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**XXVII CPSU CONGRESS:
CONTRIBUTION
TO MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY**

Articles from the journal *Communist*





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**XXVII CPSU CONGRESS:
CONTRIBUTION TO MARXIST-
LENINIST THEORY**

Articles from *Communist*, a theoretical and political journal
published by the CPSU Central Committee

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From the Editors

Below is the first compilation of articles from *Communist*, the theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee. From now on such publications will appear regularly several times a year as a supplement to the STP digest, which is, in the Editors' opinion, fully justified.

The sweeping, indeed revolutionary changes in all spheres of social life in the Soviet Union initiated by the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held in April 1985 and carried on by the 27th CPSU Congress (February-March 1986) have attracted great attention from the world public. The spontaneous appearance of cover-to-cover translations of *Pravda*, the central newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee, in a number of Western countries is remarkable evidence of this interest. Just a few years ago such an event was unthinkable, but, as we know, demand causes supply. The desire to know what is taking place in the USSR, to know it from a reliable source, and not from hearsay, has prompted the appearance of foreign issues of *Pravda* in 10 capitalist countries of all five continents during the last year or so. Sensitive to the demand, local publishers distributed it in hundreds of thousands of copies.

Both friends and foes of the new social system have reasons for probing deeper into the drastic historical changes in the development of socialism currently under way in the USSR—unprecedented changes of unique scale and profundity. In the summer of 1986 Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "We have resolutely taken the course of acceleration of the socio-economic development and renewal of our country, getting rid of everything that prevents the socialist system from effectively using its mighty political, economic and social potential... We simply must make socialism stronger,

more dynamically developing, successfully competing with capitalist society in all spheres."

Words and ideas precede deeds. Of course, the ground for large-scale radical reconstruction of all spheres of social life in such a vast country as the Soviet Union, was prepared by bold scientific quests, elimination of scholasticism and dogmatism, the concrete embodiment and enrichment of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. This vast theoretical work started by the 27th Party Congress is being continued now by Soviet sociologists at the Party's theoretical institutions on the basis of the innovatory ideas expressed at the Congress.

To understand what is taking place in the USSR, the course it has chosen, and the potency and realism of the CPSU's new ideas, one has to get to the core of the questions being discussed in the USSR, the lessons drawn from errors and miscalculations of the recent past and the key issues in the focus of the heated theoretical and political debates.

The journal *Communist* is an indispensable guide in this respect. As the CPSU Central Committee put it in its resolution *On the Journal Communist* (August 1986), the journal is expected to play an ever more active role in the ideological life of the Party and the country. It is the main rostrum for expressing the developing social thought and generalizing the masses' social experience in the course of reconstruction.

Regular publications of the more important articles from *Communist* which we are beginning now with a number of editorials on the contribution of the 27th CPSU Congress to Marxist-Leninist theory and the Party's home and foreign policy strategy, will undoubtedly keep our readers abreast of the theoretical and political tasks being tackled by Soviet Communists.

I. THE DIALECTICS OF THE MODERN EPOCH

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will take an exceptional place, and this is clear already today, in the Party's political biography, in the development of the new social formation, in the destinies of all of mankind, a place which is determined by the strategic decisions taken at it.

LENINISM IN ACTION

The creative contribution made by the 27th Congress of the CPSU to the Marxist-Leninist theory is expressed, first, in that it gave a precise, scientifically grounded definition of the key issues of the modern epoch, showed why priority is envisaged precisely to these issues, established intrinsic connection between them, and found the optimum ways and means for coping with them.

Abridged. Titles and sub-titles have been provided by the Editors.

This has enabled us to theoretically substantiate the conceptual basis of the party's general line at the present difficult and controversial historical stage. Second, the Party's creative collective thought has wrought, in conformity with the fundamental scientific and humanistic principles of Marxism-Leninism, theoretical and political changes in thinking and acting dictated by the new conditions and peculiarities of the modern stage in the development of socialism. This helped to establish a new order of priorities, and bring out in bold relief the importance of the social and cultural sphere, and the role of the individual and of the human factor in accelerating the country's economic development on the basis of scientific and technological progress. "Our revolutionary teaching," M. S. Gorbachev said at the Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, "is a powerful instrument of cognition. It helps to appraise the

contradictions of the time in their totality, to reveal their causes and find correct answers to the pressing problems. But it, too, is in need of constant development. Today we can say that Communists have firmly learnt the most important lesson: it is necessary to develop our theory boldly, and constantly march forward." We call this theoretical approach *Leninism in action*.

The Congress drew the innovative conclusion of exceptional importance concerning the need to evolve in the present-day internal and international conditions a new mode of thinking, a new mentality, a new value orientation without which it is just impossible either to accomplish successfully the diverse tasks involved in accelerating the social and economic development of Soviet society or to further strengthen the positions of world socialism, or to liquidate the threat to mankind's existence. As stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party Congress, "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."

In both practice and theory the new cannot become firmly established without ousting the habitual but already outdated notions. To renounce them does not mean mechanically crossing them out or just replacing them by others. To assimilate the new ideas of the Congress means grasping their intrinsic, deep-lying connection with the entire set of the ideas of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism, reassessing, in the light of these ideas, the relationship between theory and practice, the role of science in social progress, the tasks of the social science and achieving a high accuracy of scientific appraisals and forecasts and effective recommendations for practical work.

A NEW PERIOD OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

The 27th Congress of the CPSU developed and enriched the Leninist concept of the contemporary epoch with account taken of the realities of world development in the past quarter of the 20th century and the deep wide-ranging changes in the international situation which required a comprehensive analysis of all objective and subjective, social and technological factors behind these changes. "The modern world," says the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress, "is complicated, div-

erse and dynamic, and shot through with contending tendencies and contradictions. It is a world of the most difficult alternatives, anxieties and hopes."

The tendencies and contradictions of the present stage of world development, so vividly and concisely ascertained by the Congress, bear out Lenin's fundamental appraisal of the contemporary epoch as an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At the same time, we cannot fail to see that the world, continuing to develop by the laws of the contemporary epoch, has entered a *new, particular period of the historical process*. A fundamentally new feature of the present situation is the qualitative leap made by the productive forces over the past 25 years during the scientific and technological revolution. It has tremendously multiplied mankind's creative potential, especially at the present stage connected with the development of qualitatively new machinery and production processes. At the same time, it has contributed to equally gigantic changes in the means of destruction, bringing civilization to the brink of self-destruction. Of course, the scientific and technological revolution as such does not carry in itself this suicidal dramaticism. It is bred by modern imperialism, the re-

luctance of its ruling circles to abandon the chimera of social revenge and the attempts to settle by force the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism.

Will mankind and civilization survive? The Congress has convincingly shown that this is the crux of the matter. This is the first time in history that mankind has been confronted with such a dangerous dilemma, and Lenin's Party was the first to make the world see this harsh truth. There is nothing more important today. This conclusion adds new significant features to the picture of the world in which mankind lives today and compels us to look in a new way at the most important ideological, social and philosophical problems posed by Marxism in the past.

First of all, it is a new look at the problem of alienation, man's relation to his own social productive forces which, as the dangerous course of events shows, may turn into forces of total destruction. Never before in the history of capitalism has there been so real a threat of these forces escaping control. On the other hand, the analysis of the growing potential of peace made by the Congress showed that never before have the possibilities of control over these forces and the role of politics, science and the subjective factor in general in preventing

the threat of mankind's self-destruction been so great.

The Congress has not only pinpointed the options now open to mankind, but has also scientifically substantiated the only acceptable alternative: peace and social progress. The 27th Congress drew the conclusion that advance in this direction is not just possible. "The course of world affairs provides the requisite material, social and political conditions for this," says the Resolution of the 27th Congress on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee.

**WORLD SOCIALISM:
EXPERIENCE, LESSONS,
PROSPECTS**

The main motive force of social progress in our time is by right the world socialist system, a new powerful international entity relying on a highly developed economy, advanced social system and a reliable military strategic potential, which serves the cause of peace and international security. This explains why the constructive processes developing in the world socialist system became the object of in-depth analysis and generalization at the Congress.

A major achievement of the Leninist Party's theoretical thought is a more detailed review of the gains and advantages of socialism contained in the re-edited CPSU Programme. It takes into account both the

experience of the USSR and that of the entire world socialist system. Showing the possibility of solving social problems on a fundamentally new, collectivist basis, the 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed to the diversity of the ways of building the new society and, at the same time, accentuated the significance of the general laws governing the rise and development of socialism.

The new social basis called into life a heretofore unknown type of international relations most fully embodied in the *socialist community*. Simultaneously the Congress underlined the important idea that the community is not separated by any barriers from other socialist countries. *In both theory and politics the first place should be accorded to what unites the socialist world.* So the Party, as pointed out in its re-edited Programme, is trying to build stable comradely relations and develop all-round cooperation of the USSR with all member countries of the world socialist system.

Formulating the tasks in the field of cooperation with socialist countries, the re-edited CPSU Programme generalizes the far-reaching changes which have taken place in these countries in the past decades. The development of the socialist community countries has brought them right to the threshold of radical intensification of

their economic development. Setting out jointly to solve the task of historic importance—advancing to the front lines of science and technology, the countries of the new world give their own, socialist answer, to the challenge of the scientific and technological revolution: not the turning of the achievements of human thought into mass destruction weapons, not new millions of people thrown out into the street, but putting these achievements into the service of mankind to promote the peoples' well-being and consolidate their security. Thus, the joint actions of socialist countries not only blaze technological routes into the third millennium but also draw a realistic social picture of the future.

The peoples of socialist countries are now confronted by the historic task of *combining the social justice inherent in the new system with the highest economic efficiency*. Socialism must, is simply duty bound, to become in the briefest span of time a stronger society, developing more dynamically and successfully competing with capitalism in all fields.

At the turning point in its development socialism must fully use one of its crucial advantages—the ability to learn, to draw lessons from the experience of building the new world and complex confrontation between the two social systems. Addressing the Tenth

Congress of the PUWP, M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that the first of these lessons and, perhaps, the most important one is that socialism has struck deep roots, that the working people of fraternal countries cannot imagine their life outside it and that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, as was said at the Congress of Polish Communists, are a vital factor of "national blood circulation", and socialist values and norms, indispensable elements of social consciousness. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also pointed to a number of other lessons and conclusions which are equally important for the fraternal countries, such as the place and role of the working class and its party and their organic linkage; the ability to overcome the resistance of anti-socialist forces and to counter the economic, political, propaganda and military pressure of imperialism; the danger created by mistakes and subjectivist departures from the principles lying at the basis of the political system of socialism. Among the conclusions of universal, international importance is also the conclusion that *the progress of socialism is not ensured automatically*. The rapid growth of production, science, technology and culture, the development of the human personality make new demands on the organization of

society, which necessarily presupposes constant renewal of socialism on its own foundation.

The dynamic development of the world socialist system, the consolidation of the political, economic and defence might of the socialist community have radically tilted the balance of world forces in favour of the peoples fighting for social and national liberation, for the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe, for a lasting peace on Earth. Proceeding from a comprehensive analysis of the development of socialism and all international factors in their highly intricate and contradictory entirety, the 27th Congress has firmly declared that however grave is the threat to peace created by the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles refusing to reckon with the realities of the world, *it is possible to save mankind from thermonuclear catastrophe.*

THE MAIN CONTRADICTION OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

The fundamental conclusion, drawn by the Congress, about the main contradiction of the contemporary world is based not only on a thorough examination of the main tendencies and factors ensuring mankind's social progress, but also on a comprehensive analysis of the development of the world as a whole proceeding, as Lenin put it, "amidst contradictions and

through contradictions."¹ The contradictions of the present period of the historical process, M. S. Gorbachev stressed in his report to the Congress, "are not only a verdict on the old world, on everything that impedes the advance; they are also a source and motive force for social progress."

Decisive and most important are the contradictions between the states of two socio-economic systems—socialism and capitalism, their competition and confrontation. The 27th Congress showed convincingly that the historically natural growth and deepening of these contradictions do not in themselves aggravate the international situation, do not lead to the growth of the threat of thermonuclear war, as is contended in some circles abroad. Marxists-Leninists stand for solving the historical dispute between the two social systems through the peaceful competition of the two modes of production, two ways of life. This is the only reasonable and, moreover, the only possible solution. As M. S. Gorbachev stressed in April 1986 in an interview to the Algerian journal *Révolution Africaine*, the international imperatives of the strategy for accelerating the social and economic development of the Soviet Union are to secure favourable conditions

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 16, p. 348.

under which the *historical competition between socialism and capitalism would proceed exclusively in peaceful forms*. It is precisely this that obliges the socialist countries not least of all to concern themselves with accelerating their social and economic development. Socialism has no right to fall behind.

CAPITALISM: NEW SETS OF CONTRADICTIONS

What is the real outlook for the sober appraisals of the present world situation forcing their way through the pile-ups of prejudices and bias in the thinking of the imperialist ruling circles and what can help them realize, as soon as possible the new international realities? There can be no proper answer to these questions without an all-round analysis of the tendencies and contradictions of contemporary capitalism.

The analysis made by the 27th Congress has shown that with the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism alongside the traditional and still leading antagonisms, such as between labour and capital, the monopolies and the majority of the population, etc., new important foci and sets of contradictions have appeared. *The transnational monopoly capital, which has rapidly gained strength, entered into a contradiction with the national-state form of society's political organization*. It controls about a

third of the gross national product of the non-socialist world and up to a half of the world capitalist trade. *A set of most acute contradictions has appeared and is deepening in the relations between imperialism and the developing countries* which are subjected to the most subtle neo-colonialist exploitation.

In the past two or three decades there have emerged *global "man-nature" and "man-society" contradictions*, as one of the leading groups of contradictions of the contemporary world, called forth above all by the objective course of production and its internationalization. This refers not only to the environmental, air and water pollution, the depletion of natural resources and the need of their rational use as an asset of the whole of humanity. This also applies to the energy, food and demographic problems, economic backwardness, problems of scientific, technological and cultural development, medical care and, finally, man himself and his future. In all these problems the social aspect of the relations plays an important and, frequently, decisive role, determining the character of manifestation of global contradictions, their development and, naturally, the ways and forms of resolving them. A graphic example is the logic of the capitalist mode of reproduction

inexorably leading to the degradation and destruction of the natural environment. Today, when these problems challenge all of mankind, the question of the role of the social factor in their resolution is posed in a new way today, because even a partial success here requires painstaking work for organizing effective international cooperation and constructive interaction of all states regardless of their social and political system and differences in ideology.

The different groups of contradictions of the contemporary world analyzed at the 27th CPSU Congress reveal an obvious tendency towards their organic interlocking, dialectical interplay and unity. As the Congress documents show, the contradictions engendered by class differences and the social heterogeneity of our world are increasingly acquiring a universal human meaning and having an ever greater impact on the destinies of our civilization. Imperialism's desire to solve problems in relations between states by force, its ruthless plundering of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which has turned a vast part of this region into a zone of hunger, poverty and backwardness, undisguised flouting by transnational super-monopolies of the national interests and sovereignty not only of the newly free but also many developed capitalist states

widen the gulf between imperialism and the majority of the world population. That is why the knots of contradictions appearing here are increasingly becoming global and provide the basis for the rallying of the overwhelming majority of mankind in the struggle against imperialism for peace and social progress.

Of fundamental importance for the materialist understanding of contemporary history, for the scientific substantiation of foreign policy in the historical perspective, is the thesis advanced by the Congress that the competition and historical confrontation between the two systems should be seen in the context of the mounting tendency towards the inter-dependence of the states of the world community, the thesis about a *contradictory but inter-dependent and largely integral world evolving through the struggle of social opposites of our time.*

THE DRIVING FORCES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The 27th CPSU Congress brought out the main tendencies of world development in our time, comprehensively analyzed the contradictions of the contemporary world and showed the interdependence of the struggle for peace and for social progress. This enabled it to approach in a new way the question of the driving forces of the revolutionary process and

the struggle for the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe, to specify the composition of these forces and to characterize them more accurately. In other words, it has been able to define with scientific authenticity the fulcrum making it possible to change the world for the better in the historical perspective, to save mankind from self-destruction.

This is why the Congress spoke about the *main motive forces of social progress as the leading forces of the growing peace potential*, and our time, as defined in the re-edited CPSU Programme, as the time of the struggle waged by the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working class and communist movement, the peoples of the liberated countries and mass democratic movements—not only against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, for democracy and social progress, but also the struggle for peace, disarmament, for the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe.

The working class has been the main revolutionary class of the present age. Today it embraces one-third of the economically active population of the world—660 million. Such is the reality refuting the inventions of the ideological opponents of socialism that the proletariat has “disappeared” and lost its vanguard positions in

social progress. The growing potential of the working class is truly enormous.

The 27th Congress further elaborated and deepened the CPSU's fundamental course for cementing the unity of the international communist movement which is the vanguard of the working class movement, of all forces of the world revolutionary process. In its relations with fraternal parties Lenin's Party proceeds from the premise that the *diversity of the communist movement is not synonymous with disunity, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy or the desire of any party to have a monopoly over what is right*. The Congress reaffirmed the CPSU's invariable solidarity with all the forces of national and social liberation, the line for the development of contacts and cooperation with social-democratic parties, for the expansion of ties with all who are opposed to war and stand for international security.

In the definition of the present age given by the Congress noteworthy is one more innovative conclusion drawn by the CPSU: about a considerable expansion of the front of the forces of social progress. Assessing the alignment of social and class forces in the present period, the CPSU showed that in the past two decades there has emerged among them a *new potent force—mass*

democratic movements, which unite huge masses of people of most different political orientation and social origin in the struggle for human rights, a clean environment, against military preparations and the arms race. Their most important component are anti-war and anti-nuclear movements, including associations of doctors, scientists, trade unionists, cultural workers and church ministers.

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR SPACE AGE

On the basis of a deep and all-round Leninist analysis the 27th Congress conceptualized and formulated the CPSU foreign policy strategy inseparably linked with the Party's basic tasks on the home front. It reaffirmed the primary programme demand made on foreign policy: "To provide the Soviet people with the possibility of working under conditions of lasting peace and freedom" and indicated the main road leading to it—the struggle against the nuclear threat, the arms race, for safeguarding and strengthening world peace. Relying on a comprehensive analysis of the profound changes which took place in the world, the Congress advanced a scientifically verified international programme of action for peace and social progress and formulated the ideological and theoretical principles of a new, just world order.

The Congress further sub-

stantiated and developed the thesis advanced by the CPSU in recent years about the need of a *new foreign policy thinking*, realization of the fact that it is now impossible to win the arms race, just as to win a nuclear war. Consequently, even preparations for war, the bid for military superiority cannot objectively bring any political gain to anybody. It is impossible to save and preserve peace without rupturing, resolutely and irrevocably, with a political course based for centuries on the idea of the acceptability and permissibility of wars and armed conflicts as a method of handling international affairs.

In close association with the need to realize these basic realities the Congress took up and considered, for the first time ever, the question of a *new concept of universal security* in all its aspects: no longer can this security be ensured by military technology or the creation of even most powerful defences. If the present tendencies continue to operate, the military-strategic parity, the fear of retribution can in time cease to be an obstacle to war. Besides, the destinies of humanity might become entrusted to technology. The realization of the mortal danger posed by this requires most insistently that an equal security for all should be ensured exclusively by political means.

Deeply penetrating into the dialectics of world develop-

ments, their internal logic, the 27th CPSU Congress developed and enriched Lenin's concept of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as a world order under which there would be no wars and genuine good-neighbourly relations and cooperation would be established and the achievements of science and technology and cultural values broadly exchanged.

The new theoretical and political ideas and concepts were backed up at the Congress with a clear-cut foreign policy *programme of building an all-embracing system of international security*. Its most important component, its core is the Soviet Union's well-known proposals contained in the Statement of M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, of January 15, 1986, concerning the elimination of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the year 2000, while preventing the development of strike space weapons. If implemented, these proposals would undoubtedly open before mankind a fundamentally new period of development, the possibility for concentrating on constructive work only.

While not minimizing the difficulties of ensuring lasting peace, which are created by the unwillingness of the imperialist ruling circles to take a sober view of the real situation, the

Congress pointed out that, although conditions are developing in the world for improving the international climate, this is not yet a turn for the better. Such actions of the US reactionary circles as the demonstrative refusal to agree to cease all nuclear tests or aggressive ventures in relation to Libya and Nicaragua show that the policy of the dominant forces in the West still lacks reason.

The Soviet Union together with other countries of the socialist community is fighting along a broad front for the improvement of the complex and tense international situation, for the cessation of the arms race and the deliverance of mankind from the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe hanging over it.

In the brief period of time since the 27th Congress of the CPSU the Soviet country has submitted many new, exceptionally important proposals. The participants of the mass anti-war organizations, realistically-minded political and public figures in the West and East see in them a real way of improving the international situation, establishing an all-embracing security system, and delivering mankind from the threat of destruction.

II. SOCIALISM AT THE TURNING POINT OF HISTORY

What are the prospects for the further development of socialism? What will it be like, both socially and economically, and what will its place and weight be in the world at the turn of the century? The 27th CPSU Congress gave convincing answers to these cardinal questions of our crucial time. These answers are a new creative contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and a most important achievement in the development of social thought. This contribution is made still more weighty by the fact that the urgent and far-reaching problems in the development of socialism are of tremendous significance not only for each particular country, but internationally as well.

LOOKING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY

The answers supplied by the 27th CPSU Congress have become a point of departure for working out a thoroughly substantiated strategic programme of action which organically

combines an innovatory approach and continuity, the grandeur of aims and the awareness of the available opportunities, the plans for the whole of society and the dreams of each individual.

The documents adopted by the Congress—the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, the new edition of the Party Programme, the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, and others—contain a *scientific programme of action for a long period, drawn on the basis of the forecasting of the social development paths. They orientate the development of real socialist society towards the achievement of the ultimate goal—communism.* As pointed out in the new edition of the CPSU Programme, "The Party always correlates its policy, economic and social strategy, and the tasks of its organizational and ideological work with the communist perspective." Such correlation of the features of the

highest phase of communism, as laid down in the Programme, its material and technical basis and social relations serves as the first stage for the scientific forecasting by the Party of the prospects of socialist development at the turn of the century.

The second stage of this forecasting is more specific and is connected with the considerable enrichment of the Party's theoretical guidelines: the fundamental idea about socialism as a dynamically developing integral organism which presupposes qualitative changes in all spheres of social life and which goes through various consecutive stages of maturity in the process of developing into communism.

ROOTS AND ESSENCE OF THE ACCELERATION CONCEPT

The innovatory elaboration of these methodological ideas has culminated in the comprehensive substantiation by the 27th CPSU Congress of *the concept of accelerated social and economic development to achieve, on this basis, a qualitatively new state of society*, the concept which was put forward at the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. As Mikhail Gorbachev said, in this society "the advantages of the socialist system will assert themselves to the fullest extent and the problems that we have inherited from preceding stages will be resolved." The clear-cut

and well-argumentated definition of the basic features of this qualitatively new state of socialist society, which is given in organic unity with the definition of the acceleration itself, its prerequisites, factors and component parts, constitutes a genuinely scientific forecast of what socialism will be like, both socially and economically, on the threshold of the 21st century.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress explains why *the Party put forward the concept and strategy of acceleration* and defined the essence of the basically new approach to urgent problems and the rate of their solution at the present stage and in the period up to the year 2000.

While the thesis on developed socialism emerged due to the need to refute the incorrect proposition that the tasks of comprehensive communist construction should be translated into direct practical actions, then the accent in the interpretation of developed socialism shifted. More often than not, all that was done was to register achievements, whereas many vital problems involving the transfer of the economy to intensive development, the growth of labour productivity, better supplies of the population, and the overcoming of negative tendencies, were left unattended.

The objective conditions urgently demanded that theoretical and political effort be orientated not towards a mere listing of successes but towards defining methods and ways for accelerating social and economic progress to bring about qualitative changes in various spheres of Soviet society. The acceleration concept rests on the almost seventy-year-long experience of building and consolidating real socialism, on the generalization of its unparalleled historical gains, and the objective and thorough analysis of difficulties and the unfavourable tendencies in the economic, social and cultural spheres which came to light at the beginning of the eighties.

The acceleration concept, however, came into being not exclusively due to this kind of phenomena, it is neither temporary nor time-serving. Acceleration is an objective characteristic of socialist society, which, as Mikhail Gorbachev said in his answers to the magazine *Révolution Africaine*, "is capable of constant renovation and perfection". These words are consonant with the Engels' thesis about the socialist revolution bringing about "a process of development of the masses... under conditions accelerating this process."¹ This is also in

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, p. 343.

tune with Lenin's ideas about socialism. He wrote: "Nobody believes that any important change can be achieved at a fantastic speed; but we do believe in real speed, speed compared with the rate of development in any period in history you like to take—especially if progress is guided by a genuinely revolutionary party; and this speed we shall achieve at all costs."²

Acceleration, as was stressed in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Congress, *is the key to all the problems of Soviet society—immediate and long-term, economic and social, political and ideological, domestic and foreign. The main thing that will ensure success is the living creativity of the masses, the maximum use of the tremendous potentials and advantages of the socialist system.* "These days, many things, in fact everything, will depend on how effectively we will succeed in using the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system, its economic power and social potential," declared Mikhail Gorbachev from the Congress rostrum, "in updating the obsolescent social patterns and style and methods of work, in bringing them abreast of the changed conditions. That is the only way for us to increase the might of our country, to raise the material

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 33, p. 392.

and cultural life of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level, and to enhance the positive influence of the example of socialism as a social system on world development."

This idea can serve as a starting point for the solution of the cardinal questions on which the Soviet Union's progress depends. These include more than the higher growth rates of the national economy as a whole, although this is important. It is necessary *to achieve a basically new quality of growth and to find new approaches in using the development potential of Soviet society. As was stressed at the Congress, the gist of the acceleration lies in all-round intensification on the basis of scientific and technological progress, in the restructuring of the economy, in the introduction of more effective methods of management, labour organization and incentives by developing relations of production and in conformity with the objective economic laws of socialism.*

This involves not only the economy but society as a whole, i.e., all its spheres in their dialectical correlation and interaction. As pointed out in the Political Report, "The policy of acceleration is not confined to changes in the economic field. It envisages an active social policy, a consistent emphasis on the principle of social justice. The strategy of acceleration pre-

supposes an improvement of social relations, a renovation of the forms and methods of work of political and ideological institutions, a deepening of socialist democracy, and resolute overcoming of inertness, stagnation and conservatism—of everything that is holding back social progress."

The 27th CPSU Congress based its forecast that Soviet society is objectively developing towards communism on the assumption that there is no distinct line dividing socialism and communism. "The development of socialism, an ever fuller revelation and use of its possibilities and advantages, and the consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it—this is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism." The Congress thoroughly analyzed such general communistic elements of the system of socialist social relations which determine the role of socialism as a historical stage of the communist mode of production: socialist ownership of the means of production belonging to all the people, and the planned system of economy based on it; the orientation of the national economy towards the achievement of the wellbeing and free, all-round development of all members of society; universal and rational employment; collectivism; self-government; equality of social and economic opportunities,

and so on. These constitute the advantages of socialism as a stage superior to capitalism in the progress of humanity.

It is necessary to put these advantages fully into action, to make broader use of general communistic elements, and to strengthen the socialist foundations of Soviet society so as to ensure its dynamic and accelerated progress, to fulfil the programme tasks of the Party and to reach the new qualitative state of Soviet society forecast in the updated edition of the Party Programme.

CPSU ECONOMIC STRATEGY

In compliance with Marxism-Leninism, the acceleration concept is based on the assumption that the decisive role in the Soviet society's advance towards a new qualitative state is played by economics. As is stressed in the Congress documents, this presupposes the availability of *comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist relations of production and a smoothly-functioning economic mechanism*. This qualitative characteristic of the three spheres of the economic life of socialist society, and the ways and means of achieving progress, outlined in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the re-edited Party Programme, underlie the Party's economic strategy.

It is in this political and econ-

omic context that the Party has determined the guidelines and essence of revolutionary technological changes in the Soviet economy. The sharp acceleration of scientific and technological progress as the chief lever of all-round intensification; the reorganization of the national economy through raising the technical level and introducing a series of advanced basic technologies; the radical restructuring of all social production and a more rational distribution of industrial enterprises throughout the country; the achievement of top world standards in efficiency and quality—all these—in the dry language of political economy—will materially facilitate the operation of the *basic economic law of socialism, which objectively determines the aims of socialist production—not the maximum profit, but the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the working people*. This means that the Soviet people's well-being will reach a qualitatively new level presupposing the realization of rational norms and the optimal structure of personal consumption. *Labour in social production will increasingly turn into an area where the various physical and moral energies and abilities of workers are revealed, and will become a prime vital necessity for each member of society*. This dynamics of the basic law furnishes the objective social and

economic foundation for the development of the material and technical basis.

The revolutionary changes in productive forces charted by the 27th CPSU Congress are not only a vital need, but also a real possibility at the present stage of socialist development. This possibility stems from the socialist relations of production, from the planned system of socialism and the respective methods of economic management. These methods make it possible, in contrast to capitalism, to ensure *the priority of the social goals in economic development*, including technological development, to concentrate resources on the priorities of scientific and technological progress, to plan the latter and to implement a single technological policy.

The Congress documents consider the socialist relations of production and their basic, collectivist, general communist foundations, primarily, planned production ensuring the all-round development of every citizen, as the active prerequisite for the development of productive forces, thus creatively enriching the formula on *the fusing of the achievements of the modern stage of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialism*. As the updated CPSU Programme stresses, the prerequisites for acceleration are "the constant improvement of production rel-

ations, which should always correspond to the dynamically developing productive forces, and the identification and resolution in good time of non-antagonistic contradictions arising between them..."

CONTRADICTIONS OF SOCIALISM AND WAYS OF RESOLVING THEM

The above proposition, which enriches the teaching on contradictions as the motive force for the development of socialist society, requires that the science of political economy resolutely overcome the existing dogmatic views which have proved their insolvency in theory and in practice. Some theoreticians, who analyze production relations in isolation from productive forces, consider these relations as something immutable, which is a far cry from the real state of things. According to such an approach the conformity of the relations of production to the productive forces is ensured automatically, as it were. This point of view is unacceptable for the question of improving production relations is in fact removed from the agenda.

Naturally, the system of socialist relations of production which is logically and historically the first phase of a communist system of relations and which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production, characteristic of the communist mode of production,

opens up broad vistas for development of the productive forces. However, the latter is true *provided systematic and purposeful work is constantly carried out to improve the whole economic system of socialism. This is especially important in the periods of fundamental qualitative changes in the development of the national economy.*

Considering the economic situation of the late '70s-early '80s in the light of this basic requirement, the Party has come to an important conclusion: the slowing down of the rate of economic growth during that period was largely due to the fact that the need for changes in some aspects of the relations of production was not discovered in time.

The existing forms of these relations and the economic mechanism now in operation took shape, basically, in the conditions of extensive economic development. Having gradually become out of date, they began not only to lose their stimulating role, but, as was noted in the re-edited Party Programme, to interfere with the better use of the possibilities and advantages of socialism and hold back the country's onward movement. For this reason, today the Party has put before economic theory and practice the urgent task of re-orientating the system of economic management towards better quality and efficiency and

faster scientific and technological progress. As stated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress, "this is the main thing that will, in practice, signify further improvement of socialist production relations and provide new scope for the growth of productive forces".

What is needed primarily is to work out on this basis a set of measures to cultivate in workers and work teams a feeling of real masters of socialist property and to promote socialist self-government in the economic sphere. Naturally, national interests should have an unquestionable priority over the interests of individual industries or regions. We also need a new approach to ways of bringing together and then merging socialist and cooperative property, an approach opposed to scholasticism and vulgar simplification. It is only an analysis from this position that can furnish a definite answer concerning the reserves and possibilities of the collective-farm and cooperative sector of the national economy which have been grossly underestimated in political and economic literature.

The re-edited Party Programme and other Congress documents have supplemented the definition of socialist relations of distribution according to work done, which are characteristic of the first phase of communism and which greatly

stimulate the growth of collective and personal interests in the development of production, with an analysis of the issue of social justice. A major task of political economy in this respect is to bring out *the organic tie between the economic content of the justice criteria and the operation of the specifically socialist law of distribution according to work done, its general communist foundations and prerequisites—socialist property, plan-based development, the need for all to work, etc.*

Commodity-money relations have a direct bearing on the issue of social justice. As stressed in the Congress documents, *it is necessary to make the most of these relations, to make production more effective and improve distribution, exchange and consumption.* "Sound commodity-money relations on a socialist basis can create a situation and economic conditions," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress, "in which results depend entirely on the standards of the work done by the collective and on the ability and initiative of the managers." Accordingly, the Congress condemned the scholastic useless debates which went on for years about the question of commodity-money relations under socialism, the long-standing prejudices and biases against these relations and the underestimation of the role of the law of

value in the system of the economic laws of socialism.

The cardinal readjustment of the economic mechanism presupposes the development of system of management using flexible and diversified forms and methods appropriate to the present state of the objective system of economic relations and laws of socialism. Only in this case will the economic mechanism suit the changing conditions of economic development and the nature of the tasks in hand, and permit the radical acceleration of scientific and technological progress and stimulation of the human factor. As the Party Programme stresses, in improving management *we must rely on and make the most of the advantages and possibilities of the plan-based, socialist economic system.* This programme provision warrants two conclusions of paramount importance for both theory and practice.

First, we must consolidate in every way the principle of centralized economic planning. As was said at the Congress, our cardinal line is, by relying on the immutable principle of democratic centralism, to "continue consolidating and improving the centralized plan-governed guidance of the economy—socialism's great gain and essential advantage. In this matter, too, it is apparent that we have 'not lived up to', and will never live up to, the hopes of bour-

geois ideologists that we depart from this fundamental principle." The Party's position is crystal-clear: the planned changes in the economic sphere will take place within the framework of scientific socialism, without any departure towards "market socialism", anarcho-socialism or private enterprise, something the opponents of socialism would like to see.

Second, we must decisively enhance the role of the basic production link—associations and enterprises, to give them more leeway and make them more responsible for end results. The Party urges the introduction of a genuine self-accounting system everywhere, including its inherent principles of self-reliance and self-financing, and methods of management relying on material incentives. It also speaks of the need for work collectives to be more active and to have more say in planning and in administrative decision-making at all levels of socialist economic management. This strategic guideline for mobilizing the immense creative potential of the primary units of plan-based nationwide labour cooperation presupposes that *the sum total of commodity-money relations and the laws that govern them is taken into consideration and made the most of in the system of planned management.*

The two above tendencies in their organic unity form the

basis for the cardinal readjustment of the system of economic management. Touching upon meaning of the profound and comprehensive improvement of management mechanism Mikhail Gorbachev said in one of his speeches "We have to tackle a double task: to raise the role of planning and organizational principles when determining the path of development of the national economy and to give wide scope to the initiative of work collectives."

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the re-edited Party Programme define the qualitatively new state Soviet society is to achieve on the basis of drastic acceleration of the country's social and economic development. The 27th CPSU Congress translated the strategic goals and the means of their realization into the language of specific plan assignments in the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, which gives the practical basis for socialism's development. This is not only theoretical foresight or science-based forecasting of the future, but its planning as well. Thus, the year 2000 has become closer to us turning into an urgent matter for the present generation. *The Guidelines put for-*

ward the tasks for the present projected into the future.

It is intended within the next fifteen years to accomplish primarily the tasks concerning the people's material well-being and cultural development which are of particular importance for all members of society.

The fulfilment of the Soviet Food Programme will make it possible to raise the consumption of basic foodstuffs already in the twelfth five-year plan period. The consistent pursuance of this line will permit reaching within 15 years scientifically sound food consumption rates for the entire population. It is also planned by the year 2000 to provide practically every Soviet family with a self-contained flat or a separate house.

It should be stressed that in the forthcoming fifteen years, as a result of the consistent promotion of the principle of socialist social justice, an improvement of the material well-being of the population with per capita real incomes going up 60-80 per cent will be felt by every Soviet citizen. Simultaneously, over the same period, the social consumption funds will roughly double. It will be recalled that the social consumption funds under socialism give all citizens equal access to such material benefits as education, medical assistance, recreation, pension and comfortable and cheap housing.

Changes in the sphere of labour are of paramount importance. Over the same fifteen years the amount of physical labour is to be halved, which will release over 20 million people now employed on unskilled jobs, and make their lives at work intellectually more meaningful, more creative and promoting their physical and mental abilities.

These social tasks can only be accomplished by substantially stepping up the country's economic growth. Hence the upward dynamics of the growth of the national income in five-year-plan periods: from 3.1 to 5 per cent annually. The increase in development rates and scale, and the improvement of product quality are to be achieved through all-round intensification of production. The main factor here is scientific and technological progress, which will make it possible to increase labour productivity 130-150 per cent and consistently reduce power and material intensiveness.

The twelfth five-year plan is to play an important part in the implementation of the programme goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress. It will be a turning point in all respects, including growth rates, efficiency and organization of plan fulfilment. This five-year period, which Soviet people have begun with great enthusiasm, is to take the Soviet economy to a

new and higher trajectory, the trajectory of acceleration.

THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM TODAY AND TOMORROW

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union closely associates the solution of domestic problems arising on the path of accelerated development of socialism with the pace of economic and political progress of the world socialist system as a whole on the threshold of the 21st century.

Over a third of humankind, indeed many countries and nations, have taken the road of socialism and the building of communist civilization. They had different starting points and different situations. Sometimes, advance along this road has not been smooth and devoid of mistakes. For all the specific features inherent in each particular country socialist construction nevertheless has *general laws*. These include similarity of social, economic and political systems, a common world outlook, class solidarity and a common aim. It is these general laws which predetermine the way the socialist countries meet the challenge of our times—a sharp turn towards intensification of production and acceleration of scientific, technological, economic and social progress.

This unity, which manifests itself in diverse forms, has been vividly demonstrated at the congresses of the ruling Communist Parties of many so-

cialist countries which took place recently. As was stressed at the congresses, the key issue of our time is the acceleration of social and economic development on the basis of scientific and technological progress. The fraternal parties note in this connection the exceptional role of fruitful contacts, the powerful potential of joint action and possibilities of cooperation. This is called for by the economic interests of the socialist countries, the political situation in the world and last, but not least, the considerations of economic security, the need to make the socialist countries invulnerable technically and economically in the face of hostile imperialist policies, economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

The organic unity of national and international development factors is vividly demonstrated by socialist economic integration. *The supertask of the present stage of economic cooperation* has been defined jointly by the leaderships of the fraternal parties and states. This is scientific and technological progress and production cooperation, primarily in mechanical engineering. The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member-States up to the year 2000 orientates the socialist countries to concentrate steadily their efforts in the main areas of pro-

duction intensification achieving a revolutionary breakthrough in this field and reaching the highest world levels. This joint Programme calls for a new quality of relations between fraternal countries, i.e. for cooperation between them in the field of science and technology to turn into technological integration, which is to develop on the basis of a coordinated or integral scientific and technological policy.

The fulfilment of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of fraternal parties is closely associated with the further improvement of the mechanism of cooperation among the socialist countries, primarily the CMEA members. More effective, bold and flexible methods are needed in all spheres of cooperation. The old traditional forms, which took shape in the period of extensive development, are today unable to ensure the dynamic development of cooperation. Addressing the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "I think we all feel that the socialist countries are entering a period when cooperation among them should be raised to a still higher level, not just by a point or two, but, as mathematicians say, by a whole order."

What is needed is in effect a new economic mechanism. It is necessary to look for new ways, to develop more decisively dir-

ect contacts between enterprises and industries, direct economic ties, to form joint associations, design offices and laboratories. A number of joint research and production associations have been organized as a first step in this direction. As the 27th CPSU Congress stressed, these are only the shoots of the new integration forms. The future belongs to them.

In particular, great efforts should be made to raise the efficiency of the headquarters of integration itself—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. To achieve this, the CMEA should be relieved of some operational functions which are alien to it and to concentrate its attention on the strategic points of economic integration. As stressed in the re-edited CPSU Programme, "the socialist countries, fully observing the principles of equality and mutual respect for one another's national interests, will continue to follow the road of ever greater mutual understanding and will draw closer together. The Party will contribute to this historically progressive process." The outcome of the competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilization largely depend on the achievements of each socialist country and on the unity, power and authority of the socialist community as a whole.

III. CPSU: AN INTEGRAL, STRONG SOCIAL POLICY

The solution of long-term, strategic tasks of the all-round advancement of socialism and the growth of its impact on the course of world processes determined in the final count by the efficiency of the socialist economy require the mobilization of all factors contributing to the acceleration of its development. First of all, it is a question of the connection of the scientific and technological revolution with qualitative changes in the social sphere.

It is also a question of the role of the social sphere in the life of socialist society at a new stage marking a turning point, and, consequently, a question of the specific aspects of the present-day social policy of the CPSU, its place in the strategy of acceleration.

It is, finally, a question of the main directions and trends in the development of the social sphere leading to a new qualitative state of Soviet society, a question of the link-up of the strategic tasks of the social policy with the interests of classes, social strata and groups, nations and nationalities, each man.

A detailed answer to these questions is contained in the

materials of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. A big contribution made by the Party to scientific communism, to the socio-political theory of Marxism-Leninism is epitomized above all by *the idea of a strong, integral, active social policy inseparably connected with the idea of the people's socialist self-government* which underlies the Party's modern approach to questions related to the development of the social, economic and political system of Soviet society.

THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL SPHERE UNDER SOCIALISM

The most important characteristic of the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU is the priority given to the development of the social sphere. This innovatory approach to interpreting the role of the social factor in the life of socialist society and the ways of advancing the social sphere continues the humanistic principles of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the policy of the Communist Party which has always been focused on man. This approach is based on the perception of the general laws

of the historical process and the analysis of specific features of its present period of development signifying a turning point internally and internationally, the lessons of the recent past of socialist construction and the pressing requirements of the day, on a realistic analysis of the potentialities of socialist society and scientifically grounded forecasts for the future.

For the first time in history the socialist revolution opened broad opportunities for implementing the Communists' programme goal which Lenin defined as ensuring "full well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society"¹. For the first time in history man and his needs became the aim of social production and the development of his creative endowments and abilities the content of social progress.

The real humanism of the new system consists in the fact that, guided by the principle "Everything for the good of man, for the benefit of man", socialist society put an end once and for all to exploitation, social oppression, the power of the privileged minority, the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people. Opening the broadest scope for the dynamic and planned development of the productive forces, socialist society

imparted a truly humanistic nature to scientific and technological progress the achievements of which do not breed unemployment but, on the contrary, in conditions of full employment, lead to a steady rise of the well-being of the whole people, bring out the creative potentialities and abilities of working people as the main wealth of society.

Practising an equal right to work and its remuneration in accordance with the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and giving the working people such social benefits as cheap housing, free medical service, education, socialism translates into reality the age-old dream of humanists about social justice, harmonization of relations between the individual and society.

By cementing the alliance of the working class, collective-farm peasantry and intelligentsia socialism pulls down social partitions between people and provides equal rights and guarantees of their exercise for all social strata and groups. The Soviet people today form a qualitatively new social and international community welded together by the identity of economic interests, ideology and political aims. Social and national equality, the establishment and development of genuine democracy, the rule of the people and for the people, af-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 52.

firmation of the socialist way of life based on the principles of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance and elevating man spiritually and morally as the maker of new social relations and his own destiny, the accessibility of all sources of knowledge to the people, their creative assimilation of the achievements of socialist and world culture—all this gave a real meaning to the ideas of freedom, human dignity, human rights the primary of which is the right to life. Socialist society has thereby practically proved the feasibility of a social organization in which the all-round development of each is the condition of the all-round development of all.

Socialism's gains in the social sphere and its advantages are indisputable. But life does not stand still. The opportunities have broadened, new problems and new requirements have appeared. The Party builds its social policy with an eye to the specific features and requirements of the present historical moment. *A new look at problems connected with the social sphere and its further development, a new appraisal of its growing importance in the documents of the Congress are based on a more deep-going and concrete Marxist-Leninist conception of humanism consonant with the realities of our dynamic age.* The rise of the people's well-being and creation of conditions for the all-

round development of the individual is not only a humanistic aim but a means assuring the further advance of society. This is not just something desirable but an essential condition for social progress.

Socialist society has never treated man only from the functional viewpoint, as an instrument of development, as is the case under capitalism. The concern for the working man, his well-being and cultural growth has always been in the focus of the Party's policy. *Enhancing the role of the social sphere is an objective imperative of social progress, of the latest stage of the scientific and technological revolution.* The underestimation of the pressing problems connected with the material base of the socio-cultural sphere which was evident not so long ago, insufficient allocation of resources for it and a definite over-emphasis of the technocratic attitude to socio-economic problems could not but have an adverse effect on the rates of growth of Soviet society.

Tackling the problems that have piled up here is one of the key tasks pursued by the strategy of acceleration. Indeed, the social sphere encompasses the interests of classes and social groups, nations and nationalities, the relationship between society and the individual, working and living conditions of people, their health and leisure. The Party's strategic

aims must fully coincide with the vital interests of people, their hopes and aspirations. *Progress in solving these problems is the primary condition for turning the energy of the Party's plans into the energy of practical deeds of millions of working people.*

A strong social policy is a policy aimed at bringing about a deep quality transformation of the whole social sphere, giving fundamental solutions to pressing problems. Its main tasks are steady improvement of the Soviet people's working and living conditions, ever fuller implementation of social justice, further rapprochement of classes and social groups and strata, improvement of national relations. Such a policy requires large financial and material inputs into the social sphere yielding quick and appreciable returns for society as a whole and for each member of society.

The scope of the Party's measures for raising the Soviet people's well-being is graphically expressed in these targets: within the next fifteen years, the volume of resources set aside for meeting the personal requirements of people is to be doubled and real per capita incomes are to go up 60 to 80 per cent.

Raising the people's well-being to a qualitatively new level calls for a deep consideration of the formidable problems involved. Social policy is not a charitable activity. Imple-

menting it, the Party is guided not only by the love of man but also by a deep appreciation of the intrinsic connection between labour and consumption, consumption and production taken in the broad sense of the term—both as the production of material values and as the formation of man himself with all the wealth of his social qualities.

THE PRIORITY OF THE SOCIAL SPHERE

The CPSU is not at all indifferent to what ways and means are used to improve material and spiritual life and what social consequences this entails. The Party acts on the premise that under socialism too, as the first phase of communist society, the rise of people's well-being must be most closely linked with the unfailing observance of the socialist principle of social justice: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Both theory and practice testify that any retreat from this principle leads unfailingly to the rise of private property, parasitic, consumer moods and other negative phenomena alien to the nature of socialism having labour as its foundation. This interdependence so convincingly demonstrated by the theory of scientific socialism must be taken into strict account in combatting unearned incomes and the egalitarian tendency in income distribution.

A strong social policy thus implies a direct connection between one's labour contribution and remuneration, a differentiated approach to the question of wage rises meant to raise not only the lower threshold of wages and salaries, but also to stimulate highly productive, qualified and creative labour. Only then can the wage policy become an effective means of accelerating the country's development. The social consumption funds are to serve the same purpose. Giving members of society equal access to education and culture, equalizing the conditions of the upbringing of children and easing the life of those who need social assistance because of ill-health or advanced age, social funds should at the same time stimulate a qualified, conscientious labour. The rule "He who does not work neither shall he eat" does not apply only to children, pensioners and the disabled. *Hence, the strength of the Party's social policy lies in its justice.* Social justice must pervade all aspects of socialist social relations and be effective at all levels of society.

The new, broader and deeper perception of the substance and role of the social policy requires that we should look at the inter-relationship of consumption and production with new eyes, bearing in mind the deep-lying social functions of consumption. And this implies surmount-

ing the vulgar notion of consumption as something lying beyond production, as a sphere merely absorbing its results. The mentality of economic executives who are guided by the old principle in the allocation of resources for the social sphere rests on the idea that what goes into the sphere of consumption is lost for production. Yet when Marxism-Leninism discusses consumption, it always bears in mind its dialectical relationship with production. The consumption of material values must be closely related to the ability to work. The rise of man's material well-being and cultural standards must be seen not only in the context of satisfaction of his needs but also in connection with the formation of a qualitatively new ability for work required by scientific and technological progress and the acceleration of social and economic development.

In its social policy, as in all its activity, the Party proceeds from the assumption that between socialism and communism as two phases of one social formation there is no hard and fast dividing line, nor can there be any. "From each according to his ability" is a general communist demand and the Party, already now, puts forward the cultivation of working people's abilities and talents as one of its priority tasks. In the sphere of consumption it sets the sights

not only on meeting the existing requirements but also on elevating them, on ensuring a level and structure of consumption that would correspond, as stated in the Programme of the CPSU, most fully to the aim of moulding a harmoniously developed, spiritually rich individual.

The Party attaches special importance to enhancing the creative content and collectivist character of work for the good of society. Decreasing considerably the amount of manual work, reducing substantially and, in the future, eliminating altogether monotonous physical and low-skilled work, effecting deep changes in the content of labour with the main role played by technical reconstruction of the national economy (mechanization, automation, computerization and robotization), establishing an integral system of continuous education—this line has a clearcut social aspect and communist orientation. Its implementation will contribute to a gradual conversion of labour into the prime vital necessity of each Soviet man.

The communist world outlook does not take a technocratic approach to scientific and technological progress. Intensification of production and reorganization of its technical base must be carried out not at people's expense but for their benefit, not through their functional accommodation to tech-

nological systems but in the name of their harmonious development giving them more and more power over technological processes as their directors and controllers.

The technical retooling of the national economy, radical increase in labour productivity and economic efficiency as a whole will inevitably lead to the reduction of the working time and increase in free time. This means that the question of *the content and social function of this time will have growing theoretical and practical importance*. The 27th Congress of the CPSU stressed the importance of this problem.

Free time should, of course, serve the aim of restoring the people's ability to work. Providing qualitatively new conditions of the people's rest and leisure, reorganizing the welfare sphere and the services, alleviating household work is therefore the major direction of the Party's social policy—major but not the only one. With the increase of the efficiency of production free time will play a growing role as a condition for the development of the individual and his creative abilities. Filling the leisure time with meaningful public and personal pursuits must be constantly in the focus of attention, the Congress documents say. In its long-term policy the Party relies on the well-known Marxist thesis about free time as a

measure of social wealth in communist society.

The Party's social policy is multi-faceted. An inalienable and paramount element in raising the well-being and living conditions of Soviet people is full satisfaction of their growing demand for high-quality and diversified consumer goods, further development of trade and public catering, creation of a modern highly developed sphere of the services. Speeding up the solution of the housing problem, advancing the health service, physical training and sports, showing more concern for the family, for improving the conditions for working mothers, war and labour veterans, the disabled, for the upbringing and education of children and their health—these are all major components of a strong social policy contributing most fully to the materialization of the humanistic ideals, values and norms.

Another most substantial aspect of the matter is *harmonious relationship between society and nature*. The 27th Congress of the CPSU drew most serious attention to this and adopted decisions with far-reaching theoretical and political conclusions stemming from them. Environmental protection, a caring attitude to the land and its resources, lakes and rivers, plant and animal wildlife are one of the components of a strong social policy. To conserve and

then multiply the productive forces of nature itself means fulfilling our duty to the descendants, to history. Nature will be protected and its potences restored through the use of the latest technological achievements, low-waste and waste-free technologies which go together with the current technical reconstruction of the national economy. The CPSU gave a lot of attention to ecological problems also in the past but *it has never posed them so pungently and given such prominence to them as at its 27th Congress*.

Dynamic development of the Soviet economy and, on its basis, social and economic progress of the country in general depend today on the activation of the human factor of production, on the mobilization of social and cultural as well as material potentialities—on the knowledge of the worker, his ability and intellect, his will and initiative, creativity, the sense of collectivism, his ability to see the system of production as a whole and assume responsibility for the state of affairs not only at his workplace, but also at an enterprise, in industry and the national economy as a whole, on his ability to participate in management, to be the actual master of the country.

The unity of the social policy and the diversity of its tasks and trends are one of the major theoretical problems posed by life and solved by the Congress.

The crux of the matter, as Lenin said, is that all social spheres should operate harmoniously, that the opposites should merge forming a symphony and not a cacophony. Merging opposites in this way is not simple. It is a great science and a great art. The interests of development of the social sphere may enter into contradiction with production, with departmental and local interests, and commercial interests in the sphere of culture may be at odds with the interests of the ideological and aesthetic education of people. Nor do the personal plans of student youth come easily, without contradictions, into harmony with social requirements in definite professions. The way to resolving these contradictions is a comprehensive approach, giving priority to common, general national interests over local, departmental and group interests, but not in disregard of the latter.

When we speak of a strong social policy, its humanism, we should specially stress that it is implemented in the activity of broad masses participating in the acceleration process. The slogan "The initiative of the masses is the decisive force of acceleration!" expresses a crucial regularity of the present stage in the development of socialism.

SOCIO-CLASS AND NATIONAL RELATIONS

The CPSU's social policy is a class policy in the sense that it

reflects the viewpoint of the leading force of socialist society, the working class, its fundamental interests and social ideals shared by all working people and in the sense that in its focus is the position of large groups of people—classes, social strata and nations.

Analyzing the problem of relations between classes and social groups, the Party carefully takes into account the identity of their interests and their specific interests, ensuring firm unity of society on the basis of the principle of social justice. This principle inherent in socialism is premised not only on differences between people due to differences in their physical and spiritual abilities but also on social equality. In socialist society social equality means the equality of people's real rights and opportunities to develop all the wealth of their natural endowments with the help of society, its institutions and in its interests. *Bringing out the dialectics of social justice is one of the major achievements of the CPSU's theoretical thought.*

The Communists' ideal is not unity devoid of diversity and not diversity excluding unity but the unity of the diverse. Acting on this crucial theoretical thesis elaborated in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress is a key to the ability to think and work in a new way.

The dialectics of the unity of

socialist society and social differences has a bearing on another major theoretical and political problem raised by the Congress—the drawing closer together of classes and social groups in Soviet society. Of fundamental importance in this respect is the provision of the Party's Programme that overcoming the differences between the working class and the peasantry, and *establishing a classless society will take place mainly in the historical framework of the first, socialist phase of the communist formation.* This process will be crowned by the creation of a socially homogeneous society at the highest phase of communism.

The process of the drawing closer together of nations and nationalities inseparable from their further flourishing will continue to develop in the same direction. The nationalities question inherited from the past was solved successfully in the USSR. The coming together of nations and nationalities on the basis of their free will is an objective natural historical process. *The Party warns against any attempts to prod it on artificially or to hold it back.* In the long-term historical perspective this development will lead to complete unity of the nations.

But advancing to this goal we still have to solve numerous complex problems pinpointed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. One of them consists in

increasing the contribution of all republics to the national economic complex in proportion to their increased economic and cultural potential. This means acting in accordance with the principle of social justice. There are also other problems connected with the persisting tendency towards national isolation, localism and parasitism. There are also differences between nations in the sphere of employment, the social structure and the demographic situation. The processes developing here call for scientifically substantiated regulation. The Congress underlined that particular tactfulness and circumspection in the matter should be combined with a principled struggle against any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. There is a clear dividing line between real problems of national relations and their nationalist interpretation. All that harms the flourishing and mutual enrichment of nations, their fraternal cooperation and the surging process of internationalization of social life, all that limits progress is contrary to genuine national interests.

And so, the CPSU's social policy is aimed at broadening the social scope for the development of the individual so that society would get a still more powerful impulse for accelerating its advance.

IV. SOCIALIST POLITICAL SYSTEM: NEW PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Among the questions related to advancing socialism, that were posed at the 27th CPSU Congress, a special place is taken by that of developing the Soviet political system. Nowadays, with the increasing importance of the subjective factor and the growing possibility to consciously influence socio-economic processes, it is essential that the socio-political institutions function more efficiently and that democracy be extended and deepened.

The Party views the advancement of the political system in the context of accelerated economic and social progress and encouragement of socialist self-government by the people. *"The CPSU believes,"* notes the re-edited CPSU Programme, *"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 organizations in decision-making concerning the affairs of state and society."*

THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT

The idea of self-government is pivotal to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the communist socio-economic formation.

"A government of the people by the people"¹ is how Marx described the political essence of the Paris Commune, the first state of proletarian dictatorship. In November 1917 Lenin wrote about immediately proceeding to "genuine self-government by the people",² which, as he understood it, is the *essence of Soviet power*. Elaborating on this idea and specifying it the Party wrote in the new edition of its Programme: "The Party makes sure that the principles of socialist self-government by the people are consistently applied in the administration of society and the state, that is, that the work of administration is not only carried out in the interests of working people but also becomes naturally, and to an ever greater extent, a direct concern of working people themselves."

¹ K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 227.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26, p. 114.

Unlike communist public self-government, socialist self-government is exercised by the people during the existence of the state whose role, far from diminishing, tends to increase under socialism. The strengthening of the socialist state and improvement of the work of the state apparatus caused by the growing complexity of constructive tasks facing the state, is paralleled by the extension and deepening of democracy and making representative bodies more efficient. *In these conditions the Party takes a new approach to the concept of self-government as applied to the first phase of the communist formation—socialism, thus making an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and to the understanding of the ways of the development of the socialist political system.*

Representative and direct democracy is the key form and method of people's rule. The main element in the system of state institutions are Soviets, representative bodies of state authority, with more than 2,300,000 People's Deputies and many millions of activists.

The time-tested forms of direct democracy, such as nationwide discussions of major party and government decisions and draft laws, production conferences, meetings of work collectives, rural assemblies, which discuss vital state and local issues and put forward various

public initiatives, are acquiring ever greater importance.

To be sure, state administration today requires ever greater professionalism, and its organizational and technical factors are coming to the fore. At the same time making decisions, verifying their implementation and controlling executives' work at all levels are based on the consideration of opinions of the working people who exercise their political rights directly or through their representatives. Working people's involvement in management, *predominantly in verifying and advisory capacity, should increasingly assume the quality of direct decision-making.*

As Soviet society advances to communism, the dialectical process of the development and strengthening of the state and of the working people's growing participation in government will gain momentum. It is in place to note here that until recently one could come across simplified interpretations of self-government: some people relegated it to the activity of nuclei of socialist society (production or territorial), others opposed it to state government, still others postponed it till society reaches the highest stage of communism. As the CC CPSU Political Report notes, *the elements of self-government develop within rather than outside Soviet statehood, ever*

deeply penetrating all spheres of society's life, enriching the content of democratic centralism and consolidating its socialist principles. When admitting that socialism's powerful potential has not been used to the full in the USSR, the Party believes that the country's accelerated social and economic development is impossible without furthering socialist democracy and promoting self-government *in all its forms and manifestations*.

An important feature of socialist self-government is that the Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of society, the nucleus of socialism's political system. It is formed from among the most advanced and politically aware workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The Party has traversed the path which is unmatched in the depth and strength of its influence on social development. Remaining, in its class essence and ideology, a working class party, it has become the party of the whole people. It sees the purpose of its activity in serving the people. Built on the principles of democratic centralism, the Party, says the new edition of its Programme, "regards it as its duty to consult working people on key issues of domestic and foreign policy, carefully take into account public opinion, and draw non-Party people on an ever broader scale into the work of Party organizations. The more

actively the Party is supported by the people, the more it influences the course of social development."

CHANGES AND PROSPECTS

It is a matter of key importance for the Party's policy to develop the Soviet socialist state and increasingly reveal its democratic nature as a state of the whole people, and its constructive role. This primarily refers to the Soviets of People's Deputies, the main element of socialist self-government by the people.

Soviets are bodies of state authority guiding state, economic, social and cultural development in territories under their jurisdiction. There are still serious shortcomings in the forms and methods of their work. The Soviets are not yet doing all they can to ensure progress in all spheres of life in their areas. They sometimes do not react properly to citizens' complaints and suggestions. They often indulge in red tape, procrastination and paper work. Deputies are not always active. As before, staff members of executive committees largely hold the initiative and perform most of the functions. Despite the development and substantial updating of the legislation on Soviets, their relationships with other bodies have not all been regulated. Their possibilities are still limited, some matters which can best be

coped with on the spot are overcentralized. "That is why," pointed out M. S. Gorbachev in the Political Report, "we resolutely follow a course of promoting the autonomy and activity of local government bodies... to make each Soviet a complete and responsible master in all things concerning the satisfaction of people's everyday needs and requirements; in using the allocated funds, the local potentialities and reserves; in coordinating and supervising the work of all organizations involved in servicing the population."

Lenin regarded Soviets as not just legislative bodies, but as "working corporations" combining law-making, administration and control. Critically assessing the state of affairs today, the 27th Party Congress urged the strict fulfilment of Lenin's instructions that the Soviets should be bodies that *not only make decisions but also organize and check on their implementation.*

The 27th CPSU Congress set the course for democratizing administration, and the process of working out and adopting decisions of state importance, which ensures the selection of optimum solutions and the consideration and comparison of different opinions and proposals put forward by the working people. The range of matters to be decided on only after their discussion in work collectives, standing commissions of the

Soviets, and trade union, YCL, and other public organizations will increase. The more important draft laws and decisions will be submitted for countrywide discussions and referendums.

More than that. It is important to create and maintain an appropriate moral and psychological climate, and make working people interested in participation in state affairs and confident that the opinion of every one and his work collective will really influence state policies. It is more important than ever before to overcome social passivity, nihilism, conformism and apathy, i.e., all that was engendered by the formal attitude to democratic institutions, by departures from the principle of democratic centralism, when public opinion was replaced with injunction from above.

A special place in the political system of socialist society is held by the work collectives. The Constitution of the USSR and the Law on Work Collectives grant them vast powers in deciding a wide range of economic, social and political questions. Unfortunately, the Law remains largely on paper, for several reasons: working people are not well versed in it; they are at times poorly informed of the programmes of their enterprise, of the decisions of the local Soviets, of their own rights; inertia is still there when management has the last say in most matters. Further, since the very

beginning, objective conditions have not been created for the work collectives to use their rights, as the Law was not backed up by practical action: the rights of enterprises were not extended. The work collectives often had nothing to decide on, because all major issues were dealt with "above". The Law itself has juridical flaws, some of its provisions are not formulated clearly and concretely.

Slashing criticism of such a state of affairs was contained in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and delegates' speeches.

The role of trade unions in socialist society is a major theoretical and practical question. The 27th CPSU Congress reaffirmed the Party's adherence to Lenin's concept of trade unions as a school of administration, a school of management and a school of communism. In the socialist political system trade unions are called upon to protect the interests of working people from "overzealous" management, and mobilize them to develop production and raise labour productivity. The trade unions, when their role is understood correctly, have vast potential for promoting socialist self-government.

The Congress pointed to the need to step up the activity of YCL and other public organizations—creative unions, scientific, cultural and other volun-

tary societies. These elements of the political system unite people on different principles: by age groups and professional and cultural interests. Each enables citizens to display their abilities in particular spheres of social life.

Breaking the unity of these elements may lead to bureaucratic distortions in the work of state bodies and public organizations, and may depress or hinder the social activity of the people. It is no secret that for many years some sections of the working people slackened their creative initiative and confined their activities to narrow, limited interests. This was caused by several reasons of which much was said at the Congress. Not the least of them was the fact that the political system of socialism was underrated as the system of people's self-government, a form of organizing their activities.

The Party is elaborating on the concept of socialist self-government by the people at the present, crucial stage in the development of Soviet society. The main thing now is a creative search for the new in order to *implement more fully the principles of socialist democracy and self-government, the lever speeding up the progress of socialism for it to achieve a fundamentally new qualitative state.*

V. MAN AND THE HUMAN FACTOR IN PARTY POLICY

A distinctive feature of the documents of the 27th Congress of the Party is that they address directly the working man. It is with the working man, with the human factor, that all the tasks and plans in the economic, social and cultural spheres are directly linked. It is to the human aspects of social activity that the Party calls prime attention, it is on this basis that priorities are established in the present-day policy of the CPSU.

This approach is determined above all by the very nature of the socialist system. Communists have always viewed the perfection of man as the most important condition for social development, as its ultimate end. Material production, social relations and the culture of socialist society have been geared towards the achievement of high humanistic goals.

The Congress states in no uncertain terms: given the qualitatively new level of the development of the economy, technology and science, the role and responsibility of man are growing just as the significance of his deeds, ideals and life's values.

This is how the question is posed today. How then does it work out in practice?

DEVELOPING THE FEELING OF MASTER

One of the Party's foremost tasks is to make it so that concern for the country's economic acceleration becomes the main concern of every work collective and every Soviet man and woman. The Party consistently works to develop the feeling of master in every worker and every work collective. "Circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances,"¹—noted the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Setting out to achieve the goal of inculcating every man with an awareness of being the master of his country the Party has adopted a system of efficacious measures towards the attainment of the goal set.

Developing a concern for the common cause will be, and is, served by the reorganization of the economic mechanism, the central element of which is the enterprise, and the work collective, for in order to be vitally concerned for the common cause, it is first of all necessary to feel that one is a master at one's place of work. The restructuring is to furnish the con-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The German Ideology*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 50.

ditions propitious to the effective performance of the work collectives, to their initiative and independence. What is meant here is the profitability and self-financing of all enterprises, a proper appreciation of commodity-money relations and the encouragement of socialist enterprise. The task ahead is to learn to work on the principles of a complete profit-and-loss accounting system with the benefits stemming therefrom and the responsibility of every enterprise and workman for the losses incurred. These principles are to be brought home to all prime work collectives and to every working man which will permit merging the measures for the perfection of the system of management "from above" with the development of collective forms of organization and the provision of economic incentives to labour "from below". And this means that society, the work collective and every working man will act together in common interests.

The fostering of the proprietorial pride will be furthered by the concept of *socialist self-government* set out in the new edition of the Party Programme contemplating the extending of the rights and powers of the work collectives and of democratic principles in their activities—adoption of the principles of electivity, the openness of all workers' and employees' participation in the discussion

and settlement of urgent problems.

The real conditions in which every man has been put, the possibilities open to him to influence the organization of production, and the distribution and utilization of the results of labour—this is what shapes one's attitude to ownership, to social property. This was stressed at the Congress when the task of further development of socialist self-government in the economic field was set.

It is necessary to stimulate social and labour activism. The underestimation, in recent years, of this crucial facet of social relations led to a situation in which some people began to shirk the realization of social goals and objectives, in which there occurred a shift of emphasis in relation to such categories as responsibility, professional attitude to one's work and responsibilities, and working-man labour pride.

To create the requisite material conditions and a moral climate in every work collective, and to organize work and the distribution of benefits in a way that would enable skilled and diligent workers and employees to live and feel better; to meticulously observe the laws and principles of socialist life, so that every person could be firm in his belief in the socialist ideals and values—this is how the Congress defined the task setting forth the concrete programme for

a fuller realization of the principle of socialist justice in all spheres of social relations.

MAN IN THE STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION

Exceedingly important is the definition and elaboration, by the Congress of the concept of social homogeneity and of the unity between society and the development of the individual. Social homogeneity is not a drab monotony, uniformity and "levelling" of people and their thinking which enemies of communism have been ascribing to communism since the time the ideas of communism originated. *The Party seeks, on the basis of equality of the more general conditions of the functioning of the socialist system, to comprehensively enable the people to display their individualities*—in labour, inventive work and creative endeavour of every kind. This is its deliberate policy aimed at the encouragement of initiative, and competition of minds and talents, without which the socialist way of life is inconceivable and without which it is impossible to make progress. The question is posed as follows at the contemporary stage: unless the Soviet people succeed in raising to a new, and immeasurably higher level, their emulation in production, in the economic field, and also in the fields of scientific inquiry and creative and artistic endeavour, they will not be able to cope with the task of accelerating the

country's socio-economic progress.

In emphasizing the growing role of man in the development of production the Soviet people note, with a legitimate pride, that the very social type of the worker of the socialist economy has changed—the levels of his education and culture, of his knowledge, and social and legal consciousness, have sharply risen. It now becomes obvious how much is yet to be done for the working people's social, occupational and cultural development.

But, obviously, *the systematic work of raising educational standards and qualifications should outpace the rates of adoption and application of new technology and equipment.* Given this approach to the problem, the processes of scientific and technological advancement will further be stimulated. As was stressed at the Congress, the task of creating an integral system of uninterrupted education for all is placed on the agenda which will permit meeting these demands more fully.

The Party calls upon the Soviet people to be more daring in assuming responsibility, in fully realizing their right to independently resolve many problems, to "think big" without being afraid to take risks and to repudiate the "philosophy of imitation".

These qualities, constituting

in sum one of the decisive advantages of the socialist system, do not come with education alone. In order to live and work in this way everyone should first of all mould his personality accordingly. Communists believe that the scientific and technological revolution will be attended by the affirmation and elevation of man.

NEW PROBLEMS OF MOULDING THE INDIVIDUAL

Of course, it goes without saying, that the most effective scientific ideas and the most perfect technologies will not yield the expected results without man being developed culturally and morally. But simply to understand this truth is not enough. Today it is supported by a sharp increase in investments to meet the needs of culture, public education, health care, the services sphere, and note that special attention is given to their effective utilization. However, it is also important to back this up with another element—the consistent, effective and comprehensive social and cultural orientation of the individual.

We are dealing here above all with the development of man's activism as distinct from passive contemplativeness alien to the ideals of socialist society. Marx said: "Just as society itself produces man as man, so is society produced by him."²

² Karl Marx, Frederick Engels. *Collected Works*, vol. 3, p. 298.

"All history is made up of the actions of individuals, who are undoubtedly active figures",³ Lenin observed for his part. Such personality development becomes a possibility for all under socialism. The tasks being carried out at the contemporary stage stress the significance of this ideal, invest it with a new content and give it a practical direction. A new tonality and new weight are acquired by workers' meetings and initiatives when the very position of man in production impels him, as it were, to emerge from the limited world of occupational interests into the wider social world.

But this is one aspect to the problem. Socialism's aim is to raise a socially active and harmoniously developed individual. But yesterday a "narrowly-productive" view of the human factor and inability to understand the "human dimension" of scientific and technological progress and its link with the spiritual world were perceived not as acutely as they are today. Today the time has come to relinquish the stereotypes of consciousness deriving from false priorities and values and to take a keener view of man, to treat with greater respect his interests and inclinations and to skilfully develop and "educate" his requirements.

Soviet society is entering not

³ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 159.

only into a world of computers, electronics, robots, information science and biotechnology, but also into a world of the utmost development of the human in man—his reason and humanism, his uniqueness and the diversity of his personal manifestations in the cultural sphere.

Robots, no doubt, will do many things quicker and better than their masters. But the big question is in what hands will new technology find itself. Socialist society does everything in its power to hand it to humane people of high culture.

Hence an immense role of the spheres of public education and culture in moulding the individual. Unfortunately, we in the USSR still meet with quite numerous cases of people getting, in the process of instruction, little in the way of general cultural and moral education and in the process of education—little in the way of instruction. Many specialists upon graduating from school or a higher educational establishment come into contact with artistic culture but sporadically, and not always profoundly. Meanwhile, a person's general cultural background becomes apparent when he can comprehensively and in a very personal way understand and appreciate life, its meaning, and to take part in it creatively and imaginatively.

The Party sees the main task of its cultural policy in giving

the widest possible scope for bringing out people's abilities in order to make their life spiritually rewarding and multifaceted, in building all cultural and educational work so that it would more fully satisfy people's intellectual and cultural needs and meet their interests.

The process of reshaping consciousness and educating the individual is not a simple one, it overcomes many deep-rooted and settled notions and comes up against new problems. Over the years the Soviet state and the Soviet people were forced by objective conditions to make do even without necessities. They were tried by hunger, war and all kinds of shortages. Now that we have enough of many things, when advances have been made in public well-being, emphasis in the sphere of requirements shifts rather intensively, and not always towards cultural requirements.

Stressing the role of the moral factor in the development of man's life and work, socialist society does not at all regard it as a tool for limiting the material principle, nor does it try to counterpose growing consumption against "plebeian-proletarian ascetism" (Engels). The sources of philistine retrogressions do not lie in the growth of material well-being. Only those do not stand the "test of prosperity" who fail to see this prosperity as the condition of his development as personality.

The Party resolutely opposes the psychology and ideology of consumerism, which preaches a "crooked" attitude to the world in which material things subjugate man and shape his aspirations and ideals and form his mode of behaviour, alien to socialist morality.

The struggle against philistine attitudes and ideology, for moral education, is compounded by the fact that negative phenomena in social life upon which uncompromising war has been declared nowadays have substantially affected and are still impinging on the mentality and consciousness of many people. And this cannot be disregarded. If any moral criteria are undermined then, as a consequence, bureaucratism, money-greed, rigged accounts make themselves felt stronger while other people succumb to indifference, alienation and cynicism. The divergence between words and deeds has caused much distrust and, in some people, the loss of faith.

The very atmosphere at the Congress served as a fine educator of morality. Lessons of truth which, in effect, set the tenor of its work, the resolute castigation of wage-levelling, of economic impunity, of social irresponsibility, of sundry "ills" make everyone take a fresh look at many things and bring what has been said and mapped out into line with one's own con-

science. Today a point at issue is not only moral development but also, in a way, a renovation—personal and, above all, moral, of many people. And there are not, and cannot be, any "allowances" and privileges for anyone. Only dedicated labour, and its quantity and quality, only one's moral example, are the determinants of the value of an individual and of social justice in socialist society.

COMPREHENSIVE HUMAN STUDIES

The accordance of priority to the problem of man, the human factor in socio-economic development brings out, with the utmost clarity, the necessity and topicality of the investigation of this problem, and of a more profound cognition of man per se. What then is the response of contemporary science to all this?

The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences has decided to establish a Scientific Council for comprehensive studies of man which is to bring together representatives of different domains of scientific inquiry and of different research centres and institutions. So far, such studies were pursued, as a rule, piecemeal, within the framework of separate specialized sciences—social, natural and engineering. The resultant total volume of reliable information about man is not insignificant. However, an integral pic-

ture has not yet been created on its basis. Man has so high a degree of integrity that the study of him requires novel approaches and inclusive methods.

Now there has emerged the possibility of theoretically and organizationally assuring a new level of cognition of man, of furnishing appropriate recommendations having to do with the education and moulding of the individual in interaction with social, moral and natural-biological factors. *There are grounds to believe that a new type of science evermore actively addressing itself to man, closely tied in with practice and socio-aesthetic norms and culture as an entity, is being evolved.*

On what principal problems do scientists focus attention? First of all, there is a need to give a more clear-cut definition to the "human factor" notion, to conceptualize it. This question is not an abstract-scholastic one. For the human factor is the decisive one in the process of acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. But this does not mean that other spheres of activity and self-expression of the individual within a wide range of values are not taken into account in the Soviet Union. Man, his perfec-

tion, is the ultimate goal of socialist society, of its development. The wealth of the individual, according to Marx, is fixed capital, and it can acquire the meaning of productive force. This is how we understand the human factor.

Of special significance are the studies of the human aspects of social processes which have acquired prime importance in contemporary conditions. What is meant here is the forms and methods of guidance of men's labour and social activities, the harmonization of social, collective and personal interests, the creation of optimal socio-organizational conditions and the perfection of the system of incentives, the display of initiative by people, their discipline, and, finally, the moral principles and criteria of life and work, and their meaning, viewed not only in a general way but also through the prism of purely personal aspects.

The main task here is to search out the ways towards man's integral scientific cognition with a unity of his social and biological qualities, avoiding extremes and proceeding from Marxist teachings about man's social essence.

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