



A MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

Recent articles published in the
journal *Kommunist*

CONTENTS

<i>Article One.</i>	<i>Method of Analysis</i>	page 402
<i>Article Two.</i>	<i>The Dialectics of the Modern Epoch</i>	page 403
<i>Article Three.</i>	<i>Prospects for Socialism</i>	page 404
<i>Article Four.</i>	<i>Top Priorities of Social Policy</i>	page 406
<i>Article Five.</i>	<i>Development of the Political System: New Issues and Solutions</i> ...	page 408
<i>Article Six.</i>	<i>Reinforcing the Link between Marxist-Leninist Ideology and Life...</i>	page 409
<i>Article Seven.</i>	<i>Enhancement of the Leading Role of the Party in Socialist Society</i>	page 411

ARTICLE ONE:

Method of Analysis

THE decisions of the 27th Party Congress are to become the pace setter for the nation's advancement. We must also cast a dialectical look at these decisions and the theoretical ideas behind them. We must push on and we must do this now.

To use very general terms, the CPSU is deciding the what, why, how and who. The Party's answer to the first, and key, question is faster growth. The second question is also answered in the Marxist-Leninist tradition of real humanism which gives political and communal assessment to the leverage chosen in accordance with the ideals and values of socialism and communism. Very important for the third question is science and practical experience and the initiative of the masses. The last question is probably the most difficult one because it concerns people, their industry, consciousness and cultural and moral standards. The answer is to invigorate the human factor.

The CPSU's contribution to Marxism-Leninism boils down, first, to identifying the main issues of the day, showing why they are on the agenda, establishing their interdependence and optimising tools used to handle them. Second, the Party's collective effort has introduced reality-gearred theoretical and political changes into the way the nation is thinking and acting.

The Congress has pointed to the need for a new outlook, new psychology and new future-oriented values, proceeding from the environment at home and internationally. The Congress stated: "The concrete economic and political situation we are in, and the particular period of the historical process that Soviet society and the whole world are going through, require that the Party and its every member display their creativity, their capacity for innovation and ability to transcend the limits of accustomed but already outdated notions."

The novelty and boldness of the Party's theoretical effort is reflected, in a nutshell, in the concept and strategy for the nation's faster progress, in the 27th Congress accentuating the accelerated use of socialism's basic advantages and affirming the concern for man as the first social and economic priority. This requires that all of us change our attitude to daily work and civic duty. We cannot be onlookers because

no one will do our job for us.

The foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State also reflects the new outlook and action. They are based on a realistic approach to preventing conflicts, fraught with the threat of a thermonuclear war, among states belonging to the opposite social systems, curbing the arms race, settling global issues, emphasising co-operation among socialist nations, and fostering business contacts with the West and the Third World.

In working out pressing theoretical and practical issues, the CPSU proceeds from Lenin's idea to the effect that at every turn in history the general principles of Marxism-Leninism reveal new aspects in conformity with the requirements of the day. "Marx's world outlook is a method rather than a doctrine. It offers not pre-cooked recipes, but points of departure for further study and the method," Engels wrote.

Of particular importance in today's situation, requiring non-standard approaches and solutions, is the method of Marxism-Leninism and its being the guide for action. Herein is the key to the CPSU's latest contribution to revolutionary theory. This contribution is based on materialistic dialectics which abhors mental stagnation, doctrinairism and dogmatism. Since the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in April 1985 we have seen on many occasions the Central Committee having been emphatically against a standard approach to our daily activities, to the constructive efforts of the masses, and to the forms and methods of the Party's work, its theoretical ideas, in particular.

The lesson drawn by the Congress is one of sweeping re-appraisal of experience, concepts and ideas and of uncompromising analysis of errors and other negative phenomena in the life of the Party and the community.

Marxism-Leninism views criticism and self-criticism as an instrument by means of which to effect revolutionary reforms, as a demand of the day generated by contradictions and the struggle between the new and the old in all fields of community life. The need for criticism and self-criticism is now greater than ever, the 27th Congress stated. The Party will be a success only if it

develops continuously, does not think itself infallible, critically regards its record and sees its priorities.

Having nothing to do with dogmatic negation, criticism and self-criticism should be constructive and conducive to optimal solutions. The documents of the Congress show how criticism and positive settlements interact and become a single whole. We must not allow criticism to be used to promote social mimicry and demagoguery or to persecute one's opponents. Criticism and self-criticism call for matching words by action and for citizens' readiness to assume responsibility for a common cause. The CPSU expects all its members, academics included, to show such readiness.

The innovative spirit of the Congress decisions and their constructive method, let alone content, overturn the allegations about the crisis of socialism's theoretical and practical efforts, Marxism-Leninism becoming outdated and its theoretical thought fossilised. The 27th Congress advanced new ideas, particularly as regards the crucial character of the current period, the dialectics of the day, its trends and contradictions, the propellents of social progress, the nation's faster social and economic pace as a law of socialism's advancement, and the dialectics of gradual transition to communism.

As in life, in theory the new cannot affirm itself without pushing out the outdated. This requires something more than just replacing old ideas with new ones. To assimilate the innovative ideas of the Congress means to see them in inseparable contact with the rest of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism; reassess theory-practice relationships, the role of science as a booster of social progress, the tasks and tools of social science; and produce effective evaluations, forecasts and recommendations.

We must efficiently use the ideas and theoretical conclusions of the Congress so that every worker can clearly see his targets and priorities and the instruments to accelerate the country's growth. Further, we must see current developments as a reflection of trends and contradictions worldwide.

(*Kommunist* No. 6, 1986. Novosti)

ARTICLE TWO:

The Dialectics of the Modern Epoch

THE 27th Congress of the CPSU has developed and enriched the Leninist concept of the modern epoch with regard to the actualities of the last quarter of the 20th century. A qualitative jump in productive forces due to the scientific and technological revolution determines the fundamental novelty of the present-day situation. While enormously increasing man's creative potential, this revolution has also contributed to major changes in the instruments of destruction, placing civilisation on the verge of self-annihilation. "Imperialism is using the achievements of man's genius for the development of weapons of awesome destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, which are prepared to sacrifice the future of whole nations, is increasing the danger that these weapons may actually be put to use," stresses the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

The conclusion of the 27th Congress about the specific features of the current period of world development throws new light on the important socio-philosophical and methodological questions first raised by Marxism.

Above all, they include the question of alienation, of man's attitude to the social productive forces capable of turning into forces of destruction. Never before in capitalism's history has there been such a real threat that they may get out of human control. On the other hand, the Congress pointed out that never before have there been such great possibilities for control over these forces, that never before have politics, science and the subjective factor in general played such a big role in preventing the self-annihilation of mankind.

The issues of the society-nature relationship, of the interface between man's productive forces and those of nature and such basic questions as man's place in the world and his attitude to peace, the responsibility of people for life on Earth, have acquired new topicality and historic significance.

The Congress has revealed the alternatives now facing mankind and scientifically substantiated the only acceptable choice: peace and social progress. Is a turn in this direction possible? The CPSU believes that this turn is not merely possible. In fact, "the course of world development creates the necessary material, social and political prerequisites for this." (The Congress Resolution on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee.)

World socialism, a powerful international entity with a highly-developed economy, an advanced socio-political system and a reliable military-strategic potential which serves to safeguard peace and international security, has rightfully become the main force of social progress today.

The new social base has called forth a hitherto unknown type of international relations, which is most fully embodied in the socialist community. But the community is not fenced off from other socialist states, the Congress stressed. Both in theory and in politics, what unites the socialist

world must come first. Therefore the CPSU works for stable comradely relations and many-sided co-operation between the USSR and all states of the world socialist system.

The development of the countries of the socialist community has led them up close to a radical intensification of the economy. Full reaffirmation has been given to the conclusion that a new type of economic relations and the international division of labour is taking shape among the socialist countries. Embarking on the joint solution of a task of enormous importance—to advance to the leading positions in science and technology—the fraternal countries give their own, socialist reply to the challenges of the scientific and technological revolution: not a melting of its achievements into weapons of mass destruction, not new millions of people thrown into the street, but the harnessing of these achievements to the service of man, in the name of the growth of nations' prosperity and the reinforcement of their security. Thereby the collective programme of the socialist states not only blazes technological trails into the third millennium, but also throws a real social projection into the future. Far from being a futurological construct or a mere scientific forecast, this is concrete, business-like planning. Like any practical undertaking, it requires insistently an updating of management schemes, the improvement of social relations and a readjustment of thinking.

The tasks which history places before the governing parties of the socialist states are also largely similar. And, applying the general laws of socialism to the specific conditions of their countries, each party makes a practical contribution to the treasure-house of aggregate experience, to the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU recognises the move towards developed socialism expressed in the policy documents of like parties.

Proceeding from a comprehensive analysis of the development of socialism and of all the international factors in their much aggravated and contradictory totality, the 27th Congress has firmly declared that, however great the threat to peace created by the policy of aggressive imperialist circles, mankind can be saved from thermonuclear catastrophe.

This fundamental conclusion is based not only on an in-depth scrutiny of the main tendencies and factors ensuring the social progress of mankind, but also on a comprehensive analysis of the development of the modern world as a whole, proceeding, as Lenin put it, "in contradictions and through contradictions".

Contradictions between the states belonging to the two socio-economic formations, socialism and capitalism, their competition and struggle play a decisive role here. The Congress has shown that the historically logical evolution and deepening of these contradictions do not carry by

themselves an aggravation of the international situation or a mounting threat of thermonuclear war. Marxist-Leninists advocate that the systems' historical dispute should be resolved through peaceful competition between the two modes of production, the two ways of life and the relevant ideologies. As Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his interview with the Algerian magazine *Revolution Africaine*, the international aspects of the Soviet strategy for acceleration of the social and economic development consist in providing the conditions necessary for historical competition between socialism and capitalism to proceed exclusively in peaceful forms.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has concluded that new important knots and sets of contradictions have arisen in the process of the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism along with its traditional and still-leading antagonisms—between labour and capital, between the monopolies and the mass of the people and others. Transnational monopoly capital has come into contradiction with the national-state form of the political organisation of society. A very acute set of contradictions has formed and is deepening in the relations between imperialism and the developing countries.

Over the last two or three decades, contradictions in the "man-nature" and "individual-society" relationships have taken shape and become one of the leading groups of contradictions of the modern world. At issue are not only the pollution of the environment, the atmosphere and the oceans, the depletion of natural resources and the need for their rational use. This group of contradictions involves the energy, food and demographic problems, economic growth in the world and the overcoming of backwardness, the issues of scientific-technical development and culture, of public health and, finally, of man himself and his future. In all these issues social relations determine the form in which global contradictions are manifested, the course of their movement and, naturally, the ways and means for their resolution. An example of this is the logic of capitalist reproduction, which inexorably leads to a degradation and destruction of the natural environment.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of global problems rejects their interpretation as "suprasocial" and "supraclass" and shows their role in the present-day struggle between socialism and capitalism, in the strengthening of coexistence and co-operation between states belonging to different social systems.

The various groups of contradictions of the modern world display an obvious tendency towards their organic intertwining, dialectical interaction and unity. As is shown in the documents of the Congress, the contradictions brought on by class causes are becoming increasingly filled with general human content. Imperialism's striving to solve the questions of relations between the states of the two systems by

means of force, its merciless plunder of the developing countries, and open infringement by the transnational supermonopolies on the national interests and sovereignty of the newly-independent and many developed capitalist states, widen still further the gulf between imperialism and the bulk of the world's population. This is why the problems arising here become the foundation for the unification of the overwhelming majority of mankind in the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

Of fundamental significance for a materialist comprehension of current history and the scientific substantiation of long-term foreign policy is the new proposition of the Congress that the competition, historical struggle of the two systems combines with a growing tendency for the interdependence of the states of the world community, and that a contradictory but an interrelated, largely integral world is now emerging through the struggle of social opposites.

The analysis of the main tendencies of world development and the contradictions of the modern world, and the interpretation of the interlinked and mutually determined tasks of struggle for peace and social progress, enabled the 27th Congress to take a new approach to the question of the motive forces of the revolutionary process and the struggle for the prevention of a global thermonuclear catastrophe, to specify their composition and to give them a more profound characterisation.

The working class was and remains the main revolutionary class of our epoch. Its socio-historical activity is today the decisive, key area of the society's development. Under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the ranks of the international working class are swelling and being filled with highly skilled workers, and the number of those whom Lenin called the "engineering proletariat" is growing. Today's working class, 660-million strong, forms a third of the world's active population.

The 27th Congress has extended and developed the CPSU's basic line of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. In its relations with the fraternal parties the CPSU proceeds from the premise that the movement's diversity does not stand for disunity, just

as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy or the claim to a monopoly on truth by this or that party. At the same time, the Congress has reaffirmed the invariable solidarity of the CPSU with all the forces of national and social liberation, its line aimed at promoting contacts and co-operation with the social-democratic parties and at expanding ties with all who stand against war, for international security.

Significant is another innovative conclusion of the Congress: that the front of the forces of social progress has significantly broadened. A new powerful force—mass democratic movements, uniting people of different political views and social affiliations—has joined that front over the last twenty years. Their major component is anti-war and anti-nuclear public movements, including associations of doctors, scientists, trade unions, cultural and church workers. The following facts show the scope and scale of actions by the anti-war movement: the number of participants in marches and demonstrations against the stationing of US medium-range missiles in Western Europe in 1981-1983 shot up from 5 to 50 million.

The foreign-policy strategy of the CPSU was deeply and comprehensively discussed at the 27th Congress. The forum reaffirmed the foreign-policy requirement of principle—"to ensure the Soviet people the possibility to work in conditions of lasting peace and freedom." It came up with a well-substantiated international programme of action for peace and social progress and worked out ideological and theoretical principles for a new and just world order.

Put forth by the CPSU in the post-April period, the thesis on the need for a new foreign-policy mentality, for an understanding of the fact that the arms race, just as nuclear war itself, can no longer be won was further substantiated and developed. It implies that even the preparations for war, the striving for military superiority, objectively cannot bring any political gains to anybody.

In close connection with the need to grasp these basic realities is the question of a new understanding of the problems of general security. The Congress said that general security can no longer be ensured by military technological means, by even the most powerful defences. If the current

tendencies persist, military-strategic parity and the fear of retribution may also eventually cease to be a deterrent. Besides, the destinies of mankind may prove to be "sub-contracted" to technology, to a military-technocratic logic. All this demands that equal security for all should be ensured only by political means.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has put forward a fundamentally new concept of the social and political content of peaceful coexistence as an international order in which good-neighbourliness and co-operation would prevail and a broad exchange of scientific and technological achievements and cultural values would take place. The fruits of labour would be directed exclusively for constructive purposes, and advancement along the road of national and social progress would be eased for the states which have taken the path of independent development. Favourable opportunities would be opened up for the solution of global problems by collective effort.

The innovative theoretical and political ideas and concepts were backed up at the Congress with a clearly defined foreign-policy programme for the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. Its key ingredient is the well-known proposals contained in the January 15 Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, for the elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000.

Without glossing over or belittling the complex task of safeguarding durable peace, the Congress pointed to the difficulties of forecasting the immediate future of relations between the socialist and capitalist countries and between the USSR and the USA. It noted that, although prerequisites for the invigoration of the international climate had begun to emerge in the world, this was not yet a turn for the better. The recent actions by US reactionary circles show that the degree of recklessness in the policy of the dominant Western forces is still very high.

The documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU are well-considered, scientifically sound and well-substantiated. They provide the conceptual basis for Party and State political actions tactically and in terms of international strategy.

(*Kommunist* No. 6, 1986. Novosti)

ARTICLE THREE:

Prospects for Socialism

PROBLEMS relating to present-day development of socialism and prospects for its future go beyond the bounds of this country. They are of great international significance. They concern the overwhelming majority of the world's population, who justly regard socialism as a leading force of the world revolutionary process, the main guarantor of international security and the flagship and accelerator of mankind's social progress. The answers which the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party gave to these questions provided a

basis for the elaboration of a theoretically sound long-term programme of action in which innovation blended with continuity, the immensity of the tasks set with a realistic approach to them and the plans of society as a whole with the aspirations of every individual.

The Marxist-Leninist method of predicting the future is based upon the thesis that theory is not merely generalisation of any experience but generalisation of historical experience, historical social practice. This is the watershed between scientific and un-

scientific, utopian, prediction. Applied to a concrete historical situation, this knowledge constitutes the content of historical materialism and makes it possible accurately to predict the future.

The 27th Party Congress predicted the development of socialism at the turn of the century and showed how its political, economic and social policy and organisational and ideological work compare with those of the highest stage, communism.

Theoretically, the Congress expanded the

definition of socialism, describing it as a dynamic and integral system which must undergo qualitative change to mature and gradually to develop into communism.

In practical terms, this led to the formulation of the policy of acceleration of social and economic progress and the attainment of a new condition of society, which would be able to use to the fullest extent the advantages of the socialist system and solve the problems which could not be solved at the preceding stages. The Party determined the main features of that new condition and described all the problems involved in the acceleration drive.

In a policy report to the Congress the Party's Central Committee explained why the Party put forward the concept and policy of acceleration. The term "developed socialism" gained currency in the Party as a reaction to the erroneous view that the time was ripe for carrying out the immediate task of building communism. That view was the result of simplistic ideas about ways and terms of transition to communism. At the same time, some authors began to imply by the term developed socialism a fully developed socialism. Such interpretations did not accord with reality and served as a justification for slowness in tackling urgent problems and for inertia and a let-up in the rates of growth.

The Party's view that socialism is a long stage was sometimes interpreted as an indication that communism was no longer our goal. Some authors ignored the existence of common features between socialism and communism, said that communism was too far away to deal with its problems at the moment and tried to revive the old thesis that socialism and communism were two different formations.

The October 1985 Plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee made it clear that the Party was firmly oriented to communism and confirmed the thesis that socialism and communism were one formation and that there were no fundamental distinctions between them.

"It is impossible to go over to the highest stage of communism bypassing socialism, just as it is wrong to present socialism as a different social formation," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his address at the Plenum. "Transition from socialism to communism is determined by the objective laws of social development. Any attempt to get ahead of oneself, introducing communist principles without taking into account society's material and spiritual maturity is, as experience has shown, doomed to failure. Neither is sluggishness permissible in carrying out urgent changes and dealing with new problems."

The situation in the country required that theoretical and political efforts be focused on the search for ways of accelerating social and economic progress, criticising sluggishness in tackling urgent problems and enlisting the efforts of all communists in the cause. At the same time, acceleration is not a piecemeal tactic. Acceleration is inherent in socialist society. This is one of the postulates of classical Marxism, which was expounded by Engels and Lenin.

The Central Committee said in its policy report to the Congress that acceleration was

the key to all our problems, immediate and long-term, economic and social, political and ideological, internal and external. The main thing that must ensure its success is the living creativity of the masses, the maximum use of the tremendous potentialities and advantages of the socialist system. The idea is to bring about a new quality of growth. Acceleration is to be achieved through intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, structural changes in the economy and the adoption of effective methods of managing production and organising and stimulating work. These methods should rest upon the objective production relations and the use of the objective economic laws of socialism.

The policy of acceleration is not confined to changes in the economic field. It envisages an active social policy, an upgrading of social relations, the consolidation of the principle of social justice, a renewal of the forms and methods of work of political and ideological institutions, further promotion of socialist democracy and drastic measures to overcome inertia, stagnation and conservatism.

The communist principles underlying the system of social relations under socialism, which were analysed in depth in the documents of the Congress, are as follows: public ownership of the means of production and the management of the economy by plan; the orientation of the economy to the advancement of people's well-being and free and harmonious development of every individual; full and effective employment; collectivism; self-government; social and economic equality of all members of society. These principles constitute the advantages of socialism, a system standing above capitalism on the ladder of mankind's progress.

In accordance with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the concept of acceleration presupposes that the economy plays a leading role in social development. This implies the existence of harmonious and advanced productive forces, mature socialist relations in production and an efficient economic mechanism. The course of revolutionary change in the productive forces charted by the 27th Congress is both necessary and realistic. Considering socialist relations in production as an active and effective social form of progress of the productive forces, the documents of the Congress thus added a new element to the thesis about the merger of the present stage of scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, and raised onto a new level political and economic analysis of the dialectics of the productive forces and production relations.

The re-drafted Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says that "constant improvement of production relations, which should always correspond to the dynamically developing productive forces, and identification and resolution in good time of non-antagonistic contradictions arising between them" are vital prerequisites for acceleration of social and economic progress. This thesis particularly applies to periods of deep qualitative change in economic development.

Applying this thesis to the economic

situation in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the Party came to the conclusion that the let-up in economic growth in that period was largely the result of the failure to realise in time the need for change in some areas of production relations. The form of these relations and the existing economic mechanism, which took shape mainly at the time of extensive development of the economy, became obsolete and began not only to lose its stimulating power but also to hinder fuller use of the potentialities and advantages of the socialist system and impede onward movement. That is why the Party now demands that economists and economic managers urgently change the orientation of the economic mechanism, reduce its economic losses and focus its efforts on improving quality, enhancing efficiency and speeding up scientific and technological progress.

The documents of the Congress contain for the first time a detailed description of the structural elements of the system of socialist production relations and the major means of upgrading it, including the improvement in the methods of managing socialist public property and increasingly socialised production and the ensuring of closer links between the producer and the means of production.

The analysis of relations in the sphere of distribution, which are a specific feature of the first phase of communism and which exert a great influence on the enhancement of collective and personal interest in the development of social production, is complemented in the documents of the Congress by a study of the problem of social justice. Scientists must demonstrate the existence of close links between the criteria of justice and the law of distribution in accordance with one's work and communist principles such as public property, centralised planning, the duty of every citizen to work, and so on.

Commodity-money relations are closely linked with the problem of social justice. The documents of the Congress emphasised the need to use these relations more fully in order to enhance efficiency of production and improve distribution, exchange and consumption. The Congress condemned scholastic debate about commodity-money relations under socialism and common preconceptions about the law of value and its underestimation in the system of other economic laws of socialism. A study of the boundaries and depth of regulatory action of these relations and the law of value in the economy, creative use of Lenin's views on the tax in kind in the present situation and the working out of sound recommendations on the use of value principles would make economic theory helpful for the projected economic reform.

This reform will go in two main directions. Firstly, its aim is to strengthen centralised planning in the economy as a major element of the economic mechanism. Secondly, it calls for a full account and use by planners of the entire complex of distribution and commodity-money relations and the laws regulating them. That is why alongside the strengthening of the system of centralised planning, the Party set out to make industrial enterprises, the main production unit, more independent and at the same time responsible for end results. We must

also introduce genuine cost-accounting everywhere and mainly economic methods of management and enhance the role of workers in planning and decision-making.

Having provided guidelines for the development of Soviet society in the future, the 27th Congress set concrete targets. The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and in the period to the year 2000, which were endorsed by the Congress, provide for the solution of problems of special importance for all members of society. These problems are related to the raising of the material and cultural level of the people. The Congress set no datelines in the Programme. The mistakes of the past taught us a good lesson. There is reason to say, however, that the updated Programme is projected for a period going beyond the bounds of this century.

The Party links the solution of the country's domestic problems with economic and political development of the socialist system as a whole. Having analysed the trends of this development, the 27th Congress pointed to the vast potentialities of socialism in tackling the most difficult problems of progress that face our civilisation. The laws of socialism are common for all socialist countries, even if in one country they manifest themselves not quite in the same way as in another, and the study and understanding of these laws is a key to the working out of correct decisions, the overcoming of difficulties and maintaining onward movement.

The ruling parties of the socialist countries emphasised at their congresses that the main objective of the moment was to accelerate social and economic development by stimulating scientific and techno-

logical progress. Co-operation in the field of science and engineering is evolving into technological integration and this makes it necessary to improve the methods of co-operation. Our time calls for bold experiments, encouragement of independence, the development of direct links between industrial enterprises and a search for harmonious relations with centralised planning. Socialist internationalisation and the further development of international socialisation of production pose serious problems for economic theory. "The socialist countries, strictly abiding by the principle of equality and mutual respect for the national interests of one another, will continue to seek better understanding and closer ties," the Soviet Communist Party's Programme reads. "The Party will assist this historically progressive trend."

(*Kommunist* No. 7, 1986. *Novosti*)

ARTICLE FOUR:

Top Priorities of Social Policy

EMPHASIS on social welfare has been a major aspect of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Party called for a breakthrough towards upgrading the performance of the planning and managerial bodies, the national and local organisations concerned, thoroughly reshaping the thinking and mentality of their staffs, and bringing into play most of the reserves and creative potentialities of the workforces, social organisations, and all working people for resolving the social problems.

Having reviewed the experience of the USSR and other Socialist countries, the CPSU, in its updated Programme, offered a fuller definition of Socialism as a type of society superior to capitalism. The stronger social and humanitarian accents of this definition are of major importance.

Real humanism consists in that Socialist society has put an end once and for all to the exploitation of man by man, to social oppression, poverty and illiteracy of millions of people. It has given a genuinely humanistic dimension to scientific and technological progress which, far from producing unemployment, makes, in the context of full employment, for a steady increase of the people's well-being and the development of the productive forces and abilities of working people.

Ensuring the actual exercise of the right to work and reward for it, and placing such social benefits as housing, free health-care and education at the disposal of the working people, Socialism has been translating into reality the centuries-old dream of humanists about repaying man in proportion to what he actually does, about social justice, and achieving the harmony of relations between the individual and the community.

Social and ethnic equality, establishment and promotion of genuine democracy—government for the people and by the people—assertion of the Socialist way of life based on the principles of collectivity and friendly mutual assistance, prevalence of truly humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology and the availability of all sources of

knowledge and of Socialist and world cultural achievements for the masses have informed the ideas of freedom, dignity of the human person and human rights.

But life does not stand still. The opportunities of Socialist society have increased, and new problems and requirements have arisen.

The enhancement of the role of social welfare development is a most imperative objective demand of social progress and of the latest stage in the scientific and technological revolution. The need for yet closer attention to social matters has been indicated by the lessons of the recent past as well. An underestimation of the pressing problems of the material base of social and cultural development and a certain gravitation towards technocratic modes of approach could not fail to affect economic growth rates and the working people's interest in their performance and discipline and in the moral health of the community.

A strong social policy is a policy intended to bring about far-reaching qualitative change in the whole of the social welfare sector and a radical solution of urgent problems, rather than minor improvements in it. Its overriding objectives are a steady amelioration of the Soviet people's living and working conditions, ever fuller enjoyment of social justice, further convergence of classes and social groups, and refinement of ethnic relations.

The effect of the measures outlined to advance the Soviet people's well-being can be clearly seen from such figures as these: the amount of resources to be put to use to meet the people's needs will be doubled in the space of 15 years, and per capita real incomes will be brought up by 60-80 per cent, and every effort will be made to provide each family with housing accommodation of their own, either a flat or a house, by the end of the century.

Social policy is not charity. In conducting it, the CPSU guides itself not only by its concern for the human person but also by its

thorough understanding of the dialectics of work and consumption, consumption and production, considered in the broad sense of the term as production of material values and production of man himself with the total wealth of the social qualities appropriate to him.

Furthermore, it is not the same at all by what ways and means material and mental life is improved and what social consequences it brings about. The CPSU proceeds from the principle that in the context of Socialism the enhanced well-being of people is most closely contingent on unremitting supervision over the measure of work and the measure of consumption and on the unfailing observance of the Socialist principle of social justice: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work". Both theory and experience show that any departure from this principle unavoidably produces proprietary, sponging and consumerist instincts and other negative features foreign to the work-oriented nature of Socialism.

A strong social policy implies, therefore, a direct relation between performance and pay and a differentiated approach to the question of putting up wages and salaries so as not only to raise their basic rates but also to encourage high efficiency, competent and imaginative work. Yet another factor to serve the same purpose is the social consumption fund. While ensuring equal access of all members of the community to education and cultural values, streamlining the facilities for child upbringing and providing social aid to those in need, it must also stimulate honest work.

A new, wider and deeper understanding of the essence and role of social policy makes it imperative for all to take a fresh look at the relationship between consumption and production and to consider the fundamental social functions of consumption. And that implies discarding the vulgar view of consumption as something outside production, that is, as an area

that does nothing but consume its products. This is, incidentally, the idea that underlies the mentality of the business executives who still stand by the principle of using nothing beyond residual resources for the development of the social sector, that is, by the assumption that whatever goes into the area of consumption is lost to production. Yet the consumption of material values is productive by itself because it restores and builds up capacity for work. Investment in the social sector is designed to promote human welfare and to act, in the long run, as investment in production, conceived in the broad Marxist-Leninist sense.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that there is no clean-cut boundary line, nor can there be any, between Socialism and Communism as the two phases of one socio-economic order. Therefore, in the social sector, too, the Party guides itself by the prospect of Communism, combining its consistent adherence to the principles distinguishing the first phase with the consolidation of the general Communist principles in the development of the social sector.

"From each according to his abilities" is a general Communist principle, and the CPSU is already putting forward the idea of fostering the abilities and talents of working people as one of its primary concerns even at this juncture. A considerable reduction of the amount of manual work and a substantial reduction and, eventually, abolition of monotonous, arduous and low-skilled work, as well as deep-going changes in job content, with high technology (mechanisation, automation, computerisation and robotisation) to play the major role, and the establishment of a uniform system of continuous education make up a course of action of well-defined social, Communist orientation.

A technocratic approach to high technology is utterly foreign to Communist philosophy. It is not at the expense of man but for the sake of man that we are intensifying production and reforming it technologically. We are not doing that by means of his functional readjustment to that kind of technology but in the name of his well-balanced development, permitting him to be more and more involved in the technological process, regulating and supervising it.

An ability to see the deep-seated theoretical foundations behind this trend means shaping a new, socially-oriented mode of thinking both by those who have to deal with people because of their professional duties and those who are developing new types of machinery and technology. Socialism does need technical progress but not at any cost. Socialism needs a human-oriented type of technology effective not only in the purely economic sense but in the social sense as well.

Technological modernisation of the economy and radical enhancement of productivity and economic efficiency in general will inevitably lead to shorter working hours and more leisure time. How that leisure time will be used and what its social value will be is a matter of growing theoretical and practical significance.

Of course, leisure time must serve to regenerate one's capacity for work. There-

fore, a major point of the Party's social policy is to create fundamentally new conditions for rest and recreation, reshape the amenities of everyday life and the system of services as well as household facilities. This is a major aspect but not the only one. The role of leisure time will be growing, along with the rising efficiency of production, as a condition for the development of man and his creative powers. How leisure time can be used for socially and personally worthwhile occupations must for ever be the concern of the Party, government and social organisations.

This is particularly important for the effective solution of the social problems of young people. Production, everyday life, education, cultural activity, occupational and employment promotion are designed to contribute towards upgrading and meeting, to a fuller extent, the interests and requirements of young boys and girls and towards sensible utilisation of leisure time. Looking ahead, the CPSU builds its policy on the well-known theoretical proposition of Marxism about leisure time as a measure of social wealth in Communist society.

The social policy of the CPSU embraces every aspect of the Socialist way of life and takes into account the interests of all categories of the population and the entire diversity of its needs. The full satisfaction of the growing public demand for high quality and a wide range of goods and the continued development of the distributive network and public catering, the creation of a modern advanced system of public services and accelerated solution of the housing problem, the promotion of health services, physical training and sport, and increased concern for the family, improved maternity welfare, provision of more benefits for war and labour veterans and the disabled and greater care for the upbringing and instruction of children, and for their health—these are all major components of a strong social policy.

The social policy of the CPSU is a class policy, both in the sense that it reflects the viewpoint of the leading force of Socialist society—the working class, its basic interests and social ideals, shared by all working people—and in the sense that its object is the condition of large groups of people—classes, social groups, ethnic communities and their interrelationship.

The Political Report to the Party Congress raised a major theoretical problem—that of consolidating the unity of Soviet society. Its solution involves a faithful application of the principle of social justice, which implies not only taking into account the distinctions between people in the sense of their different productive contribution but social equality as well: the equality of the actual rights and opportunities of people to develop the full range of their natural abilities with the help of the community and its social institutions and to its benefit.

The ideal of Communists is not a kind of unity that is shorn of diversity and not a kind of diversity that excludes unity, but the unity of diversity. "The unity of Socialist society by no means implies a levelling of public life. Socialism encourages a diversity of people's interests, requirements and abilities, and vigorously supports the

initiative of social organisations that express this diversity. Moreover, Socialism needs this diversity, which it regards as an essential condition for the further promotion of people's creative activity and initiative, the competition of minds and talents, without which the Socialist way of life and the movement forward would be inconceivable," says the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress.

There is yet another problem connected with the dialectics of the unity of Socialist society and social distinctions—that of convergence of classes and social groups. The Programme of the CPSU contains a fundamentally important precept regarding this point to the effect that the essential distinctions between the working class and the farming community will be dissolved and a classless society established basically within the historical limits of the first, Socialist, phase of Communist society.

With Socialism refined in every way, the social aspect of classes and other sections of society will keep changing. Further scientific and technological progress, far-reaching change in the area of work, rising levels of general education as well as of cultural and occupational standards, expanding workplace and social activity will enhance the vanguard role of the working class in rallying the whole of society together.

As the Party's agrarian policy is implemented, there will take place an ever faster process of turning farming into a variety of industrial work and obliterating essential distinctions between town and countryside.

The revolutionary upgrading of productive forces will increase the proportion of mental work in the activities of the largest sections of factory workers and collective farmers and, at the same time, bring up the number of intellectuals and professional people, and build up their creative contribution to material production and other areas of community life. This is progressively erasing the essential distinctions between physical and mental work and bringing all social groups closer together. The end result will be to produce a socially uniform type of society in the highest phase of Communism.

As the essential distinctions between classes and social groups are dissolved, there will be an ever more intensive social exchange between them and their inter-enrichment, so man will progressively emerge as a product of the activity of the whole of society and will acquire an opportunity to develop those aspects of his personality, those abilities and talents which once belonged only to the working class, or only to the peasantry, or only to the intellectuals.

The same is true of the convergence of nations and ethnic groups, which is an objective natural historical process. The Party warns against any attempts at speeding it up or holding it down artificially. In the historical perspective, it must lead to the complete unity of nations.

There are, however, a good many complex problems to be resolved before this is achieved. One of them is to augment the contribution of all the Republics towards the development of the integrated national

economic set-up in accordance with their increased economic, cultural and intellectual potential. To do so means acting by the principle of social justice. There are some more problems, connected with the still surviving trends for national seclusion, parochialism and sponging. Besides, there are distinctions between ethnic groups in the area of employment, social structure, and demography. The processes going on in

it need to be scientifically regulated. This means, it was pointed out at the Congress, that there must be a particularly sensitive approach and circumspection combined with consistent opposition to any manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism and religious leftovers.

The Party's social policy is aimed at widening the social space for individual development. The convergence of the

classes and sections of Soviet society, of nations and ethnic groups is a social mechanism not of simple addition and multiplication but integration of their forces. Therein lies the higher mathematics of the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State, the policy of acceleration of the social progress of this society.

(*Kommunist* No. 8, 1986. Novosti)

ARTICLE FIVE:

Development of the Political System: New Issues and Solutions

DEVELOPMENT of the Soviet political system features prominently among the issues involved in upgrading socialism and discussed by the 27th CPSU Congress. The CPSU sees this as part and parcel of the nation's faster economic and social advance, with the further growth of socialist self-government being decisive in the process. Says the new edition of the Party Programme: "The CPSU believes that at the present stage the strategic line of development of the political system of Soviet society consists in advancing Soviet democracy and increasingly promoting socialist self-government by the people on the basis of active and effective participation of working people, their collectives and organisations in decision-making concerning the affairs of the state and society."

Socialist self-government develops while the state is preserved and consolidated, its role growing under socialism. With the socialist state being strengthened and the state machinery streamlined, democracy grows in scope and depth and representative institutions become more effective. In this changing environment the CPSU shows a new approach to the concept of socialist self-government, greatly contributing to the progress of socialism's political system.

The political system of developed socialist society is a network of state and community organisations, workforces and other political institutions which interact and exercise, under the Party's leadership, democracy and socialist self-government. This is not an assortment of organisations and institutions but precisely a system, its constituents interacting and complementing one another. In reaching for their specific objectives, they also work for the targets of society as a whole, being instruments of self-government.

Representative and direct democracy play the key role among the leverage of popular government. The decisive place in the system of state agencies belongs to representative institutions, Soviets, which unite over 2,300,000 deputies backed by millions of volunteers. The CPSU holds that every Soviet and every deputy should fully use their constitutional powers in daily activities, that the role of the collective bodies of power and deputies should grow and that the state apparatus be open to effective control on the part of the people and their representatives.

Growing importance is attached to direct democracy, i.e. nation-wide discussions of major Party and state decisions and bills, production conferences and general meetings in industry and agriculture to discuss national or regional matters and citizens' initiatives.

One of the main features of the political system consists in dialectically blending the broader democracy of this set-up with the need to ensure the higher level of organisation of the state apparatus on the principles of democratic centralism, one man decision-making, decisions by superior agencies being mandatory for their subordinates, and so on. Now that state administration requires a more and more professional approach, the role of the organisational and technical factors of this process is growing. Decision-making, checking on the way decisions are carried out and control over the work of personnel at every level of administration should rely on the opinions and political activity of citizens who implement their political rights directly or through representatives.

The dialectical process of the development and consolidation of the state, with simultaneous expansion in citizens' involvement in administration, would grow as we proceed towards communism. It is pertinent to point to the inconsistency of simplified interpretations of self-government which is sometimes reduced to the activities of individual production or regional cells of socialist society, or is set against state administration, or is postponed until the higher phase of the communist formation. As the Political Report by the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress has it, the principles of self-government develop inside the socialist state, not outside it, affecting all the aspects of the life of the state and society more and more profoundly, enriching the content of democratic centralism and consolidating its socialist character.

Another important feature of socialist self-government is that the Communist Party acts as the guiding and leading force of society and the nucleus of socialism's political system. The Communist Party unites the most advanced and conscious segments of the working class, the collective farmers and the professionals. Remaining the party of the working class in essence and ideology, the CPSU has become the party of

the whole people. Built on the principles of democratic centralism, the Party, as the new edition of the CPSU Programme says, "considers it its duty to take constant counsel with working people on major questions of domestic and foreign policy, honour public opinion, and involve non-Party people in the work of Party organisations more extensively."

The key question of the Party's policy is to develop and consolidate the Soviet socialist state, while increasingly emphasising its democratic character as an institution belonging to the people as a whole and its creative and constructive role. This refers, above all, to the Soviets of People's Deputies, the main constituent of the system of socialist democracy.

Soviets direct state, economic, social and cultural development in their respective areas. The new edition of the CPSU Programme says that the Party will tirelessly work for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets in the Republics to steadily develop legislation, effectively tackle major domestic and external issues, actively direct lower Soviets and verify the activities of organisations under their control. The role and responsibility of local Soviets will continue to grow in ensuring integrated regional economic and social development and in handling local matters, particularly in coordinating and controlling the activities of organisations situated on their territory.

The 27th CPSU Congress took a line towards greater democracy in administration and decision-making to make for optimal options and the examination and comparison of citizens' opinions and suggestions. We will increase the range of questions which can be settled only after being discussed by workforces, the permanent commissions of Soviets, trade unions, the YCL and other mass organisations. As previously, major bills and decisions will be offered for nation-wide discussions and referendums. We will improve the practice of implementing voters' mandates and citizens' ideas, and of surveying public opinion, more fully informing the public of administrative decisions and their fulfilment.

This calls for more effective legislation in these fields and more efficient organisation. We must boost public morale and keep citizens interested in administering the

affairs of the state and confident that their personal views and those of their economic units can effectively influence the policy of the state. It is now more important than ever to combat social sluggishness, nihilism, conformism and indifference rooted in a formal attitude to the democratic institutions, in deviations from democratic centralism, and in voluntarism sometimes prevailing over the voice of the public.

A special place in the political system of socialist society belongs to workforces which, under the Constitution and the law on the rights and duties of personnel in industry and other sectors, have broad powers in handling a wide range of economic, social and political questions. Unfortunately, the law has not yet proved effective enough. This is due to various reasons, particularly to workers being unfamiliar with the law's provisions, the plans of their enterprises, decisions by local Soviets and their own rights, and also to the force of inertia, with the management having the final say on most questions affecting personnel. Further, objective conditions have not been created for personnel to use their powers as the law has not been backed by greater rights for enterprises. Often, the personnel of an economic unit have no issues to deal with as all major matters have been settled from above.

This state of affairs was sharply criticised in the Political Report and by Congress delegates. Mikhail Gorbachev said: "The conclusion is clear. We must radically improve the mechanism which would make it possible to translate the democratic

principles and standards set forth in the law into daily pursuits." The Congress heard a proposal that between general meetings economic entities should have a workforce council to represent the management, the Party and YCL organisations, the union branch, teams' councils, shopfloor personnel and professionals. More managerial positions should be filled by election.

Trade unions hold an important place in the political system of Soviet society. They are called upon to increase public wealth, improve people's conditions of work, life and leisure, uphold their rights and interests, constantly engage in the communist education of the masses, draw them into running production and society, and foster conscious workplace discipline. Trade unions should closely co-operate with Soviets and other citizens' organisations in state, economic and cultural development and community control over social justice.

The role of trade unions in socialist society has always been an important and, at times, acute issue in theory and practice. The 27th CPSU Congress confirmed the Party's allegiance to Lenin's view of the trade unions as a school of administration, management and communism. In the political system of socialism, the trade unions are called upon to uphold the interests of working people from administrative overzeal and mobilise them to reach output targets and raise productivity.

The Congress pointed to the need to invigorate the YCL and other mass organisations, particularly artistic unions, scientific, cultural and other associations

and self-directing organisations. All these constituents of the political system unite people by different characteristics and express the specific age-related vocational and cultural interests of various social strata. These organisations help citizens to be active in different fields of community life.

The political system of socialism has been created for the people to protect their interests. It is also an institution which promotes people's initiative in community affairs. Violation of the unity of these aspects of the system can lead to bureaucratic distortions in the work of state agencies, damp or freeze the social activity of the masses and breed parasitic sentiments. For years the creative initiative of some segments of the working people was on the wane, these public groups sticking to a narrow range of limited interests. This was due to many reasons discussed at the Congress, particularly to socialism's political system having been underestimated as the vehicle of self-government.

The CPSU has advanced and is developing the concept of socialist self-government, its further elaboration becoming a major theoretical and practical issue. Much is yet to be done to resolve this issue. Errors and miscalculations which can occur should be identified and corrected in time. The main thing is to encourage creative searches for the new and to implement more fully the principles of socialist democracy and self-government which are powerful boosters to socialism, facilitating its advance towards communism.

(*Kommunist* No. 8, 1986. *Novosti*)

ARTICLE SIX:

Reinforcing the Link between Marxist-Leninist Ideology and Life

THE 27th CPSU Congress raised point blank the question of unity between ideology and life. It openly told the Party and the people about the difficulties of Soviet society's growth and adopted a firm course towards cardinaly improving and reorganising all ideological and political education work.

Society's principal assets are its citizens. To strengthen links between Marxist-Leninist ideology and life means making life more humanistic in meaning and aims. This is the key point of the Congress's decisions in the ideological field, just as in the economic and social spheres.

Work with people forms the core of Party ideological activity. The country today badly needs people who not just agree with the necessity of change, but who take such change as something very close to them, who display initiative and are ready to assume responsibility—in brief, people who can think and act in the new way.

To seek such people, to spot creative gifts and talents, to encourage these talents in practice and to create opportunities for their development is the main purpose of ideo-

logical and educational work, economic guidance, and management of science, education, culture, literature and art.

To proceed from life in ideological work means thoroughly analysing reality, pointing up problems and contradictions that arise in it, and successfully finding ways of solving them. For this, history has provided us with our ideological and theoretical weapon—Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary to ensure that resorting to it in dealing with urgent problems posed by life should become a natural impulse, a habit with every Soviet citizen.

Ideological and educational work must serve the task of rallying together and organising the working people, mobilising them to the solution of burning problems of social and economic development. Life today raises very sharply the questions of social justice, order and discipline, struggle against red tape, for high production standards, socialist way of life, and human relations. It is necessary, the Congress underscored, to tackle in a more resolute and energetic way the practical matters that have a direct bearing on and mould the

consciousness and moods of people, to do everything in order to provide the population with dwellings and food, high-quality goods, qualified medical assistance, possibilities for cultured recreation, and so on. This will in no way belittle the role of ideology. On the contrary, it will only be enhanced. The heights attained by ideology are measured by its degree of closeness to life, to the bedrock foundations of human existence, by its practical efficiency.

Communist education is inseparable from the struggle against expressions of ideology and morals hostile to socialism. Breaches of work discipline, pilfering and bribe-taking, profiteering and parasitism, drinking and hooliganism, private property mentality and servility nourish views and sentiments alien to the Soviet system. Work is the main source of society's material and spiritual wealth, the principal criterion in assessing the social prestige of the person, the foundation on which rests the communist education of the individual.

In ideology, as well as in all other spheres of activity, the Party tells Soviet people to be very specific, to take accurate account of

the interests of classes, social groups and individuals. We are yet to overcome the unfortunately habitual "gross" approach to ideological and educational work, when the enormous figures of those "involved" overshadow concrete men and women with their vast diversity of abilities and needs, value orientations, collective and individual interests.

The Party's course aimed at maximum concreteness in ideological work realises and develops Lenin's idea that a representative of a specific sphere of activity, trade or speciality will arrive at his or her recognition of communism not in exactly the same way as others, but on his or her own, through the data of his or her science, speciality or profession.

In this connection the Congress emphasised the cardinal significance of such a major form of ideological-theoretical and political education as individual work. The ability to single out everything that is objectively positive in the life line of the individual person and to impart a conscious form to it—that is the main thing that is required in such work. There cannot be ready-made recipes for every occasion. What the educator needs is a deep knowledge of social and individual psychology, intelligence, tact, capacity for empathy, and the ability to conduct a dialogue.

The importance of the individual approach in education is also stressed by the fact that bourgeois ideology, finding no objective soil for itself in the interests of the classes and social groups of socialist society, chooses as the object of its influence an individual person, the sphere of his psychology, ordinary consciousness. In present-day conditions bourgeois, anti-communist propaganda has grown particularly active. World anti-communism has considerably broadened its "psychological warfare" in which it does not scruple to use any means in order to deflect individual people from the correct path.

In ideological struggle, we cannot—have no right to—assume a defensive posture. The Congress stressed the need for vigorous struggle against bourgeois ideology and morals, against anti-Soviet provocations and ideological subversion by imperialism.

For Effective Use of the Intellectual Potential of Soviet Society

The Congress raised in a very sharp way the question of overcoming the social sciences' remoteness from the demands of life, of making them address on a wider scale the concrete needs of practice, of asserting a new style of theoretical activity—stemming from life and in connection with life, not through abstract speculation and scholastic theorising.

Scholasticism, which is endlessly "defining and redefining the notions", doctrinarism, dogmatism, the state of being divorced from life, and unwarranted rushing ahead in words, are serious drawbacks of the social sciences, reflecting the gap between word and deed, which has become one of the main brakes on their advance.

Science is a single whole. Properly organised coordination of its individual

spheres and trends is the indispensable condition for cardinaly increasing the effectiveness of research and its social role. The Party's policy in the field of science rests on an integral dialectical-materialist concept of its development at the new and crucial stage of history. One of the major pre-requisites for this development is close co-operation between the social, natural and technical sciences.

Further consolidation of unity between the social sciences and practice also presupposes the deepening of the philosophical, sociological, moral and humanistic understanding of those spheres and problems of human activity which have for a long time been considered as belonging to purely natural or technical spheres. The reference is to stupendous nature-remaking projects capable of bringing about irreversible ecological consequences, research on human medicine and biology (gene engineering, for example), development of new production processes directly affecting the nature of human work and the moulding of the human personality.

The social and moral responsibility of scientists for the immediate practical results of their discoveries and inventions and for their remote consequences rises in a geometric ratio to the growth of contemporary science's might. In science, as in all spheres of social life, priority must belong to social criteria. When no attention is given to the categories of social sciences (ultimately, the human being and society), when scientists and engineers try to translate into reality new and not quite well understood natural phenomena, with no thought given to the social and ecological consequences of this or with light-minded disregard for them, extreme situations, fraught with tragic collisions and tremendous material and moral losses, are inevitable.

There can be only one moral and humanistic criterion of Marxist-Leninist science—a class-based and Party-principled approach to all phenomena of social reality. Party spirit as understood by Marxism-Leninism presupposes the scientific and objective nature of cognition and, therefore, the need to look for and the ability to find out and openly proclaim the truth, no matter how bitter and mercilessly critical it may be. This implies combining in research such elements as continuity, purity and unshakable nature of the underlying principles of theory with their constant creative enrichment, orientation to the formulation and solution of new problems. Party spirit means a conscious expression of the working class's interests, the requirements and tasks of its revolutionary struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. Since these interests coincide with the objective laws governing social development, with the interests of progress throughout the world, the Party spirit of Marxist-Leninist theory coincides with a science-based, truth-seeking and truly humanistic approach.

This is the unshakable objective foundation on which takes shape and deepens the integration of the social, natural and technical sciences, dictated both by social requirements and by the progress of knowledge itself. Integration must become a conscious creative union of

social, natural and engineering scientists.

The 27th Congress formulated a cohesive programme for ensuring economic, social and organisational pre-requisites for scientific and technical activity. It also stressed the role played in this by scientists, engineers and designers as generators of new progressive ideas and notions determining the technological level of production. It was underscored at the Congress that the CPSU gives every encouragement to bold scientific quest, competition of ideas and trends, to fruitful discussion.

Role of Culture in Acceleration

Culture encapsulates the experience of past generations, offers guidance to the individual in the system of historical coordinates of world civilisation and at the same time it helps people to cultivate an active civic stance. It promotes their creative initiative, an element essential to society's efficient functioning. But the human being is not only the object, but also the subject of culture, since he is its creator. It is in human activity that we find the immortality of genuine culture, its constant renovation.

"To raise society's level of maturity and build communism means steadfastly to enhance the maturity of the individual's consciousness and enrich his intellectual world"—such is one of the major theoretical conclusions made by the 27th CPSU Congress. It is based on nearly 70 years of actual, living socialism and is clearly projected to the fulfilment of practical tasks of today and the near future.

Society's spiritual progress, the Party believes, is a major ingredient of and an indispensable condition for economic and social progress, and cultural policy is a necessary component of the acceleration strategy.

The policy of speeding up the country's socio-economic development calls for acceleration of spiritual progress, too, for maximum realisation of the people's creative potential, a healthy way of life, and sensible enjoyment of free time. The principal goal of the CPSU's cultural policy is to offer the widest scope to the revelation of human capacities, to the enrichment of their spiritual life. For that reason concern for the aesthetic education of the working people, using the best examples of this country's and the world's artistic culture, their active involvement in artistic creative activities, are becoming the Party's programme aim. This explains why the Party has raised the question of drawing up a nationwide programme of aesthetic education.

There is an urgent need today to make a profound analysis of the present crucial period, including by artistic means. It is well known that if society develops some objective requirement, people soon appear who undertake the function of satisfying it. This has always been the case. It comes sooner or later. But under socialist conditions one cannot leave such a key process to develop spontaneously. Communists, said Lenin, must direct this process in a planned fashion and mould its results.

As was noted at the Congress, to guide cultural life one needs tact, understanding of artistic nature, love of literature and art, respect for talent. And one must also be exacting. Soviet people are not mere consumers of a specific cultural "output", they are interested parties to the process of spiritual perfection of socialist society.

The 27th CPSU Congress clearly formulated the chief criterion for assessing in Party spirit the works by writers or artists. Not only noble thoughts and feelings by themselves determine the social significance of one or other individual (all the more so, men of art), but also social actions of individuals, that is, social facts, Lenin

wrote. Today the value of an artistic work depends not on strident declarations, not on the author's choice of even a throbbing topic but on how well the ideological thrust and mastery of artistic performance of the work serves to implement the strategic goals set by the Party, on the extent to which the noble role of Soviet art in the national cause becomes a social fact.

The growing importance of ideological education, of the mass media, science, education and culture is closely linked with a major law governing the development of socialism—the enhancement of the Communist Party's leading role. This process is adding a lot of new elements to the teaching

on the Party, the interpretation of its role in refining socialism, and in socialism's attaining a qualitatively new condition along the path towards communism. In conditions of the accelerating socio-economic development of the country, forms and methods of Party work are being substantially enriched. The 27th CPSU Congress has summed up in a creative way the new tendencies and processes characteristic of the present stage of society's radical transformation and making new and extremely high demands on all the Party's multi-faceted activities.

(*Kommunist* No. 9, 1986. Novosti)

ARTICLE SEVEN:

Enhancement of the Leading Role of the Party in Socialist Society

THE 27th Congress of the CPSU provided abundant evidence of the Party's growing role in the life of Soviet society. At this major turning point in history, the Party has once more succeeded in concentrating and expressing the will of the working people, their wants and aspirations. It has acted as the collective wisdom and collective conscience of the people, fusing their intellectual and moral powers into a mighty force at work for peace, creation and humanity. The CPSU has made a thorough and all-round analysis of all essential issues of national life and of the international situation. It has reviewed its own performance as well.

Indispensable Condition of Acceleration

International experience shows that the proletariat can successfully fulfil its historic mission only if it has a Marxist-Leninist party as its vanguard. It is not enough for a party to be ready to lead the people. It is necessary for the working people, too, to find, through living and fighting experience, that the policy of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class responds to their wants and aspirations. That requires tremendous effort and heroism on the part of Communists in every sense, including in their day-to-day organising and educational work.

The achievements of the working class and of all working people in carrying out the Great October Socialist Revolution, in defending its gains and building the new social system are closely bound up with the Party's rising role in the life of society, and with its effort to communicate the Socialist outlook to ever larger sections of working people and win them over to the side of the working class. The reason why the Party has succeeded in leading the great mass of the people is just because it has become the nation's most influential force.

It is only natural for the Party's leading role to grow in the context of the acceleration of the social and economic development of the USSR and the

consequent fundamental improvement of Socialist society. At the same time, it has increased requirements to meet as regards the level of political, organising, and ideological activities.

As Socialism was built and consolidated, the class interests of workers and non-proletarian sections came into a closer relationship. These sections began to consider the success of the historic mission of the proletariat to be a matter of their own vital concern, a point of common material and intellectual interest. That is to say, the Communist Party, while remaining a working-class party by its class essence and ideology, has become a party of the entire people. That predetermines the revolutionary continuity and the class character of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU.

The Party is a social organisation, built on the principle of voluntary association, and yet it has won the right and opportunity to determine the ways of social development and to require Communists and people outside the Party, organisations and institutional departments to follow, without fail, the policy it has formulated and to perform their duties in a constructive spirit everywhere. This right has been won by the Communists' selfless struggle for the interests of the people and by their sense of responsibility for the future of Socialism and peace and of human civilisation.

"The Party's strength", Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, "is that it has a feel for the time, that it feels the pulse of life, and always works among the people. Whenever the country faces new problems the Party finds ways of resolving them, restructures and remoulds leadership methods, demonstrating its ability to measure up to its historic responsibility for the country's destiny, for the cause of Socialism and Communism."

Five basic factors, listed in the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, are behind the Party's growing role.

1) The expanding magnitude and increasing complexity of the tasks to accomplish in upgrading Socialism and

speeding up its economic, social, cultural and intellectual progress. In the space of 15 years, the Soviet people are to double the nation's productive capacities, i.e., to do as much as has been done ever since the Revolution, and to increase productivity by 2.3-2.5 times. That will mean taking Soviet society a stage ahead in terms of quality.

2) Advancement of the political system, democracy and popular self-government by enhancing the political and productive activity of the masses and by their full-scale involvement in the administration of production, government and social affairs. The construction of Socialism, its refinement and development into a Communist system is the result of the purposeful activity of the entire people, not just of their vanguard alone. That is the meaning of Socialist democracy which, as Lenin saw it, is impossible without the working people's hundred per cent involvement in the running of the State.

3) The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is inconceivable without the enhancement of the leading role of the CPSU, since it is necessary to give scientifically-grounded and prompt answers to whatever questions arise as time goes by and to improve the standards of the Communist education of working people. The Party has always warned against the danger of a revision of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, but, at the same time, has also warned against the danger of dogmatism and of a divorce of theory from the actual conditions of social life. The Political Report to the 27th Congress has noted the imperative necessity of serious philosophical generalisations, a thorough economic analysis and historical studies. "Viability can only be claimed by those scientific schools", it was stressed in the Report, "that come from practice and return to it enriched with meaningful generalisations and constructive recommendations." The record of the struggle for the revolutionary remaking of the world confirms that an underestimation of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory, inadequate creative elaboration of fundamental problems, time-

serving or scholastic theorising can do serious ideological and political damage to the Party and to the community as a whole.

4) The CPSU has always been a party of internationalists. It has all along opposed any manifestation of national exclusiveness and isolation. It has never yielded ground to hidebound nationalism, regarding it as a factor of disuniting and breaking up revolutionary forces. Yet another reason for the leading role of the CPSU in society to grow is the need to extend the all-round co-operation and strengthen the cohesion of the Socialist countries and of the international Communist and working-class movement, and the solidarity with the forces of national liberation. A no lesser reason is the need to counter bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, reformism and sectarianism. The CPSU shows special concern for the unity of the countries of the Socialist community and actual Socialism, the major gain of the international working class.

The principle the CPSU stands by in its approach to the problems of the Communist movement is that of unity in diversity. Being part and parcel of this movement, our Party does not overdramatise whatever differences and divergences may arise inside it. The diversity of the Communist movement is not synonymous with disunity. The unity of the movement the CPSU stands for has nothing in common with uniformity or hierarchy, or with interference by some parties in the affairs of others, or with some party's ambition to have a monopoly of the truth.

5) The enhancement of the leading role of the CPSU is connected with the increasingly involved international political conditions owing to the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, and with the need to ensure national security, deter the forces of aggression and strengthen peace on Earth. The CPSU has always been ready to adopt concerted measures for defusing the international situation. It has proved that by its numerous peace initiatives. But at the same time, our Party says that it will not tolerate any military superiority by any capitalist state over the Soviet Union or superiority by any imperialist bloc over the Socialist community.

Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is the guiding principle of the Party's organisational structure, life and activity. The CPSU kept its basic statutory provisions unchanged for over 50 years: electivity of the governing Party bodies from the lowest to the highest; periodic accountability of the Party bodies to their respective Party organisations and to superior bodies; strict Party discipline and subordination of the minority to the majority; unquestionably binding superior decisions. The 27th Congress of the CPSU found it necessary to add the following to this definition: "collectivity in the work

of all of the Party's organisations and governing bodies and each Communist's personal responsibility for the fulfilment of his obligations and of Party assignments." This provision is to safeguard the Party and the community from self-styled and self-willed decisions and from thoughtless bureaucratic execution of orders, and to give free scope to initiative and self-determined activity. It is a major duty of Party organisations at every level and of each Communist in particular to work towards enhancing the Party's role in the life of the community and, consequently, to reinforce and clean its ranks and build up their efficiency.

Anyone applying to join the Party is expected to have such qualities as political staunchness, ideological commitment, honesty and decency, and readiness to devote oneself to fighting for the ideals of Communism. To safeguard the Party from nominal members, the following essential point has been written into the Rules of the CPSU: a Party member is expected to "put the Party's general line and directives into effect firmly and unswervingly." A Communist is required to "effectively contribute towards an ever fuller achievement of Socialist self-government by the people", "in every way promote the Soviet people's increased political understanding and ideological and moral advancement", and combat the "views and manners foreign to the Socialist way of life." That is to say, the amendments make it clear that a Communist must be a champion of the Party's cause and an organiser of the masses, and serve as a model of honest and selfless work, have a proper sense of civic duty, moral probity and ideological persuasion.

Full information on Party life, a Leninist tradition, is a dependable barrier in the way of careerists, dishonest individuals and grabbers getting into the Party. The 27th Congress of the CPSU did not find it necessary to purge the Party, since keeping the Party safe from nominal or corrupt members is not a one-time drive, but a primary everyday statutory obligation of each Party organisation.

The Party's ideological and organisational unity is an indispensable condition for the enhancement of the Party's leading role. Ideological disunity and organisational imperfection can undercut the authority and influence of the political vanguard, as has happened more than once in history.

Organisational unity does not mean uniformity, with everybody thinking and acting alike. The 27th Congress of the CPSU called upon the Communists to follow the practice of collective discussion of all issues of Party politics and Party life without exception. But once a matter has been discussed and a decision taken, all Communists must act on it as one. That is what the Party's organisational unity is like. It is indispensable for the actual fulfilment

of the tasks before the Party.

The Party is the vanguard of the people. It does not adjust itself to the mean state of the masses, but goes ahead of them, leading the way. To discharge its functions well, the vanguard must not break away from the bulk of the forces, or mark time, or hold up the general advance. Lenin called on the Party to take a realistic view of the actual state of the consciousness and preparedness of the entire class and the entire mass of working people.

In accordance with these ideas of Lenin's, the CPSU declares in its Programme that it exists for the people and that its aims and priorities express the aspirations and fundamental interests of the Soviet people. That is why the Party deems it to be its duty to take counsel with the people on the major issues of domestic and foreign policy, to consider public opinion, and to draw more and more people outside the Party into the work of Party organisations.

In the Political Report to the 27th Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the need for advanced ideas to be interrelated with the practice of building up the new type of society and for them to be combined with the social activity of the masses. "The most essential thing on which the entire weight of Party influence must be focussed", the Report said, "is that every person should understand the urgency and the landmark character of the moment we are living in. Any of our plans would hang in the air if people are left indifferent, if we fail to waken the labour and social vigour of the masses, their energy and initiative."

The CPSU has called for learning the Leninist style of work, that is, consistently applying the collective principle at every level of Party leadership and extirpating sheer administrative and bureaucratic practices. The Congress stressed the need to do most Party work in the primary organisations and production groups which are directly concerned with resolving production, scientific and technological, social and educational problems, and to cultivate a climate of exacting approach and Party comradeship within Party organisations.

Manpower policy, proper supervision over the unerring and prompt execution of the decisions taken, and insistence on the unequivocal rejection of everything that is no longer serviceable, that is outdated and acts as a brake on all further advance are the most essential expedients in use to enhance the Party's leading role and its social prestige.

By its actual performance the CPSU vindicates its right to be the vanguard of the people, for it concentrates in itself the intellectual potential of the working people and shows its ability to find scientific answers to the trickiest issues of modern times.

(*Kommunist* No. 10, 1986. Novosti)