

## Theses of Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the CPSU Central Committee

### ON REORGANISATION AND THE PARTY'S PERSONNEL POLICY

*Here follow the theses of the report 'On Reorganisation and the Party's Personnel Policy' delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee on January 27, 1987:*

THE plenary meeting has on its agenda a matter of paramount importance to the effective fulfilment of the political strategy drafted by the April 1985 plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, the question of reorganisation and the Party's personnel policy. It is considered in a broad social and political context, with due regard for the lessons of the past, the nature of the present time and the tasks to come.

As is generally known, the April plenary meeting and the 27th Party Congress prepared the ground for an objective, critical analysis of the situation in society and took decisions of historic importance for the country's future. The society has begun reorganisation and it will not look back. The first steps on that road have been taken.

The first political conclusion is that major changes are taking place in the life of Soviet society and that positive tendencies are gaining momentum.

The policy line of the 27th Congress, the practical efforts to fulfil it and reorganisation itself have been given broad support by workers, by the entire Soviet people.

At the same time, change for the better is taking place slowly, the cause of reorganisation is more difficult and the problems which have accumulated in society are more deep-rooted than was first thought.

That is why there is an urgent need to return to an analysis of those problems which confronted the Party and Soviet society in the few years preceding the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, to understand the reasons for negative processes and to work out measures to speed up our progress, to keep us from repeating mistakes.

#### I

Almost seven decades ago the Leninist Party raised over the country the victorious banner of socialist revolution.

The achievements of the Soviet people are immense and indubitable. But no accomplishments, even the most impressive, should obscure either contradictions in societal developments or our mistakes and failings.

At some point the country began to lose momentum, difficulties and unresolved problems started to pile up, and there appeared elements of stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism.

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Of course, the country did not cease developing. Tens of millions of Soviet people were working honestly and many Party organisations and our cadre workers were energetically acting in the interests of the people. All that held back the intensification of negative processes but could not avert them altogether.

The report draws the conclusion that in the recent past, conservative sentiments, inertia, a tendency to brush aside anything which did not fit into conventional patterns prevailed in policy-making and practical work.

The extent to which vital problems and contradictions and societal tendencies and prospects were understood depended in many ways on the condition and progress of theory.

Lenin's dictum that the value of a theory consists in its providing an exact picture "of all the contradictions that are present in reality" was often merely ignored. The theoretical concepts of socialism remained to a large extent at the level of the 1930s-1940s, when society had been tackling entirely different tasks. Developing socialism, the dialectics of its motive forces and contradictions and the actual condition of society did not become the subject of in-depth scientific research.

Lenin's ideas of socialism were interpreted simplistically and their theoretical depth and significance were often left emaciated. This was true of such key problems as public property, relations between classes and nationalities, the measure of work and measure of consumption, co-operation, methods of economic management, people's rule and self-government and others.

Spurious notions of communism and various prophecies and abstract views gained currency. Production and incentive were actually oriented to quantitative, extensive growth.

Control over who managed socialist property and how had been slackened. It was often eroded by departmental and parochial attitudes and became "no-one's", free, without any real master, and in many cases came to be used to derive unearned income. There was an incorrect attitude to co-operative property, which had grievous consequences for agrarian and social policies.

Preconceptions about the role of monetary-commodity relations and the operation of the law of value and sometimes their being set in direct opposition to socialism as something alien led to voluntarist approaches in the economy, the underestimation of cost-accounting, levelling out in pay, and bred subjective approaches in price formation, breaches of money circulation and disregard for the regulation of supply and demand.

Restrictions on the cost-accounting rights of enterprises and amalgamations had especially grave consequences. They subverted the foundations of material incentive, blocked the achievement of high end results, and led to a lowering of the people's labour and social activity and to a slackening of discipline and order.

In fact, a whole system of weakening the economic tools of government emerged and there took shape a mechanism of braking socio-economic development and hindering progressive change which made it impossible to tap and use the advantages of socialism. That braking process was rooted in serious shortcomings in the functioning of the institutes of socialist democracy, outdated political and theoretical concepts that often did not correspond to meet reality, and conservative managerial machinery.

All that adversely affected the development of many spheres in the life of society. The growth rates of the national income in material production in the past three five-year plan periods dropped by more than half. Most plan targets were not met since the early 1970s.

The economy as a whole became cumbersome and relatively unresponsive to innovation. The quality of a considerable part of output no longer met the current requirements, and imbalances in production became aggravated. Negative processes seriously affected the social sphere.

Having successfully resolved the question of employment and having provided basic social guarantees, we at the same time failed to realise in full the potential of socialism to improve housing conditions, food supply, transport, health care and education and the solution of a number of other vital problems.

There emerged violations of the most important principle of socialism, distribution according to work. Efforts to control unearned income were indecisive. Parasitic sentiments grew stronger and the mentality of 'wage levelling' began to take hold.

Elements of social corrosion that emerged in the past few years had a negative effect on the society's morale and inconspicuously eroded the lofty moral values which have always been characteristic of our people and of which we are proud, namely, ideological dedication, labour enthusiasm and Soviet patriotism.

As an inevitable consequence of all this, interest in the affairs of society slackened, manifestations of callousness and scepticism appeared and the role of moral incentive to work declined.

Serious shortcomings in ideological and political education were in many cases disguised with ostentatious activities and campaigns and celebrations of numerous jubilees in the centre and in the provinces. The world of day-to-day realities and that of make-believe well-being were increasingly parting ways.

Disregard for laws, report-padding, bribe-taking and encouragement of toadyism and adulation had a deleterious influence on the moral atmosphere in society.

The ideology and mentality of stagnation had their effect on culture, literature and the arts. Criteria in appraising artistic creative work were reduced. As a consequence, there appeared quite a few mediocre, faceless works, which did not give anything to the mind or the heart, along with works which raised serious social and moral

problems and reflected true-to-life collisions. There appeared stereotypes from capitalist mass culture with its propagation of vulgarity, primitive tastes and spiritual callousness, which began to infiltrate Soviet society to a larger extent.

With all the tremendous work done by the Party, its cadres, the leading Party bodies nevertheless failed to make a timely and critical appraisal of the danger of the growth of negative tendencies in society and in the conduct of a section of the communists and to take decisions which were imperatively demanded by practice.

Far from all Party organisations managed to remain on positions of principle, wage a resolute fight against negative phenomena, permissiveness, mutual protection, the slackening of discipline and the spread of drunkenness. Departmentalism, parochialism and manifestations of nationalism were not always properly rebuffed.

The principles of collective leadership were being violated, the role of Party meetings and elective bodies was being weakened. Many Party members in senior executive positions were beyond control or criticism. The guarantees of the morality of Party ranks incorporated in the Party rules were not effective.

Everything said above shows how serious the situation was in different spheres of society and how bad the need for deep change.

It was in that situation, comrades, that the question of speeding up the socio-economic development of the country and the question of reorganisation was raised. In essence, we are actually talking about a turning-point and measures of a revolutionary character.

We simply don't have any other choice. We must not retreat and do not have anywhere to retreat to. We must steer the course charted by the April plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress consistently and unswervingly, we must advance and take society to a qualitatively new level of development.

The Political Bureau is of the view that restructuring means resolutely overcoming stagnatory processes, dismantling the braking mechanism, creating a reliable and effective mechanism for accelerating Soviet society's social and economic development. The main idea of our strategy is to merge the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the planned economy and to bring into play socialism's entire potential.

The ultimate aim of restructuring is the profound renovation of all aspects of the country's life, giving socialism the most modern forms of social organisation, the fullest possible implementation of the humanistic nature of our system in all of its decisive aspects — economic, socio-political and moral.

Today reorganisation is being pursued along the entire front. It is acquiring a new quality — it is being pursued not only in width but is also penetrating into deep-lying strata of life. A new moral atmosphere is taking shape in the country, there is a reassessment of values, while openness, truthfulness in the evaluation of phenomena and events, implacability to shortcomings, desire to improve matters are becoming asserted as vigorously acting principles. Exactness, discipline and organisation have been enhanced, and there is more order in production.

Work has begun to radically transform the material and technical base, to achieve a profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technological progress, changes have been made in the structural and investment policy. Major measures are being taken to improve administration, the mechanism of management. New principles of raising wages have been worked out and are being implemented, unjustified restrictions on individual labour have been lifted, the organisation of co-operatives in

various spheres of production and services is being encouraged.

The report analyses the results of the fulfilment of the plan of economic and social development in the first year of the five-year-plan period. It is stressed that today, when the restructuring is still in its initial stage, it is especially important to keep to positions of realism, of an objective assessment of what has been done, to view the results of work not only from positions of the past but, most important, proceeding from the plans announced by the Party and the promises made. This is the only correct Party approach.

While being of a high opinion of the Party's course of reorganisation, Soviet people express at the same time concern over the way it is being implemented in practice. They call on the Party not to stop, to act with resolve, to advance and steadily pursue the adopted course. Political conclusions should be drawn from this.

An analysis of the state of affairs and the experience of restructuring give utmost urgency to the most important question — do we have guarantees that the process of transformations will be carried out to the end, that former mistakes will not be repeated and that we will be able to ensure the full-blooded development of our society?

We do have such guarantees. They are the common will, the concerted actions of the Party and the people united by past experience and awareness of their responsibility for the socialist homeland's present and future. They are the Soviet people, their commitment to socialism. They are our Leninist Party with its tremendous creative potential. But we cannot regard these guarantees as something that acts independently of us and under all circumstances, so to speak automatically. The Political Bureau links them with the still fuller exposure and utilisation of the deep-lying responsibilities of socialism as a new social system and, most important, with the all-round development of socialist democracy, the real participation of the popular masses in solving all questions of society's life.

## II

The socialist system has given the working people truly wide political and socio-economic rights and individual freedoms and proved in fact the great advantages of Soviet democracy. But an accelerated onward movement today is possible only in conditions of the maximum activation of the human factor and the further development of democratic forms characteristic of socialism. Therein lies the essence of the Party's policy of deepening the socialist self-government of the people.

We have started this process. All spheres in the life of society are being democratised. The life of Party organisations is becoming more full-blooded, publicity, criticism and self-criticism are broadening, mass information media are becoming more active and new public organisations are being set up. There is increased participation by working people in public affairs, in running the country.

The Party approaches democratisation of Soviet society and personnel policy from broad positions, having in view all sections of our political system and all component parts of administration and the economic mechanism.

Of primary importance is the development of democracy at the point of production and the consistent introduction of truly self-governing principles. It is necessary to create such conditions and to introduce such forms of organisation of production and of the life of work collectives that would give every worker a sense of being the true master of his plant.

The tasks of effective use of all forms of direct democracy will be defined in a law on state enterprise (amalgamation) of which a draft is to be submitted for nation-wide discussion.

Giving general meetings and councils of work

collectives decisive powers on matters pertaining to production, social and personnel issues, which are envisaged by the draft, will lead to the qualitative perfection of social relations.

The collective farms and socialist co-operation as a whole have broad possibilities for democratising the processes of management of the economy and the social sphere. The promising steps already undertaken in many republics, territories and regions to broaden the co-operative forms of activities deserve support.

The crucial issue of the development of democracy in production is the introduction of the system of electing heads of enterprises, shops and departments, heads of sections, farms and units, production team leaders and foremen. Transition to new methods of economic management, economic cost-accounting, self-financing and self-repayment put that task on a practical plane.

The democratisation of the process of forming the managerial personnel on the basis of the application of the principle of electivity everywhere signals a new step forward and lends a fundamentally new character to the participation of the working people in production management. Party and public organisations and economic management organs are placed in new conditions. The electivity of senior executives in production far from undermining, on the contrary strengthens one-man management. An organic combination of one-man command and collegiality deepens and develops Lenin's principles of democratic centralism and centralised planned guidance with reliance on the collective, on the masses.

The Political Bureau considers the perfection of the election system to be a fundamental trend in democratisation.

Its existing mechanism ensures the democratic formation and representation of all sections of the population in the Soviets. But in common with all political, economic and social institutions, the election system cannot be left unchanged, it cannot stand aloof from the processes linked with reorganisation. The task is to give the elector the opportunity to express his or her attitude to a larger number of candidates, to rid the voting procedure of a number of elements of formalism.

The broadening of inner-Party democracy, above all in forming the leading bodies of Party organisations at all levels, is becoming increasingly topical. The report contains specific proposals on that issue.

The democratisation of society poses afresh the question of control over how Party, Soviet and economic bodies and their cadres work. Of great significance is to raise the level and effectiveness of control 'from the grassroots' so that every leader, every executive should permanently feel his responsibility to and dependence on the electors, the work collectives, public organisations, the Party and the people as a whole. It is proposed to introduce systematic accountability of all executives who are elected and appointed, to strengthen the democratic principles of work of the sessions and standing commissions of the Soviets, to broaden public openness in the activities of government and public organisations, to streamline the system of various checks and inspections.

True democracy does not exist outside or above the law. In accordance with the directives of the 27th Congress a large amount of work is to be done to draft and adopt new laws pertaining to the development of the economy and culture, socialist self-government, broadening of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

It is stressed that socialist democracy has nothing in common with permissiveness, anarchy and irresponsibility.

The effectiveness of genuine democracy depends on the extent of its social base, on the way the reserves and possibilities for its

expansion are used. In this connection the report considers the issues of the young generation's participation in handling tasks of reorganisation, of the promotion of non-Party people and of women to leading posts.

Serious attention is given to national aspects of personnel policy. The successes of this policy are undeniable, but we ought to look at the real picture and the prospects for developing national relations in the country. The more so since negative phenomena and deformations with which we have started to deal have emerged in this sphere too. Party organisations are obliged to handle in a more profound way questions of developing national and international relations, questions of internationalist education. Any nationalist and chauvinistic trends can be successfully opposed only by consistent, sustained internationalism.

### III

In formulating a personnel policy to match the tasks of reorganisation, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee proceeds from the premise that its success will depend to a decisive extent on how fast and profound our cadres' perception will be of the need for changes, how constructive and purposeful their effort will be in implementing the Party's policy.

The years of socialist construction in the country have seen the formation and constant replenishment of a powerful potential of highly skilled personnel. Everything that we have accomplished is the result of Soviet people's work and is due to our cadres' selfless effort. At the same time one should also mention at this Plenum mistakes in our work with cadres, distortions in personnel policy that have occurred in recent years and resulted in major shortcomings in the activity of several links of the Party, state and economic apparatus and in negative phenomena in society. In order to avoid such miscalculations in the future, we ought to draw lessons from the past.

The first one is the need to resolve in good time overripe personnel questions, to ensure continuity in the leadership and its constant renewal, including the CPSU Central Committee and the government. Raising the question in this way corresponds to the Leninist understanding of personnel policy, to the interests of the Party and the people. The report considers questions of the role of Central Committee members, their rights and responsibilities, the importance of enhancing the level of work of plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, the need to discuss at them the most crucial problems in the life of the Party and society as a whole.

The second lesson is not to allow any underestimation of political and theoretical training, of the ideological and moral tempering of cadres, of the importance of the earliest overcoming of technocratic style of work. In plunging into economic work and assuming in several instances functions not properly pertaining to the Party, many Party functionaries reduced attention to political issues, to phenomena of social significance in the sphere of the economy, in social and cultural life.

The third lesson is the fact that two opposite trends have co-existed in personnel policy in a paradoxical way over the past years: stagnation in the composition of the top echelons on the one hand, and unjustified, at times hasty replacement of heads of enterprises, construction projects, collective and state farms on the other.

We are for stability but it must not evolve into a lack of personnel turnover. We are for renewal but against the continual reshuffling of cadres. More consideration, concern, thought and principle must be shown in this work in the interests of the common cause.

The fourth lesson of our cadre work is that it is essential to increase one's accountability for the assigned task, tighten discipline, and foster an atmosphere of increased mutual exactingness. The situation must not be permitted in which many senior posts remain filled for decades by people failing to cope with their duties. We should not and cannot be 'kind' to the detriment of the interests of the Party, society and people.

There is, finally, yet another lesson. It is that laxness in enforcing democratic principles, the belittling of the role of elected bodies in a number of cases, and serious inadequacies in the activities of control agencies in both the Party and the state have for long been one of the reasons behind the serious deficiencies in our work with cadres.

There is an overriding need today to improve our personnel policy. It must be made really up-to-date, more active and purposeful and linked inseparably with the key tasks of the drive for faster social and economic development. Cadres' attitude to the process of re-organisation, that is practical rather than verbal attitude, is the decisive yardstick of performance in cadre policy and acts as a kind of tuning fork. The moral qualities and competence of personnel, their high professional standards, irreconcilability to shortcomings, to red tape and to indifferent and passive attitudes, and their commitment to everything that is advanced and progressive have become immensely important in present-day conditions.

Furthering change in society means re-styling the work of the Party and its cadres at every level — from the Central Committee to the primary organisations. It means creatively absorbing and consistently applying the Leninist principles and norms of Party life in every organisation.

The report analyses the course of the restructuring in Party organisations, and emphasises that the Party committees and all Party cadres should learn to work in conditions of deeper democracy and growing political and labour activity of the working people. The report specially considers the question of restructuring the work of city and district committees of the Party and primary Party organisations. This is precisely the main arena of the drive for the implementation of the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

An immense responsibility in this work rests with the economic personnel of enterprises, amalgamations, and managerial personnel. The transition from management by decree to economic methods of management, the expansion of

the independence of enterprises and amalgamations, and the new approach to foreign trade activities put personnel in fundamentally new conditions. It is of importance to teach economic executives and specialists to use to the full their rights and resources. The increased orientation of the activity of personnel towards the social sphere acquires fundamental importance.

It is necessary to bring about reorganisation of the work of ministries and departments as soon as possible, to help them throw away petty tutelage and interference in the day-to-day activities of amalgamations and enterprises, and to focus attention on matters concerning scientific and technological progress, the refinement of the economic mechanism, and on large-scale, long-term matters of the development of sectors. Tasks facing the personnel of planning, financial and other economic bodies have been singled out in view of the current radical reform of economic management.

The role of the Soviets of People's Deputies should be raised in practice and their responsibility for acceleration of socio-economic development and every-day services to the population should be enhanced. Trade union personnel should take a more active attitude towards the solution of industrial and social matters. The initiative of Komsomol organisations should be developed in every way.

It is important to strengthen ideological sectors with highly qualified and trained personnel, who fully feel the pulse of the times and have a deep understanding of the essence of the tasks assigned, and who are capable of effectively propagating the Party's policy, of convincing and organising people.

The further strengthening of socialist legality and of law and order in the country assigns new responsible tasks to the personnel of law enforcement agencies. They should persistently learn to work in the conditions of broader democracy and openness, relying on the trust and support of the whole people.

The report points out that new demands are being placed on the personnel of departments dealing with foreign policy in the energetic international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet State.

The military personnel, who perform the responsible mission of the defence of peace and security of the Soviet people, are a major concern of ours.

It is emphasised in conclusion that an important role belongs to the new year 1987 — the year of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution — in the realisation of the Party's strategic course towards acceleration. It is essential not only to consolidate and develop what has been achieved in the first year of the five-year plan period, but also to include long-term factors of growth more fully and to make positive changes irreversible.

The Political Bureau proceeds from the assumption that the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee is to formulate the main guidelines for the renovation of our personnel policy and to determine the main tasks of this work in the conditions of reorganisation. □

## PLENARY MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

### Resolution

HAVING heard and discussed the report by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev 'On Reorganisation and the Party's Personnel Policy', the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

fully approves the political and practical conclusions made by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee on the basis of an analysis of the situation in Soviet society in the period preceding the April (1985) plenary meeting of the Central Committee, a principled assessment of

the course of restructuring and of the first results achieved in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, as well as the tasks of the CPSU's present-day personnel policy as formulated by the Central Committee's Political Bureau and to be solved by all Party, state and public organisations.

## I

The Central Committee of the CPSU notes that developments since the April (1985) plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress of the CPSU have confirmed the correctness and vital necessity of the strategic course of accelerating socio-economic development and qualitatively transforming all aspects of our society's life. That course was formulated by the Party and is supported by the Soviet people.

The achievements of Soviet people in socialist construction in the nearly 70 years that have passed since the victory of the Great October Revolution are enormous and unquestionable. But these successes must not eclipse the fact that in the late 70s and early 80s the rates of progress in the country started to drop. Difficulties and outstanding problems started accumulating in the economy, social and cultural spheres, while elements of stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism emerged. For all the work of the Party and its cadres, the CPSU Central Committee and the country's leadership have failed to evaluate in time and in full the danger of mounting negative tendencies and work out a clear-cut course in order to overcome them. The slackening of attention to the development of theoretical thought and the study of dialectics of the motive forces and contradictions of developing socialism had a negative influence on the solution of urgent social and economic problems. There were serious drawbacks in the functioning of institutions of socialist democracy, the practice of planning, and the style and methods of management. Many Party organisations failed to work from positions of principle, did not pay the necessary attention to the strict observance of Lenin's principles and the norms of Party life and did not wage a resolute struggle against negative phenomena, the slackening of discipline, the spread of alcoholism, theft and bribery. Departmentalism, nepotism and cases of nationalism were not always rebuffed in a worthy manner.

The plenary meeting notes the exceptional importance of the fact that the Party has mustered the strength and courage to steer the course towards reconstruction and lead the way, and to organise work that is revolutionary in nature, with the aim of decisively doing away with stagnant phenomena and setting up a reliable and workable mechanism for speeding up the social and economic development of the country. There is no other way than reconstruction, there is nowhere we can retreat.

The ultimate goal of reorganisation is to renovate every aspect of the life of our society, to impart the most advanced forms of social organisation to socialism and to realise to the fullest possible extent the creative potential of the socialist system. As it delves into the deeplying strata of life and unfolds along the entire front, reorganisation exerts an ever growing influence on the situation in the country and acquires qualitatively new features.

The overall political result is that noticeable changes are taking place in the life of Soviet society, that positive tendencies are gaining momentum and that a new moral atmosphere is taking shape. Openness, truthfulness, intolerance of shortcomings and a desire to set things right are being asserted to an ever greater extent as vigorously operating principles. The national economy exceeded basic plan targets in the first year of the five-year plan period and the foundation has been effectively laid for further progress.

However, the measures that are being taken and the work that is being done do not correspond everywhere to the scale and acuteness of the existing problems, nor are they always sufficiently energetic and efficient. Change is running up against considerable difficulties in a number of major areas, primarily in the field of efficiency and quality, the development of science and technology and the social sphere.

The mechanism of braking socio-economic development, which has taken shape over the years, is crumbling and surrendering its positions too slowly, and conservatism, inertia and out-dated modes of thinking have not yet lost their strength and influence.

The plenum considers further intensifying reorganisation and stepping up efforts in every area of this process to be the most important task of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the territory, regional, area, city and district Party committees and Party, government and public organisations. It is essential today, at the initial stage, to stand for realism and objective evaluation of what has been done, consider what has been achieved not only in comparison with the past and, most importantly, to rely on the plans drafted and approved by the Party. It is essential that every communist, every citizen brace himself or herself for long, strenuous and dedicated work. This is the only correct Party approach. Effective, conscientious work by all without exception is the guarantee of success in reorganisation. It is necessary to perseveringly pursue the plotted course, step by step and without hesitation, not allowing any gap between decisions and their practical fulfilment, and guaranteeing the irreversibility of transformations.

The success of reorganisation will depend to a decisive extent on how quickly and profoundly our cadres develop an understanding of the need for revolutionary changes and how resolutely, energetically and efficiently they work. The Party's personnel policy — vigorous, purposeful, based on the Leninist principles and meeting the tasks of reorganisation — is called upon to promote these goals. It is obliged to reflect in full measure the features of the current situation, the character and tasks of the moment, and ensure high efficiency of every element of the Party and the state, of our entire social organism. Personnel policy is a decisive means of fulfilling the programme goals of the CPSU, a dependable tool enabling the Party to exercise political leadership of society and to formulate and effectively pursue a strategic line that meets the interest of the people and is up to the task of strengthening and developing socialism.

## II

1. The plenum stresses that revealing and tapping the tremendous resources of socialism as a new social system to an ever greater degree, updating its economic foundations, extending socialist democracy all-round and furthering popular self-government are conditions for accelerating the country's social and economic development. Only on this basis can the creative initiative of the working masses and their effective involvement in running all aspects of public life assume a truly broad scale and the human factor make its fullest impact.

Approving the practical steps taken along these lines in accordance with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, the plenum considers it essential to take maximum advantage of the opportunities for broadening socialist democracy and advancing the Soviet political system, fill the activities of Party and state agencies and mass organisations with real, democratic content, and ensure conditions for working people to increase substantially the influence on the selection of personnel and exercise control over their own work. It should be made certain that the primary Party organisations fully perform their statutory duty to take an active part in executing the personnel policy.

2. The plenum attaches supreme significance to promoting democracy in production, consistently introducing self-government into the activities of work collectives, and creating conditions for every worker to feel that he is really in charge of his factory. Establishing work collective councils at factories and amalga-

mations and giving both these councils and the general staff meetings the final say in a wide range of production, social and personnel issues go towards achieving these goals.

It is essential to introduce a system for electing the managers of factories, production units, shops, departments, sections, farms, workers' teams, shift foremen and job foremen and to broaden the practice of choosing executives and specialists through competition, and define the conditions for employing such a method.

In the new conditions it is very important to realise that the election of the heads of work collectives, far from undermining the principle of one-man management, only further enhances it and raises the prestige of the executives, while also increasing their accountability for the entrusted job and fostering an atmosphere of mutual exactingness in every collective. An organic combination of one-man leadership and collective participation in decision-making on the more important matters develops and amplifies the principles of democratic centralism and plan-based management relying on the collective.

The plenum considers it expedient to approve the Draft Law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation) intending to put it up later for nationwide discussion.

3. The broad possibilities, enjoyed by the collective farms and the socialist co-operative movement in general, of encouraging the initiative and independent activities of working people and democratising the management of the economy and the social sphere should be used more fully. It is important to ensure strict compliance with the statutes of the collective farms and other co-operative organisations and amend them so as to make for still greater activity on the part of the co-operatives' members, increase their interest in collective work and its real results for each member.

It shall be recommended that the Council of Ministers of the USSR and appropriate bodies in the republics and localities take measures for wide dissemination of co-operative forms of the organisation of public catering, everyday services and some other sectors which are directly connected with meeting the requirements and interests of Soviet people.

4. Refining the Soviet electoral system is one of the key avenues of the democratisation of social life and of the personnel policy. It is important that we eliminate elements of formalism from the practice of nomination and discussion of candidates to run for the Soviets, and enable the voter to express his attitude towards a larger number of candidacies, and to participate effectively in the electoral process at all its stages.

5. The plenum supports the principled way in which the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee has put the question of the need to broaden inner-Party democracy, to look for effective ways to revitalise the work of the primary Party organisations, conferences and plenary sessions, and to improve the mechanism of the formation of elective Party bodies at all levels, in the sense of further democratising it.

6. The plenum attaches much importance to enhancing control over the activities of cadres 'from above' and particularly 'from below', to consistently realising Lenin's precept that the work of the leading bodies should be open to everyone and should be carried out in full sight of the masses. With this end in view, regular reports by elected and appointed officials to the work collectives and to the population should be ensured, with people given the right to evaluate the activities of executives, right up to raising the question of removing officials who have been unable to cope with their duties or who have compromised themselves. It is essential to establish an efficient system of control over the work of leading cadres, using for the purpose the Party, trade union and Komsomol conferences, sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies,

plenums of Party, trade union and Komsomol committees, the activities of the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, local soviets of people's deputies, and by making ever greater use of the methods of inquiries by deputies.

It is essential to recognise it as expedient for the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to adopt measures to introduce order in the existing practice of checks and inspections at enterprises and organisations. The aim is to ensure that such checks are useful and not just a tribute to formalism, diverting large numbers of people from their work.

Party organisations should constantly keep within their field of vision the certification of leading cadres, specialists, officials in state organs and public organisations and regard it as an effective form of collective control over the work of cadres and of incentive to upgrade their professional qualifications.

7. The plenum obliges all Party committees and Party organisations to take additional measures to increase openness, promote criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, to make full use of this tested lever with the aim of instilling in personnel uncompromisingness towards shortcomings, healthy dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, and a desire to uproot all sorts of digressions from the norms of socialist morality. We must always proceed from the premise that the attitude to criticism is an important indicator of the political maturity of cadres, their readiness for change and ability to actually carry out the reorganisation. The Party is no place for persons beyond the reach of criticism or for persons who do not have the right to criticise. Stifling of criticism or attempts to slander honest, devoted workers, to settle personal scores by resorting to anonymous letters and other unworthy methods should be resolutely cut short.

8. Taking into account that true democracy does not exist outside the law or above the law, the plenum attaches much importance to drafting and adopting new legislative acts, to enhancing the role of the Soviet court, to strictly observing the principle of the independence of judges, to radically intensifying supervision by the procurator's office, to improving the work of the investigative bodies, to all ways and means of protecting the interests of the Soviet State and safeguarding the rights and freedoms of citizens. The Party proceeds from the premise that socialist democracy has nothing in common with the anything-goes mentality, with irresponsibility and anarchy. It is called upon to genuinely serve man, the collective and society, the development of working people's initiative, the revealing of the socialist system's creative potential, the strengthening of law and order, justice, and a healthy moral atmosphere in our society. The legal education of the leading cadres and the entire population should be intensified.

9. The plenum believes it is necessary to see to the consistent expansion of the social base of Soviet democracy, to the more active participation of every citizen, veterans and youth, representatives of all sections of the population in restructuring, in state and public life.

It is necessary to ensure that young, promising workers are promoted in a bolder fashion and that they work in all sectors shoulder to shoulder with the tested personnel of older generations, thus gaining experience and tempering. Party organisations are obliged to direct this natural process, consider it as an indispensable condition for guaranteeing the continuity of the leadership, of our policy course and overcoming sluggishness and stagnation. It is important that trust in young people, the development of their independence in organising work, study, everyday activities and recreation be combined with assistance, with comradely criticism of mistakes. Efforts to

prepare a dependable reserve of personnel for promotion must be dramatically intensified.

More deserving workers and farmers should be recommended for senior positions in Party, local government, trade union and Komsomol bodies. Their training at higher and specialised secondary educational establishments should be encouraged in all ways, would-be leaders should be carefully selected from among them and further groomed. Good organisers from among non-Party comrades must be promoted to responsible posts. The plenum regards as essential the promotion of women to senior posts at all levels of management and in all spheres of the life of society.

10. The plenum of the Central Committee draws attention to the need to comply strictly and consistently in cadre work with the demands of the Leninist nationalities policy and to comprehensively take account of the processes of the growing involvement of all Soviet nationalities in the economic and social life of the country. Special care and caution, Party principledness and concern for strengthening friendship and fraternity among the peoples of our country should be displayed in everything concerned with the development of relations among nationalities. Negative phenomena in that sphere should be resolutely stamped out, and any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, anti-semitism, parochialism, parasitic sentiments, nationalistic limitations and arrogance must be uncompromisingly rebuffed and countered with consistent and unflagging internationalism.

Adequate representation of all the nations, big and small, within the country in Party, government and economic management bodies and public organisations must be achieved and efforts must be made to ensure that the composition of senior executive personnel reflects to a fuller extent the ethnic structure of the population. It is necessary to intensify exchanges of cadres between republics and regions and between local and central bodies so as to step up the internationalist education of cadres and to enrich them with experience of Party and government work.

### III

1. The plenum approves the measures taken by the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee to deal with the consequences of the violations of Party principles and distortions in personnel policy in the past. The infusion of new blood into the leadership and the replacement of leaders who have proved no match for new tasks or compromised themselves by improper conduct have become an essential component of and the most important factor for reorganisation.

In view of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, it is essential to deeply renovate personnel policy, make it truly up-to-date and inseparably link it with the key areas of struggle for socio-economic acceleration. Persevering efforts must be made to ensure that Party, government, economic management and public work in every area is led by persons who are dedicated to the Party and the people, who are true innovators, profoundly aware of the need for qualitative change in our society and capable of breaking down inertia and routine and creatively pursuing the Party's line.

On the basis of the all-round analysis of the lessons of the past, the CPSU Central Committee regards it as fundamentally important:

In keeping with the Leninist understanding of personnel policy to find a timely solution to outstanding personnel questions at all levels, starting from the CPSU Central Committee and the government, to ensure the constant replenishment of the leading cadres so that the process of renewal is not breached and continuity not disrupted;

To enhance Marxist-Leninist theoretical

training, ideological and moral tempering of the cadres, to inculcate in them lofty political and ethical culture, profound understanding of the essence of the Party's course towards acceleration and the ability to link programme objectives in each sector closely with everyday organisational, economic and educational work, to deal persistently with manifestations of a technocratic approach in the activity of Party committees, in personnel selection;

To ensure a considerate, thoughtful, principled attitude to the cadres in their selection and replacement, always being guided exclusively by business interests. Stagnation and unjustified, hasty replacement of workers, administration by decree, subjectivism, intolerance towards independent thinking and initiative are inadmissible in this work;

To constantly increase cadres' responsibility for the task given, to create an atmosphere of mutual exactingness, firm discipline and organisation everywhere, to resolutely curb manifestations of laxity. Genuine care for the cadres has nothing in common with complacency and condonation, charity and flirtation;

To strictly observe and develop the principle of democratic centralism in personnel policy, to create the necessary political and legal conditions so that elected bodies in the Party and the state, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organisations could fully use the rights given to them, and exercise effective control over executive bodies and the operation of the apparatus;

To ensure in the elected bodies an atmosphere of genuine collectivity, equality, free and principled discussion of issues. No matter what the position of leaders might be, it does not raise them above other members of the elected body, but highlights the fact that they bear greater responsibility for the strictest possible observance of Party norms and principles;

To carry out practical measures to improve dramatically the activity of Party, state and public control, enhance their effect on the strengthening of discipline, on the eradication of violations and abuses in all their forms, and make the apparatus function more efficiently.

2. The plenum of the Central Committee emphasises that the attitude towards reorganisation and towards the work involved in speeding up the country's socio-economic development and real action to accomplish them are the decisive criterion of the evaluation of the cadres and their political and civic position. The Party will promote and support those of its functionaries who not only believe in the course towards reorganisation but also actively and creatively join in the process of renewal, devoting all their energies to the common cause and getting results. He who cannot change the state of affairs in the assigned sector for the better, who remains indifferent to current changes or clings to the old ways has no right to fill an executive position.

3. The reorganisation process is inseparably connected with the consolidation of the ethical principles of socialist society and of the Soviet way of life. Deep ideological conviction, the highest possible political and moral responsibility for the country's future, and unswerving adherence to the Leninist ethics of Bolshevism — these are the exigent demands which are made on all our cadres in the present-day situation. They should set an example of ideological staunchness, undeviating observance of Party and state discipline, honour, honesty, decency, integrity, modesty and intolerance towards any deviations from the norms of socialist morality.

It is necessary to steadily get rid of time-servers, careerists, trimmers, and of all those who sully the title of Party member and of Soviet executive by money-grubbing, preoccupation with acquisition, drunkenness and immorality, Protectionism, nepotism, and the nomination of

officials on the basis of clannishness or personal loyalty must be combatted resolutely. Those who try to shelter rogues, embezzlers, or extortionists should be called strictly to account under Party rules and Soviet law. Those who deliberately disregard our principles should be made known to the public and exposed to public censure. Concern for the unblemished and honest image of the executive is the paramount duty of every Party organisation.

The plenum makes it binding on the Party committees and primary Party organisations to resist resolutely any attempts, whoever they come from, at exculpating from responsibility those who have ruined a job or stained their reputation. The still existing practice where the misdeeds of executives are examined within a narrow group and where the true reasons for relieving any given executive of his duties are passed over in silence should be done away with everywhere. The provisions of the CPSU rules which read that for any misdeed the communist is accountable above all to his primary Party organisation should be undeviatingly observed. Within the Party and the state the law and discipline are the same for each and every one.

4. To deepen reorganisation means first and foremost to reorganise the work of the Party itself and its cadres at every level, from the Central Committee down to the primary Party organisations, and to consistently pursue at every level the Leninist principles and norms of Party life. It is in this that the Central Committee sees the essence and main aim of today's personnel policy.

It should be a basic principle that the guiding and coordinating role of the Party and its committees should manifest itself today in helping cadres in every field understand the tasks of the moment, and in holding them strictly accountable for the business they have been entrusted with. Administrative functions that are uncharacteristic of Party bodies, and the desire to resolve questions within the competence of others and to replace government bodies and economic management and public organisations must be resolutely renounced. Special attention must be attached to the reorganisation of the work of the district and city Party committees, which directly provide the Party's liaison with its grassroot elements and work collectives.

Persevering efforts must be made to ensure that every Party committee as an organ of political leadership is a true generator and conductor of new ideas and an organiser of the interaction of all forces, and is capable of deploying them correctly and of foreseeing and taking into account the consequences of the decisions made. Care for man, his living and working conditions, rest and leisure opportunities, and the moulding of human consciousness must be in the focus of attention of the Party committees. Emphasis must be shifted in the practical style of Party leadership onto real day-to-day work among the masses of people, the organisation of the practical fulfilment of decisions and plans, support for public initiative and encouragement of innovative quest.

The main component of reorganisation and speedup drive is the primary Party organisations, in which the policy of the Party is being pursued by millions of communists and dovetailed with the day-to-day life, work and concerns of the working people. The organisational, ideological and political strengthening of the primary Party organisations and the enhancing of their ability and will to struggle are the most important tasks of the district, city, area, regional and territory Party committees and the central committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics.

It is necessary to foster in Party workers a political, statesman-like approach to business, the ability to work under conditions of expanding democracy and people's growing public and production activity, and to convince and lead them. Intolerance of manifestations of conser-

vatism, red tape, parochialism and departmentalism must also be instilled in them. The plenum approves the measures outlined by the Political Bureau for the comprehensive reorganisation of the system of Party and political education, for bringing it as close as possible to reality, to present-day tasks, and obliges Party committees to ensure their consistent implementation, to increase constructive assistance to Party organisations and propaganda media and to improve the organisation of the training and briefing of the grassroot Party activists working among the people.

5. In view of the great responsibility placed on the cadres in the economy for carrying out the Party's strategic course towards speeding up socio-economic development, the plenum draws attention to the need to promote and educate truly competent and innovative managers of enterprises and amalgamations, those capable of working with the people and of achieving under new economic conditions the advance to the forefront of scientific and technological progress, drastic improvements in the quality of output and high efficiency of production. They must be given assistance so that they could speedily master the economic methods of management based on full cost-accounting and self-financing, on broad independence and greater responsibility for the performance of amalgamations and enterprises, and on a new approach to foreign-economic activity. The introduction of state quality inspectorates is a matter of great importance.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches fundamental significance to actively involving the working class, collective farmers and intellectuals, all working people in the job of reorganising, in the drive for a speed-up and for strengthening discipline and moral integrity in all spheres of our society. It should be realised that the process of reorganisation requires every worker in every field to demonstrate complete responsibility for the assigned task, to upgrade his professional skills and standards all the time, to master the latest machinery and technology, and to be enterprising and resourceful.

6. The plenum considers it a highly important task to raise substantially the quality and creative contribution of the intellectual, cadre potential in the national economy, improve the training and use of specialists, readjust the higher and secondary specialised education systems, consistently implement the reform of the general educational and vocational school and create in the country a unified system for continuous education. Special attention should be paid to keeping priority sectors of the national economy and newly-completed production units supplied with personnel first, as well as to training specialists and workers to build and operate new equipment.

7. Proceeding from the premise that faster progress in the field of equipment and technology calls for stepping up basic and applied research and for decisively gearing science to meet the needs of the national economy, the plenum considers it very important for the scientists working at academic institutions, in industry and at higher schools to increase their contribution to the work of comprehensively intensifying production, making the economy more cost-effective and combining science more closely with production. More attention should be paid to the activities of science-production and intersectoral science-and-engineering complexes. Urgent measures should be taken to improve the training of research personnel, encourage more young, talented people to become scientific workers, create conditions for fruitful work by scientists, improve their provision with technical facilities, and strengthen the experimental base.

8. In view of the present-day demands, it is necessary to speed up the reorganisation of the structure, style, forms and methods in the work of planning, financial and other economic bodies, all ministries and agencies, to define more clearly their functions and tasks, to help do away with

petty tutelage, interference in the everyday functioning of amalgamations and enterprises, to concentrate on major, long-term questions of developing national economic branches, accelerating scientific and technological progress, perfecting the economic mechanism and retraining and upgrading personnel.

9. The plenum attaches fundamental importance to laying more emphasis on social orientation in the activity of leading cadres, inculcation in them of the view that social problems constitute a most important political undertaking. The ability to correctly resolve social issues, create favourable conditions for highly productive work, for people to lead a good life, and ensure in collectives an atmosphere of creative endeavour is an indispensable criterion of any leader's political and business maturity.

To give close attention to the cadres in all fields directly connected with meeting people's everyday requirements and resolving problems affecting the vital interests of citizens. What is especially important here is good organisation of work. Rudeness, callousness, lack of consideration for people cannot be tolerated.

10. In its restructuring work the Party relies on government, trade union and Komsomol cadres. The plenum approves of the measures adopted by the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR directed at further raising the role and increasing the responsibility of the soviets of people's deputies for accelerating social and economic development, and attaches much importance to the enhancement of democratic principles in the activity of the soviets and their executive organs with a view to fuller and more effective utilisation on their part of the powers granted them. It is necessary to enhance the work of Party groups in the soviets and increase their influence on the latter's activity.

In present-day conditions trade union cadres should take a more vigorous stand in resolving concrete production and social issues, in developing emulation, strengthening labour and production discipline, and educating. The communists engaged in trade union work should press for the election to trade union posts of people commanding respect, knowing life, capable of organising specific jobs and standing up for the interests of the working man and the collective.

The Party organisations must exercise in practice and on a day-to-day basis guidance of Komsomol organisations, avoid mentorship and administration by decree, encourage the Komsomol's initiative in every way, help in the organisation of educational activities among young people at a high level, promptly respond to their requirements and act as initiators of constructive doings in work, education and recreation.

11. The plenum supports the measures taken by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to raise the prestige of the personnel of the courts, procurator's offices, judiciary, militia, state arbitration, notary's offices, and thousands of volunteer law enforcers, and to improve their efficiency. The Party's support, however, makes it incumbent on the personnel of the law enforcement bodies to make even more persevering efforts to deeply reorganise their activities in protecting the interests of socialist society and the state and the lawful rights of Soviet citizens. It is necessary to radically improve work with law enforcement personnel, to teach them to work under conditions of growing democracy and openness, bearing in mind that those who enforce the law should themselves be absolutely clean before the law, the Party and the people.

12. The plenum attaches major importance to the reorganisation of the work of foreign-policy bodies, to reinforcing them with staff capable of creatively and consistently pursuing the Party's line in international politics.

13. Today's complex international situation, the striving of the hawk-like imperialist forces of the US to break the military-strategic parity and to achieve nuclear superiority demand a speedy build-up of the economic potential, comprehensive strengthening of the defences of our country and maintenance of its defence capability at the proper level, high training standards and combat readiness of the Armed Forces and constant vigilance. The CPSU Central Committee highly values

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# Mikhail Gorbachev's closing remarks at plenum of CPSU Central Committee

*Mikhail Gorbachev made the following closing remarks at the end of the CPSU Central Committee's plenary meeting on January 28:*

Comrades,

Our plenum is concluding its work and its deliberations of the main item on the agenda. The atmosphere in which it has conducted its work and the discussions that have taken place point to the complete unity of views that has been demonstrated here on all issues the plenum of the Party's Central Committee was to consider and decide. This has not been a formal unity but a unity based on the awareness of the Central Committee's responsibility for successfully carrying out the strategic policy charted by the April plenum and the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Now that we have wound up the discussions and are to take a decision, it is appropriate to ask: has our plenum met the expectations of the communists and of all Soviet people? How is this question to be answered? By even the highest standards this plenum has been a major political event in the life both of the CPSU and of Soviet society.

I believe we have reason to say the plenum is taking the Party, the country and all society perceptibly further on along the path of restructuring. But the plenum's significance can only manifest itself fully on this indispensable condition: everything that we have agreed upon here must be consistently translated into reality by the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau, the central committees of the Communist Parties of the constituent republics, the Party committees at territorial, regional, city, district and area levels, and all Party organisations across the land.

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the efforts of the military personnel, servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy, who are unfailingly protecting the peaceful work of the people and the security of the homeland and honourably discharging their internationalist duty. It is necessary to continue enhancing the responsibility of commanding and political officers, the entire officer corps, and the Party organisations of the army and the navy for maintaining military discipline at a high level, for the ideological and moral education of the personnel, their combat and political training. Ensuring good living conditions for the servicemen and their families must be a constant concern.

14. Responsible tasks are set before ideological workers, who are called upon to carry the ideas and policy of the Party into the midst of the people, to equip them with an understanding of the historical necessity of reorganisation and to help everyone find his or her place in the people's drive for acceleration. Cadres in senior positions, Party activists, all communists should carry out educational work on a day-to-day basis. Ideological work should be entrusted to people with theoretical and professional training, with a keen sense of the pulsebeat of our times, and with a capacity for working creatively and seeking a firm linkage of ideological and educational work with practical reorganisation.

The plenum points out that the accomplishment of the tasks facing our society and the assertion of openness and of a healthy and critical atmosphere are being actively promoted by the press, television and radio. Intolerance of negative phenomena, the dissemination of experience acquired in the reorganisation process and the elevation of conscientious and highly productive work are the paramount interconnected tasks of the mass media. The general demands which the Party makes on the cadres: ideological firmness, professionalism, sense of duty, adherence to principle, high responsibility for the

This is why I would put it this way: the plenum will have lived up to the expectations, if we continue in the same vein also after it. This plenum has laid a sturdy foundation for making further, steady progress along the path of speedup, change, and improvements in personnel policy meeting the needs of the present stage of historical development.

The extensive discussions, in which 34 comrades took part out of the total of 77 who had entered their names on the prospective speakers' list, have given us a unique opportunity to take a look once again, from different levels and different angles of Party and state work, at the drive for reorganisation, reflect on its mission, evaluate the very process of change once more, and hear first-hand opinions on its score.

What has been of paramount importance to us, and I think we have the right to speak of this, is in the first place the plenum's political conclusion that the Party and all healthy forces of society stand for change. If this is so, there can be just no other path at all. And this should mark the end of the debates on whether we need change or not. I fully agree with Comrade D K Motorny who has said here that reorganisation is no longer an idea, it is a reality.

The Soviet people are linking their own plans as well as the future of their country and its international prestige and authority with the reorganisation effort. So may we permit any wavering in pressing on with it? No, comrades, we may not.

Yes, reorganisation is already a reality. Today we realise more clearly and vividly that both from the standpoint of domestic advances and from the standpoint of external conditions, the international situation, we must secure a speedup in the country's social and economic development. But there will be no speedup without a renovation of society, just as there will be no change cutting across all aspects of its life

veracity and accuracy of the instances being brought up for public verdict and principled Party attitude towards criticism, fully apply to newsmen, television and radio broadcasters.

15. The new stage of social transformations puts responsible tasks before intellectuals in the artistic field and before all workers in the sphere of culture. Their duty is to enrich the cultural and intellectual life of society, to promote the ideological and ethical development of the working person, to create talented, true-to-life works reflecting our actuality in all its diversity and grandeur, and to resist firmly the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism, which seeks to impose false and inhumane values upon our people and, above all, upon the young.

The central committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, territorial and regional committees of the Party, appropriate state bodies, the boards and Party organisations of artists' unions and cultural institutions are called upon to give competent assistance in the creative process, respecting talent and at the same time showing Party-style adherence to principle. They are to promote the refining of the forms of democratism and social initiative in cultural development, to further criticism and self-criticism in creative collectives. Special attention must be given to enhancing the role of literary criticism, ideological tempering and education of young artists, and to developing their aptitudes and talents. Incompetent interference in purely creative processes, individual sympathies and antipathies, or replacement of methods of ideological influence with high-handed decisions are inadmissible in the guidance of creative activity.

16. The plenum charges the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to carry out, with due account for proposals advanced by Central Committee members, specific measures to perfect the organisation of

without a renovation of society. The new tasks cannot be tackled by taking the old approaches, especially the historic tasks facing us today.

Reorganisation is no stroll by a well-beaten path. It is an ascent, often through a wilderness. There are, as the Central Committee's plenum has demonstrated once more, quite a few problems accumulated in our society. Uphill, creative efforts and a long, selfless struggle will be needed to carry the great cause of change through, as demanded by our people and as demanded by the times we live in.

We are just at the start of the road. This must be made plain by the Central Committee's plenum since realising where we are enables us to realise also what we must do and how. If someone has decided he has already changed his ways, he must be reminded that we have only just started the job of reorganising. And the most important work is yet ahead. This is another important conclusion drawn by the plenum of the Party's Central Committee.

As we pursue, and step up, the reorganisation effort, we must not run to extremes in our judgements. We must stand firmly on what is the sole stable basis — the ground of reality. Overestimating our achievements would be injurious but I would like to stress with equal force also that we must not fail to take note of even the slightest progress in the process of change, even the tiny modicums of experience, since that would be just as injurious. That is inadmissible first of all for the following reason.

We are just getting into our stride, grounding our political line in concrete approaches and mapping out ways of reaching the targets we have set ourselves. We are just turning on the mechanism and machinery for change and making the first steps for them to swing into action and yield results. But even as we reviewed the results of 1986, we already saw that headway

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personnel work in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and local Party bodies, deepening the theoretical and methodological elaboration of aspects of present-day personnel policy. The work of personnel departments at ministries, agencies, enterprises, offices and organisations should be markedly improved.

The CPSU Central Committee recommends that Party committees, local government bodies, ministries and agencies, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, managing bodies of other public organisations implement practical measures to improve work with cadres in the light of the directives of the 27th Party Congress and this resolution.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee expresses utmost confidence that changes in the economic, social and cultural spheres of Soviet society will escalate and deepen. This is guaranteed by the heartfelt support on the part of the Communists, all Soviet people for the Party's Leninist domestic and foreign policy, for the current reorganisation, by the broadening patriotic drive to achieve the plan targets for the 12th five-year period and greet the 70th anniversary of the Great October (1917) Revolution with honour.

It is necessary not only to consolidate what was achieved in the first year of the five-year plan period, but to advance further, to make fuller use of long-term economic growth factors and achieve tangible positive changes all across the board. Mobilising the broadest sections of the working people and channelling their initiative and energy into tapping the inexhaustible resources of socialism and pursuing the course of renewal and acceleration today constitute the political mission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. □

(Moscow, January 28, 1987)

has been made.

How has it been made? It is the direct result of our people's support for the line towards reorganisation, towards acceleration.

So, how can we fail to see that or believe that nothing has happened or nothing is taking place? The revolutionary is not the one who uses revolutionary phraseology, but the one who can view things in perspective and rouse the people and the Party to long and persistent efforts, taking note of every step of progress and using it to find another fulcrum for a new and broader stride.

Today at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee we must say a word of immense Party gratitude to our people for coming to realise and to feel intuitively that they are called upon to make difficult efforts but towards such changes and such goals which would bring fine fruits to the entire society, to every family and every person.

The Soviet people believed us and supported the Party. This is why the positive changes achieved in 1986 are so important to us. They are of importance because they reflected our people's powerful support for the Party's policy and for its course towards acceleration.

I want to emphasise some other aspects mentioned at the plenum. To my mind, it is quite legitimate that the subject of serious, in-depth democratisation of Soviet society has been put to the fore as the major one in the report of the Political Bureau.

This is, comrades, the lever which will make it possible to draw into the reorganisation its decisive force — the people. If we do not do that, we shall not accomplish the tasks of acceleration, we shall not ensure the reorganisation, and there will be just no reorganisation at all.

On the other hand, while developing, furthering socialist democracy and revealing its potential, we thereby create the most reliable guarantees to prevent a repetition of the errors of the past. But the point is not only in that.

We need democracy like air. If we fail to realise that and even if we do realise that but make no real serious steps to broaden it, to advance it and to draw the country's working people extensively into the reorganisation process, our policy will get choked, and the reorganisation will peter out, comrades.

Herein is our main idea. Like all the members of the Political Bureau — and we exchanged opinions on the course of the plenum during every interval — I am very much satisfied with the fact that this major direction of the CPSU's activities at the present stage of the drive for the attainment of the goals of acceleration has been fully supported by the plenum of the Central Committee.

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the people should know everything. Openness, criticism and self-criticism, and control exercised by the masses of people are guarantees of the healthy development of Soviet society. If they are needed by the people, it means they are essential to everyone. This is all the more important since the CPSU is the ruling party. It is also interested in openness, in criticism and self-criticism, for these are real and reliable forms of the normal functioning of the CPSU. These are precisely the means which can protect the Party from errors in politics. The price of these errors is known to all of us.

Today at the plenary meeting we are all arriving at the same conclusion: we need openness, need criticism and self-criticism as efficient forms of socialist democracy. Everything concerns the people in our state, a state of workers and farmers, because it is a state of the people. They should know everything and consciously judge everything. These words, as you know, belong to Vladimir Lenin.

The people need the whole truth. In this connection I want to remind you of Lenin's position expressed in a letter to the newspaper *Iskra*. "Indeed, it is high time to make a clean

sweep of the traditions of circle sectarianism and — in a party which rests on the masses — resolutely advance the slogan: more light! — let the Party know everything." Lenin wrote. As never before, we need now more light so that the Party and the people can know everything, so that no dark nooks are left to become overgrown with mould again, so that they can know everything we are resolutely fighting against now, but have a long way to go yet. This is why we need more light.

Is it possible that we with such a powerful Party and patriotic people, loyal to the ideals of socialism and their motherland, will fail to rise to the occasion if someone tries to take advantage of wide openness and democratic processes to pursue selfish and anti-social purposes, and to slander?

I want to share an observation I made analysing my trips. Before, more often than not demagogues came to the fore showing off their 'courage'. The demagoguery was mainly along such lines as: where are the top officials, especially those in Moscow, looking? The situation is different now. I draw this conclusion from scores of meetings. Now mature, serious people start talk calmly, often in most unexpected audiences and places, in, as they say, unprepared audiences. They raise issues in a business-like manner, ask about what is unclear to them, and find out how one or another question will be solved.

It is the openness and democracy that have allowed the working class, the peasantry, our intelligentsia and all healthy forces to hold up their head. Once a demagogue appears they restrain him themselves. This happened before my eyes dozens of times. People will always sort out all problems.

Openness, criticism and self-criticism are simply necessary for us. These are the major features of the socialist way of life. If someone believes that these are needed by us only for criticising the drawbacks of the past, he makes a profound mistake. The main point is that openness, criticism and self-criticism, and democracy are necessary for our advance, and for the accomplishment of immense tasks. We shall not accomplish these tasks without active participation of the people. This is what we need all that for.

If it seems to someone that it is not easy to work in such a situation, I want to recall that already six months ago I urged people to begin learning to work in the conditions of the unfolding democracy. Let all of us learn to do that.

The press must sustain openness in the country and inform our people. But it should do this responsibly: such is the wish we are expressing. Not to be carried away by sensationalism. We need the press as an active participant in the reorganisation.

We should add efficiency in work. Remarks and pronouncements by many comrades that a good deal of words have already been said sounded right here.

This applies to everyone, including the press. At present it is very important for us to see everything that is positive and constructive and adopt that for further use, to make it known to the entire Party and to all people, and to use the sprouts of new approaches in the conditions of reorganisation. Greater openness and the popularisation of everything advanced are necessary in this field, too.

Beginning with the January plenary meeting of the Central Committee, we are entering — I do not want to be accused that we are again inventing some stage — but still we are now entering a new stage of our movement, our reorganisation work. I shall explain this thought as follows. The situation has been reviewed, a political course has been elaborated, and the main decisions aimed at implementing the course have been taken. What is needed now is deeds and only deeds.

The people will judge our policy and our

reorganisation effort, and do this the more strictly, the more time goes by, by the palpable results we achieve: in securing practical improvements in the working and living conditions of the millions: by the extent by which production efficiency has risen, the pay scheme become fairer, housing construction picked up, the trading, consumer, mass transit and medical services have improved, and the moral atmosphere has become cleaner and fresher in every Party organisation and in every work collective.

In short, we communists must prove the correctness of our policy and the viability of change on thousands upon thousands of facts of daily life. This makes especially high demands on the personnel and concentrates their attention on attaining practical results. This is why it is so important now, as it has already been said in the report, to hasten the step, shift into higher gear, and for everyone to put an even bigger effort in one's work.

I would like to stress especially the significance of the tasks to be tackled in this jubilee year of 1987. These tasks are tremendous in terms of their scope and of the frontiers we shall have to reach to cope with them. They are especially important from the standpoint of mastering the new methods of management, switching the entire economy, many of its sectors over to the new principles of management.

The reorganisation, comrades, is a great school. It sets complex tasks and we must go through this school well. I would like to repeat once again: it is necessary to act, act and act: energetically, dauntlessly, constructively, and competently! This is, if you will, the principal task of the moment. Everybody, all Party organisations, all Party committees, all leaders, and all communists, should regard this task as their own.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU I would like to address all comrades in the Party and all Soviet people: the cause of the reorganisation, the cause of the revolutionary revitalisation of society, and the country's future are in the hands of the people at large. This future will be what we make it, with our common labour, our intellect, and our conscience.

The reorganisation is the frontline for every honest person, for every patriot. There is enough work for everyone and the road ahead is long.

We are firm in our desire to carry out the decisions of the 27th Congress. We shall press on with bringing Soviet society to a qualitatively new state of affairs. We are convinced that the reorganisation is irreversible.

The members of the Central Committee have spoken in favour of convening an all-union Party conference. For the Party such a conference is a political event of great magnitude. I understand that those who did not participate in the deliberations, also share this proposal which the Political Bureau put forward at the plenum.

Comrades, we remember from history more than one conference that at crucial stages helped see new ways and means of achieving the set aims, and solved problems transcending far beyond the framework of tactical ones.

We consider it advisable, and I am bringing this up to you for consideration, that the Political Bureau prepare proposals for one of the nearest plenary meetings of the Central Committee on the date and procedure for the holding of the conference. We think that the Party conference will impart a mighty charge to the report-and-election campaign and give a new impetus to the reorganisation work of the Party and all its organisations.

These are, briefly, the considerations which I wanted to express in conclusion of the discussion that took place at the plenary meeting of the Party's Central Committee. I want to thank you all for the active participation in the plenum's work and wish all its participants big successes in our common work. □