

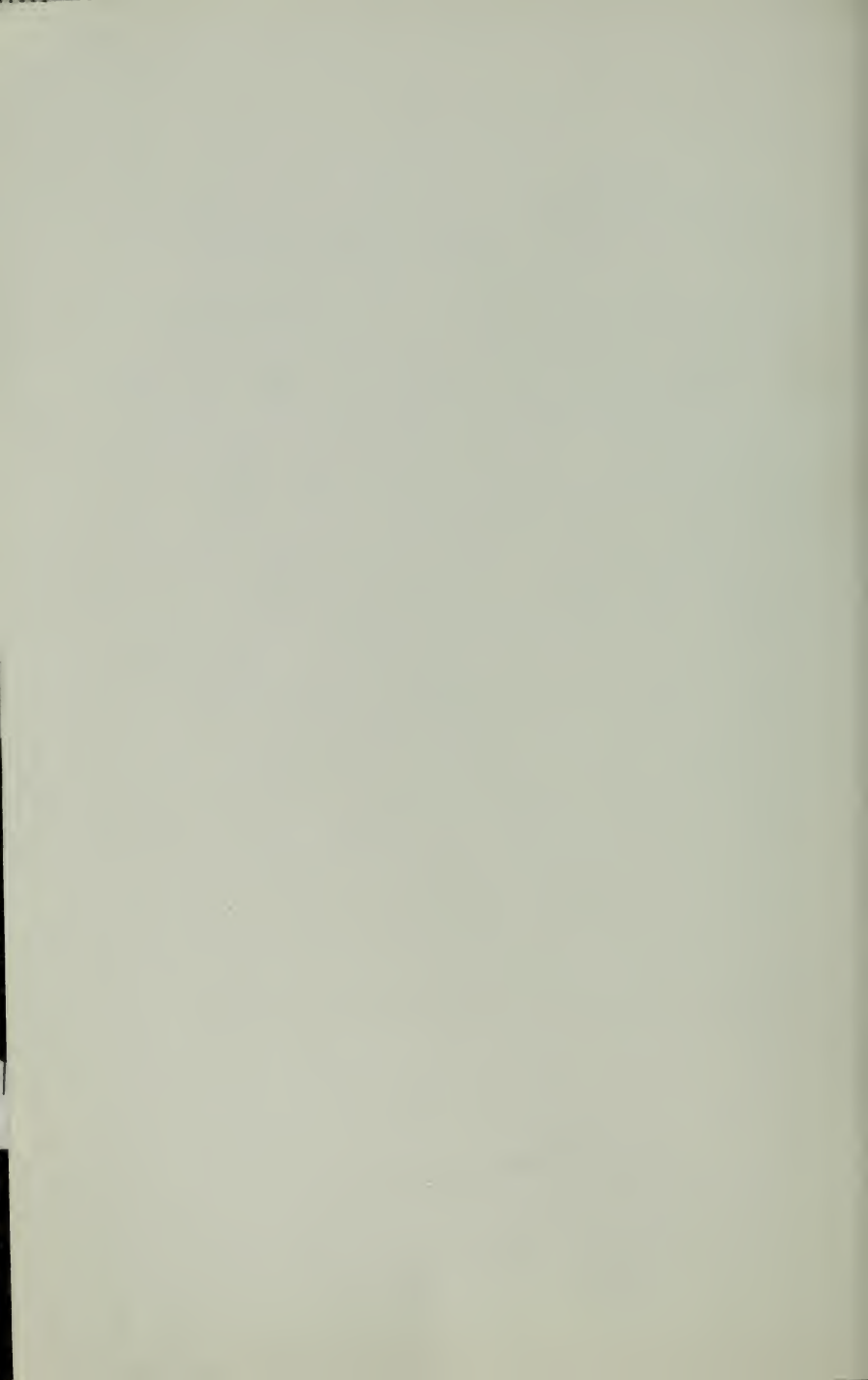
# **Mikhail GORBACHEV**

**The Success  
of Perestroika  
Is  
in the Hands  
of the People**

---

**Speech at a Meeting  
with Senior Uzbek Officials  
in the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan**

---



CA13  
**Mikhail GORBACHEV**

---

**THE SUCCESS  
OF PERESTROIKA  
IS IN THE HANDS  
OF THE PEOPLE**

**Speech at a Meeting  
with Senior Uzbek Officials  
in the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan**

**Novosti Press Agency Publishing House  
Moscow 1988**

**Михаил Сергеевич Горбачев**

**УСПЕХ ПЕРЕСТРОЙКИ — В РУКАХ НАРОДА**

Выступление в ЦК Компартии Узбекистана  
перед руководящими работниками республики

*на английском языке*

Цена 10 коп

**0902040000**

© Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1988

I will begin, Comrades, by expressing my pleasure at having the chance to meet with you, to meet, however briefly, with the working people.

This is always necessary, all the more so now that profound transformations and changes are taking place in the country. And, naturally, the CPSU Central Committee and the government are very interested in having precise information about the processes going on, in checking, so to say, the nation's pulse.

Present here are Buro members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, members of the government, the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, first secretaries of regional Party committees, chairmen of executive committees, ministers and other senior officials. It can be said that gathered here are the people whose work largely determines the way of life in the republic, the organisation of all work in general here and the elaboration of prospects for the future. Your most important duty is to ensure a good working rhythm, a positive attitude among the people, a businesslike approach in the republic; to show the people and workers the prospects for further development.

When the question arose of holding a meeting with the President of the Republic of Afghanistan and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Najibullah, it occurred to me and my colleagues in the Politburo that it would be a good idea to hold it in Tashkent. The situation, and I would like to begin my speech with this, demanded such a meeting because the process of reaching a settlement in Afghanistan has entered the decisive stage. I must say that in Geneva everything has now been finalised; the agreements are basically ready, although difficulties threatening to torpedo them arose at the concluding stage. This required additional intensive efforts.

We studied the situation at a meeting of the Politburo, taking into account the complex intertwinings and interests, all the implications, and found approaches which we think now make it possible to conclude this process. And to conclude it in such a way that the signing of the agreement by the Afghan and Pakistani sides and the simultaneous signing of certain documents by us and the Americans as guarantors could take place in the next few days. The signing of the Geneva agreements would create more favourable conditions for solving the problems of national reconciliation inside Afghanistan

and for a political settlement of the whole situation. I believe the agreements will be signed in the next few days.

We understand that the signing of the Geneva agreements will mark a new stage both in the development of events in Afghanistan and also in Soviet-Afghan relations. We are also aware of the major international significance of entering this new stage.

You have probably read or heard on the radio the concluding document—our joint statement. It spells out the main conclusions and positions of the Soviet Union and our joint positions with Afghanistan. All this is very important right now. The work was concluded and I deem it necessary to inform you about this. I would also like to inform you that we intend, as was announced on February 8, to start the withdrawal of Soviet troops on May 15 of this year.

And now about our own internal affairs, about how perestroika is proceeding, how it is developing in the country, and the new questions that have arisen. It's probably impossible to avoid being repetitive, but maybe here in Uzbekistan you won't mind this since you have the saying that "repetition does not spoil the prayer."

Indeed, much has been said lately in the Central Committee of the Party and by the government about the situation in the country and the course of perestroika. I, too, frequently speak on the problems of perestroika. Yet I would like to express some ideas. First of all I must do this so that later, in the context of the overall situation, national tasks and problems and the special features of the present stage which has made new demands on the entire Party and the nation, I could assess, at least in brief, the situation in Uzbekistan.

Generally, when speaking about the stages of perestroika we do not thereby want to artificially separate one stage from another: so look, the first stage is over, we have turned that page, carried out all the tasks of the initial period and are now moving on. And now, from this day, from this date, forward, the second stage has begun. To speak like this would, of course, be oversimplifying things. In fact, when we speak about the initial stage or the second stage we simply want to stress that each of them has its special features which should be taken into account.

Where did we begin the process of perestroika? Frankly speaking, we got the most direct impulse from the actual state of affairs in the economy, in the social sphere, and in the moral, political and cultural fields. We were concerned by the very real problems which had begun to burden the life of society as a whole and every family, every work collective. And that worried us. And to tackle all the problems that had accumulated, problems which, so to speak, were banging on all our windows and doors, we had to figure out the society in which we live, to subject it to an all-round, responsible and principled analysis.

The analysis was made, as I have said, from positions of principle. On the basis of a profound and truthful evaluation of the processes that were going on, both the positive and negative processes, we obtained an accurate picture. This allowed us to draw conclusions of importance both for policy and for practical activities. It became clear: partial solutions, isolated practical measures or a campaign of some sort would not suffice. The situation proved to be much more serious and profound than it had seemed at first glance. The task was obviously a major, long-term job. We concluded that we should start a thorough restructuring of the whole society.

This work and this conclusion resulted in what I would call strategic decisions being made which defined the main directions of the fundamental restructuring encompassing the sphere of policy, the economic sphere, the sphere of culture, spiritual life, the entire intricate set of social relations at the present stage. In effect, at issue was the fate of our state, the fate of socialism and the future of our people.

We saw for ourselves that we really had no other alternative: we needed a fundamental renewal of society by way of opening up the potential of socialism inherent in its very nature. We realised that the Party must display courage and will, abandon those notions of socialism which bore the imprint of certain conditions and especially the period of the personality cult, rid itself of old notions of the methods of construction and, most important of all, rid itself of everything that had, generally speaking, distorted socialism and fettered the people's creative abilities.

This was the essence of the initial stage: reflection, comprehension and the formulation of policy. This does not mean that we now have all the answers. No, the Party still has a tremendous amount of theoretical and political work to do, and it must draw into it all the scientific and intellectual forces of society.

We should not slacken our efforts in the sphere of theory and policy; on the contrary, we should extend them in order to reach new horizons, taking into account the experience already gained during perestroika, for this experience also helps us get a new perspective on many things and correctly assess the past. In this respect we pin big hopes on the preparation for and holding of the 19th Party Conference. That conference should give a new impulse to such activity. That is why we should consistently continue the Party's theoretical and political work so as to better understand the present and the past and, most importantly, to build the future on the basis of the lessons drawn and knowledge gained.

Generally, it can be said that the main result of the first stage of perestroika is that we now have a carefully thought-out scientifically substantiated and concrete platform for perestroika. And at the present stage the main task is to translate policy, decisions—we have

adopted decisions in all the major spheres—into life, into actual deeds. Everything that was worked out during the first stage must now be translated into reality, and this must be done through democracy and openness, through a radical economic reform, through new approaches to social policy, and through a moral and spiritual rejuvenation of society.

Perestroika has become large-scale. Today it involves and affects the entire society; it has put all the people into motion.

Yesterday and today I had several meetings. People are changing. The most important thing is that they are coming out of the state of social apathy, of indifference to what goes on. They are becoming concerned and have started caring about things. And this, Comrades, is always accompanied by a sense of responsibility.

Why? Because people today know more about society, about their republic, about their present and past, about what is being planned for the future. And when a person knows all this he gets involved in the common process. Especially when we appeal to him, ask him to express his views and thoughts. And it was through democratisation, openness, radical reform, which is also based on drawing the people into creative activities, through work teams, contracts, cost-accounting, etc., through the rejuvenation of the spiritual atmosphere, it was through all this that the minds of people were set in motion and that they became more active. This is perhaps the most important thing that we have accomplished so far—we have awakened the interest of people in taking actions in perestroika, in the fate of the whole country.

But at the same time this situation has placed the Party itself, all its elements, all our cadres and, indeed, all the country's work collectives in new conditions. We have every reason to say that the decisive stage of struggle for the success of perestroika has begun. Now that perestroika is affecting the interests of the entire society, of every work collective and every person, discussions about its aims and tasks, about its essence have flared up with new force. Perhaps at the first stage such discussions arose mostly due to human curiosity. People wanted to understand what was happening, what the leadership was planning and to ask as many questions as possible. But now that every person is involved, our life itself has changed. And the people are again asking questions. But now they are discussing matters in more terms and with a greater sense of personal involvement. They want to have a thorough understanding of everything that perestroika offers a person and what it demands of him and the whole of society.

You see yourselves the debates that are taking place in society, the passions that are flaring up. Everyone wants to understand what is going on, find his place, speak out, make his contribution or object to something. This, too, is something new. In the past when a person didn't agree with others, he usually kept quiet. And this, let me say



frankly, was just fine with many people. They used to say: That was a good meeting—not a single question or deviation. And at that time there were so many problems in society, in the country! A meeting was considered good and orderly when not a single question was raised.

I would say that we have two tasks to handle at one time. Or rather not two but one task that has two aspects. First of all we must go forward with perestroika by solving the practical problems in all the various spheres and, at the same time, study democracy and political practices, and apply cost-accounting and new methods of management. We must master new methods in Party agencies and in the Soviets. And here we must act in such a way that perestroika could yield real results and make changes for the better in the living and working conditions of Soviet people right now.

You have probably discerned this approach in the activity of the Central Committee. Perestroika, no doubt, will take quite a long time. But there are questions which, I would say, are crying for attention and solution today. In this connection we studied the state of the public health system and the educational system, something that concerns virtually every family, every person. And we tackled them before everything else. For the public health system alone we allocated more than six billion roubles. We found money to strengthen its material and technical base, to improve the supply of medicines, increase the material incentive of doctors and other medical personnel.

Or take the reform of our educational system—from primary school to university.

We see that we must deal with many questions connected with the food problem. Here we have introduced serious incentives in order to raise performance in the agrarian sector.

Or take commodities that do not satisfy us today, our present-day requirements and present-day standards.

Or take housing. We have been making greater allocations here too in order to solve this problem as well. We switched ten per cent of capital investments from industrial to housing construction. We have lifted the restrictions on the construction of individually-owned housing. Recently we studied questions of expanding cooperative construction. We adopted a major decision on the development of the building materials industry.

This is how we are doing this: while singling out the strategic problems which require a great deal of time we also hope to resolve more swiftly many problems whose resolution would improve the life of the people already today.

Comrades, perestroika began with the April Plenary Meeting. In a few days it will be three years old. And these years have demonstrated that in the end the most difficult thing about it is changing the way we think.

All this, Comrades, is not easy to achieve. This applies to openness

and democracy, to cost-accounting and new methods of management, in particular the various forms of the contract method, and to the processes going on in the cultural sphere. And don't we see how many demands life has made on the Party itself, Party agencies, Party cadres, the Soviets and public organisations? It is not by chance, for instance, that informal associations and organisations have emerged, even though there is a huge network of public organisations encompassing the major sectors of the population. Why? Because people are not satisfied with the activities and methods of existing organisations, with the atmosphere at them. And this has resulted in the emergence of informal organisations.

There is something else I must say: the magnitude, the unusual nature of the problems in all spheres of the new stage of perestroika have, frankly speaking, simply frightened some people. Quite a few people have simply lost their bearings. A degree of confusion has set in. Certain people screamed for help. And from this it's not far to the sounding of the retreat from perestroika.

This situation and the understanding of the exceptional importance of the present moment in the development of perestroika brought the Central Committee to the conclusion that one of the top priorities now is to back up perestroika ideologically.

That is why this issue stood out at the February Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. We also returned to it at the national congress of collective farmers. And, only recently, it was elaborated upon in the well-known article in the April 5 issue of **Pravda**.

I would like to convey to you, Comrades, the understanding that perestroika, like any revolution, requires a resolute, revolutionary change in consciousness and mentality. Without such a change, it is impossible to accomplish cardinal transformations either in the foundation or in the political superstructure.

We are looking for answers to questions posed by life itself and are finding them within our own social and political system as we disclose the potential of socialism.

The need for cardinal socialist transformations has long been felt in the Party. Repeated attempts at such changes were made in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. We all remember this, the Comrades sitting here remember this, except for perhaps those who are still very young. At first such attempts produced genuine and substantial results. Take the September Plenary Meeting of 1953. What a boost it gave at the time to the development of agriculture. But in 1958 the situation began to change. Take the March Plenary Meeting of 1965. It was, in effect, a new concept of how to manage society, how to approach the economy—not only the agricultural sector, but the economy as a whole.

The scientific approach was instrumental. Incidentally, that was

the eighth five-year-plan period and look at the substantial increments in agriculture, and not only in agriculture, characteristic of it.

So there have been attempts, real and serious attempts, but they often ended up failing; they weren't broad enough, encompassing only a part of the problems without linking them together, without taking into account their interconnection with other problems. Inconsistency in implementing even those decisions that were adopted also made itself felt. Many attempts to carry out cardinal transformations were doomed to failure because they were not backed up by the development and expansion of democracy. Everything was solved in the study while the people did not get seriously involved either at the stage of decision-making or, in particular, at that of implementation. This happened because both the Party and the cadres in the country were on the whole prisoners of old perceptions and adhered to the command-and-administer methods of leadership which opposed democracy. There was no understanding of the tremendous, decisive import of democracy for the development of socialism, without which it simply cannot develop.

Why am I telling you this, Comrades? This has turned out to be one of the main points today due to which passions are running high and debates are raging in the country. The command-and-administer system and its worshippers are not surrendering their positions without a fight.

The process of democratization is making progress. And it is, of course, a blow to the command methods. Glasnost, democracy, cost-accounting, the contract system, and the councils of teams and work collectives are drawing the people into the common effort. This is not to everyone's liking, this does not suit everyone. There is still a longing for the past, a desire to issue commands. There are many people who view their particular factory, village, collective farm, district or city as their own fief.

This is why debates are not the only thing under way. A veritable struggle in real life, in Party and local government organisations, in work collectives and in all sections of society, has broken out over this central issue. I'll tell you this: what is happening in precisely this sphere of our perestroika is remarkable. It is remarkable because the people are gaining in strength. The people have raised their heads, become aware of their rights; they have a high educational potential gained over the years of Soviet government. And they are beginning to take a conscious part in all the processes taking place in society.

Without bringing out the potential of socialist democracy, Comrades, we will not be able to reveal the potential of socialism either, we will not be able to make our perestroika irreversible, we will not achieve its goals or make certain that Lenin's ideals of socialism become a reality for the people.

Why am I laying emphasis on this point? It is central, Comrades.

And taking into account the audience in this hall, it is all the more appropriate that this subject be discussed in straightforward, honest Party language. Disapproving voices can be heard saying: "Look what your democracy has led to", "Look where your perestroika has taken you". We should see clearly what lies behind this. It is disrespect for the people which lies behind it. I think that is the main thing. Disbelief in their wisdom, their patriotism, their common sense and abilities, disbelief in their sense of responsibility and their fidelity to socialism.

Life has demonstrated that command-and-administer methods are utterly inefficient, incompatible with the nature of current tasks and, last but not least, out of date and inconsistent with the cultural standards and the measure of political awareness of the Soviet people.

This, Comrades, is the essence of the matter today. That reminds me of the Collective Farmers' Congress. Some of you must have attended it. We in the Politburo were deeply pleased by the high standard of the Congress: the level of discussion there, the diversity of the problems raised, the profound concern for the nation, and the awareness of responsibility for resolving the food problem. Pleased, in short, by the farmers' statesmanlike approach to their tasks.

It is from these positions that the delegates demanded categorically that all impediments to initiative in agriculture be removed and scope provided for creativity, independence and enterprise. Almost a hundred percent of the speakers demanded and requested that collective farms no longer be managed by injunction from above. Nonetheless, still today many remain deaf to that appeal and remain in a rut, pulling the cart along the same beaten track. That's where we've ended up, Comrades. That's where we've allowed things to drift.

I have had several brief meetings with working people in the past few days in Uzbekistan. What was my strongest impression? People's activity, their openness and desire to discuss the most serious matters.

The Collective Farmers' Congress and these meetings have shown our people in a totally new light. The people have become different. We should, Comrades, think this over most carefully and understand it. For it prompts very serious, extremely serious conclusions. Our people have things to say and have the energy to contribute to the struggle for perestroika. But they can only do so and realize their potentialities when there is democracy, broad democracy.

Our cadres must persistently master the methods of work amid unfolding democracy. This is a most difficult science. At the Central Committee we have felt that as well, when examining major issues of national importance and situations of conflict in our society. The experience of our three years of work since the April (1985) Central

Committee Plenary Meeting has led me, like my colleagues in the Politburo, to one conclusion, namely that it is only through democracy, through a democratic process and through broad, the broadest possible, contact with the people, that it is possible to find the right, thoroughly-weighed solutions to any of the problems in society. Only this way can the people be enlisted in an active struggle to reach the objectives of perestroika. Let us firmly agree that we shall resolutely discard whatever is left of administration by fiat, by command methods, and a disrespectful attitude to people, to their needs and requirements, and to their opinions and judgements. Let me assure you: people will respond with ever greater social and political activity.

One more thing, Comrades. In the past we attempted to tackle major issues, but we did not carry them through to the end, did not fulfil what had been outlined. We have paid for this, to put it bluntly, with serious setbacks in coping with plans for the nation's social and economic development. This has greatly affected the people's well-being and the whole progress of our society.

Conclusions seem to have been drawn from this, but obviously not by everyone and not everywhere. Looking at the past two years, which opened the current five-year-plan period, we can again see a gap between words and deeds.

This old ailment has become chronic. Not infrequently, good decisions, even those taken now, during perestroika, are carried out only partially. This means that past mistakes are still repeated. In a measure, this can be explained by the fact that the old methods of work still have a strong hold and that work collectives and executive personnel have not yet really adapted to the new conditions. The new economic management mechanisms have not yet been started up everywhere either. This is all true, and still, Comrades, we could have achieved more, much more than we have.

I urge you to make a serious, Party-style analysis of the state of affairs in Uzbekistan. Why am I talking about this now? This is first of all because economic growth rates in this republic have declined in recent years. Ponder the situation. The working people of the republic have received much less than they, and the country in general for that matter, could have received. Hence the imbalances and a generally-disrupted rhythm. All our republics are closely interconnected. In point of fact, they cannot live without one another. They form a single complex, a single national organism. And wherever something is wrong, it tells on the condition of the entire organism. Everything is interrelated in our state.

I draw your attention to the fact that you have not been coping with plans in industry, in construction and especially in agriculture. You fall short of targets in housing construction every year, despite the very acute housing problem in this republic. Prefabricated home-building facilities are operating here at only 68 percent of ca-

capacity and factories making bricks, cement and other building materials are being expanded and modernized too slowly. How is all this to be understood?

Or to take another example, which is perhaps the most important performance indicator for this republic. I mean the use of irrigated lands. Comrade Nishanov was perfectly right in raising this issue the way he did and I support him. This is the republic's gold mine. It would not be enough to say that the yields of all crops do not correspond to the potentialities of irrigated farming. The harvests have lately even begun to decrease. This is a trend which should worry all of us very much. Uzbekistan is the supplier of many crops that cannot be grown elsewhere. And they are needed by the country. This is a real calamity, Comrades. Without using irrigated lands properly and efficiently, normal life in this republic is not possible. It won't do at all that practically half the irrigated lands need serious amelioration work, especially because of salinization.

Another point. There is a lack of child care centers in both town and country. And the pace at which the network is being extended is clearly insufficient. Women in a new housing development on the outskirts of Tashkent yesterday crowded around me and the first thing they told me was: "Mikhail Sergeevich, we don't know what to do about our children. There is simply nowhere we can leave them when we have to go to work." It must be ensured that no factory, no collective farm or state farm, and no building organization remains uninvolved in efforts to deal with this important problem. The whole republic should be roused to tackle the problem of kindergartens. This matter has a direct bearing on people. It is, in your circumstances, a high priority.

One more thing. The potential created in this republic has not been bringing adequate returns. This is another lapse in your work. Large investments have been made in Uzbekistan's agricultural sector. And look: while the funds per farm increased by 4.1 times between 1970 and 1986, gross output only grew by 50 per cent. Labour productivity remained the same. Agricultural production in the republic has not made gains since the early '80s. All these are very disturbing trends.

It is essential to make a serious analysis, adopt far-reaching measures and mobilize the republic's working people. Uzbekistan is rich in natural and manpower resources and has vast materials and machinery stocks. I would like our discussion today to be remembered by everyone and for it to make everyone think very hard. Real ways have to be found to extricate Uzbekistan's economy from this difficult situation.

What would I like to advise you in this connection? If what I tell you now is acceptable, give it some thought. Don't get carried away with building major enterprises. What you need to do is modernize.

And by updating active assets, to reveal the potential of the existing major enterprises. In order to put to use natural and especially manpower resources more quickly, however, the path of setting up medium-sized and small enterprises and factories' branches should be taken.

It is, no doubt, essential to make wider use of the possibilities offered by radical economic reform and the conversion to cost-accounting and new economic management methods. Where these have already been mastered, the results are quite different. They are changing attitudes to work and this is yielding better end-results.

You can do much by developing the food and light industries widely. It is, in my opinion, your gold mine. I think that in the near future Uzbekistan should reach a level enabling it to meet both its own requirements and the requirements of other republics.

Cooperatives, and efforts to develop the services sector, hold much promise. Comrades, you should think this all over in a businesslike spirit and begin to identify all your potentialities, big and small.

I have the impression that sentiments in the republic now are such that if the people are offered a good programme, they can accomplish a lot and speed up social and economic development. This, Comrades, is the paramount task for all leading personnel in the Republic's Party organization.

Since we are talking from the standpoint of perestroika and the contribution of each citizen to its implementation, I would like to add that we live in a multiethnic country, and now that we are effecting thorough-going changes throughout society, we should always take account of their implications for our Union as a whole and for each republic, and for interethnic relations. The resolution of any social and economic problem and any problem where culture, democratization and glasnost are concerned invariably affects the interests of each people, every ethnic group in one way or another. This is why these problems have to be resolved in a way that is not damaging to mutual understanding and cooperation. On the contrary, it is essential to make sure that the friendship between our peoples continues to grow stronger. It is a major gain of the October Revolution and of socialism. This is one side of the problem, a very important one.

The other is that in the past few years, despite all the prodigious achievements of the Leninist nationalities policy and the truly unique experience we have gained over the 70 years since the October Revolution, we have encountered quite a few serious problems. They require careful study, balanced assessment, well-considered conclusions, and timely and correct decisions. I have already had occasion to talk on this subject. We should get rid of dogmatic, I would say schematic, attitudes in this field as well. We cannot limit ourselves to just listing our achievements.

Our society is developing. Its social and economic progress, naturally, is accompanied by growth of the national awareness of each people and its intellectual potential and by the cultural enrichment of every ethnic group. All this, naturally, engenders new problems which have to be looked into and resolved on the basis of calm and thorough analysis and objective judgements. We should also take into account the fact that ever new generations are arriving and that the experience of internationalism is not passed on automatically. Every generation has to go through its own school of internationalism and to learn to value our interethnic brotherhood and everything that has been done to strengthen it by the preceding generations. And most importantly, it has to make a contribution of its own to strengthening the friendship and cooperation between peoples and to bringing them closer together.

In any dispute, in any debate on this issue, Comrades, we can make our case. At the same time we should be prepared to discuss seriously and responsibly those pressing problems that should be solved and that can be solved within the framework of our democracy and on the basis of the principles of respect, equality and fraternity.

The magnitude of the tasks and the amount of work to be done have placed the Party in new circumstances.

Today the attainment of our aims depends to a greater degree than ever on how successfully the CPSU performs its role as the political vanguard of society. The fate of perestroika hinges on how the CPSU, the Party Central Committee, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the constituent republics, every Party committee, every Party organization and every Communist acts.

Perestroika in our country is a great revolutionary effort. The Party keeps the main aspects of this far-reaching process of renewal within its field of vision at all times. We have been able to do much in this short period. It is of fundamental importance that the Party leads the perestroika drive. But this in no way implies that the Party is free from problems, oversights and tardiness in comprehending new phenomena and also in practical work, especially in the fulfilment of decisions.

The CPSU is the generator of ideas for perestroika and of the policy of renewal and is the organizer of their realization in society. Naturally, this makes great demands on the Party as regards theoretical research, the mastering of new methods of organizing the masses, and work with personnel.

But the main thing is that the Party cannot afford to lag behind the perestroika processes as they gather momentum in our country. The past three years have taught us that whenever the Party falls behind in any area, it tells on the situation throughout society, on popular sentiment, on the pace and scale of change, and on the shaping of public opinion in the spirit of perestroika.



The Party can cope with its new tasks if it persistently masters the political methods of guidance and completely overcomes conservatism and inert thinking. Once we say that society should be freed from these and delivered from bureaucratic excesses it is above all the Party that should set the example in this work, this immense effort which is so essential for the future of perestroika.

We must renounce the methods of managing by injunction and ordering personnel and work collectives about, and stop interfering with and taking over for state, local government and economic agencies. If the Party acts imaginatively, innovatively and responsibly, working all the time amongst the people, our cause will succeed and perestroika, and consequently the whole of society, will make further progress.

It is perhaps appropriate here, at our meeting, to repeat what I have already had occasion to say before. The Party has undoubtedly done both people and history great services. It enjoys respect and prestige among the working people. But it should seek to live up to its reputation all the time through vigorous political activity. The Party's prestige is not something given once and for all. It should be reaffirmed by persistent and responsible work every day.

One more thing. I would like to remind you, even though I will be repeating myself, that the Party is at the service of the people. He who forgets this does not deserve the title of Party member, let alone the honour of being at the head of a work collective, a district or a region.

It is good that the activity of the Communists is on the rise everywhere. They are putting ever greater emphasis on principle in their work and they are developing an ever stronger sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and of their own collectives. This has also been demonstrated by the Party committees' progress reports on perestroika. Communists expect higher standards from their elected bodies, Party leaders and Comrades. We have to support active Communists in every way and seek to encourage healthy trends in Party affairs. It is very important to further extend intra-Party democracy, increase the role of elected bodies, and dramatically improve the performance of the Party apparatus.

The spirit of comradeship should be strengthened in the Party at every level. All should feel equal. We should not tolerate any elements of the cult of leader in the ranks of the CPSU. The spirit of Party-style comradeship should reign in the Party.

Elected Party bodies should lead a full-blooded life rather than act as suppliers of services for the Party apparatus. Things sometimes go so far that members of the apparatus begin ordering members of district, city and regional Party committees about. Everybody must be reminded that the apparatus is there to serve a particular elected body and implement its decisions, and not vice versa.

All these problems, the entire range of issues concerning the activities of the CPSU in the conditions of perestroika, will be at the centre of attention at the 19th National Party Conference. But the Party organizations should not wait and see what the Party conference will say. Much has already been said. It is necessary to act, not wait. It is necessary to participate actively in the elaboration of ideas whose realization ought to enrich all Party life. And every Party organisation in its specific conditions should make a contribution of its own to accomplishing the challenging tasks of perestroika. Let me repeat, do not wait for instruction from above. The goals and the tasks have been set. The policy has been worked out. The guidelines of perestroika are clear. It is necessary to act, Comrades.

I think that the Party organization of Uzbekistan, which has grown stronger as a result of self-healing and cleansing, has every capability of leading the masses and of acting as the political vanguard of the republic's working people in their efforts to ensure the further flourishing of Uzbekistan and to increase its contribution to accomplishing tasks of countrywide importance.





**Novosti Press Agency Publishing House**