating soberly both the favourable changes and also the importance of the things that lie ahead. Nor can one fail to mention the anxiety of Soviet people: Supposing the work which

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has been started turned out in the end to be no more than yet another campaign? In this connection critical observations are being made against all Party organisations and leading officials who take up an inactive position and exert themselves too slowly; those who are incapable of rousing and uniting people, of mobilising them for the solution of the great and responsible tasks of the present stage in the development of society.

I will say this: everyone, from the Central Committee to the primary organisation, bears full responsibility before the Party and the people for the consistent implementation of the line of the April plenum of the Central Committee. [Relying upon the experience of socialist construction, the achievements of the Soviet economy and the scientific elaboration of the long-term strategy of the CPSU, the April plenum formulated the concept of accelerating the country's socio-economic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress.] The Party views the acceleration of scientific and technical progress as the main direction of its economic strategy, as the main lever for the intensification of the national economy and for raising its efficiency; and hence for the solution of all other economic and social issues. These tasks are so pressing that action has to be taken without losing any time. They embrace a wide range of current and long-term problems - economic, organisational and social and concerning the development of culture and education, the activity of the upper echelons of management and of every link in the national economy. They affect every collective, every communist and every Soviet citizen.

The decision of the Politburo to hold the present conference on the threshold of the 27th CPSU Congress was brought about precisely by this. Problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress must be placed at the centre of the pre-congress report-back and election campaign, and of the whole of the Party's political, organisational and educational work. The attention of state and economic organs and of the whole people must be fixed on it. I would like to invite you to take part in a most candid discussion of the real state of affairs and the things that are putting a brake on our development, and the main issue - of ways and reserves for speeding up scientific and technical progress and the growth of the Soviet economy.

Comrades, in putting forward the task of accelerating social and economic development, the Central Committee has in mind not simply raising the rate of growth of the national economy. It is a question of a new quality of growth, of putting development on to an intensive track, of rapid progress in strategically important directions, of the structural reorganisation of production, the use of efficient forms of management, the organisation of labour and the provision of incentives for it, and the fuller solution of social problems. What has brought about this task?

The need to speed up social and economic development is determined primarily by our internal requirements. The Soviet economy has always been characterised by a high level of dynamism. Since 1950 national income has risen by nearly 10 times. Over a period of three and a half decades, thousands of major enterprises have been built and the appearance of towns and villages has changed; the level of culture, of education and public health has risen considerably. Much has been done in the improvement of housing, of cultural and domestic conditions and of the overall material well-being of the people. Real incomes per head of population have increased five-fold. In all this the enormous advantages of socialism and of its planned economy have made themselves clearly manifest.

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Our successes are indisputable. They are generally recognised.

At the same time one cannot fail to see the other side of the coin. [However one cannot fail to see that since the early 1970s certain difficulties began to be felt in economic development. The main reason is that we did not display in time perseverance in reshaping structural policy, the forms and methods of management and the very psychology of economic activity.] Our Party and the whole people have been faced with the task of overcoming negative tendencies and with bringing about a sharp turn for the better. Any other approach is ruled out politically for us. We cannot embark upon a path of winding up social programmes and defence measures. Society is faced with urgent tasks in the areas of food supplies and production of goods and services for the people. It is important to continue to build housing on a wide scale, and to improve the amenities of the towns and villages. We are under an obligation to do all that is necessary to improve further the protection of people's health and physical training. The innovating and path-blazing role of socialism in the development of education, science, culture and art must be intensified.

The need to speed up social and economic development is brought about by serious external circumstances. We cannot fail to take into consideration the fact that the USA is carrying out a strategy towards total American superiority.

The main reason - and it was mentioned quite definitely at the April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee - amounts to this, that a proper assessment has not been given to radical change in the economic situation. The necessary persistence in readjusting structural policy, the forms and methods of management, and the very psychology of economic activity, has not been displayed. For many years there has been talk of shifting the centre of gravity to intensive factors of economic growth; but the measures adopted were half-measures, inconsistent measures, and were not implemented to the full. And, thanks to inertia, the economy continued to develop mostly on an extensive basis. [Note: See earlier insertion from the home service and Tass, referring to 'the 1970s']

The situation is complicated by the fact that we are compelled to invest immense [the necessary] funds into defence. The achievement of strategic military parity with the USA was an historic gain. We shall continue to make the maximum effort to end the arms race and shift matters towards reciprocal disarmament and curtailing military spending. But, faced with the aggressive policy and threats of imperialism, it is essential that we persistently strengthen the country's defence power and do not permit military superiority to be achieved over us. Such is the firm resolve of the Soviet people. [applause]

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's statement that socialism would exert its greatest influence on the world about it by its economic policy and its socio-economic achievements is well known. In the eyes of the progressive world public, the Soviet Union has been and remains the embodiment of people's age-old social hopes. It should also be an example of supreme organisation and efficiency in its economy, a pillar for the progressive forces of the planet. And finally, the need to accelerate our development is demanded by the requirement to ensure the Soviet state's complete economic independence of the capitalist countries, above all in the strategically important directions.

We are not propounding self-sufficiency. The mutually beneficial international division of labour, above all within the system of the socialist

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community, is one of the real paths towards heightening production efficiency. But we cannot permit our country to depend upon deliveries of Western output. The experience of recent years has taught us a great deal.

Thus, the task of speeding up the country's development has today acquired paramount political, economic and social significance. Before us lies the implementation of the new technological reconstruction of the national economy, and the qualitative transformation of the material and technical basis of society. The resolution of this problem is an urgent matter, and one for the Party and all the people; and this must be done in a very brief period of history, guaranteeing that the country reaches the frontiers of labour productivity and economic efficiency.

We can implement what is outlined only on the path of intensifying production and speeding up scientific and technical progress. The topicality of the problem is further enhanced by the fact that a new stage of the scientific and technical revolution, ensuring a multiple increase in labour productivity, huge savings of resources and an improvement in the quality of output is beginning. Figuratively speaking, we too must saddle scientific and technical progress.

There is simply no other way, if we add to this the fact that we have, fundamentally, exhausted the extensive methods of development. Calculations show that if we continue to guarantee the planned growth in the national income on the previous basis, which is to a substantial degree extensive, it will be necessary to increase output of fuel and raw materials by 10-15% in each five-year plan, the volume of capital investment by 30-40%, and engage an extra 8-10,000,000 people in the national economy.

But we simply do not have such possibilities. And there is no need for it. For the so-called deficit is the result of our extensive methods of growth. Strictly speaking in terms of resources, our country remains the best provided for. It is important to husband them thriftily.

Today, when the Party is advancing towards the 27th CPSU Congress and the congress programme documents are being prepared, it is important to take account of the fact that we cannot do without the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and without revolutionary changes in the intensification of the economy. And for this reason all these documents - and, first and foremost, the Guidelines for the economic and social development of the country in the 12th Five-Year Plan and up to the year 2000 - must contain fresh approaches which provide a sharp turn-around towards intensification and the energetic pace of scientific and technical progress.

The Politburo of the Central Committee recently discussed the draft Guidelines and, on the whole, it supported the signposts and targets mapped out in them. But serious observations were expressed which require the revision of the draft. It has not yet been possible to include measures in it providing for the transition to a course of chiefly intensive growth by a number of industries, deepen the structural rebuilding of the economy, attain the necessary concentration of capital investment in the priority areas for the development of the national economy and to balance all indices. Work on the draft must be continued by the State Planning Committee, ministries, union republics, production associations and enterprises. They are being notified of the planned figures for the Guidelines. The targets which are being outlined for raising the efficiency of production must be considered as the minimum ones.

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The main thing now is to seek and bring into operation all reserves for raising the efficiency of production and the quality of products and for satisfying public demands more fully, and to do this in the centre and in the provinces. All our cadres must understand the vital need to reorientate every enterprise and industry, the whole national economy towards an intensive path of development.

One year ago, at the conference at the CPSU Central Committee, in which ministers took part, this was spoken about with all clarity. However, far from everyone has drawn the correct conclusions from that conversation. With some people, it went in one ear and came out the other, as they say; and yesterday's approaches remain.

Continuing to think in terms of extensive development, many leaders of ministries and departments are striving to get as much capital investment and other resources as possible while obtaining smaller production plans. Comrade Belyak, Minister of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production, shows enviable persistence in the struggle for additional allocations of funds and the reduction of the plan indices outlined. The USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, headed by Comrade Yashin, as well as certain other ministries and departments, have taken up a position which is no better.

Of course, we shall not allow ourselves to be led by a mood of over-dependency. Failure to understand the situation and lack of desire to readjust, and narrow departmental interests, must not prevail over the general interests of the people. I do not think that managers who are counting on once again drawing the country into enormous and unjustified expenditure can accompany us on our path. More demands must be made of local managers with regard to investments. The desire to receive more resources without thinking about the consequences has become a kind of style of work for certain Party and local government organs, and there are unfortunately many such instances.

At one time major decisions on the development of the productive forces of Krasnoyarsk Kray were adopted on the initiative of the Kray Party Committee and with the support of a number of ministries and the USSR State Planning Committee. This is a large and promising region; it must be developed in every possible way. But obviously both at the stage when these important decisions were prepared and in particular subsequently, in their implementation, all the issues involved in the new construction were not properly taken into account, nor were the opportunities for assimilating thousands of millions in capital investments properly studied. As a result - huge losses: the construction of tens of enterprises and power stations has not been completed - the outlays are not yielding a proper return. [Sayan-Shushenskoye hydro-electric power station is being built at a pace that is half that of Bratsk Station. For several years now buildings at the Abakan wagon-building association have been standing empty. Five thousand objectives remain still to be completed in the kray. As a result of the dispersal of forces, construction is proceeding at a slow rate and loss of resources is great.] We have the right to demand from planning and management bodies - as well as from the Party organisation - that they introduce proper order and guarantee that large outlays by the state yield a rapid return and not be frozen in the soil of Siberia.

In general comrades, leading, major industrial regions must set an example of zealous management and the use of intensive methods of development. The Central Committee continues to pin great hopes on the working class and the

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intelligentsia of Moscow and the powerful scientific and production potential of the capital. We would like once again to support the significant work being carried out by the Leningrad Party organisation in transferring the economy to the track of intensification.

A few days ago, Comrade Vedernikov, First Secretary of Chelyabinsk Oblast Party Committee, said that a programme had been prepared for the reconstruction of a number of enterprises in the oblast. At Chelyabinsk tractor works alone it is planned, through reconstruction, to increase the volume of production by 50% with a reduction in the workforce of 10,000 people and decrease consumption of metallurgical and other raw materials. Some of the ministries concerned and the State Planning Committee formally supported the initiative of the people in Chelyabinsk. However, it looks as if they restricted themselves to that. And in general, the people of Chelyabinsk are for some reason out of luck in this matter. At one time, a decision was adopted to reconstruct the 1220 mill at Chelyabinsk tube-rolling plant and transfer it to production of large-diameter pipes. The outlay on this - to the tune of R150,000,000 - would have enabled an annual saving of R150,000,000 in foreign currency and partially dispensing with the purchase of pipes from abroad. This was necessary and advantageous; but it just died the death. Clearly the time has come, in the interests of the state, to call all those responsible for implementing adopted decisions to account for this procrastination and inability to get to grips with the matter, and to do so in earnest.

The CPSU Central Committee has the right to count on a great contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the country's economic development from major scientific and industrial centres such as Sverdlovsk and Kharkov, Novosibirsk and Donetsk, Omsk and Gorkiy, and others. This is all the more essential because the reserves of many of them are far and away from being used fully. [The Central Committee hopes that their Party organisations will ensure the realisation of measures to switch the economy on to the track of intensive development.]

All this, comrades, is being said so that now, in the time that remains for work on the basic guidelines and in preparing the five-year plan, there should be manifested at all levels the sort of approach that would guarantee not only the absolute achievement of the indices contained in the draft but also an improvement on them. There is only one signpost here: with smaller outlays we must attain the higher targets in the 12th Five-Year Plan. Such is the economic, and if you like, the political task.

The advantages of the socialist method of production are inexhaustible. Unlike any other country, we can mobilise our huge reserves and concentrate funds on general directions of scientific and technological progress. The development of the economy according to plan, and the active creativity of the masses, open up scope for the development of the national economy. We have not learnt how to use all these advantages properly; at times we cling tenaciously to the old ways. In general, comrades, we have gigantic potential for growth, and it must be brought into action.

I should like to go on to express, in terms of principle, some thoughts about the main directions of the forthcoming work. I shall begin with the most important thing, the need for a drastic change in investment and structure policy. Basically, we must carry out integrated and strictly controlled work on moving the centre of gravity from new construction to the technical

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re-equipping of enterprises; from increasing the extraction of resources and the intensification of this work to the utmost economising on these resources; from the traditional boosting of production volumes to securing a sharp increase in the quality of output. This needs to be done now, while current and future plans are being drawn up. Otherwise, time will be lost. Ideas which are not embodied in plans will remain only empty phrases.

It is important to abandon unhesitatingly stereotypes for running the economy which developed in the past, stereotypes in which new construction was considered to be the main way of achieving production growth. The bulk of capital investment was channelled into new construction. Even amortisation deductions earmarked for renovation of enterprises went towards this new construction. The main flow of new equipment was also channelled towards new construction. For a long time many existing enterprises were not refitted with technical equipment and were not modernised. All that happened was that everything possible was squeezed out of them, as they say [while very little was put in].

The capital repair sphere has become inordinately swollen as a result of the aging of production equipment. Last year R35,000 million was spent on this. A quarter of the country's pool of machine tools and 6,000,000 workers are employed in repair workshops. Almost a fifth of our ferrous metals are used on this. [The return on assets decreases, the number of new workplaces grows and, at the same time, mechanisation of production is insufficiently introduced. The share of manual labour decreases slowly.]

That is the overall picture. But that picture is made up of specific industries, associations, enterprises and their leaders. It has to be bluntly said that many managers and Party officials have accustomed themselves to the situation which has come about. All this costs society too much. At the moment nobody denies that the return from capital investment in reconstruction is roughly double that from new construction. But the former [extensive] methods of running the economy are still alive and well.

Take a look at ferrous metallurgy. Over a period of 15 years, R50,000 million of capital investment was allocated to the industry. How has the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy used these funds? Most of it has been channelled into new construction - what's more into new construction which is not integrated. Meanwhile, the reconstruction and technical re-equipping of enterprises did not receive proper attention. Because of the incorrect technical policy of the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and its Minister, Comrade Kazanets, the industry did not manage to fulfil either the 10th or the 11th Five-Year plans. It is not satisfying the national economy's requirements for good-quality metal products. The state of affairs here needs to be fundamentally changed.

In short, comrades, we must decisively change the correlation between new construction and the technical re-equipping of existing enterprises. The State Planning Committee and ministries have outlined certain positive changes in this area for implementation during the 12th Five-Year Plan-but they cannot be judged as meeting requirements. The proportion of funds earmarked for reconstruction in the overall volume of production and capital investment must be increased, already in the years immediately ahead, from one-third to at least a half. This is not a simple matter. We cannot manage without new construction. But there must be complete clarity in this matter. New construction should be embarked

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on only when opportunities to build up production on existing capacities have been exhausted or when it is necessary in order to resolve the contemporary tasks of technical progress.

Our country has embarked on too many projects. They should be carefully analysed. The construction of some projects should be speeded up. Others should be suspended or temporarily mothballed. An approach based on the interests of the state is needed here. This applies not just to the USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs but also to ministries and all central, republican and local organs.

At the same time a comprehensive inventory of production assets must be drawn up. A long-term programme for the technical reconstruction of every enterprise and industry must be outlined. In the immediate future, the share of withdrawal of fixed capital, particularly the active part of it, must be doubled. Including the entry into service of installations under construction, this will make it possible by the end of the 12th Five-Year-Plan to renew our manufacturing equipment by more than one-third, and have in it up to 50% new equipment. To this I should like to add that what we need is not just any renewal of manufacturing, but only a renewal accompanied by the introduction of the advanced technology, yielding the highest economic and social results.

On the visit to ZiL, the matter of its reconstruction was discussed. The motor vehicle workers are preparing to launch a diesel lorry. Its freight capacity will be increased; its fuel consumption per 100 km will be cut from 29 to 19 litres. This is a tremendous result. But, as it turned out, not all matters of reconstruction were correctly resolved. Provision was made, for instance, to engage an additional 25,000 staff. Is this really rational, especially in the conditions of Moscow? Now the ZiL management has tabled a proposal to improve planning, so as to achieve targets without increasing staff numbers. Well, that is a different matter, as the saying goes, and is a position which can be supported.

A major and exceptionally acute problem of investment policy is posed by the relationship between capital investments in the resource-extraction, processing and consuming industries. The Soviet Union has at its disposal a mighty fuel and power complex, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to step up extraction of fuel and raw materials. Meanwhile, many countries have taken a more rational path, that of all-round economies and broad introduction of resource-saving technology. This costs half or one-third as much.

We also have positive experience of resource-saving. The Ministry of Electro-technical Industry secured an increase in manufacturing output in the 11th Five-Year plan without increasing consumption of basic materials, although here, too, there are still large reserves.

[On the whole, our economy remains, in many respects, an extravagant one. Up to 8,000,000 tonnes of petrol are burned up every year unnecessarily because of lagging behind in the conversion of the lorry fleet to diesel engines. Because of the imperfection of equipment at thermal power stations, we annually overspend more than 20,000,000 tonnes of standard fuel. There are hundreds of thousands of primitive boilerhouses in the country which are using fuel irrationally. Secondary resources are used poorly.]

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Savings in resources should be one of the main directions of investment policy. The problem is to meet 75-80% of the national economy's increased demand for fuel and raw and other materials by making economies in them. This will make it possible to stabilise the share of capital investment directed towards extraction of fuel and raw materials.

In the implementation of investment policy, serious thought, consistency and speedy achievement of national economic results are important. Of course a certain order of priority is inevitable in carrying out some measures or other; but once we have outlined certain tasks, their resolution must be complete, comprehensive, speedy and energetic. The dispersal of capital investment on the principle of 'Ear-rings for every sister' cannot be permitted. In the new Five-Year Plan we must move more decisively towards concentration of capital investment [on the most economical directions].

Let us take the industries of the agro-industrial complex which are required to resolve the tasks set by the Food Programme. Now that we are drafting the basic guidelines for the 12th Five-Year-Plan, it is vital to make provision for reaching the programme's targets. Enormous potential has been created in this sector of the economy. We have achieved here the rational limits of building up capital investment. But the return on it is so far not satisfactory; and one of the reasons for this is poor concentration of sources in decisive sectors, and disproportion in the development of industries. We maintain large herds of stock; but their productivity is low because of a weak fodder base. Quite a lot of equipment is supplied in agriculture and the flow will increase; but the collective and state farms lack the appropriate repair and technical service base. Real conditions now exist for the broad introduction of intensive crop cultivation technology; but the matter is being pursued very slowly. More than once there has been talk of the effectiveness of investment in developing the procurement, storage, transporting and processing of agricultural produce, but there are no perceptible improvements and nearly one-fifth of the harvest grown is lost. These are the matters which the management organs of the country's agro-industrial complex must deal with first.

Comrades, in re-equipping the national economy and carrying out the scientific and technical revolution the commanding, key role belongs to machine building. [Before the end of the 12th Five-Year-Plan period its growth rate should be raised by 50-100%. The task is to make maximum use of available capacities and to modernise this industry as a matter of top priority.]

We are faced with making radical changes to attitudes to the machine-building complex. Whilst the USSR State Planning Committee and other central organs have paid tribute in words to the role of machine-building, for a long time in actual fact they have not been allocating sufficient resources for its development. In the 11th Five-Year plan only about 5% of all capital investment in production was directed to civilian machine-building. One cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that heavy and transport machine building receives 28 times less capital investment than do the industries for which these machines are mainly intended; whilst machine-building for agriculture receives 18 times less; production of machines and equipment for the light and food industry 23 times less; chemical and petroleum machine-building 47 times less.

It is quite justified that a partial redistribution of capital investment ought to be able to be carried out, given the fact that the volumes of capital investment in industries which are consumers of machine-building output are in

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excess to this kind of extent. We ought to return once again to this matter, so that in the years 1986-90 capital investment for the civilian machine-building ministries is increased by 80-100% over the 11th Five-Year Plan. And this would correspond to the interests of the technical re-equipping of our economy. First and foremost, machine building itself must be reconstructed. Its re-equipping requires a sharp increase in the production of modern machine tools, forge and press, foundry, welding and other advanced technical equipment.

The Ministry of Machine-Tool and Tool-Making Industry will not be able to cope with this task alone. Clearly it is essential, following the example of the defence industries, for the output of special equipment for their own needs to be developed on a wide scale within each machine-building ministry. And in general the experience of the defence industries must be fully used. We have begun this work. It has to be continued actively.

[A task of special importance is to start the mass production of new-generation, equipment, capable of assuring a multiple increase in labour productivity and opening the way to the automation of all stages of the production process. It is important to change over to the supply of complete sets of equipment and to organise on a large scale repair and maintenance services by manufacturers.]

As is known, the development of microelectronics, computer technology, instrument making and the whole of information science is the catalyst of present-day scientific and technical progress. [They need to be developed at an accelerated pace.] They exert a decisive influence upon the effectiveness of the means of labour and of the technological systems in all industries. Here are some examples. In the Energiya scientific production association, flexible automated sections equipped with Soviet-manufactured machining centres and computer equipment provide a sixfold increase in labour productivity. Use of automated planning systems in the design bureaus of the aircraft industry has made it possible to raise labour productivity by 200% and to reduce the time taken in planning manufacture by 2.5 years. This is truly new technology which is bringing with it revolutionary changes in production.

[No doubt, a great deal depends not only on increasing output of electronic computers but also on competent use of such computers in the national economy. We have taken major decisions on this score and their fulfilment should be strictly monitored.]

Over the past few years, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have taken a number of major decisions on such key directions of the development of machine building as flexible automated production, rotary and rotary-conveyor lines, the development, production and use of computer technology in the national economy and systems for automated planning. They are directed towards the creation of new technological processes, including automated factories using so-called technology without people. In this way a serious base is being laid for a mighty upsurge in Soviet machine building as the foundation of the technical reconstruction of the national economy. This is the main direction of our development and it must be firmly adhered to, both now and in the future.

[The state of affairs in capital construction should also be assessed from the point of view of accelerating scientific and technical progress. This problem has been on the agenda for many years, but no cardinal improvement has

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yet occurred. This nullifies in many ways our efforts in the field of scientific and technical progress.

[Ineffective technological solutions are often provided in the project designs. Therefore, a sizeable portion of them have to be returned every year for revision. There is a continued dissipation of capital investments and the deadlines on construction work are incredibly prolonged. As a result, even the finest projects become hopelessly outdated. We cannot carry on building in this way any longer. It is necessary to establish order in planning and designing construction, ensure concentration of capital investment and observance of norm deadlines for the completion of construction projects and make construction work a single industrial process.

[The efficiency of the national economy and our growth rates depend in many ways on the structure and quality of materials. In this matter we are so far behind modern requirements. It is known, for instance, that we produce more steel than anyone else and yet we are chronically short of metal. The main reasons for this are insufficiently good quality, limited range of products and, of course, wasteful use. The share of plastics, ceramics and other advanced non-metallic materials in the overall volume is so far small. In the world today there is a real boom in the small-tonnage chemical industry and in production of pure and superpure materials which determine in many respects the level of present-day technology. Therefore it is necessary to double or treble our efforts to prevent ourselves from falling behind.

[The problems of production infrastructure have become acute at the present stage of economic development. The lagging behind in transport, communications, material and technical supplies and other branches leads to great losses. It is necessary to find additional opportunities for solving this acute problem of the national economy.

[The tasks of scientific and technological progress, the speaker went on, require us to take a new approach to all our external economic activities. The country's foreign trade turnover has reached no small figure, R140,000 million. But its growth rates can and must be speeded up and, most importantly, the nature of our exports and imports should be made more advanced.

[Our exports of machinery and equipment have been growing slowly in recent years. There are several reasons for this: both low competitiveness by many of them and insufficient interest on the part of the enterprises in working for export. We must not put up with this any longer. It is necessary in import policy to use more effectively the opportunities offered by the mutually beneficial international division of labour. This refers, of course, above all to our relations with the CMEA countries.

[The speaker raised as a matter of urgency the question of the need to establish better order in the use of imported equipment. As an example of carelessness towards it, mention was made of the work of the USSR Ministry of Petrochemical Industry. Minister Comrade Fedorov gave assurances more than once that he would rectify the shortcomings, but evidently he does not keep his promises. The CPSU Central Committee has given instruction that the matter should be thoroughly investigated and the results of the inquiry reported to the Politburo.

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[The new technical reconstruction of the national economy will require enormous capital investments. Where are we to obtain them? The principled answer to this question is: The measures planned to speed up scientific and technical progress should recoup themselves. Indeed, they are being carried out for the purpose of raising labour productivity and, hence, speeding up the growth of the national income. But this will take a certain time, while the funds are needed immediately. So we cannot do here without manoeuvring with resources, concentrating them on the key sectors.

[The priority task is to mobilise organisational, economic and social factors, introduce order in everything and improve the organisation of production so as to ensure the best use of what the country possesses. At each association and enterprise, at each production unit, it is necessary to identify the areas where it is possible to obtain the maximum effect for the least outlay, or even without any outlay at all. It should be firmly established in the mind of every Soviet citizen that a regime of economy is our road to prosperity and is really the task of tasks. This is a task for the entire Party and the whole people.

[A certain shift towards an improvement in the quality of output - which is the most precise and comprehensive index of scientific and technical progress and of the standard and discipline of labour - has taken place in recent years, the speaker said. But one must admit that the quality, the technical and economic standard, of products remains one of the vulnerable elements of the economy, a source of many difficulties and problems. All this does serious social, economic, moral and political harm. And it is totally impermissible when newly developed equipment turns out to be technically obsolete even at the design stage and does not meet optimum standards of reliability, service life and efficiency. Even products placed in the highest category sometimes do not bear comparison in their parameters with the best world models. There must be stricter observance of the requirements that are to be met when the state quality mark is awarded. Quality of output should be a matter not only of professional but also of national pride.

[The problem of quality, of course, cannot be solved at a stroke. But in this work there can be no justification for any procrastination whatsoever. Nobody has the right to remain on the sidelines - not a single enterprise, not a single designer, production engineer or scientist, not a single worker or collective farmer: in short, not a single work-ing man. The Party will actively support the struggle for the prestige of the Soviet trade mark and will strictly call to account those who take a passive stand and slow down the solution of this very acute problem.]

Comrades, the front line of the struggle to accelerate scientific and technical progress in the national economy runs through science. A mighty scientific and technical potential has been set up in the country. Approximately 5% of national income is set aside for the development of science. The successes of Soviet scientists in various fields of knowledge and technical progress are universally acknowledged. One can be proud of the pioneering achievements in space research, mathematics, mechanics, thermo-nuclear fusion and quantum electronics. Good results have been achieved in such fields as nuclear energy, research into the structure of the Earth's crust - including the world's deepest borehole - the study of the oceans of the world, synthesis of organic compounds, the creation of advanced materials and technical processes. There are certain achievements in genetic and cell engineering capable of revolutionising the

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processes whereby new and high-yielding strains of plants and animals resistant to disease and unfavourable climatic conditions, are reared. We have quite a few first-class institutes, design bureaus and creative cadres. In almost every direction, one finds highly effective scientific and technical research developments, such as rotor-conveyor lines which increase labour productivity many times, automated welding systems, small ultra high-pressure presses, modern forging machines which ensure a substantial reduction in metal waste in the engineering industry, highly effective types of polymer materials, and much else besides.

At the same time, comrades, we can and should obtain incomparably greater effects from science. We should take a new look at the tasks of science, in the light of the requirements of our time; requirements that science be turned decisively towards the needs of social production and that production ought to turn all its attention to and concentrate all its efforts on science. It is from these positions that all links in the chain binding science, technology and production ought to be analysed and strengthened.

The USSR Academy of Sciences, which assembles the best-qualified scientific cadres, is naturally the nucleus of the homeland's scientific potential. Numerous institutes of the Academy are research centres of world standing. However, there is still quite a lot to be done for the work of all institutes to be on a level commensurate with the Academy and to replenish this treasury of knowledge with new discoveries.

The development of pure science must be given priority importance. It is precisely this science that generates ideas, effects breakthroughs in new fields and makes it possible to attain new levels of efficiency. Pure research is a matter too crucial to reconcile oneself to weaknesses or to allow sluggishness and maladroitness in the development of such research.

Academic institutes must be turned around sharply to face the direction of expanding research which is technological in its thrust, and their role and responsibility for creating theoretical foundations for fundamentally new types of equipment and technology must be enhanced. We have abundant traditions in this. One has only to recall the pleiad of Soviet scientists, leaders in the development of technological sciences, Academicians Bardin, Lebedev, Tupolev, Kurchatov and Korolev. There is no doubt that these traditions will be multiplied.

In connection with this, it would not be amiss to examine the possibility of setting up a department for engineering problems. The organisation, within the framework of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of integrated, inter-industry scientific and technical centres based on the experience of the Paton Electric Welding Institute and other scientific establishments is highly effective. Party workers, numerous scientists and specialists are in favour of this. Such centres are capable of being pilot organisations, co-ordinating pure research and the whole of work along the most important, inter-industry, scientific-technical directions.

They could be headed by the most prominent scientists and specialists who have experience of both scientific and organisational work. It is evidently fitting for such centres to have design organisations and experimental enterprises. In this way we would solve the problem of exploiting space and nuclear energy. Renunciation of this valuable experience would be foolish. It

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is already time to place this work on a practical footing. The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for Science and Technology must prepare and submit proposals.

Science in higher education establishments has great reserves at its disposal. For two decades, if not for longer, we have been speaking about the need for efficient use to be made of this tremendous scientific potential and about eliminating bureaucratic divisions between research establishments, establishments of higher education, and production; but the situation is changing only very slowly. According to available assessments, establishments of higher education could increase the volume of scientific research work by 100-150%.

To achieve a decisive increase in the national economic return here we need to change the system of planning, introduce new criteria for assessment, improve the system of levers and incentives and, to achieve real effect, transfer enterprises for the creation of experimental production systems to higher education establishments. We shall gain a twofold advantage. On the one hand, we shall multiply our scientific and technical potential and increase the efficiency of its use. On the other hand, we shall also create conditions for better training of specialists who - right from their study desks - will be attracted on a wide scale to creative work in improving production.

But I would say particularly severe demands must be made of industrial science [must be made of the research establishments of the various ministries. Their performance causes serious complaints.] The state undertakes enormous expenditure in maintaining industrial scientific and technical organisations. More than half the country's scientists are concentrated here, and about 90% of all allocations for research and development is directed here. Hundreds of research establishments, and planning, technical and design organisations come under the authority of industrial ministries alone. The final results of the activity of many of them, from the industry's scientific and technical point of view, are very low. The Ministry of Chemical Industry, for example, has literally become overgrown with a multiplicity of various scientific institutions and experimental production systems. But it is precisely this industry where major shortcomings in developing new materials and equipment have arisen and delays in scientific work have been tolerated.

And it is not only the chemical industry workers who are in this situation. Let us take the All-Union Aluminium and Magnesium Institute of the USSR Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy. Here powerful electrolysis baths for aluminium production were constructed. Now, when more than 350 of them have been produced, it has turned out that as a result of construction faults their fuel consumption greatly exceeds design specifications. Now an extra R1,000,000 is needed to put these installations right.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the main weakness of industrial science lies in its isolation from production. In order to overcome this, many of the industrial institutes and planning and design organisations should - right now - amalgamate with associations of [and] enterprises and thereby strengthen the factory, sector of science. Side by side with this we need to establish in general the extent to which the existing network of industrial scientific establishments and organisations corresponds to modern demands. In the current five-year period, the State Committee for Science and Technology undertook such an attempt, but the work was not carried through.

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It is very important to give new impetus to all work on developing the network of major scientific production associations which should become the real outposts of scientific and technical progress, like the Kriogenmash and Svetlana scientific production associations, and the association for the production of lubricating equipment, and a number of others. At present insufficient attention is being given to this important matter: In a country as huge as ours, there are just 250 of them, and the appropriate conditions have not been created for them.

Raising the effectiveness of science to a great extent depends on the state of the testing, experimental, planning and design base which, it must be frankly said, because of our errors in calculation, has lagged far behind in its development and hampers the introduction of scientific discoveries and developments. The problem of developing the testing base and of supplying scientific apparatus and instruments must be solved, and as quickly as possible. Here we also await specific proposals from the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and other institutions.

The technical creativity of the working people must play a no small role in accelerating scientific and technical progress. It is essential thoroughly to improve work with inventors and rationalisers and find ways of selecting innovations and guaranteeing their speediest introduction. The proposals for creating consultative and introductory (Russian: vnedrencheskiy) organisations, engineering firms and so on merit careful study. The efficacious protection of Soviet inventions must be guaranteed. On the example of Lenin's decree on inventors, and taking into account the experience of other developed countries, we should work out and adopt a USSR Law on Inventions.

[Much will have to be done for research and technical development to yield a speedy and weighty economic result.] The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government expect the country's scientists and all the scientific and technical intelligentsia to take to heart those tasks which are being put forward by the Party, to spare no efforts for accelerating scientific and technical progress. [applause]

Comrades, as you well understand, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress insistently demands a profound reorganisation of the system of planning and management and of the entire economic mechanism. Without this, everything that we are talking about today may remain just fond hopes. We have been going round these problems for many years now; we are sizing up how best to tackle them. But there is little real progress forward. The obstacle, apparently, is dread of blundering, of going for resolute actions, and at times patent conservatism as well. Today, too, we are coming up against essentially the same problems as arose decades ago, but they have become more acute. We are becoming more and more clearly convinced that inertia and going through the motions in this work are no longer tolerable. Serious political and practical conclusions must be drawn from the experience of the past and, without losing time, we must go over to creating a highly efficient system of planning and management.

The main direction in the reorganisation of economic management is clear in principle to us: It lies in the deeper and more comprehensive use of the advantages of the socialist economy. We must advance along the line of further strengthening of [and] development of democratic centralism: Raising the efficiency of the centralising principle in management and planning; significantly expanding the independence and responsibility in management of

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enterprises and associations; active use of more flexible forms and methods of leadership, financial autonomy and goods-money ratios and the whole arsenal of economic levers and stimuli - that is the essence in principle of the reorganisation.

Unity of central and local efforts, diversity and elasticity of socialist management practices and broad development of initiative from the masses are a reliable key to success. In socialist conditions the main criterion for evaluating the work of any link in the economy must be the achievement of the very best final results and the fullest possible satisfaction of society's requirements. The entire system of management and the whole economic machinery must be geared to this. To put it in a nutshell, we must overcome the domination of the consumer by the producer, eradicate shortages of both production resources and objects of consumption, make the economy dynamically balanced and as receptive as possible to scientific and technical progress and ensure that all sections of the national economy have a vital interest in this and that they are inevitably responsible for the application of the latest achievements of science and technology, and for the achievement of top world standards.

You know that the Politburo of the Central Committee is working actively on the solution of these problems. More and more industries are joining in the large-scale economic experiment. But, as we agreed at the April Central Committee plenum, we must move on from the experiment to the establishment of an integrated system of management and administration.

Incidentally, when I was in Leningrad, my attention was drawn to one rejoinder. I have not mentioned this before, but it should be mentioned. When we repeat that we are carrying out an experiment here or there, with this purpose or that and then we say yet again that we are carrying out an experiment, people begin to worry. In Leningrad they are saying: Instead of tackling problems properly, they are hiding from us and making excuses that they are carrying out an experiment. Years and years pass, they say. Experiments are carried out - but nothing changes.

The people know how to get to the bottom of things quickly. They get the essential point quickly. If we spend a year, two years, three years going on about the experiment which we are carrying out, which we have extended to another two or three industries, and so on, but fail to devise an integrated system making it possible to unite our entire national economy in a single organism based on the application of new principles of economic management, no progress will be made. The drawing up of such a system must be completed in a short space of time, so that all branches of the national economy can be converted to new methods of administration and management during the 12th Five-Year Plan. We must start from the top echelons.

The extremely important tasks connected with the scientific and technical revolution demand a substantial improvement in planning and a radical enhancing of the role and responsibility of the USSR State Planning Committee, as the central body responsible for administering the planned economy. We must implement in practice Lenin's stipulation about the transformation of the State Planning Committee into the country's economic science organ, gathering together major scientists and leading specialists. This must be done so that, as Lenin put it, we may have broad plans backed up by equipment and trained science.

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It is time, for example, to change the state of affairs in which the plan for new equipment exists in isolation, as it were, without having a decisive influence on the indices of economic and social development.

[The main reserves for the attainment of the highest effectiveness are to be found where industries overlap. To hope that the State Planning Committee would be able to look into all the chains of inter-industry connections and choose the best variant would be to indulge in illusion. Neither can the ministries cope with this. All this places on the agenda the question of creating bodies for the management of big economic complexes. The role and functions of the ministries should change in the new conditions. They will be able to concentrate their maximum attention on long-term planning and large-scale use of innovations for raising the technical standard of production and products. It is necessary to reduce considerably the administrative staff in industries and abolish superfluous links.]

On the contrary, it must become a kind of supporting structure of the whole plan. The leading place in the plans must be occupied by the qualitative indices which reflect the effectiveness with which the resources are used, the scale on which the output is up-dated and the growth of labour productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. The transfer of planning onto normative methods, both in determining expenditure and in drawing up tasks, based upon effectiveness and satisfaction of social requirements, should be completed. It is precisely this approach which creates the prerequisites for economic activity by enterprises and associations, and which gives an impulse to the initiative and the creative activity of the labour collectives. In this way the transition from administrative to economic methods of economic management will be carried out more quickly.

There is also the matter of the place and role of the Committee for Science and Technology. The CPSU Central Committee receives many critical observations about this organisation. The Council of Ministers must determine the competence of the Committee precisely. Clearly, responsibility must be placed upon the committee for the exercise of control over the scientific and technical level of the industries within the national economy and the conformity of our production with the best world achievements. Without substituting itself for either the planning organs or the ministries, it must concentrate main attention upon forecasting, on choosing and justifying the priority directions for the development of science and technology and the formation of a stock of research and development work as a base for the taking of progressive planning decisions. And this must be served by an integrated programme of scientific and technical progress. [Much has to be done to improve the structure of the republican management bodies, where the number of ministries and departments is far too great and continues to grow. There, the problem of integration and concentration of management is even more ripe than at the union level.]

Comrades^ It has to be said quite definitely that scientific and technical progress will not be speeded up if the role of the basic production link, the association and the enterprise, is not raised and if their activity is not reorientated. The centre of gravity of all operational and economic work has to be removed to the localities, the labour collectives, making the association and the enterprise directly subordinate, as a rule, to the ministries, that is to say, we have to go over to a two-link management system. [The work to be done is not 'patching up holes', not simply merging or splitting organisations or moving staff from one office into another. It is necessary to resolve the

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issues pertaining to the improvement of the organisational structure boldly, with good substantiation and, the main thing, in a comprehensive, and only in a comprehensive manner, from the upper to the lower echelons, both vertically and horizontally.] The activity of every production association will have to be examined from all sides from this point of view, their structures will have to be defined precisely and leaders will have to be singled out who are up to the level of present-day requirements, ones with a powerful scientific and technical potential. They should receive priority development, and be given jurisdiction over those enterprises and organisations which are working less effectively.

Many people remember that at one time, when the associations were being organised, instructions were given that they should be set up on the basis of enterprises irrespective of the departments and territorial units to which these belonged. But in fact associations were created not even within the framework of ministries for particular industries, but within the framework of all-union production associations. Under limited conditions like these, it was naturally not possible to form a rational and effective network of associations. Now the formation of inter-industry associations must be supported in every way. This is a promising thing, as is shown by the experience of the fraternal countries, first and foremost the GDR.

As you see, comrades, life itself has placed on the agenda issues involving the further improvement of the organisational structure of the management of the national economy. What is more, at the meeting at the Party Central Committee this problem - unexpectedly, in our view, but that was indeed at first sight, a superficial view - was raised acutely. And what was it about? And particularly by those enterprises which had begun to go over to the new methods of economic management. But this is what it is about, that the ministries, in their present form, in the way they function, in the way they manage the enterprises and associations which are subordinate to them, have no interest in the economic experiment, and particularly they have no interest in the introduction of those principles upon which we are carrying out the experiment. After all, the main idea is to extend the independence and to raise the responsibility of the enterprise and to achieve high end results. The ministry, with the aid of the State Committee for Labour, the Ministry of Finance and in some cases the State Planning Committee, has tremendous experience and the ability to keep a tight rein on everybody and interpret the resolutions of the Central Committee and the government in such a way that, after their application and all the recommendations, nothing is left of these principles. [applause]

If the ministers are applauding, too, the ice has begun to shift. [laughter and applause]

Readjustment of the organisational structure of management will not give the desired result if it is not organically linked with a strengthening of financial autonomy, and of economic levers and incentives. We need a mechanism which really ensures advantages to labour collectives seeking success in speeding up scientific and technical progress. We need a mechanism which makes the output of obsolete and inefficient goods unprofitable, and economically punishes both the management and the labour collective, and in the final analysis leads to a deterioration in the indices of the enterprise's work.

Special advantages should be granted to collectives which produce the best and most competitive goods, and compete successfully in the world market. Such collectives should have at their disposal more funds for production and social

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development and for wages. It is essential to improve substantially the whole system of enterprises' incentives for the production of goods for the export market. To this end it is necessary first of all to adopt measures increasing the influence of the consumer on the technical level and quality of output. The consumer's opportunity to select the best goods could be extended by arranging contests between manufacturing enterprises, by development, concurrent with accumulation, of the resources of wholesale trade, and enhancing the role of direct links and economic contracts.

Second, price-setting must be fundamentally improved, so that it can foster the successful implementation of economic policy and the speedier introduction of every-thing new and progressive, and absolutely compel managers to constantly improve equip-ment and technology and resolve on a daily basis tasks of resource-saving and strictly observe the regime of economising. Here, things are far from all being resolved. How often has it been said that prices for the best and highly efficient goods should guarantee higher profitability, and make worse and inefficient goods unprofitable.

Third, we must in practice transfer associations and enterprises onto complete financial autonomy and sharply reduce the number of centrally set plan assignments. Scientific and technical progress requires more freedom and flexibility in adopting decisions at the level of the association and enterprise, for the introduction of advanced technology is organically linked with the selection of options, quick reaction to new things and an interest in the final result. So far associations and enterprises do not have full control over their financial resources and cannot independently choose the most rational ways of running their affairs or of heightening efficiency.

During the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with managers of enterprises, some comrades displayed a collection of plan indices from the platform. These are thick books, comrades. Furthermore, it turned out that each ministry, and even each all-union production association, arbitrarily includes many unnecessary indices in its plans. It is time to impose order in this field by legislative means and establish a strict list of indices built into the plan. The activities of enterprises and associations must be regulated to an ever greater extent by economic norms. In making associations and enterprises more responsible for raising the technical standard of production and the quality of output, we must give them the opportunity to earn for themselves the necessary wherewithal for this and manage these funds independently, by relaxing the restrictions on their right to make use of development funds, amortisation deductions, additional profit and credit. All that is important is to ensure that modern equipment and contracts for construction and assembly work get priority in the allocation of funds from these sources and that the established procedures for the use of foreign currency deductions derived from the delivery of export production are adhered to.

A certain amount has already been accomplished in this field during the large-scale economic experiment. The opportunities of associations and enterprises have been expanded somewhat. But to a significant extent they still have not been able to implement their ideas because plan and finance bodies, ministries and all-union production associations have made use of production development funds conditional on so many additional requirements that they have basically nullified the rights of enterprises.

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Fourth, we must establish a close relationship between the results of a collective's work and the system for the remuneration of labour. At the moment the level of remuneration hardly depends at all on efficiency, on whether good or bad output is produced. But there must be a direct link here. Basically, it is a matter of extending the principles of collective contracting to the activities of associations and enterprises. It is important to be more bold about widespread creation of enlarged, integrated and financially autonomous teams in all industries, teams which are geared towards the final results of production. In the years immediately ahead they must be turned into the main form of management at enterprises and organisations.

It has become essential to impose order in the use of funds for the payment of bonuses to work collectives and employees for successes in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the rapid application of the latest achievements. Our system of material incentives is extremely confused, cumbersome and inefficient. There are dozens of different forms of incentive existing side by side. Many have already become accustomed to the fact that bonuses are frequently regarded as some kind of mechanical addition to wages and paid to everybody without exception, regardless of the contribution made by a specific employee to the results achieved. Wage levelling flourishes in these circumstances. The stimulating role of the bonus is lost. The State Committee for Labour and Social Problems and the AUCCTU must investigate this matter and make well-founded recommendations.

Proposals for widespread application of new management methods have now been prepared. They envisage additional measures aimed at raising the efficiency of production and the quality of output and, in particular, accelerating scientific and technical progress. These measures will shortly be examined by the Politburo.

Everything which is out-of-date must be boldly eliminated so that a, so to speak, 'cost-conscious' economic mechanism can start operating at full capacity - an economic mechanism which will stimulate economic development and, literally, rap the knuckles of sloppy economic planners, those who like to extract as large an amount of resources and capital investment from the state as possible and give as little as possible back.

In other words, there is very serious work to be done on improving the system of management and administration. We cannot postpone the implementation of this work, since we realise that unless we create new economic and organisational conditions, there can be no real acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Comrades, in speaking today about Party work, I address myself, first and foremost, to the secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics, to kray and oblast committees and to all Communists. I would like to stress yet again: Times have changed. They are making new demands of Party activity, of its style, methods and results, and hence of cadres. Party work deals with the decisive factor in all changes - the human factor. From this springs its main directive, that of bringing about a change in the minds and attitudes of cadres from top to bottom and concentrating attention on the most important issue, scientific and technical progress.

The whole experience of the Party says that there is little that can be changed in the economy, management or education if a psychological

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readjustment is not made, if the desire and the ability to think and to work in a new way is not produced. A simple truth, it would appear, but it is one that our cadres - and not just our cadres in the economy - are recognising still only with difficulty and with caution. But it has to be said, comrades, that in this case we are talking about a long-term, political line. And not one of the problems that we are obliged to solve to-day can be put off until tomorrow. One can- not linger. One cannot wait, for there is no time left for warming up, it has all been exhausted in the past. Movement must be ahead only, and must build up speed.

Present-day approaches to social and economic, scientific and technical and ideological and educational problems must be stimulated in every way. I would say that understanding of the situation must be deepened and the spirit of self-criticism and of a businesslike attitude must be strengthened. The determining factor is the attitude and the atmosphere which the Party organisations are capable of creating everywhere - the strength of the Party barrier against all manner of backwardness, departmental and parochial distortions, against bad management and squandering. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress requires a cardinal change in the situation which has come about with engineering and technical and with scientific cadres.

Of late, the CPSU Central Committee has been approached on this issue by Academicians (?Muromtsev), Prokhorov, Ishlinskiy, Tuchkevich and other comrades. They express well-founded alarm about the state of training of the new shift of scientists, about the fall in the prestige of engineers, the reduction in the flow of talented young people into the field of technical and scientific activity. All this is linked in no small measure with serious shortcomings in the training and use of specialist cadres and with distortions in the payment of their labour. Clearly, the time has come when a serious reorganisation of higher and secondary specialised education is necessary. Measures to raise the social recognition of the labour of the scientist and engineer, to intensify the creative initiatives within it, raise the extent to which he is technically equipped and introduce the automation of technological and planning and design work should be thought over.

What lies ahead is, raising the personal interest of scientific and engineering and technical workers in the results of labour, stimulating good-quality fulfilment of jobs by fewer employees and on this basis raising their level of pay. The first steps in this direction, as you know, have already been undertaken by the Central Committee and the government.

Taking into account the rapid renovation of the conditions of modern production, systematic work in retraining management and scientific and technical cadres acquires particular urgency. It is essential to improve training and retraining of workers, especially in new specialisations which are coming into being in the course of the implementation of scientific and technical progress. It is essential to prepare such measures without delay. These measures must be combined with a significant expansion in the sphere of the use of qualified labour and a cut-back in zones of unskilled, heavy and harmful work.

We need to strengthen Party influence on the whole course of scientific and technical progress, fortify the Party stratum in its key sections and pay more attention to work within the collectives of scientific research and planning and design organisations, technological services and scientific and technical

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societies.

Experience shows that a successful form of Party guidance of scientific and technical progress is provided by the councils for promoting scientific and technical progress at the central committees of the union republican, communist parties and kray, oblast and town Party committees.

I would like to speak about the Party organisations of ministries. Obviously, the reasons for the many shortcomings and errors we are talking about lie hidden in the fact that the Party committees of ministries have here and there lost their political acumen in perceiving and dealing with the most important socio-economic issues and have backed away from their monitoring functions - a right with which they are endowed by the CPSU Rules.

It is difficult to believe that the Party organisations of ministries where things are not going smoothly do not see the shortcomings and the reserves for improving matters. The Party committee of ministries, being plenipotentiary representatives of the Party, are obliged to stir themselves sharply, raise good order and responsibility in the collectives and get to grips specifically, from Party positions, with the cardinal issues of the development of various industries.

To tell you frankly, instances do not come to mind where any Party organisation from any ministry has raised the matter of the state of affairs in the industry on a level of principle before the CPSU Central Committee. They do not come to mind. The new technology will be dead without new attitudes to labour and discipline and without a high level of work standards. A decisive turn of the national economy towards acceleration of scientific and technical progress demands equally decisive measures in strengthening organisation and order in all the sections of production and management. Demandingness and again demandingness, that is the most important thing which is dictated to us by the situation which has arisen.

Weightier words must also be said by communists working in the organs of the people's control. The situation demands that the socialist system of people's control should work more actively, that it should tackle major socio-economic problems that it should not allow managers who have stopped caring about state affairs to take life easy.

A broad field of activity - specific and responsible - is also open before ideological and propaganda work. It is essential to underpin all our tasks, as Lenin taught, with a sufficiently broad and sturdy base of conviction and to interest millions and millions of working people in it. Scientific and technical progress is a vitally important matter. It is in the interests of all, it allows all to reveal broadly their gifts and talent. We are counting upon a high level of creative activity and skill on the part of our working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, engineers and scientists. We expect particularly a great deal from young people, their energy and their inquisitive mind and their interest in everything new and front-ranking. Ideological and political education in all its forms must be linked as closely to life as possible and the tasks in speeding up social and economic development of our homeland. Herein lies the essence of the changes which we have to make today in our ideological work. And there must be more energetic action in this direction, without loss of time.

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[Then the speaker touched upon current issues of economic activity. He pointed out that the working people of the country are faced with the important task of successfully completing the current year and the Five-Year Plan period as a whole. It is important for the Party organisations to have concern for an all-round increase in the production of fuel and other raw materials for industry, organise timely and high quality agricultural work and harvest and preserve the whole of the crop. The point is that the country should enter the new Five-Year Plan period having plenty in hand and in an organised manner.]

Comrades, we are faced with a mass of things to do, innovatory things, things on a large scale, difficult things. Will we be able to cope with them? The Central Committee is confident that we shall be able to do so. It is our duty to cope, but this will require of each one of us much brainwork, hard labour and immense self-discipline, deliberateness and organisation. It is not part of the Party's tradition, and it is not in the nature of Soviet people to fear the complexity of tasks, withdraw in the face of difficulties or become weak and complacent, particularly at crucial and responsible moments in the life of the country. When the republic of the Soviets was taking its first steps towards socialism in an incredibly difficult situation, Lenin wrote with confidence: 'We shall find a way out, for we do not embellish our situation. We know all the difficulties, we see all the maladies and are treating them systematically and persistently, without getting into a panic.' And today, a deep faith in the creative strength of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and in the lofty moral spirit and will of the people, nourishes the Party's optimism. But optimism does not release anyone from work. We will have to work solidly.

The policy of the CPSU is actively supported by the whole of society. Soviet people link great hopes with the ideas, initiatives and plans which the Party is bringing to its 27th Congress. It is the duty of the Party of Communists to justify them, to show that we are taking up the matter in a serious way. We have sufficient strength and firmness to enable us to ensure that words and deeds do not differ, relying upon the living creativity of the people and strengthening the alliance between science and labour. In politics and in life, that is the main thing. [applause]

[Announcer] At the conference speeches were made by Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CP of Ukraine Central Committee; Comrade (?Kabaidze), director-general of Ivanovo machine-tool production association; Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Academician Velikhov, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Comrade Grishin, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of Moscow City Party Committee; Comrade (?Buderkin), director-general of the Omskshina production association; Comrade Zaykov, First Secretary of Leningrad Oblast Party committee; Comrade Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CP of Georgia Central Committee; Comrade (?Bugakov), Chairman of the Bolshevik collective farm, Ordynskoye Rayon, Novosibirsk Oblast; Comrade Vedernikov, First Secretary of Chelyabinsk Oblast CPSU Committee; and Comrade Shkabardnya, Minister of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems.

The conference will continue its work on 12th June.

[Video note: The following were observed to be present in the body of the hall: Baybakov, Talyzin, Dymshits, Smirnov, Nuriyev, Shcherbina, Ryabov,

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Martynov, Marchuk (First Deputy and Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers); Menteshashvili. Griskevicius, Afanasyev ('Pravda' Editor in-Chief); Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation; Mishin, First Secretary of Komsomol Central Committee; Army Gen Shabanov, Deputy Defence Minister. Academicians Basov and Paton; and Stukalin, head of the propaganda department of the CPSU Central Committee.]

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Text of report of Gorbachev's speech

BODY:

The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers today gave a dinner in the Great Kremlin Palace in honour of the SRV Party and Government delegation led by Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee. Present at the dinner on the Soviet side were Comrades Gorbachev, Aliyev, Vorotnikov, Grishin, Gromyko, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Tikhonov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Kuznetsov, Ponomarev, Sokolov, Zimyanin, Kapitonov, Nikonov and Rusakov, and other officials. [Tass (in Russian for abroad 1535 gmt 28 Jun 85) added the names of Chebrikov, Khalilov and Arkhipov.]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a speech at the dinner. He said [announcer-read]:

Dear Comrade Le Duan, dear Vietnamese friends, comrades, it is with keen satisfaction that we welcome the visit to our country of an SRV Party and government delegation led by Comrade Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee. We are convinced that the visit will mark another important step in the all-round development and deepening of Soviet-Vietnamese fraternity and co-operation.

Soviet-Vietnamese friendship has deep roots and firm traditions. Standing at its source was President Ho Chi Minh, a great son of the Vietnamese people and a big friend of our country. This friendship has stood the test of time and been tempered both in the grim years of war and in the every-day life of peace.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and Vietnam march hand-in-hand, jointly tackling the tasks of building socialism and communism and upholding the cause of peace and international security as one body.

We have held thorough and intense talks. As before, they were marked by a cordial and truly comradely atmosphere. Both in the Soviet Union and in Vietnam, work has got under way on a large scale now to prepare for the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress. This lends special political significance to our exchange of opinions.

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I think we may be glad about the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations. Based on such a reliable foundation as the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, they have now reached a high level and become an inalienable part of the social life of our two countries.

Much attention was paid in the course of our conversations to economic co-operation. The Soviet Union and Vietnam fully desire to tap even more actively the considerable potential they have to deepen their interaction in this field and make it more effective.

We are sure that this shared political will is going to be fully embodied in the implementation of practical measures to carry out jointly the long-term programme for developing economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and the SRV and in the co-ordination of our national economic development plans for 1986-90.

The problems of scientific and technological progress occupied an important place at the talks. Both sides are sure that it is only along these lines that it will be possible to carry out social and economic tasks consistently and consolidate the positions of socialism still further. Each fraternal socialist country is making a contribution of its own to the fulfilment of these strategic tasks.

The talks confirmed that the fraternal links between the Soviet Union and Vietnam rest on the firm and tried and tested foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and meet the fundamental interests and aspirations of our peoples and the interests of world peace.

Comrades, this year the people of our countries and all progressive people on Earth are directing their thoughts again and again to the 40th anniversary of the great victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The lessons of the second world war remind mankind of how important and how vital peace is. The value of peace is especially great now that another world war would spell disaster for humanity. This is why it is so imperative to take urgent and effective measures to remove the nuclear threat from the life of present and future generations, prevent the arms race from spreading into space and stop it on Earth and turn inter-national relations onto the tracks of equitable and mutually advantageous co-operation.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community, their ideas and proposals and their broad package of peace initiatives have been dictated by concern for preserving peace on Earth. Peaceful coexistence, the equal and dependable security of the sides, the lowering of the levels of military confrontation and world military-political tension as a whole, and the prevention of hegemonism in any form - this is what we want and what we are seeking to ensure.

A big contribution to improving the state of affairs in the world would undoubtedly be made if in its largest and most populous part, namely Asia and the Pacific, political awareness prevailed of the acute need to move towards normalising the situation. So far, regrettably, it has not.

One cannot but see that the USA has of late visibly stepped up its military preparations in that region. It is encouraging revanchist trends in the policy

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of the ruling quarters of Japan and pressing on with the forging of a militaristic alliance of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul.

Washington is striving to involve the countries of the region in the implementation of its global military-political plans, including the notorious 'Pacific doctrine', it is interfering in the affairs of sovereign peoples and is obstructing the settlement of problems through talks. The spearhead of this policy is directed against the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other socialist states in Asia and against Afghanistan and Kampuchea, but by its very essence it threatens all peoples in the Asia-Pacific region.

Naturally enough, such peace-endangering actions cannot but give rise to alarm on the part of the countries of the region, and sometimes to legitimate counter-measures.

The policy of the Soviet Union corresponds to the desire of the peoples for peace and co-operation. We stand for eliminating the hotbeds of conflict and oppose the imperialist policy leading to further dangerous destabilisation of the situation.

Our country is prepared resolutely to cut the knots that we have not tied, Comrade Gorbachev said. For example, we are for reducing the level of confrontation in medium-range nuclear systems. We have declared on more than one occasion that should corresponding agreement be reached in Europe, we would scrap the number of medium-range missiles in the European part of the country on which accord had been reached. We have also stated our consent to freezing the number of missiles in the Asian part of the Soviet Union, of course, on condition that the American side does not take action leading to a change in the strategic situation in the region. The Soviet Union would not be against discussing this problem with Asian and Pacific states having similar systems, with a view to limiting and subsequently reducing these systems, it goes without saying, on the basis of reciprocity.

We recently put forward the idea of holding, in the future, an All-Asia forum to exchange opinions and search jointly for constructive solutions. The first responses to this proposal indicate that there is gravitation towards such an exchange of opinions.

Certainly, there are difficulties as well. Not everybody likes such a vigorous raising of the issue. There are forces which have given a hostile reception to the idea. But we have no lack of good will, patience and persistence. We urge all interested countries in the continent to display supreme political wisdom and get down seriously to the fundamental problems of consolidating peace and security.

We are convinced that Asia can and must become a continent of peace and good neighbourliness. It is only in conditions of genuine peace and stability that the countries of the region can solve successfully the difficult tasks of social and economic development facing them.

This goal is served by the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union, the countries of Indochina and other socialist countries, including the proposals for working out confidence-building measures in the Far East and concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific. The initiatives of India and a number of

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other non-aligned countries go in the same direction as these efforts.

Normalising of the Soviet Union's and Vietnam's relations with the People's Republic of China would undoubtedly help strengthen the foundations of peace in Asia and beyond it. Both the Soviet and the Vietnamese governments have already made constructive proposals on this score. A positive response to them would help to bring down many of the real obstacles standing in the way of establishing good neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations in the region.

The Soviet Union proceeds as before, from the fact that in South-East Asia there are no problems that cannot be settled by political means at the negotiating table. This is why we fully support the consistent efforts undertaken by Vietnam, jointly with Laos and Kampuchea, to establish relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation in South-East Asia and make the region a zone of peace and stability. The Soviet Union will continue facilitating any steps in this direction in every way.

Comrades, the day is not far off when the working people of Vietnam will be marking the 40th anniversary of South-East Asia's first state of workers and peasants. The Soviet people see this glorious anniversary as a big holiday of their own, too. It is highly symbolic that on the threshold of this date it has been decided to erect a monument in Moscow to the patriot and internationalist Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the CPV and the Vietnamese socialist state.

The Soviet people have always been in solidarity with fraternal Vietnam and given it all-round backing and assistance. The Vietnamese communists and all working people in the SRV may rest assured that the cause of building socialism on Vietnamese soil and the cause of Vietnam's freedom and independence will continue to have firm support in our solidarity. The policy of strengthening Soviet-Vietnamese friendship and co-operation is a principled policy of our Party and country.

Permit me to wish to the communists and all working people of the SRV, guided by their tried and tested vanguard, the CPV, that they worthily honour the forthcoming sixth CPV Congress with fresh successes in building a powerful and flourishing Vietnam, a reliable outpost of socialism in Asia.

I wish sound health and successes to Comrade Le Duan, General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee, the members of the Party and government delegation and all Vietnamese and Soviet comrades present here.

May indestructible Soviet-Vietnamese friendship develop and grow ever stronger, Comrade Gorbachev said in concluding his speech. (b) VNA in English 0751 gmt 29 Jun 85 Text of 'full translation' of Le Duan's speech:

Esteemed Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, dear Soviet and Vietnamese comrades, on behalf of the Vietnamese Party and government delegation, I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, for inviting our delegation to pay an official friendship visit to the Soviet Union as well as for the warm welcome and reception they have given us.

I would like to express my gratitude to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev for his fine words and warm feelings about the Vietnamese Party and people as well as about the late President Ho Chi Minh, who painstakingly fostered the fraternal

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friendship and close co- operation between our two Parties and countries.

The world people have just joined us in celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and militarism. Over the past four decades, the nations have witnessed the marvellous successes recorded by the Soviet Union, the socialist community and other revolutionary forces, achievements which opened opportunities to establish lasting peace and brought a better life to peoples.

However, mankind continues living in a troubled atmosphere. The policy of confrontation, the escalation of the arms race and the use of force conducted by the bellicose circles of imperialism, especially in the USA, are aggravating the danger of nuclear war and generating seats of tension and conflicts in many areas.

In such a situation, all conscious people highly appreciate the persistent struggle waged and the great efforts made by the Soviet Union to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and preserve world peace as well as the Soviet Union's support for peoples taking the road of independence, freedom and social progress.

The USSR, together with other socialist countries, consistently advances constructive peace initiatives and proposals full of good will and a high sense of responsibility. The CPV and the government of the SRV strongly support these initiatives.

Vietnam warmly welcomes the extension of the term of operation of the Warsaw Treaty, the appeal made on 9th May 1985 by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the ending of the second world war.

Vietnam supports the Soviet Union's principled foreign policy and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals on ending the production and deployment of nuclear and space arms and on the maintenance of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region.

The increasing strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community constitutes a decisive factor for the struggle for peace and social progress. The Vietnamese people are extremely elated at the great achievements recorded by the fraternal Soviet people as well as the Soviet Union's determination to bring about within a short time a decisive turn in shifting to in-depth development of the national economy, take up the most advanced scientific-technological positions, to raise labour productivity to the world's top levels and to perfect developed socialism in all fields.

Dear comrades, under the leadership of the CPV, the Vietnamese people have recorded important achievements in carrying out two strategic tasks set by the Fifth Party Congress.

In national construction, signal success has been obtained [in] the transform- ation of the national economy along socialist lines.

Agriculture and industry have been restored and are being developed to gradually meet the people's urgent needs. Many socialist projects have been built with great assistance from the Soviet Union, and a number of them have

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been put into use.

Considerable progress also has been made in science, technology, culture, education and public health care. Significant initial changes have been recorded in the social and economic fields. While affirming our achievements, we are fully aware of the difficulties and shortcomings to be surmounted, especially in [the] socio-economic field.

We are focussing efforts on taking agricultural production a step further to large-scale socialist production, and on building the material [and] technical basis, on stepping up the industrialisation of our country, which is the central, key task in the period of transition to socialism. We have gradually renovated the system of management and planning in order to make the economic activities more dynamic and effective and to put into effect the working people's right to collective mastership over society.

Over the past 10 years, the Vietnamese revolution has advanced steadily, surmounting all difficulties and trials caused by the expansionists and hegemonists who are teaming up with the imperialists and their reactionary lackeys. The enemy's border war and multifaceted war of sabotage have obviously failed. The militant solidarity between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea has been strengthened and has become stronger than ever. It is in our vital interest to struggle for the respect of the independence and sovereignty of each Indochinese country.

We desire the establishment of good-neighbourly relations among South-East Asian countries, we stand for dialogue instead of confrontation so as to turn South-East Asia into a region of peace, stability and co-operation.

With regard to the People's Republic of China, we want to end the present tension, restore the time-honoured tradition between the two nations and re-establish normal and good-neighbourly relations.

Dear Comrades, for Vietnam, the Soviet Union has always been an example of revolutionary struggle, a source of inspiration in its endeavour to build a new life, the image of a bright future and a symbol of proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union has given Vietnam wholehearted, effective and precious support and assistance throughout the two resistance wars in the past and in the building of socialism and national defence at present. Without the great victory of the Soviet Union and its assistance to Vietnam, our country would not have obtained such brilliant achievements as today.

We take this opportunity to express our most profound gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet state and people. We warmly thank the Soviet workers men and women, collective farmers, engineers and project-managers, teachers, scientists and artists for what they have done and are doing for Vietnam.

The Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed on 3rd November 1978 has played a very important role and constitutes a long-term and steady basis for the development of relations between the two parties, states and peoples on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The meetings and exchanges of opinions in the spirit of fraternal comradeship and mutual trust between Party and state leaders of our two countries have become a fine tradition.

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The talks and the meetings held today by our delegation and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet Party and state leaders, and the signing of the Vietnam-USSR joint statement - a document of importance - show the complete identity of views between our two Parties and states on the vital issues concerning our two countries' relations as well as on international questions of mutual concern.

I am confident that our delegation's visit is a new important landmark in the development and enhancement of the all-round co-operation between Vietnam and the USSR.

On this jubilant day, I would like to express my greetings to the glorious CPSU and the great people of the USSR. I wish:

outstanding achievements to the fraternal Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union in the perfection of developed socialism and in the emulation movement to fulfil the 26th Party Congress resolutions, in anticipation of the 27th CPSU Congress^

lasting peace in the world^

unbreakable friendship, militant solidarity and multiform co-operation between our two Parties and states^

the best of health to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet Party and state leaders^

good health to all Soviet and Vietnamese comrades present here^

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The Associated Press

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July 2, 1985, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 1123 words

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Gorbachev Text

BODY:

The following is the text in English of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech Tuesday in nominating Andrei Gromyko as president as translated by the official Soviet news agency Tass:

We are to elect a president of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

The plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee discussed the issue yesterday.

As you know, starting from 1977, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee simultaneously held the post of president of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

One should say that it was justified in the conditions of that time to combine in one person the highest posts in the party and the state. The past period saw an invigoration of legislative and other activity of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, an improvement in the work of Soviets at local levels and an intensification of control over administrative bodies.

At the same time, the Central Committee took into account that the solution of the new tasks that are now emerging calls for amendments both in the content and in the forms and methods of party and state activity, to the appointment of cadre both in the center and at local level.

The country is living through a responsible period. We are setting forth a strategic course for the immediate and distant future, and drafting a new edition of the party program to be adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress (Soviet Communist Party).

We are facing a whole complex of major tasks. You know them. These are transition to the tracks of intensive development of the economy; restructuring of production; introduction of effective forms of management, organization and stimulation of labor; further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people; and consolidation of the country's defense capability.

At present, when we see better our prospects, it is organizational work, invigoration of the activity of all links of the Soviet political system and mobilization of the masses for the solution of the set tasks which are moving

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to the foreground. All this implies a further consolidation of the party's leading role in society, and demands greater intensity in the work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and its political bureau (Politburo).

Under these concrete conditions and with due account taken of the tasks of the present stage, the plenum of the CPSU (Communist Party) Central Committee found it advisable that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee should concentrate to the maximum on organizing the work of party central organs and pooling the efforts of all party, public and state organizations for a successful implementation of the charted course.

In this connection, the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and the party group of the Supreme Soviet instructed me to submit for your consideration a proposal, supported by the councils of elders of the two chambers, for electing comrade Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

MORE S.R. Andrei Andreyevich's name is widely known both in our country and abroad. An eminent politician, one of the oldest party members, he is making a considerable contribution to formulating and implementing our home and foreign policies.

His deep knowledge and multifarious experience are combined with principledness and consistency in pursuing the line worked out by us. The party and people highly appreciate his services in implementing the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

I think we have every ground to believe that Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko will fulfill with credit the functions involved in directing the work of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

As was pointed out by the July plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the party will continue to pursue the line of intensifying the activity of the Supreme Soviet, of enhancing the role of the Soviets (local parliaments) and increasing their responsibility for the state of affairs in every region, every city and village. They should organically combine functions of decision-making of state importance, organizing the execution of these decisions and monitoring their implementation.

We stress again and again that the Soviets at all levels are called upon to use much more fully and more consistently the rights they have. They should hold in their field of vision all spheres of public life.

Special attention should be given to meeting the diverse needs and requirements of the working people. It is necessary that the Soviets do even more to fulfill the food program adopted in 1982 to boost agricultural output, to resolve the task of improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population of every republic, territory and region by mobilizing local potentials and reserves.

It is important that the Soviets become fully involved in the organization of the production of consumer goods by all industrial enterprises irrespective of the department to which they belong.

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The Soviets are to apply even greater effort in the center and at local levels to resolve social problems, to meet the population's cultural requirements and to educate working people.

We should use better the constitutional powers and extensive practical potentialities of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet for considering cardinal issues of the country's life, for controlling administrative bodies.

Many tasks are to be resolved by the Supreme Soviet in the field of perfecting legislation. Firm legality is an integral part of socialist democracy, of the strict observance of the principle of social justice.

Our public life today, as never before, is characterized by the political activity of Soviet people who advance numerous proposals on matters of politics, economics and other spheres in the life of society, who sharply react to any shortcomings. This is precisely a manifestation of genuine democracy, the embodiment of what we describe as socialist self-government of the people.

So, very much is still to be done in the field of improving the work of the Soviets and strengthening legality. The role of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, its president, should be weighty and active in this respect.

Taking all this into account, comrade deputies, I submit for your consideration the following draft resolution:

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics resolves:

To elect Deputy Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko president of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

It is also proposed that the resolution relieving Andrei Gromyko of the duties of first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the U.S.S.R. be adopted.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

July 29, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/8015/A1/1

LENGTH: 852 words

HEADLINE: World Youth Festival Opens: Speeches by Gorbachev and Mishin

SOURCE: (b) Soviet television and Moscow home service 1528 gmt 27 Jul 85

Text of relay of speech by Mikhail Gorbachev

BODY:

Dear friends^ Honoured guests^ On behalf of the people of our country, I welcome you to Moscow, the capital of the USSR. [applause] I congratulate you on the opening of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students. [applause]

Such festivals are always a big holiday, a big international event. A holiday, because young representatives of all continents and people of diverse world outlooks and national traditions meet. They meet in order to share the best of everything in the spiritual treasury of every people, and they thereby open up the shortest way to mutual understanding and friendship. Soviet people genuinely rejoice in this meeting and their hearts are open to you. [applause]

But, of course, festivals are not just a holiday. The problems of life affect and worry young people no less acutely than they do the older generation. With all the ardour of youth, they go into battle for social justice and genuine freedom, so that the boons of the Earth and the boons of civilisation might be available to all; so that violence and racialism, injustice and oppression, militarism and aggression might disappear from the life of man and mankind.

Tomorrow's world, the world of the next century - this is your world, dear friends. And what sort of a world this will be is to a great degree determined by your intentions and deeds today.

Here in the homeland of the great Lenin you can feel immediately how deeply devoted our young people are to the noble ideals of humanity, peace and socialism. I think that we are all agreed that mankind has at present no more important or urgent task than to guard and strengthen peace. We are committed to this both by concern for the future and by the memory of the past.

Your forum is taking place in the year of the 40th anniversary of the rout of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism and the end of the second world war, that most bloody and cruel war. After it there remained so much suffering and grief that they have been affecting the life of several generations and urgently require of us that we should not allow a repetition of such a calamity.

Nor will the peoples forget that 40 years ago the world shuddered from the first atomic explosion; the echo of this explosion calls to the conscience and

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reason of every honest man. And everyone must ask himself - what has he done in order that nuclear weapons are never used again, either on earth or in space, in order that they should be removed completely and for ever; everyone must ask, and do everything that he can for our common home, the planet Earth.

Unfortunately, and you know this, reactionary forces are still active to whom war and the arms race bring enormous profits. These forces would like to turn the course of history back, to preserve their power and their privileges, and to dictate their will to the peoples.

As for the Soviet Union, I would like once more quite definitely to say that a world without wars and weapons, a world of good-neighbourly relations and honest co-operation, a world of freindship amongst the peoples - this is the ideal of socialism and the goal of our policy.

We - [applause] we set ourselves the task of ending the arms race and we are advocating, not by words but by deeds, the most radical solution of the problem of nuclear weapons - their total banning and destruction. We are in favour of the efforts and the energy of people, of the genius of mankind being directed not towards the creation of more and more new means of destruction, but towards the liquidation of famine, poverty and disease, towards the goals of prosperity and peaceful development.

We are against the policy of threats and violence; against trampling on human rights, and above all, such sacred rights as the right to live, the right to work; against the liberated and developing countries being turned into a source of enrichment for monopolies; and against them being used as military bases and bridgeheads of aggression. We are saying openly and clearly that the Soviet Union is on the side of those who are fighting for freedom, national independence and social justice. [applause]

Dear friends, Soviet people are engaged in peaceful and creative work. We have achieved a lot, we have built a lot but there is even more still to be done. Soviet young people have areas in which they can apply their skills and their knowledge. We value high their contribution to the cause of the Soviet people today and we are firmly convinced that our young people will continue to justify with honour their lofty destiny, that of continuing the building of a new society. [applause]

You, participants in the festival, young men and women, personify the spring of mankind, progress and the hopes of all peoples. So let us fight persistently for a present and a future for mankind which is without wars, without violence and oppression. May the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students become a convincing demonstration of solidarity and adherence to peace and friendship between the peoples. I wish you success and happiness. [applause]

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Summary of World Broadcasts

September 23, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; B. INTERNAL AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/8063/B/1

LENGTH: 6125 words

HEADLINE: Gorbachev Addresses Stakhanovites and Front-Rankers

SOURCE: Moscow home service (i) 1600 gmt 20 and (ii) 1500 gmt 21 Sep 85

(i) Text of report of speech, 'Unfading traditions of a labour exploit'

BODY:

A large group of veterans of the Stakhanovite movement and front-rankers of all-union socialist competition was invited to the CPSU Central Committee today. Here they were met by Comrades Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Dolgikh, Ponomarev, Zaykov, Zimyanin, Kapitonov, Nikonov and Rusakov.

Opening the meeting, Comrade Gorbachev cordially congratulated the veterans of the Soviet working class and the successors to their labour glory in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement. He warmly congratulated production front-rankers and innovators who have just been awarded the lofty title of Hero and Twice Hero of Socialist Labour for their outstanding successes in socialist competition and their great personal contribution to the struggle for fulfilment ahead of schedule of the tasks of the Five-Year Plan period. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made a speech to those present. He said: [announcer-read]:

Dear comrades, permit me, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to greet you heartily, veteran Stakhanovites who have been at the source of a movement which has embodied the valour, honour and heroism of the working man; and you production front-rankers and innovators, who are worthily continuing the unfading traditions of the labour exploit. There is a good reason for our meeting. Half a century has passed since the day when the Stakhanovite spark of labour upsurge fired the multi-million strong movement of working people. I think that it will be right for us not merely to recall the exciting events of those years, but to consider too how best to use the mobilising possibilities of socialist competition to solve the urgent tasks of the present day.

The importance of the Stakhanovite movement is great and permanent. In it has been made manifest in a brilliant way the creative principle which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin saw perspicaciously in the experience of the first communist subbotniks: the deliberate and voluntary initiative of the workers in the development of labour productivity, the transition to new labour discipline and the creativity of socialist conditions of economy and life. What a deep and wide-ranging definition, comrades, so greatly in keeping with the tasks of our own crucial times^

The Stakhanovite movement was born during unforgettable years. The young Soviet state, literally outdistancing time, was carrying out industrialisation

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at a rapid pace. Labour efficiency had to be raised rapidly, new forms of labour organisation had to be found, the opportunities created by technical reconstruction and by the renewal of the material base of production had to be used to the full. The Stakhanovite movement reflected the new attitude towards labour that Maksim Gorkiy called the fiery explosion of mass energy. There took place a might upsurge of the creative forces of the young country and its working class and peasantry.

Of course, it did not take place all of a sudden. It was prepared by the whole course of shaping new social relations and the purposeful work of the Party. A number of years have passed since then, but today with admiration and pride we recall the names of those who founded the Stakhanovite movement. Whatever the name, the personality was a vivid, talented and original one. And all of them were from the ordinary people: the mine face-workers Aleksey Stakhanov and Nikita Izotov, the forge operator Aleksandr Busygin, mine Party organiser Konstantin Petrov, steelworker Makar (?Mazay), milling-machine operator Ivan Gudov, steam locomotive driver Petr Krivonos, footwear last worker Nikolay Smetanin, weavers Yevdokiya and Mariya Vinogradova, combine harvester operator Konstantin Borin, tractor drivers Pasha Angelina and Praskovya (?Kavardak), sugarbeet growers Mariya Demchenko and Mariya Ignatenko, and many, many others. 'Stakhanovite' and 'in Stakhanov fashion' are a symbol of initiative, a symbol of the struggle for everything front-ranking and against what is obsolete and out-moded. The Stakhanovite movement is not only a social phenomenon, but also a moral one which has revealed the spiritual beauty of the man of new society. The pioneers of that movement have become true heroes of the country. People set their standards by them, people learned how to live from them, and they were followed by factory workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and young people.

It is not just to pay tribute to history that I speak about this. When one looks at the Stakhanovite veterans and today's labour front-rankers sitting in this hall, one thinks of the organic link between the times, of how the baton of socialist traditions is passed on. In the half-century which has passed, both the equipment and the people have become different, but the traditions of the Stakhanovite movement have not moved into the past. Particularly akin to our times are the indomitable spirit of innovation of the pioneer Stakhanovites, their striving to get the maximum possible out of their equipment, and their boldness in breaking with outmoded standards and psychological habits, too.

Today, the Party has set out on a course of accelerating the country's social and economic development and scientific and technological progress and persistently strengthening discipline and order in everything. The task before us is to give the economy a greater degree of dynamism, to switch it on to the track of intensification and to bring about the utmost growth in production efficiency.

This course takes full account of - or to put it more accurately, fully reflects - the aspirations and mood of the working people. The 27th CPSU Congress will definitively set out our plans and policy for both the short and the longer term. In the main, however, we already have an idea of how the national economy complex should develop in the 12th Five-Year Plan period and up to the start of the third millenium. We can see where the crucial link is, and which levers must be pressed first. In three Five-Year Plan periods, industrial potential must grow to the same extent as in all the preceding years of Soviet power. And what is more, this must be achieved - and this is the crux of the

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matter - by means of intensification of the economy.

Life itself dictates such rates of progress. Such speeds are dictated by the need to improve the well-being of Soviet people and maintain the country's defence capacity at a level which guarantees absolutely the security of our state and its allies. In a word, following the Leninist course, we have had to make a responsible and historic choice. And the Party did so: To attain, by substantially speeding up socio-economic progress, a new and high-quality state of society. And we shall proceed along this path. We shall proceed consistently and without deviating.

The centre of attention should now be shifted to the practical realisation of the planned measures, specific deeds, the hard, everyday work of all without exception, whether he be worker, collective farmer, specialist, scientist or head of enterprise or sector.

Not long ago, I visited the oil and gas region of Western Siberia and the virgin lands of Kazakhstan. The discussions with workers and specialists were serious and frank. The main thing resulting from them is that the Soviet workers and farmer, engineer and scientist is profoundly aware of his responsibility for solving the tasks facing the country. There is a clear understanding that it has become essential not only to move forwards but to make a genuine breakthrough along the entire front of scientific and technical progress and to effect a decisive change in the development of the economy. In these new conditions, people's activeness and their lively interest in change are noticeably growing. They are searching for innovative solutions to problems and more effective forms of organising socialist competition.

This is shown in the workers' mass initiative which has recently come into being. Thus, collectives of enterprises in Moscow and Leningrad are struggling to achieve the whole growth in production volume through technical progress and maximum use of equipment. Machine-builders in the Ukraine have pledged to guarantee the entire growth in output in the 12th Five-Year-Plan period without increasing consumption of rolled ferrous metals or raising the number of workers. Metallurgical workers in Lipetsk, Nizhniy Tagil and Cherepovets are striving for high production indices by making better use of capacities and secondary resources and raising the quality of the output produced. A good number of enterprises are attaining high final results on the basis of improving job certification and job rationalisation. Universal support has been given to the initiative of labour collectives which have decided to work at least two days this year on economy-mixed materials.

I would particularly like to mention the Volga motor vehicle production association important initiative, which has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee. Its essence has in the fact that the collective has worked out concrete proposals for increasing efficiency of production and the quality of output considerably more than the control figures for the 12th Five-Year Plan period fixed by the ministry. It has been decided to increase labour productivity considerably, cut down on the amount of metal used on each motor vehicle and reduce fuel consumption while increasing by 50% the guaranteed mileage of new models of vehicles. The team has asked for the proposals to be included in the state plan. It is worth noting that the speed-up at the Volga motor vehicle works is to a considerable extent connected with the experience of start-to-finish financial autonomy, from the enterprise to each team, to each work-place. This is a worthy response to the Party's appeal to place all

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reserves in the service of the national economy, and an example of the approach of a good manager to the business in hand.

As we can see, the front-ranking teams focus today above all on the quality indices of labour. These are, the mastering of new equipment and technology, economising resources, the absolute fulfilment of contract obligations and increased efficiency of production. Of course, I am naming only individual features of the competition. Its experience is as rich and varied as life itself. And of course, it is tremendously important for the worker himself to become the master of production, become attuned to the scale and the new elements of the present tasks. You see, competition is one of the most important spheres of the development of working people's creativity, one of the basic ways for the self-assertion and elevation of Soviet man, for the expression and public recognition of his ability, talent and qualities as a citizen. In short, things have been done, the first results are there. But this is only the beginning of great work. Before us are large-scale tasks which have to be solved consistently and steadily. They concern all spheres of life, and they need the highest level of responsibility of all links of management.

We shall continue to implement persistently and consistently a course towards the reorientation of the economy's cadres in the spirit of the new approaches and demands put forward by the Party. But, in the final reckoning, comrades, the success of the job is determined in labour collectives, at associations and enterprises, in workshops and teams, at workplaces, and it is determined by the energy, wits and, I would say, the heart, honour and conscience of every worker. To work conscientiously for the common good, observe discipline strictly, show responsibility and initiative, care as much for the state's interests as one's own - that, in essence, is what is required from each one of us. All the levers - economic and social - must be brought into action to this end, all the stimuli - material and moral.

In this context, I would like to draw particular attention to the importance of the sort of encouragement that cannot be measured in roubles; the practice of bygone years - and of today - shows the extent to which it is important to notice, support and elevate in good time the conscientious labour of workers and collective farmers, specialists and scientists and all who augment the glory of the homeland. Sometimes it is not easy for those who are moving in the forefront: The wind, as the saying goes, does not always blow in their sails. Established traditions have to be broken, stagnation and incomprehension must be overcome. But every innovator is the country's pride and glory, a great attribute of socialist society; such people must be supported, and their names and deeds must be known to the whole country and every labour collective.

While encouraging in every way enterprising and highly productive labour, it is at the same time necessary to penalise severely those who, as they say, work just anyhow, violate labour and technical discipline and keep on turning out defective products. In letters sent to the Central Committee the working people are suggesting that more effective legal, material, administrative and other measures be employed against those who do not want to work conscientiously. That will be just. This is the way we must act. Indeed, the new mechanism of economic management, to which an ever increasing number of enterprises and industries are being transferred, aims at this.

The Central Committee considers that the working class, the peasantry, engineering and technical cadres, office employees and the intelligentsia will

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display creative activity and spare no effort to see that the speeding up of the country's economic and social development becomes a reality and that the lives of Soviet people become richer materially and spiritually and fuller and richer in content.

Comrades, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin considered extremely important the ability to evoke both competition and initiative among the masses so that they get down forthwith to the matter in hand. At present virtually all the working people are participating in socialist competition, but in my opinion the return from labour competition is not always what it should be. There are various reasons for this. One of the main reasons is that the forms and methods of competition by no means fully accord with the nature of the present stage of economic development. In many collectives, socialist competition proceeds in its own way, as it were, without a firm and profound connection with work to transfer the economy on to an intensive footing, speed up scientific and technical progress, restructure the economic management mechanism and introduce collective forms of labour organisation extensively. This situation must be radically changed. If we have really set about uncovering reserves and making the maximum use of all that we possess, let us take a fresh look from this standpoint at competition itself. On the whole it lacks as yet a more clear-cut orientation towards priority goals - namely, raising labour productivity, improving product quality and economising on resources. Pace, quality, thrift, organisation: these are the main catchwords of the day.

Taking advantage of our meeting, I would like to speak yet again about the need to improve decisively the quality of output. This is a whole group of questions, of economics, politics, morals. The low quality of output is nothing but squandering, the direct waste of both the people's property and a man's labour. Let us take the example of consumer goods. One can understand the customer who is perplexed as to why we know how to make spaceships and atomic powered vessels, but we often put together modern household appliances, shoes and clothes full of defects. This has not only material, but also moral and political costs.

There is no secret as to why this happens. One of the main reasons is the low demand made for the quality of output, weak technological discipline. And here a lot depends on the labour collectives themselves. We are convinced that workers and collective farmers, scientists and specialists, engineering and technical workers and economic leaders will start to struggle to make sure that no Soviet products are inferior to the best world counterparts, and that they should be superior to them.

While speaking of quality I would not like to say at all that quantity indices have lost their significance. Today, too, it is necessary to produce more grain, vegetables and meat, to extract more coal and oil and produce more consumer goods. In a number of industries the increase in output will go on being an important index of labour competition. But something else is evident: We cannot increase production of, let us say, power and raw material resources, to infinity. We must learn to use every tonne of metal, oil and fertiliser, every kilowatt of electricity and every cubic metre of timber in a thrifty way. This is why competition must deal with thrift, the rational use of labour, material and financial resources too.

I have already had occasion to speak on this theme, but taking into account the fact that a change for the better is happening only slowly, I should like

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to stress yet again: economy, thrift and the rational use of the production potential we have built up are our closest reserve and the decisive condition for raising the efficiency of the national economy. Every concrete step in this direction must be treasured, and strict exactions must be made for waste.

Otherwise, look at how it sometimes is: You see posters calling for economy and thrift hanging up in a workshop or factory yard, while the territory of the factory is chock-a-block with scrap metal and equipment that has not been installed on schedule. So you see: appeals and words are one thing, but deeds are something quite different.

Comrades, in performing the tasks facing society it is hard to over-rate the role of the trade unions. The holy of holies in their work is care: care for social and cultural needs, the conditions of work and life, and the rest and recreation of the working people. But these tasks cannot be carried out successfully without a systematic and persistent struggle for the highest possible labour productivity and for discipline and good organisation in production. There is no way to the creation of benefits other than through efficient work. For this reason the protection of the working people's interests through an increase in productivity is one of the most important duties of the trade unions and all production collectives.

To this end, too, more active use should be made than at present of the Law on Labour Collectives. In them are focused all the problems of our life. It is in the labour collectives that plans are implemented, new ideas tried out and cadres moulded. It is not a fleeting glance from above, but close study and consideration of the situation in the lower links which will help, for example, to introduce team self-accounting more energetically. I stress: self-accounting. For there are many teams, but in industry, say, only one in five so far works on a self-accounting basis. In the team - and this you know well - each individual is open to view. The members of the collective themselves assess the extent of participation of each in the joint labour. Here, there is fuller realisation of the principles of social fairness, both in earnings and in other material and moral forms of incentive. It is difficult here to dodge and hide behind others' backs, and the link between pledges and end results of production is clearer. So, to a considerable extent the creation of an atmosphere of daily and painstaking searching for reserves in the collectives, of demandingness, as they say, horizontally and vertically, depends on the trade unions.

However, the impression is often created that the trade union committee appears to be taking part in everything but has not defined where mainly to apply its efforts. As a result, much enthusiasm - as often happens in the organisation of competition - is squandered on paper, on inventing and drawing up measures.

Formalism is the sworn enemy of competition as the direct creativity of the masses. It is no secret that sometimes pledges are produced like carbon-copies and that those taking part are merely handed them to sign. The indices of competition are fixed without taking into account the specific situation at the enterprise or industry. Of itself it is a good thing for those taking part in competition to undertake personal pledges, but what is the point of a worker or engineer copying out what are essentially the direct responsibilities of his job and then giving his word to carry them out? This is a distortion of the very idea of the competition.

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And the following issue ought to be thought about, too. Are there not too many forms of competition and initiative? This is not always a good thing. The most valuable side of competition is the achievement of high results and the engendering of front-ranking production experiences, innovative ways and methods of work. If one correlates numerous initiatives with their real return, then one cannot but come to the conclusion that far from all of them have been sufficiently thought through. I consider that it is in precisely this direction that the work of the trade union and economic management organs should be identified. Real matters must not be substituted for by the putting forward of high-sounding slogans; live work must not be substituted for by the implementation of large numbers of far-fetched measures.

There are other issues which have become ripe, too: responsibility for the provision of organisational and technical support for competition, the economic foundation of pledges and their intensity; overcoming levelling down in the provision of incentives to the winners; raising the prestige of the front-ranker. Precise criteria are required, both for success and for failures. I expect that those taking part in the meeting will express their views on these and other issues.

Allow me today also to touch upon another difficult problem, the struggle against drunkenness. The measures that have been taken are warmly supported by the working people, although there are those who are dissatisfied. Results which give grounds for hope can already be seen. Consumption of wine and vodka products has been reduced. People have adopted more intolerant attitudes towards drunkenness. There is more order on the streets of towns and villages, as there is, too, in production. I will tell you that cases of injury have been reduced sharply over the past three months. And this has made it possible to maintain the health of thousands of people, and there can be nothing dearer than that. This means that this great cause has not been launched in vain. We shall implement rigorously what has been mapped out. We well understand that ahead there is long, hard work to be done in introducing sobriety as a norm of life in our society, but have endurance enough, the more so given the fact that in implementing this line the CPSU Central Committee relies upon the support of the whole people and the maturity and strength of public opinion.

Comrades, the Stakhanovite movement has one special feature. It was conceived in a youthful environment, its initiators were not older than 30. This is natural, for no task which is at all sizeable or historical can be accomplished without the energetic, active and all-round participation of young people. And today as never before it is important to use fully the energy of the younger generation in accomplishing the grand innovative tasks that our society faces. Sometimes there is talk about modern youth being slow to come to civic maturity while some people from the older generation even grumble about this. But if we take a most demanding look, then we can be satisfied with Soviet youth of today.

Our young men and women are the children and grandchildren of those who, in the years of industrialisation, set labour productivity records unprecedented in those days, of those who, in the hard times of war, were the first to rise to the attack, throw themselves bodily onto gun-ports and ram enemy aircraft and tanks in battle. These are the children and grandchildren of those who upturned virgin soil and who recovered oil and gas in the Arctic tundra and the Siberian taiga. These are our children and grandchildren, these are our comrades-in-arms who, today too, are showing the whole world the highest examples of labour, service and loyalty to the fatherland.

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It is they who are building the BAM, erecting new cities, growing bread and loyally carrying out their service in defending the country's borders. The Party and the people highly appraise the contribution of Soviet youth to the building of socialism and communism. We trust our young people in everything. We care about the fact that broad opportunities should be open for their self-development and for them to show their capabilities in all spheres of production and public life. Our socialist cause will only win if Party committees and economic bodies, together with the Komsomol, can find ways and forms for fuller use of the energy and talent, interest in everything new, objection to routine and conservatism and the healthy ambition of young working innovators, engineers and scientists, including through competition.

And it is necessary, too, to put forward in good time promising specialists for commanding roles in production, science, management and culture. This always justifies itself. No doubt you have seen on television a programme in the series 'You can do this'. It was about craftsmen who had built cars with their own hands. Many models of car were shown, but one of them stood out noticeably. It was built by two young Leningrad workers, Dmitriy Parfenov, who is attending evening classes in an institute; and Gennadiy (?Khainov), who has completed a technical college of ship's instrument making. These 25-year-old boys were able in three years to build a car of original design without special equipment. They have shown a high level of technical ability and non-standard way of thinking. I think it has been correct to allocate a special laboratory to these master craftsmen where they can continue their work [Note: On the following day (1430 gmt), Soviet television broadcast in its 'Vremya' programme excerpts from the 'You can do this' feature in question.]

I have deliberately dealt with this problem to underline that we need, by all possible ways, to open scope for the technical creativity of the youth. And not only to open but also to create all the necessary conditions for the creative potential of young people to be directed to the solution of tasks connected with the acceleration of the socio-economic development of society. At present, proposals are being prepared on these matters which will be examined by the Party Central Committee.

A year ago, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution on the further improvement of Party leadership of the Komsomol and increasing its role in the communist education of youth. It has been discussed in a businesslike fashion in Party and Komsomol organisations and has, no doubt, promoted the fact that life in the Komsomol has become more active and much more full of practical and vital deeds. The interest in urgent tasks has intensified and there is less formalism. But much more is to be done. What? There is a need for the Komsomol to implement persistently Lenin's behest - to learn communism, to learn every day, in the factory and in the field, in the classroom and the laboratory - to be able to combine every-day work with a communist outlook for the future. Everything that youth is interested in and anxious and concerned about is indeed the Komsomol's concern. The style and methods of its work have to be of a vivid and absorbing nature, they have to be precisely young and youthful both in essence and form, free from over-organisation, from fits and starts and from show of all kinds, on which a lot of energy and means are still being spent.

Comrades, an especially crucial period has started in the life of the country - the fate of plans for the current year and the Five-Year Plan period as a whole is being decided and the scope of preparations for the next Party Congress is spreading. This sets the tone of the life and activity of Party

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organisations, labour collectives and the whole social atmosphere.

Today, when the Party is interpreting what has been done and defining more precisely the course for the future, it is important for us to know your opinions and suggestions on the most burning topics of the day. The Central Committee constantly and attentively heeds the voice of working people, collective farmers, specialists and scientists, and checks its policy against the experience of the masses. There can be no other way. The cause of the Party is the cause of the people.

The Party is confident that the problems facing society can be solved successfully. It is confident, because it has at its disposal a clear programme of action and relies upon the creative strength of the people, good organisation and discipline and the high political and professional standards of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia.

Implementation of the Party line will make our homeland even richer and stronger, and will make the life of Soviet people even better and our development even more dynamic. In the name of this, in the name of our great ideals, it is worth living, it is worth labouring, it is worth struggling.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech was listened to with great attention and greeted with prolonged applause.

Comrades Petrov, Gaganova, Zlobin, Podzharov, Yorygin, Danenbayev, Naumkin, Shakshin, Privalov, Maltsev and Demchenko spoke at the meeting. A detailed account of their speeches will be published in the newspapers.

[Note: Soviet television (1700 gmt 20 Sep 85) broadcast the same announcer-read report of Gorbachev's speech, which it said was entitled 'Unfading traditions of a labour exploit', showing occasional stills of Gorbachev, the other leaders and the veterans and front-rankers.] (ii) Text of report of closing address:

As has already been reported, a meeting with veterans of the Stakhanovite movement and with production front-rankers and innovators took place at the CPSU Central Committee on 20th September. An account of this meeting and the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: 'Unfading traditions of a labour feat' are published today in the press. Summaries of the speeches by those taking part in the meeting will be published tomorrow. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev delivered a closing address at the meeting. He said [announcer-read]:

Dear comrades, I think we all found it pleasant to meet here. Each one of you has something to talk about, since you were at the source of the Stakhanovite movement and have been active continuers of it. You yourselves are the living history of our homeland. In your working life, comrades, you confirm that ultimately everything depends upon the individual. When it was necessary for us to cover during a short period of history a path equal to one of hundreds of years for other peoples and states and to solve enormous tasks of socialist construction, Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, created a powerful industrial base, rapidly developed their forces of production and, thanks to this, were able to smash the fascist military machine that was aimed against us by imperialism. That was the result of the selfless labour of all Soviet people. It stands to the credit of the older generations. To those

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who were then the banner of innovation, the banner of the Stakhanovite movement, we say today on behalf of the entire people an enormous 'Thank you'.

During the days when we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement this gratitude of the whole people is deserved, because the traditions of those years are immortal. Here in this hall veterans sit surrounded by young people who have yet to have their say, who will lead by personal example. The Stakhanovite shock movement continues. This movement, which is supported by the people, the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, will live for ever. It will always be the Party's buttress in solving new, large-scale tasks. That is why the Central Committee endeavours to ensure that everything that has been built up in labour innovation over these 50 years should be not only preserved but multiplied.

We are faced with enormous tasks. They are great not only because the country, as I have said, must do in 15 years as much as during the entire preceding years of socialist construction: they are also vast because we are faced with achieving what has been mapped out by using other methods, primarily the achievement of scientific and technical progress. We have every possibility of ensuring faster movement forward. We have a developed science, a highly-qualified working class and peasantry and the necessary raw material resources. In a word, we have the strength; and our people are not lacking in patriotism and creative attitude towards labour.

It is important to put all this into operation skilfully. It has been said correctly here that in using incentives for highly productive labour the whole thing cannot be reduced exclusively to that of the rouble: for the working man - and the more so for front-ranking workers and innovators - the moral incentive, the recognition of his contribution by society, is no less important, and often more so. At this meeting we have again received confirmation of the fact that in our work things have to be unfolded in such a way that the whole people, and primarily the front-rankers of production, actively take part in them. They, to speak figuratively, are the flower of society. They are people with a large supply of energy, patriotism and responsibility. Who, if not they, should take part in drawing up and adopting laws, economic and political decisions? They should be represented in all our state bodies from top to bottom. Their voice must be heard: for in it is the people's experience, and that cannot be replaced by anything.

In general, this is how we understand our task: through new forms of organisational, political and economic work, to reveal the tremendous capabilities contained in the Soviet man and his character. We are striving in our affairs to make more known about all spheres of society's life. People must know both the good and the bad in order to multiply the good and to wage an uncompromising struggle against the bad. That is precisely the way things should be under socialism. Embellishment of the truth and cooking the books must be burned out with a red-hot iron from our socialist family and from our socialist society. In short, what is needed is healthy labour, a healthy domestic life, healthy relations and healthy psychology - everything which by its nature is inherent in the socialist way of life.

As for the foreign policy of the Party and the Soviet state, we are doing everything to preserve peace. You can be certain that we are approaching this fully aware of our responsibility.

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Comrades, we have had a good meeting; good because you have expressed here much which is useful and valuable. The Party's Central Committee will study your suggestions carefully and take them into account in its practical work. Once again, I congratulate you on the anniversary. Once again, thank you for your tremendous work and your devotion to the cause. I wish you good health, so that the veterans can work for many more years with young people for the glory of the motherland. I wish the very best to the young people as well, who today bear the principal responsibility for the implementation of our plans. I ask you to pass on wishes of good health and prosperity to your families and comrades at work, from the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet government.

Comrade Gorbachev's concluding words were greeted with prolonged applause. Tomorrow, they will be published in the press.

[Note: The report was also broadcast by Soviet television (1700 gmt 21 Sep 85), which accompanied it with stills of Gorbachev, other leaders and veterans and front-rankers. A slightly shorter version was broadcast on the 21st by the 'World Service' (in English 1600 gmt).]

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October 4, 1985, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 12, Column 3; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1400 words

HEADLINE: EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY GORBACHEV ON ARMS

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: PARIS, Oct. 3

BODY:

Following are excerpts from an address today by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, to about 50 members of the French National Assembly at the official residence of its Speaker, as translated by Mr. Gorbachev's aides:

Now I would like to inform you of the new steps taken by the Soviet Union. They pursue the same aim to stop the baleful process of the arms race and ward off the war danger overhanging mankind.

First, a few days ago we proposed to the Government of the United States to come to terms on the total prohibition of space strike arms for both sides and to reduce really radically, by 50 percent, the nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory.

In other words we propose a practical solution to the very same tasks that were agreed upon by both sides early this year as being the aims of the Geneva talks: not only to stop the arms race but also to drastically lower the level of armaments and at the same time avert an arms race in outer space.

I can inform you that our delegation in Geneva has been instructed to present concrete proposals on this question and authorized to give the partners exhaustive explanation.

Weapons in Europe

Second, concerning medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. With the aim of making easier agreement on their speediest mutual reduction (as we are often told in Western Europe, too, there is great interest in this) we consider it possible to conclude a corresponding agreement separately, outside of direct connection with the problem of space and strategic arms. This road, as it appears to us, may turn out to be practical.

In this connection I consider it important to explain our position on such a question as the place of the nuclear potential of France and Britain in the European balance of forces. This potential is growing rapidly and we can no longer ignore it.

It was said from the French side that the nuclear forces of France are not subject to discussion without her participation. This stands to reason. It follows from this that it is time to start between us a direct dialogue on

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this theme and try to find an acceptable way out through joint effort. The Soviet Union is prepared for such a direct dialogue with France just as with Britain.

Here I want to stress that we will take into account the security interests of France in the most attentive manner. And today, as it appears to us, the question of a reduction of her armaments does not stand.

Moratorium on Some Missiles

Third, you know that we have announced a moratorium on the development of medium-range missiles in Europe. The number of SS-20 missiles that the Soviet Union has on standby alert in the European zone is now 243. This means that it precisely accords with the level of June 1984, when the additional deployment of our missiles was started in response to the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe.

The SS-20 missiles that we additionally deployed in the process have been withdrawn from standby alert and the stationary installations for housing these missiles will be dismantled within the next two months. As to our reply measures in respect of the territory of the United States itself they continue to remain in force.

I would also wish to explain the meaning with which we invest the term 'European zone' in this case. This is the zone in which medium-range missiles capable of striking targets on the territory of Western Europe are deployed.

It should be added to this that we have already totally phased out the old and very powerful SS-5 missiles and are continuing to phase out SS-4 missiles. This means that on the whole the number of medium-range carrier missiles in the European zone of the U.S.S.R. is now much smaller than 10 or 15 years ago. 'Reply Step' by the U.S. In accepting this self-limitation we proceed from the broad interests of European security. I think Europe is now entitled to expect a reply step by the United States - the termination by it of the further deployment of its medium-range missiles on the European continent.

So far fear of unacceptable retribution is one of the obstacles to war, to the use of military force. But everybody understands, however, that it is impossible to build a lasting peace on fear alone. But the entire question is where to search for the alternative to fear or, to use military language, deterrence.

We see what attempts are now being made to find a way out - by using new arms in the so-called Star Wars. This is an illusion and an extremely dangerous one at that. It is naive in general to search for a solution of the problem of security in the perfection of the shield and the sword.

Security in Europe, just as international security, can be achieved only on the road to peaceful coexistence, relaxation of tension, disarmament, strengthening of trust and development of international cooperation.

The Arms Race

We consider it important already now, immediately, before it is too late to stop the 'infernal train' of the arms race, to start the reduction of arms,

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improve the international situation and develop peaceful cooperation among peoples. This is in mutual interest, this is everybody's tasks. Nobody can permit himself to sit it out on the sidelines.

The Soviet Union, as you probably know, not only issues calls but also acts in this direction.

We have unilaterally suspended the further deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and called on the United States to respond in kind. We stopped all nuclear explosions and called on the United States to respond in kind. Quite naturally, we address this call to the other nuclear powers as well.

The Soviet Union proposes to start a reduction of the armed forces and armaments of both sides in Central Europe - and to start with a reduction of Soviet and American troops. Moreover, we are prepared to reduce more troops than the Americans.

Chemical Weapons

At the conference on disarmament in Geneva, the Soviet Union is actively taking part in drafting of a relevant convention. We are meeting our partners in the talks halfway in a number of substantial aspects, including in respect to verification. I am sure that it is possible to reach agreement on reliable verification.

Incidentally, the following thought also prompts itself here. If it was possible to reach agreement on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms, why not apply the same method in respect to chemical weapons. This would be in the general channel of efforts to achieve their total prohibition.

The ideas of setting up nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world, including on our continent, in the north of Europe and in the Balkans, are spreading ever more wider. We support these ideas, are ready to take part in the appropriate guarantees where this is required. We view as useful the idea to create a corridor free of nuclear arms along both sides of the line dividing the two military-political groups. We also hold that states that do not possess nuclear arms and do not have them on their territory have full right to reliable guarantees that nuclear arms will not be used against them.

Many aspects of European cooperation are recorded in the Helsinki Final Act. We hold that it is a serious achievement and fully retains its importance. When the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki accords was marked, all the participants in the all-European process declared for its continuation. The Soviet Union is prepared to take the most vigorous part in this.

Human Rights

The Soviet Union attaches the most serious importance to insuring human rights. It is only necessary to free this problem from hypocrisy and speculations, from attempts at interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The very way the question is posed - that by improving relations with Western Europe we want to drive a wedge, to set it at loggerheads with the United States - is absurd.



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Firstly, we want to have good relations not only with Western Europe but also with the United States. Just as for that matter also with China, Japan and other countries. We are not pursuing a Metternich-like policy of 'balance of forces,' of setting one state against another, knocking together blocs and counterblocs, creating 'axes' and 'triangles,' but a policy of global detente, of strengthening world security and developing universal international cooperation.

TYPE: TEXT

SUBJECT: ARMS CONTROL AND LIMITATION AND DISARMAMENT; SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS; MISSILES; SPACE WEAPONS

NAME: GORBACHEV, MIKHAIL S

GEOGRAPHIC: FRANCE; UNITED STATES; UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS; EUROPE

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Summary of World Broadcasts

October 7, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/8075/A1/1

LENGTH: 1328 words

HEADLINE: Gorbachev's Meeting with Chirac: Speech at Hotel de Ville

SOURCE: Soviet television 2037 and Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union in Russian for abroad 1848 gmt 3 Oct 85

Text of broadcast of Gorbachev's speech

BODY:

Esteemed Mr Mayor, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to have the opportunity to visit the historical building of Paris's Town Hall and to meet you, representatives of the municipal and district councils and public of Paris. A great deal has been said, written and sung about your beautiful city. Our great fellow countrymen have also expressed their admiration for it. There are few cities in the world that are so well-known even to those who have never been to Paris, and everyone feels excitement at the prospect of visiting it. I would even say anxiety - that the reality may disappoint: will it come up to the attractive image of the French capital created by the hundreds of books and films, the thousands of pictures and photographs?

This is not my first visit to your city, but I experience that excitement every time. I must frankly admit that I have never been disappointed. I am thinking not only of the beauty and integrity of the architecture of your city, though it, too, has much to say of the lasting creative talent of the French people and of their delicate sense of beauty. I am thinking also of the citizens of Paris - its men and women: open, emotional and hospitable people.

Capitals always have a special role. Of course, as the saying goes, Paris is not France, and Moscow is not the whole of the Soviet Union. But, at home and abroad, they are looked upon with special attention, and other cities are judged by reference to them.

Here in Paris, almost 200 years ago, the great French revolution began - and became the main event of the 18th century. In the minds of Soviet people, Paris is, of course, associated with the glorious Paris Commune. We remember, too, that it was here in Paris that the first shots of the French resistance fighters rang out against the fascist occupation troops. And in August 1944, in the words of the poet, Paris liberated herself. The Paris uprising became one of the notable pages of the struggle against fascist occupation.

We cherish particularly the memory of the time spent in your city by the great leader of our revolution, the founder of the Soviet State, V.I. Lenin. On visiting Paris, Soviet people view with great excitement the small museum in the flat in the Rue Marie-Rose where V.I. Lenin lived at the beginning of this

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century.

Lenin valued highly the democratic and freedom-loving traditions of the French people. After the Great October Revolution, which was the main event of the 20th century, he spoke of the desirability of rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union. That idea remains in our political arsenal to this day.

For the fact that there have been no wars in Europe for 40 years no small credit belongs to the USSR and France, which have more than once been together on the side of common sense when some of the by no means simple problems of the continent were being solved. And it is logical that our capitals - Moscow and Paris - have become symbols of detente.

It was in Moscow that the later well-known formula 'detente, agreement, co-operation' sounded for the first time. It was in the capitals of our countries that bilateral Soviet-French documents were drawn up and signed which have set an example for many other multilateral documents which still regulate good-neighbourly relations and co-operation between states today.

Our common political experience of mutual action in world affairs can assume particular weight today, when the danger of nuclear war has sharply increased. The inter-national situation is far from inspiring complacency. On the contrary, it demands decisive, bold, new and - I am convinced - mutual action to break the logic of confrontation. We need to look at things in a new way and adopt a new approach to many problems, above all to those on whose solution the security of Europe and of the world depends.

For all the differences in our positions and assessments, we are willing to seek such new approaches together with France. Opportunities for such a search exist. The Soviet-French talks which began yesterday have confirmed that.

This concerns the need to preserve the balance of forces at the lowest possible level. This concerns the task of averting an arms race in space. This concerns the task of strengthening confidence and progress towards disarmament in Europe. This is also true in respect of the search for ways of solving problems of a global nature which are becoming increasingly acute for mankind at the turn of the third millenium.

These problems are far from easy and no easy options are foreseen, but their solution can no longer be put off. We would like to hope very much that not only the Soviet Union, not only France but other countries, on whom this depends, will display responsibility for the future of mankind and will make a real and honest contribution to ensuring it.

Your city, one of the biggest centres of world culture, has naturally become the residence of a number of international organisations. Amongst these UNESCO, this important specialised UN institution, has a place of honour. Our two countries - active participants in UNESCO - rightly consider it to be one of the biggest forums of co-operation of states in such vital spheres for mankind as education, science and culture.

This organisation rightly enjoys great prestige in the international arena, thanks to its tireless activities for mutual understanding and co-operation between peoples, thus promoting the dissemination in the world of the ideas of humanitarianism and peace.

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Naturally, aside from the political sphere, in which Soviet-French dialogue is more than ever necessary today, there are other areas of co-operation - the economy, technology, culture, sport and much else besides - where we have mutually enriching ties. The benefit of such links and of the traditions of deep interpenetration of our cultures is obvious to anyone. We hope that our present talks in Paris will provide fresh stimuli for their development.

It is important that accords between governments should be underpinned with contacts and links between people and between towns which are as broad as possible. Of course, our people live in countries with different systems and they come up against different problems. That is so. But there are also similar problems. It seems to me that an exchange of experience in tackling them would only be to everyone's benefit.

Here, in the Town Hall of Paris, it is appropriate to mention the value of the exchange of experience and co-operation between Paris and Moscow in tackling the problems of large cities. We have to our credit considerable achievements in, for instance, residential construction, the organisation of public transport, environmental protection, the maintenance of cleanliness and good order and work with children and young people. We know that many useful things are also being done in Paris for residents of the city and visitors. We are in favour of the establishment of more stable relations of co-operation between our capitals.

And this applies not just to our capitals alone. It seems to me that the cause of mutual understanding and co-operation between peoples could only gain from deepening and stepping up relations between linked towns. A major contribution to this cause could, in our view, be made by members of local elective bodies. There is a large and fruitful area of activity here.

[The Tass report ended: 'In conclusion, M Gorbachev wished the men and women of Paris and all present in the hall happiness, prosperity and success. As a memento of his visit, Mikhail Gorbachev presented a porcelain vase, 'Moscow', made by Leningrad craftsmen, as a gift to the citizens of Paris, and made an entry in the city's visitor's book.']

[Note: The television broadcast also showed Gorbachev's arrival and Chirac welcoming him, and summarised Chirac's speech, as did Tass.]

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Summary of World Broadcasts

October 14, 1985, Monday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 4. THE MIDDLE EAST

PAGE: SU/8081/A4/1

LENGTH: 1593 words

HEADLINE: Qadhafi's Visit to Moscow: Dinner Speeches

SOURCE: (b) Soviet television 1800 (also Tass in English 1818) gmt 11 Oct 85

Text of report of dinner speech by Gorbachev

BODY:

The CPSU central committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR government today gave a dinner in the Kremlin [Tass: Grand Kremlin palace] in honour of the leader of the Libyan revolution [Tass: Col Mu'ammur al-Qadhafi].

Besides Mu'ammur Qadhafi, the dinner was attended by officials accompanying him on his visit.

Present on the Soviet side were Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.V. Grishin, A.A. Gromyko, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, N.A. Tikhonov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Ponomarev, S.L. Sokolov, V.P. Nikonov, K.V. Rusakov [Tass only: A.U. Salimov, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; I.V. Arkhipov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministers of the USSR, chairmen of state committees of the USSR] and other officials.

During the dinner, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, Comrades Gorbachev and Qadhafi exchanged speeches. The speech of Mikhail Sergeyeovich Gorbachev:

[Tass: Dear Comrade Qadhafi, dear Libyan friends, comrades,] we are happy to welcome representatives of the friendly Libyan Jamahiriya on Moscow soil once again. Your arrival in our country, Comrade Qadhafi, confirms once again the close and firm nature of the relations between the Soviet Union and Libya. These relations have long traditions and abound in manifestations of profound affection and mutual respect between our peoples.

We rejoice together with you at the successes your country has achieved in building a new life since the revolution of September 1969. We follow with much interest Libya's search for its own road of development and building a new society free from social inequality and exploitation. These ideals have inspired the best minds of mankind down the centuries. We understand these ideals well, and they are close to us.

The Soviet People has achieved impressive successes on the road of building socialism. Relying on them, we are confidently advancing to the 27th CPSU Congress, which is called upon to open the way to a qualitatively new stage in Soviet society's development.

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In the course of our meetings and talks we discussed with you, Comrade Qadhafi, a wide range of issues. That was a useful and constructive exchange of views. It enabled us, as we see it, to advance still further along the road of strengthening understanding and political co-operation between our countries.

The positive results of our multifaceted co-operation and the outcome of the talks that we have had instil confidence that Soviet-Libyan relations will continue to develop in the ascendant in all fields.

Having described the new forms of co-operation which are coming into being in Soviet-Libyan relations, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev went on as follows:

Our exchange of opinions has confirmed the broad coincidence of our views on the most important and acute international problems, first of all on matters to do with the situation in the Near East and Africa. It showed that our two countries are unanimous in their resolve to go on proceeding from the position of strengthening peace, universal security and respect for the rights of all peoples struggling for their political and economic independence.

The present tense and explosive international situation cannot but cause concern on the part of those who sincerely adhere to peace and who are striving to do everything possible to improve this situation.

During my recent stay in France I presented in detail the Soviet Union's view-point on this and explained our new proposals directed at ending the nuclear arms race and drastically reducing nuclear arms, renouncing the creation of space strike arms, strengthening security in every way and developing mutually advantageous co-operation in Europe. In short, we propose to make a drastic turn from confrontation to the easing of tension.

It is not by chance that I have specially mentioned Europe. This continent was the seat of two world wars, and now it has again found itself harnessed to a militaristic chariot, filled this time with nuclear munitions. For this reason I believe the situation in Europe cannot leave the states directly adjoining it indifferent. I have in mind first of all the non-European Mediterranean countries. As I see it, understanding is growing there of the interconnection between security in the Mediterranean and the situation in Europe.

Among those countries Libya holds a special place. Its anti-imperialist policy, its contribution to the solution of acute international problems and the important role it plays in the non-aligned movement are highly appreciated in the Soviet Union. As a mediterranean state, Libya exerts steadily growing influence on the situation in that region.

It now comes out in full voice against the aggressive imperialist policy with regard to the Maghreb and the Arab world as a whole and against plans to turn the Mediterranean into an arena of confrontation. This obviously is not to the liking of some people, and it is not by chance that of late Libya has more than once been the target of military provocations and crude pressure.

Guided by the general principles of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union sincerely strives for the elimination of hotbeds of tension in the Mediterranean by peaceful political means. We stand for continuing the drawing together of positions, facilitating more actively the search for a settlement of regional problems at the negotiating table and protecting the sovereign rights of

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states and peoples subjected to pressure and flagrant interference in their internal affairs.

Together with other Warsaw Treaty member states, the Soviet Union favours the renunciation of the siting of nuclear arms on the territory of non-nuclear Mediterranean countries and the adoption by the nuclear powers of a commitment not to use nuclear arms against any Mediterranean country which does not allow the siting of such arms on its territory. We have long favoured the withdrawal from the Mediterranean Sea of ships with a nuclear capability.

The Soviet Union also favours extension to this area of the military-technical confidence-building measures in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act which have already proven their worth in world practice. The limitation of naval activity and naval arms in the region would, it appears to us, play a positive role.

The issue of banning chemical weapons has been appearing on the agenda lately with all urgency and stimulating thought. The idea of creating a zone free from chemical weapons in Central Europe is now being discussed as a step in this direction.

But perhaps this idea is applicable to the Mediterranean area as well, and then to the African continent as a whole? It is obvious, for instance, that the use of chemical weapons in the Mediterranean region, one of the most densely populated of the world, would pose a tremendous danger.

The situation in the Near East is one of the worst unhealed wounds in the present-day world. Having the support of the USA, Israel now no longer limits itself to aggressive actions against neighbouring states. Cynically flouting all norms of international law, it carried out a bandit raid against the capital of Tunisia, a sovereign Arab country and member of the UN organisation situated more than 2,000 km away from Israel's borders.

As we see it, the question of the unity of action of the Arab countries acquires special importance in conditions of such arrogant actions by Israel against Arab states and the more and more intensive efforts by its patrons to replace a genuine search for peace in the Near East with all sorts of separate deals.

Acting separately it is hardly possible to count on a settlement for the attainment of just and lasting peace in the Near East which would meet the interests of all Arabs.

We remain convinced that this can be achieved only by collective efforts.

Why is the Soviet Union so persistent in upholding the proposal to convene an international conference on the Near East? Not at all because, as some are contending, we hope to outdo somebody at that conference and gain some one-sided advantages. The Soviet Union has no such designs.

We are in favour of a conference for the simple reason that it is actually the only reasonable and effective way of putting an end to the perennial state of war in the Near East and establishing lasting peace there and, moreover, of achieving this without further bloodshed, without intrigues and secret deals by some behind the backs of others, with due account for the lawful interests of

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all interested sides without exception. Such is the real essence of our stand on this matter.

Dear friends, permit me in conclusion to express confidence that our meetings and the talks which have taken place will promote the further deepening of friendly Soviet-Libyan relations and the strengthening of the unity of actions of the forces of progress in the struggle for peace and international security.

In conclusion, Mikhail Gorbachev wished Mu'ammr Qadhafi and all the Libyan guests good health and hailed the strengthening and development of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet and Libyan peoples.

A speech in reply was made by Mu'ammr Qadhafi. It will be published in the press.

[Tass: The speeches by Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Mu'ammr Qadhafi were listened to with great attention and received with prolonged applause.]

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The Associated Press

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November 27, 1985, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 881 words

HEADLINE: Excerpts from Gorbachev's Speech to the Supreme Soviet

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Gorbachev Text

BODY:

Following are excerpts from Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev's speech Wednesday to the Supreme Soviet. The address is Gorbachev's first public speech assessing the Geneva summit with President Reagan. The official Soviet news agency Tass translated the speech from Russian to English.

On U.S.-Soviet relations:

The reality of today's world is such that there are states which ... bear a special responsibility for the character of world development, its course and consequences. It is primarily the Soviet Union and the United States which have this responsibility.

The road to the Geneva dialogue was long and arduous. ... The U.S. administration which came to office in the early 1980s openly assumed a course of confrontation while rejecting the very possibility of a positive development of Soviet-American relations.

The many-year mutual efforts to achieve the essential minimum of trust in those relations were committed to oblivion, and virtually every thread of bilateral cooperation was snapped. Detente itself was branded as being contrary to the interests of the United States of America.

U.S. first-strike missiles began to be deployed in Western Europe. In this way a situation was taking shape that was fraught with high-level military and political uncertainties and concomitant risks.

There appeared a "Star Wars" program, the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. They in Washington became obsessed with that idea, without giving much thought to those grave consequences which were bound to ensue if this idea was translated into practice.

Confusion emerged even among U.S. allies in face of Washington's apparent disregard for the interests of their security, and its readiness to bank on all in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp of military superiority.

The Associated Press, November 27, 1985

On arms control:

Our initiatives ... clearly showed what we are seeking to achieve in the world arena, what we are urging the United States and its allies to do. These actions by the U.S.S.R. found enthusiastic approval of the world public. ...

Under the influence of these factors, Washington was compelled to maneuver. Signs of demonstrative peacefulness appeared in the American administration's statements. They were not backed by deeds, but their very appearance was symptomatic.

We have put forward concrete and radical proposals in the Geneva negotiations on space and nuclear arms. ... The Americans advanced their counterproposals on the eve of the meeting (in Geneva). This is a positive fact in itself.

I shall only say that these are indeterminate and largely inequitable proposals. They are based on a one-sided approach and are clearly prompted by the striving for military superiority for the United States and NATO as a whole.

But the main thing is that the United States' stand does not envisage a ban on the creation of space strike arms. ... The stand assumed by the U.S. side in the question of Star Wars is the main obstacle to agreement on arms control.

On the Geneva summit:

We decided in favor of meeting with the U.S. president. We took that decision because we had no right to disregard even the slightest chance to reverse the dangerous world developments.

The American side stubbornly insisted at the meeting on going ahead with the SDI program. We were told that the point was the development of purely defensive systems. ...

We frankly told the president that we did not agree to these evaluations. ... Space weapons are not at all defensive.

We will find a response, just as happened several times in the past. The response will be effective, sufficiently prompt, and perhaps, less costly than the American program.

The meeting was, undoubtedly, a significant event. A direct, clear and concrete talk ... We appreciate the personal contact established with the president of the United States. A dialogue of top leaders is always a moment of truth in relations between states. It is important that such a dialogue has been held.

But we are realists and we must say outright that solution of the most important questions connected with an end to the arms race was not achieved at the meeting...

The main thing, of course, is to create a possibility for actually ending the arms race and initiating practical reductions in the existing nuclear arms arsenals.

The Associated Press, November 27, 1985

Is there such a possibility? It is our firm conviction that there is. True, at present there are differences on many points between our and American proposals on nuclear arms reductions. But we do not overdramatize this circumstance. Compromises are possible here and we are prepared to look for them...

But to resolve all these questions, it is absolutely essential to slam shut the door through which weapons could get into space. Without this, radical reductions in nuclear armaments are impossible.

On regional issues:

Both sides expressed concern over the continuing existence of such "trouble spots." ... However, it can be said that our approaches to their causes and ways for settling such conflicts are not simply different _ they are diametrically opposite.

The president touched upon the question of Afghanistan. ... If anybody hinders an early resolution of that question, it is above all, the United States, which is financing, backing and arming gangs of counter-revolutionaries.

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Summary of World Broadcasts

December 12, 1985, Thursday

SECTION: Part 1 The USSR; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: SU/8132/A1/1

LENGTH: 2808 words

HEADLINE: Speeches by Gorbachev and Baldrige at Dinner in Honour of US Businessmen

SOURCE: (a) Soviet television 1800 gmt 10 Dec 85

Text of broadcast of speech by Gorbachev at Kremlin dinner on 10th December

BODY:

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades^ I am pleased to greet participants in the regular annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] in the Kremlin. We value the great work that the council has been doing now for 10 years in assisting the development of contacts between US firms and Soviet foreign trade organisations. We value it all the more because, as we know, these years have not been easy. I also want to address words of greeting to Mr Baldrige, the US Secretary of Commerce, who has come to the meeting. We value his presence here.

The current meeting once again bears out the fact that co-operation between people, peoples and states with different social systems and different ideologies is quite feasible, and today I would say very necessary. Whether we like one another or not, we have to live on this planet together. And for this reason, a very important task for us - and I spoke of this both in Geneva, and after Geneva - is to master the art of getting on with one another. I want to give you one piece of information - you have translations on the tables. [in undertones] That needs to be translated.

[Male voice, in English with American accent] The General Secretary is saying that the American participants have the translation of the statement on their tables.

[Gorbachev] And since this is for a long time, we should learn to live side by side in a human and civilised manner. And here arises the question of trade, economic, scientific and technical links between the USA and the USSR, and in general, as people tend to say, between East and West. We look at these links first and foremost from the point of view of politics, firstly because it is in the sphere of politics that the chief question of our relations is decided - the question of war and peace. All the other sides of our relations, including trade and economic links, are called upon to serve this main cause. Secondly, because countries are two economic giants, quite capable of living and developing without any trade with one another.

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This is how things are actually going now. Judge for yourselves. In our trade turnover, the USA, one of the greatest trading powers of the world, holds 13th place, a long way behind Finland, Belgium and Austria. And we occupy 16th place in the USA's trade turnover. The USA's imports from the USSR are approximately equal in volume to its imports from the Ivory Coast Republic. I do not see any economic tragedy in this. You can get by without us as we can without you. And all the more so since there are quite enough trade partners in the world today.

But is this politically normal? I reply decisively, "No" and once again "No" in this dangerous world we simply cannot and we do not have the right to disregard such stabilisers of relations as trade, economic and scientific and technical links. And if we desire really strong and stable relations capable of ensuring reliable peace, their foundations must include developed trade relations as well.

Our age is one in which each country and each people, not just the large ones but even the very smallest, regard their independence as of the very greatest importance and defend it with all their efforts. Nonetheless, we all have to deal with the growing interdependence of states. This is an objective consequence of the development of the present-day world economy and at the same time it is an important factor of international stability. We should welcome such mutual dependence. It is capable of becoming a powerful stimulus for the construction of stable, normal and, I would even not be afraid to say, friendly relations.

Esteemed guests, we well understand the complicated nature of the tasks facing all of us. I know that among you there are heads of firms which occupy eminent positions in the US military business. I shall not hide the fact that we consider that this military business has a dangerous influence on policy. Indeed, this is not just our opinion. The very concept of the military-industrial complex was formulated not by Marxists but by the conservative Republican, President Eisenhower, who warned the US people about the negative role which this complex could play.

I am saying this not in order to reproach our guests today who have contracts with the Pentagon. They have come to Moscow and we welcome this fact. It seems to me that it is evidence of the common sense of certain representatives of military business. As far as I can see, some of them - like business circles in the USA as a whole - cannot fail to be worried by the economic and financial consequences for a country of excessive military expenditure, as well as by the consequences caused by the militarisation and the one-sided development of the economy. As for the Soviet leadership, we are deeply convinced that the halting of the arms race is in keeping with the genuine and vital interests not only of the Soviet Union but also of the USA. That is, of course, if we look at the essence of the question and are not guided by the transient advantages of a particular contract.

To learn to live in peace - and I think that this is our common and prevailing interest - means not just to refrain from wars. Full-blooded life differs from being chilled with fear at the fresh growth in the danger of war in that it presupposes the development of multi-level contacts and co-operation, including in trade.

I consider the development of trading and economic links between our countries to be a political problem also because the main obstacle on their

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path is of a political, not an economic nature. The first such obstacle is that so-called 'most favoured nation' status has not been extended to the USSR. This term at times leads one astray by creating the impression that it is a matter of a particular favourable inclination on the part of the USA towards those to whom this status is granted. But American businessmen are well aware that this is not so. In fact, 'most favoured nation' status is no more than an absence of discrimination; above all in customs tariffs.

About 120 countries, I have been told, enjoy such a status in the USA. The Soviet Union is refused this. This, of course, creates barriers in the way of our exporting many types of goods to the USA. This deprives us of the possibility of earning the means necessary for purchases of American goods. We cannot after all, go on ad infinitum receiving foreign currency from, let's say, Western Europe, and spending it in the USA. Our trading partners won't understand that.

Secondly: that is, the obstacles imposed on us in the USA with respect to credits. It is not up to me to prove to you, experienced businessmen, that there can be no serious trade without credits.

The third obstacle is so-called export control, that is, the ban on the export of very many types of goods, on the pretext that this may help military production in the USSR and thereby harm the USA's security. There is particularly much speculation on this theme. I would like to say, above all, that the version that allegedly the defence potential of the USSR is virtually completely based on Western technology, which has been bought in, and cannot develop without it, is the most utter nonsense. The authors of this story have simply forgotten what country they are dealing with: either they have forgotten, or else they just want to force others to forget that the Soviet Union is a country of great science and advanced technology, a country of outstanding scientists and engineers, and highly qualified workers.

Of course, just like any other country, as well as on our own, we rely on world achievements of science and technology, on worldwide experience in production, both in civil and military production. That's life, it is an inevitability, and the USA itself provides an example of this. It is no secret that, let us say, a decisive role in creating nuclear weapons and missiles was played not by American science and scientists but by European scientists, including Russian and Soviet ones. One must not forget either the real facts of the present day, nor the lessons of history. Allow me, in the interests of truth, to recall a few of them. It is a fact, after all, for example, that the theoretical foundations of missile technology were discovered and developed by the outstanding Russian scientist Tsiolkovskiy, that it was in our country that the foundations of the concept of multistage rockets were laid, that the first experimental rockets were created, and that, finally, the first artificial Earth satellite was launched, not to mention man's first flight into space.

One could say a great deal about the contribution of Russian and Soviet scientists, from Mendeleev to the present day, to the development of modern chemistry; I shall limit myself to recalling the fact that from 1950 to the present day, half the transuranic elements have been discovered by Soviet scientists. The enormous, in many ways decisive contribution of Soviet scientists to developing the theory of chain reactions, the theory of light and radio waves and the discovery of the laser is an indisputable fact. Modern aerodynamics, super-low temperature and super-high pressure technologies,

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almost all types of technology used in present-day metallurgy, all this would have been impossible to imagine without the achievements of scientists of the Soviet Union.

But we are not saying, in this instance, that American corporations are working on technology stolen from the USSR. We, like you, are interested in the development of scientific and technical links and in co-operation. This is a normal and legitimate interest, and I should like everyone in the USA to understand that we shall not become a market for obsolete goods. We shall only buy things that correspond to high world standards. And if the USA continues its present policy, then we shall make what we need ourselves or acquire it from other countries.

There is one other obstacle to the development of our commercial and economic ties - that is the policy of boycotts, embargoes, punishments and violation of commercial contracts which has become customary for the USA. You yourselves know what the results are. The Soviet Union has not sustained particular damage, but the commercial reputation of American business, and thus its competitiveness on the Soviet market, have seriously suffered.

Our economic planners have lost confidence in their American partners. So they usually [''increasingly'', according to a Tass version (in Russian for abroad) 1845 and in English 1914 gmt 10 Dec 85) give preference to others. This is what happened with major orders for pipe-layers for equipment for Novolipetsk metallurgical works, for an aluminium works in Siberia, not to mention the purchase of oil- and gas-drilling and prospecting equipment, where the share of the USA in our purchases has fallen to less than 0.5%.

Nevertheless, you know better than I the state of the world economic market, and specifically the fact that for the foreseeable future one should expect an exacerbation of competition on the world market. I shall be completely frank with you: until these obstacles are eliminated there will be no normal large-scale development of Soviet-American trade or any other economic ties. We regret this, but we shall not beg the USA for anything. But if these political impediments are removed I am sure that broad prospects will open up before us. We are not your competitors on the world or domestic markets. Here the Americans have more difficulties with their allies than with us. But we could become partners, natural partners, and, I assure you, honest and reliable ones.

For this, of course, both you and we would have to do some work on it: make a better study of each other's markets, improve the mechanism of economic co-operation. I know that, we, too, are not innocent here. The USSR government has a sufficiently critical attitude to our foreign trade organisations too; in our view, new forms of production co-operation and scientific and technical co-operation are possible. We are at present doing much work on this level with the socialist countries. We consider the deepening of economic integration with them to be a most important task. We shall also be expanding trade and other forms of economic co-operation with Western Europe, with Japan and the developing states.

We should like economic relations with the USA not to be left out of this process: both for political motives, about which I have spoken, and for economic motives. We have very big plans for the development of our economy, science and technology. And we should like to make the maximum use for this purpose also of the additional opportunities which are being opened up by international

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co-operation, including with the USA. Large long-term projects can be involved, and also a multitude of medium-sized and even small deals, which can interest both giants and small and medium-sized businesses. If the situation is normalised and if a reliable political and legal contract basis is created for the development of trade and economic relations, we will find both things to buy from you and things to sell to you.

We could invite American companies and firms to take part in our programmes for the further development of the energy sector of the economy. We could also think of partial participation [Russian: dolevoye uchastiye] by American firms and companies in our large-scale work on fundamentally modernising machine-tool manufacture and other sectors of the machine-building complex. If they show appropriate interest, American firms could probably join in what is being done in our country in the agro-industrial complex, chemicals, petrochemicals, the production of sets of machines and facilities for the introduction of intensive technology in arable farming and animal husbandry. But for all this the appropriate political will is necessary. It is necessary to build economic relations on a long-term basis. Guarantees are needed that some political fad or other will not start undermining business relations again.

And now permit me to return to politics once again. Only three weeks separate this ASTEC meeting from the Soviet-American meeting in Geneva. Herein lies its special significance. As I understand it, it is devoted to the analysis of potential opportunities for co-operation between the USSR and the USA in the economic sphere, to seeking out what must be done in the broadest interests of both the Soviet and the American peoples. The understanding that the present state of Soviet-American relations is unsatisfactory and dangerous was the main thing which led me and President Reagan to the meeting and talks in Geneva. I am sure that the President of the USA, just like me, felt at the time that hundreds of millions of men and women, and even children, of both our countries and also of all other countries, were looking to Geneva, were looking with hope and at the same time with anxiety. I shall tell you outright that it was not at all an easy experience. But neither I, nor, I assume, the President, found it possible to turn aside from this immense burden of human anxieties and hopes. If one takes into account how complicated the road to Geneva was, one can consider that it was something of a success.

But this is only the first step. And each next step will require even greater efforts and even greater readiness to listen, desire and ability to understand and to meet one another half-way, and, most importantly, the readiness to master the very difficult art of reaching agreements on an equal and mutually acceptable basis, without which serious problems can never be solved by us. In other words, we have entered an exceptionally crucial period when words, intentions and political statements need to be translated into concrete decisions and deeds. As you will understand, it is a matter of decisions and of deeds which might contribute to the smoothing out of Soviet-American relations and to a general improvement in the world political climate.

A high degree of enterprise, a sense for the new, an ability to find unexploited possibilities for growth are characteristic of many representatives of American business circles. I am convinced that the best and truly promising possibilities of this kind lie today not on the path of destruction and death but on the path of peace, on the path of the uniting of efforts in the name of equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation among all countries and peoples. In this there is life, and the benefits from it are indisputable.

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Allow me to wish ASTEC success in its useful activity: Thank you all for your attention. [applauses]