



Prime Minister Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Where the Financial Times so dismally failed,  
28 November 1985

this should have succeeded in  
sending you to sleep!

Dear Charles,

CDP 2P/xi

1/5 unbelievable

CPSU New Party Programme

The Foreign Secretary believes that the Prime Minister would be interested to see the draft new edition of the Party Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It sets out ideological and practical guidelines for the future development of Soviet society. I enclose a copy, together with a minute of comments by Derek Thomas.

The new draft was published in Moscow on 26 October. It is described as a "new edition" of the programme published under Khrushchev in 1961, itself the third such programme since the CPSU's foundation. But there is a fundamental difference in purpose. Where the 1961 document offered a vision of progress to true Communism, the present draft represents a compromise between the need to reaffirm the ideological credentials of the Soviet system, and the more practical goal of setting the course for future social and economic development.

The new edition is thus much more sober and realistic than the 1961 original. The heady tone and extravagant forecasts have largely gone, and the vision of the communist future has become vague and distant. There are no references to catching up or overtaking the USA, and no new deadlines for the threshold of Communism (Khrushchev's came and went in 1980). On a wider stage, the traditional Russian sense of insecurity about the outside world remains. But the draft adopts a relatively moderate tone on international affairs. Altogether it bears the stamp of Gorbachev, who has abandoned important elements of the ideological baggage inherited from his predecessors and again demonstrated how swiftly and comprehensively he has seized control.

Yours,

Lea Appleyard

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From: Derek Thomas

Date: 26 November 1985

Private Secretary

CPSU NEW PARTY PROGRAMME

1. I find these papers fascinating in the glimpses they offer the determined reader of the inner workings of political processes in the Soviet Union.
2. There is a marked reduction in the aggressiveness with which Communist doctrines are put forward. This reflects a welcome recognition that the organisation of human society is an altogether more complex and subtle business than Marx or Lenin - let alone the drafters of the 1961 programme - envisaged. Given the awkward fact that the transition to communism resolutely refuses to come any closer, the ideologues appear to have been faced with problems of presentation not entirely unlike those faced by the early Christians when they began to realise that the Second Coming was not as imminent as they had assumed.
3. There are a number of points of particular interest:
  - a. Ideology and Social Structure. There is a brisk, no-nonsense approach to theoretical concepts. The ideological formulations have become less Utopian and less concerned with the distant future. In particular, the outlines of the transition to Communism have been blurred to the point of invisibility. On the structure of Soviet society, the dictatorship of the proletariat is confirmed to have "fulfilled its historic mission", but the draft programme acknowledges that it will still take a long time to develop a classless society. There is a new emphasis on giving the workforce a greater say in the running of their own enterprises. But to whatever extent this openness may be put into practice in the running of the economy, it does not extend to politics. Even though lip service is paid to





the importance of improving forms of popular representation, there is to be no "fractionalism" or formation of groups even within the Party.

b. Predictions. The new draft is less visionary than Khrushchev's 1961 programme. The tone is cautious and unspecific. Gorbachev has tried to avoid Khrushchev's error of unrealistic promises of future prosperity. But there is one major and vulnerable forecast, of doubling "production potential" (ie 100% growth) by the year 2000 while increasing labour productivity by 130-150%.

c. Eastern Europe. Though the relationship between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries is defined without too obvious stress on discipline, there is an oblique reference to the Brezhnev doctrine in the form of a reference to building relations with fraternal countries "on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism".

4. As to the rest of the world, all its ills are still attributed to "Imperialism" - Soviet shorthand for the Western democracies, in particular the United States (obverse of the "evil empire" theme in the US). But on the other hand "Peaceful Co-existence" is twice referred to without its once obligatory label as a form of class and ideological struggle. This cannot be taken as anything more a change of presentation, but since it is primarily for internal consumption it is an interesting one.

5. It is worth noting the hierarchy of priorities for Soviet foreign policy:

- i. Deepening of relations with Socialist countries.
- ii. Development of relations with the Third World.
- iii. Business-like cooperation with Capitalist countries.
- iv. Solidarity with communist and revolutionary parties in the outside world.

This is perhaps naturally a kind of obverse of our own foreign policy priorities. But the last point is a reminder that we need not be too timid about developing contacts with individuals and



groups in Eastern Europe who are attracted by Western values.

6. What makes this programme of more than usual interest for us is that it must be presumed to be Gorbachev's blueprint for his period of office, ie the next 15 to 20 years. The emphasis is on harder work and tighter discipline. We can only speculate about what his reaction may be if the result of his present efforts at reform do not produce the necessary growth rate of 4.7% to achieve the targets for growth and productivity. He can either try to tighten the totalitarian screw or move towards greater reliance on the contribution that can be made by individual effort and incentive. The prospects for the state of East/West relations will depend to a considerable extent on on which of these he chooses.

Derek Thomas



# SWB

## SUMMARY OF WORLD BROADCASTS

### Part 1 The USSR

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**SECTION C. DRAFT NEW REVISED EDITION OF  
THE CPSU PROGRAMME**

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**C. DRAFT NEW REVISED EDITION OF THE CPSU PROGRAMME****Text of Draft Published in the Soviet Press**

'Pravda' (and other Soviet central newspapers) 26 Oct 85

Text as published:

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

DRAFT

**PROGRAMME**  
**of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**  
**(new revised edition)**

**INTRODUCTION**

The Land of the Soviets born of the Great October Socialist Revolution has travelled a long and glorious path. World historical victories have been won under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class and all working people and armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching and with the extremely rich experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist building, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the course of communist creation and peace.

The Party emerged in the political arena as the worthy continuer of the ideas of the socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the communists' first programme document - "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" - of the revolutionary traditions of the international workers' movement and of the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, relying on historical experience of the class struggle and the achievements of mankind's advanced thought, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and substantiated the world historical mission of the proletariat as the maker of the new, socialist system. Their ardent slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" remains to this day the militant slogan of the workers movement.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the brilliant continuer of the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developed their teaching under new historical conditions, provided answers to the fundamental questions of modern time and equipped the workers' movement with the theory of socialist revolution and socialist building and with a scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integrated revolutionary teaching. The Party created by the great Lenin is the living embodiment of the combination of scientific socialism with the workers' movement and of the unbreakable unity of theory and practice. It has always been, is, and will remain a party of Marxism-Leninism and a party of revolutionary action.

At each historical stage the CPSU has resolved the tasks scientifically substantiated in its programmes.

After adopting the first Party Programme at the Second Congress in 1903, the Bolshevik Party led the working class, the peasantry and all the working people of Russia into the struggle to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy and later the capitalist system and

passed through the flames of the three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into their hands. A state of workers and peasants arose for the first time in history. **THE CREATION OF THE NEW WORLD BEGAN.**

After adopting the second Party Programme at the Eighth Congress in 1919, the Party put forward the task of building socialism. Travelling along an unbeaten track, overcoming tremendous difficulties and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people under the Communist Party's leadership implemented the plan of socialist building elaborated by Lenin. **SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY BECAME A REALITY.**

After adopting the Third Party Programme at the 22nd Congress in 1961, the Party mounted tremendous work in all avenues of communist construction. The Soviet people achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy and culture and in molding the new man. **THE COUNTRY ENTERED THE STAGE OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM.** The role of the Soviet Union as a powerful factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression and war and for peace, democracy and social progress increased.

The time that has passed since the adoption of the third Party Programme has confirmed the correctness of its main theoretical and political guidelines. At the same time the accumulated experience and the scientific interpretation of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena make it possible to define more precisely and more specifically the prospects for Soviet society's development, ways and means of achieving the ultimate goal - communism - and the tasks of international policy under the new historical conditions.

**THE THIRD PARTY PROGRAMME IN ITS PRESENT EDITION IS A PROGRAMME OF THE SYSTEMATIC AND COMPREHENSIVE PERFECTION OF SOCIALISM AND OF THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF SOVIET SOCIETY TOWARDS COMMUNISM ON THE BASIS OF ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS.**

**PART ONE**  
**THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND**  
**COMMUNISM IS THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE MODERN**  
**ERA**

**I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the building**  
**of socialism in the USSR**

Mankind's world historical turn toward socialism, which was begun by the October Revolution, is the natural result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in the history of mankind. After lending powerful impetus to the development of productive forces, it then became an obstacle in the way of social progress.

The entire history of capitalism is the history of the deepening of its fundamental contradiction - the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation - of the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and all the working people and of the exacerbation of the struggle between labour and capital and between the oppressed and the oppressors; it is the history of economic crises, socio-economic upheavals and aggressive wars and conflicts which bring incalculable calamities to working people.

In the early 20th century the process of the concentration and centralisation of capital led to the emergence of mighty monopoly unions of capitalists which seized the main levers in all economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and final stage - the stage of imperialism. To use an expression of Lenin's: "Imperialist capitalism became the greatest oppressor of nations" and the main source of aggressive wars.



At the stage of imperialism the material conditions take shape for the replacement of capitalist production relations by socialist production relations and the objective and subjective preconditions for a victorious socialist revolution ripen. HISTORY ENTRUSTED THE MISSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMER OF THE OLD AND CREATOR OF THE NEW SOCIETY TO THE WORKING CLASS. In implementing that mission, the working class expresses not only its own class interests but also the interests of all working people.

In Russia the contradictions of imperialism, deepened by Tsarist oppression and by survivals of serfdom, were displayed with exceptional force. It was the weakest link in international imperialism and the focal point of its contradictions. It was to there that the centre of the world revolutionary movement shifted. The Russian proletariat was faced with a most difficult and responsible task - being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could only be done under the leadership of a party of the new type - a militant revolutionary organisation of the proletariat.

THE FORMATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY WAS THE TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN AND INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT. It was an expression of an objective requirement of social development and of the proletariat's class struggle, the fruit of the scientific perspicacity and the result of the tireless political and organisational work of Lenin, who rallied Marxists around himself. Lenin's impassioned slogan - "Give us an organisation of revolutionaries and we will turn Russia upside down!" - met with an ardent response in the minds and hearts of the workers and progressive people of Russian society and the best representatives of the labouring people. Lenin elaborated the ideological, political and organisational principles of the Party and the methods of its work among the masses. The Party of the new type was created in implacable clashes with revisionism and Right-wing opportunism, dogmatism and Leftist adventurism.

The 1905-1907 revolution - the first people's revolution of the imperialist era - had already shown the strength of the working class and was the prologue of future victories by the proletariat. The February bourgeois democratic revolution of 1917 swept Tsarism away. But it did not rid the people's masses of social and national oppression or the travails of the imperialist war and did not resolve the contradictions rending Russian society. Socialist revolution became an immutable demand of the times.

Russia's working class was distinguished by supreme revolutionariness and organisation. It was headed by a Bolshevik Party which had been tempered in political battles and possessed an advanced revolutionary theory. Lenin armed it with a clear perspective for the struggle by creating a teaching on the possibility of victory by the proletarian revolution under the conditions of imperialism initially in one or a few individual countries.

In response to the Bolshevik Party's call and under its leadership the working class entered into resolute combat against the power of capital. The Party united in a single powerful stream the proletarian struggle for socialism, the peasant struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Russia and the nationwide movement against the imperialist war and for peace and channelled it toward the overthrow of the bourgeois system.

THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION BECAME A TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY AND DETERMINED THE GENERAL DIRECTION AND MAIN TRENDS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT. IT INITIATED AN INEXORABLE PROCESS - THE REPLACEMENT OF CAPITALISM WITH A NEW, COMMUNIST SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATION.

A state of the dictatorship of the proletariat emerged for the first time in history. Uniting all working people around itself, the working class embarked on the resolution of the most complicated tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the creation of the foundations of the new society.

The gaining of political power and of victory on the fronts of the civil war and the routing of foreign military intervention, which opened up prospects for building the



new life, generated a mighty surge of forces and revolutionary energy among the working masses. They overcame the deprivations and difficulties engendered by economic ruin, counter-revolutionary conspiracies and sabotage by the bourgeoisie and the country's technical and economic and cultural backwardness. At times during the transitional period the class struggle assumed the nature of acute clashes. The Land of the Soviets was subjected to fierce attacks from hostile capitalist encirclement and to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the masses' enthusiasm, repelling the onslaughts of Right and "Left" opportunists and consolidating its ideological-political and organisational unity, the Party steadily pursued Lenin's general line toward building socialism.

The main means of production were handed over to the people. The NATIONALISATION of the land, plants, factories and banks ensured the necessary pre-conditions for establishing and developing public socialist ownership and the organisation of a planned economic system. The country's INDUSTRIALISATION turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power. The COLLECTIVISATION of agriculture became a profound turning point in economic relations and in the peasantry's entire way of life. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a firm socio-economic foundation. As a result of the CULTURAL REVOLUTION illiteracy was abolished, broad scope was opened up for the development of the working person's creative powers and spiritual flowering, the socialist intelligentsia was formed and Marxist-Leninist ideology became the ruling one in the Soviet people's consciousness.

An outstanding gain of socialism was the solution of the NATIONALITIES QUESTION. The October victory put an end forever to national oppression and the inequality of nations. The voluntary association of free, equal peoples in the single multinational state - the USSR - played an enormous part. During socialist construction the rapid economic, social and cultural progress of once remote national areas was ensured. National hostility became a thing of the past and the fraternal friendship, close co-operation and mutual aid of all USSR peoples became the norm of life.

All this meant that a social change of world historical importance was effected - an end was put forever to the age-old role of private ownership and man's exploitation of man was abolished. On the basis of the common interests of the working class, the collective farm peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and working people of all nationalities, the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet society was formed. The working man became the full master of the country. A SOCIALIST SOCIETY WAS BASICALLY BUILT IN THE USSR.

The Great Fatherland War was a stern test of the new system. Rallied around the Party and displaying unprecedented heroism, the Soviet people and their armed forces dealt a crushing defeat to the shock detachment of world imperialist reaction. By its victory the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the liberation of the European peoples from Nazi slavery and to the salvation of world civilisation from Hitlerism's obscurantism. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism opened up new opportunities for the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

The USSR rapidly healed the grave wounds of the war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific and technical and defence potential and strengthened its international positions. SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY HAD WON FULLY AND DEFINITELY.

Relying on what had been achieved, Soviet society continued to make confident headway on all avenues of economic, socio-political, and spiritual development. A unified national economic complex was formed in the country. Major new regions were developed in the north and east of the country and the use of natural resources improved. There was a considerable increase in national income and social labour productivity. The standard of the people's prosperity was substantially improved and an imposing programme of housing construction was implemented. The people's spiritual wealth was increased, a transition to universal secondary education was effected and Soviet science



and technology achieved outstanding successes. It was in the Soviet Union that the first atomic power station and the first atomic ice-breaker were built, the first artificial Earth satellite was launched and the first manned spaceship set off.

Socialist social relations were strengthened. A new social and international community of people - the Soviet people - was formed.

Displaying Bolshevik principledness and self-criticism and relying on the support of the masses, the Party did a great deal of work to eliminate the consequences of the personality cult and deviations from Lenin's norms of Party and state leadership and to rectify errors of a subjectivist and voluntarist nature. Socialist democracy was further developed and Soviet legality was strengthened.

The establishment of military and strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and the Warsaw Treaty and NATO was a historic achievement for socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the socialist countries and all progressive forces and thwarted the calculations of imperialism's aggressive circles of winning a world nuclear war. The preservation of this balance is an important guarantee that peace and international security will be safeguarded.

The experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socio-economic, political, ideological and moral advantages of the new system as a level of man's progress superior to capitalism and it provides answers to questions which the bourgeois system cannot resolve.

Socialism is a society on whose banner are printed the words: "Everything in the name of man and everything for the sake of man." This is a society in which:

- the means of production are in the hands of the people and an end has been put forever to man's exploitation of man, social oppression, the rule of a privileged minority and the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;
- very broad scope has been opened up for the dynamic and planned development of productive forces and scientific and technical progress entails not unemployment for millions but the steady improvement of the entire people's prosperity;
- an equal right to labour and its just reward in accordance with the principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour" has been ensured and the population enjoys social benefits like free medical services and education and housing for a minimal payment;
- the indestructible alliance of the working class, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia has been asserted, women have been given truly equal rights with men, a reliable path into the future has been opened up for the younger generation and social security for labour veterans has been guaranteed;
- national inequality has been eliminated and the actual and legal equality and friendship and fraternity of all nations and ethnic groups have been asserted;
- genuine democracy - power wielded for the people and by the people themselves - has been established and is being developed and the citizens' increasingly broad and equal participation in the management of production, social and state affairs has been ensured;
- the ideas of freedom, human rights and the dignity of the individual have been filled with real living content, the unity of rights and duties is being ensured and the same laws and moral norms and the same discipline operate for one and all;
- a truly humanitarian Marxist-Leninist ideology rules, the people's masses have been given access to all sources of knowledge and a progressive culture has been created, absorbing all that is best from world culture;
- a socialist way of life based on social justice, collectivism and comradesly mutual aid has formed, giving the working person confidence in the future and spiritually and morally ennobling him as the creator of new social relations and of his own destiny.

Socialism is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are aimed at supporting the peoples' desire for independence and social progress and are subordinated to the main task - preserving and strengthening peace.

The Soviet people's persistent labour and the major successes in the economy, the social and political spheres, science and culture have led our country to scale new historical heights opening up the stage of developed socialism. The task of the all-round and comprehensive improvement of socialist society and the fuller and more effective use of its potential and advantages has been put on the agenda.

## II. The struggle between the forces of progress and reaction in the modern world

The world-wide historical process of social liberation which began with Great October was marked, after the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, by the overthrow of the exploiters' power in a number of countries - in Europe, Asia and later in America also. **SOCIALISM, WHICH ORIGINALLY BECAME A REALITY IN OUR COUNTRY, WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A WORLD SYSTEM.** The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been tested in practice on an international scale, socialism has become established over vast areas of the world, its indisputable advantages have been graphically confirmed by the examples of a whole group of countries and hundreds of millions of people are following the path of the creation of a communist civilisation. More and more new peoples are denying capitalism their trust, will not link their prospects for development with it and persistently strive for the type of social structure and social relations that have already become established in the socialist countries.

Socialism's successes are all the more impressive in that they have been achieved in what is historically a very short space of time and in conditions of unceasing pressure from imperialism - from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to organise counter-revolutionary coups.

The significance of the experience accumulated in the socialist countries is unfading. The decades which have elapsed have enriched the practice of socialist building and graphically revealed the diversity of the socialist world. At the same time the experience of these decades testifies to the tremendous significance of the **GENERAL PATTERN OF SOCIALISM'S DEVELOPMENT** - such as: The power of the working people, with the working class having the leading role; leadership of society's development by a Communist Party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism, the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production and on this basis planned economic growth in the interests of the entire people; the implementation of the principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour"; the development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship of all nations and ethnic groups; the defence of revolutionary gains against the encroachments of class enemies.

The use of the general laws in the specific conditions of each of the socialist countries is the basis of their confident forward movement, the basis for overcoming the difficulties of growth and for resolving promptly the contradictions which arise, and represents the real contribution of the ruling communist parties to the general process of socialist development.

Socialism has called into being a new, unprecedented type of international relations which are taking shape among the socialist states. Their firm foundation is Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance in resolving the tasks of the building and defence of the new society; and equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The relations of socialist internationalism have found their fullest embodiment in the **SOCIALIST COMMUNITY**. The community countries - the participants in the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty organisation - are united by their common vital interests and goals and by bonds of broad, multifaceted co-operation and co-ordinate their actions in international affairs. History has never before seen a community of countries where nobody has or can have special rights or privileges, where international relations have



truly become relations between peoples, where living, fruitful ties have become established and are developing at every level - from the highest Party and state leadership to the labour collectives. The community augments the forces of the fraternal states in socialist building and helps to ensure their reliable security.

The objective requirement for increasing rapprochement between the socialist countries flows from socialism's very nature. Whereas in the capitalist world the law of unevenness of economic, socio-political and cultural development operates and the strong countries grow rich by plundering the weak and reinforce their backwardness in every way, socialism creates the necessary conditions to pull the less developed countries up to the level of the leading countries. The higher and more nearly uniform the socialist countries' level of social development is, the richer and deeper their co-operation and the more organic the process of their rapprochement are.

The formation of the world system of socialism and the formation and strengthening of the socialist community led to a **RADICAL CHANGE IN THE CORRELATION OF FORCES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA** in favour of the peoples fighting for social progress, democracy, national freedom and peace. The socialist community is the most prestigious force of today, without which no issue of world politics can be resolved; it is the firm bulwark of peace on Earth, the most consistent defender of sound, peaceful and democratic principles in international relations and the main obstacle in the path of imperialist reaction.

The young world of socialism, oriented toward the future, is opposed by the exploitative world of capitalism, which is still strong and dangerous, but has already passed its zenith. **THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IS DEEPENING.** Its sphere of domination is narrowing irreversibly and it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is historically doomed.

Present-day capitalism differs in many respects from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, which combines the strength of the monopolies and of the state in a single mechanism, the conflict between the enormously increased productive forces and capitalist production relations becomes increasingly acute. The internal instability of the economy is intensified, which is expressed in the slowing of its overall growth rate and in the interweaving and deepening of cyclical and structural crises. Mass unemployment and inflation have become a chronic disease and budget deficits and state debts are reaching colossal scales.

A direct result of the capitalist concentration and internationalisation of production is the strengthening of the transnational corporations, which extract huge profits through the exploitation of the working people on a worldwide scale. They not only undermine the sovereignty of young states, but also encroach on the national interests of the developed capitalist countries.

In an attempt to adapt to the changed situation, capitalism constantly manoeuvres. The bourgeois state redistributes a significant proportion of national income in favour of big capital through the budget and seeks to place the latest scientific and technical achievements at its own service. The machinery of exploitation has become more complicated and sophisticated. More and more profit is being squeezed out of the working people's skills, intellectual forces and nervous energy.

In a situation of the growing influence of world socialism, from time to time the working people's class struggle forces the capitalists to make partial concessions and to make certain improvements in working conditions, remuneration and social security. This is done in order to preserve what is most important - the domination of capital. But this manoeuvring is increasingly frequently combined with coercive actions and a direct onslaught by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the working people's living standards.

Under capitalism, the scientific and technical revolution entails grave social consequences. Millions of working people, thrown out of the gates of the enterprises, are

condemned to loss of professional skills and to material privations and lose all confidence in the future. A significant proportion of young people, after receiving education, cannot find an application for their efforts and knowledge and suffer because of the hopelessness of their situation. Mass unemployment persists whatever the short-term economic situation and the real prospect of its further growth is fraught with the most serious shocks to capitalism as a social system.

The monopolies have seized dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. Millions of farmers are forced out of production and those who manage to survive hold on at the cost of excessive labour and privations. The fate of farmers' families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrary actions of the monopolies. The lot of the peasants in former colonies and semi-colonies is especially grave. Small and medium city businessmen are exploited more and more by big capital and are caught in a net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries great numbers of people are without shelter, illiterate and deprived of medical help. The ignominious discrimination against national minorities persists and women's rights are encroached upon.

In the political sphere, imperialism is characterised by a trend toward the strengthening of reaction in all avenues. Where the working people, through a stubborn struggle, have secured certain democratic rights, state monopoly capital wages a persistent and, at times, cunningly disguised offensive against those rights. In situations where it is in danger, it does not hesitate to resort to political blackmail, repressions, terror and punitive acts. Neo-fascism is increasingly active in the political arena. Where conventional forms of suppression of the working people do not work, imperialism installs and supports tyrannical dictatorships to take direct military reprisals against progressive forces. Seeking to weaken the working people's international solidarity, imperialism kindles and provokes national egotism, chauvinism and racialism and contempt for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

The inhumane ideology of present-day capitalism does increasing damage to the people's spiritual world. The cult of individualism and permissiveness, malicious anti-communism and the exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to the propagation of spiritual aridity and the moral degradation of society. Imperialism engendered the wave of terrorism which has swept through capitalist society. The role of the bourgeois mass information media, which dull people's consciousness in the interests of the dominant class, is becoming increasingly pernicious.

**THE UNEVENNESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS DEEPENING.** Three leading centres of inter-imperialist rivalry have emerged: The USA, Western Europe and Japan. The competitive struggle between them for markets, spheres of application of capital, sources of raw materials and superiority in the decisive spheres of scientific and technical progress is intensifying. New economic and political centres of rivalry are forming, above all in the Pacific and Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are becoming exacerbated. The imperial ambitions and self-interested policy of the US monopolies and their readiness, on the basis of selfish considerations, to sacrifice the interests and security of other states - even their allies - are giving rise to increasingly wide indignation and alarm in the world.

Imperialism bears the responsibility for the huge and growing gap in levels of economic development between the industrial capitalist countries and the majority of states which have gained liberation and for the persistence of extensive zones of hunger, poverty and epidemic diseases in the world.

The more severely the course of historical development gnaws away at imperialism's positions, the more hostile to the peoples' interests the policy of its most reactionary forces becomes. Imperialism offers severe resistance to social progress and makes attempts to halt the course of history, undermine socialism's positions and take social revenge on a worldwide scale. The imperialist powers seek to co-ordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy and try to create a common front of struggle against socialism and against all revolutionary, liberation movements.



Imperialism is reluctant to reckon with the political realities of the modern world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it seeks to deprive them of the right to choose their own path of development and threatens their security. This is the main reason for the outbreak of conflicts in various regions of the world.

The citadel of international reaction is US imperialism. It is from here, above all, that the threat of war emanates. Laying claim to world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents to be zones of its "vital interests". The policy pursued by the USA of dictates, of imposing unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive anti-popular regimes and of discrimination against countries which are inconvenient to the USA sows disorganisation in economic and political relations with other states and hampers their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the many years of blockade against Cuba, the flouting of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed occupation of defenceless Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua - these are just some of the countless crimes which will always be the most ignominious pages of imperialism's history.

Imperialism's greatest crime against the peoples is the race for nuclear and other arms which it has unleashed on an unprecedented scale. This brings the monopolies unheard-of profits. The enormous military spending is a grave burden on the working people's shoulders. The weapons-manufacturing monopolies, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus and militarised science, coming together to form the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous champions and organisers of the policy of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance between the manufacturers of death and the imperialist state power is the buttress of extreme reaction, a constant and increasing source of the danger of war and the convincing confirmation of the political, social and moral bankruptcy of the capitalist system.

No "modifications" and manoeuvres by present-day capitalism will or can abrogate the laws of its development, can eliminate the acute antagonism between labour and capital and between monopolies and society, or extract the historically doomed capitalist system from a state of all-embracing crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the same means that capitalism employs with a view to strengthening its positions inevitably lead to the exacerbation of all its profound contradictions. Imperialism is a rotting and dying form of capitalism and the eve of socialist revolution.

**THE WORKING CLASS HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE MAIN REVOLUTIONARY CLASS OF THE MODERN ERA.** In the capitalist world it is the main force struggling to overthrow the exploiter system and build the new society.

Life confirms the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the growth of the role of the working class in society. The growing application of science in production is supplementing its ranks with representatives of mental labour. During class battles the working class is rallied, creates its own political parties and trade union and other organisations and conducts an economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of this struggle is expanding, its forms are becoming more diverse and its content is being enriched. The proletariat's fundamental interests are making the need to achieve the unity of the workers movement and solidarity actions by all its detachments increasingly essential.

The young and rapidly growing working class in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is faced with difficult tasks. It is opposed both by foreign capital and by local exploiters. Its political maturity and organisation are increasing in struggle.

**THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS THE VANGUARD OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND ALL FORCES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.** Communists struggle for both the immediate and long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all working people and for social progress, peace, disarmament and universal security. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of the present day.



The revolutionary parties of the working class are guided by the scientific theory of social development - Marxism-Leninism - and pursue a principled class policy. They are distinguished by their conviction of the historical inevitability that capitalism will be replaced by socialism, their clear understanding of the objective natural laws of socialist revolution in whatever forms - peaceful or non-peaceful - it is implemented and their ability to use the general principles of the struggle for socialism under the specific conditions of each country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in the fact that they firmly defend the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, indicate ways of escaping from society's state of crisis, offer a real alternative to the exploiter system and provide answers imbued with social optimism to the fundamental issues of the day. They are the genuine expressers and the most steadfast defenders of their countries' national interests.

The consistently class-based course enhances the communist parties' prestige despite the fact that imperialism's political and ideological apparatus is operating increasingly perfidiously, combining discrimination with the persecution of communists and open anti-communist propaganda with support for those elements within the workers' movement which oppose the class policy and international solidarity and advocate social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack communists so fiercely precisely because they represent a movement which has deep roots in social development and reflects the most urgent interests of the people's masses.

A typical feature of our time is THE UPSURGE OF MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS IN THE NON-SOCIALIST WORLD. In capitalist countries the antagonism between the monopolies and the vast majority of the population is deepening. The intelligentsia, employees, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national minorities, young people and students are becoming increasingly actively involved in the struggle against the domination of the monopolies and the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political outlooks are demanding that the militarisation of society and the policy of aggression and war be ended and that racial and national discrimination, the infringement of women's rights, the deterioration in the position of the young generation, corruption and the predatory attitude of the monopolies toward the use of natural resources and the environment be ended. These movements are objectively aimed against the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and merge into the common stream of the struggle for social progress.

The ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE THROWN OFF THE COLONIAL YOKE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND ENSURE SOCIAL PROGRESS is an integral part of the world revolutionary process. The collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of dozens of independent states on its ruins was the historic gain of the national liberation revolutions which substantially influenced the correlation of forces in the world.

In the years of independence many of them have achieved notable successes in economic and cultural construction and in strengthening their national statehood. Collective forms of these countries' struggle for their rights in the international arena have emerged. But experience has shown that their path to strengthening political independence and to ensuring economic and social renewal is seriously complicated by the legacy of the colonial and semi-colonial past and the actions of imperialism.

In pursuing a policy of neo-colonialism, imperialism is striving to emasculate the sovereignty gained by the young states and to maintain and even step up control over them. It is trying to draw them into the militarist orbit and use them as springboards for its aggressive global strategy. In striving to achieve these goals, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic dictates and support domestic reaction. Even countries which have long since won state independence - such as the Latin American states, for instance - have been forced to wage an intense struggle against the domination of the monopolies of the USA and other imperialist powers.

Exploiting the economic and technological dependence and the unequal position of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly



exploits them, exacting tributes running into many billions [currency not specified] and exhausting the economies of these states. The gigantic debt of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the industrially developed capitalist states has become an important channel for their exploitation by imperialism - first and foremost US imperialism. At the same time the resistance of these countries' peoples to the imperialists' actions is growing. They are continuing a persistent and just struggle against neo-colonialism, interference in their internal affairs, racialism and apartheid. This resistance objectively merges with the common anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace and social progress.

The non-capitalist path of development, **THE PATH OF A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION**, selected by a number of liberated countries, opens up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that under present conditions and given the correlation of forces existing in the world, the opportunities have broadened for previously enslaved peoples to overthrow capitalism and to build a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of great historic significance. Overcoming the resistance of internal and external reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course toward the elimination of the domination of the imperialist monopolies, of the tribal elite, feudalists and reactionary bourgeoisie, toward strengthening the state sector in the economy, encouraging the co-operative movement in the countryside and enhancing the role of the working masses in economic and political life. Protecting their independence from the onslaught of the imperialists, these countries are expanding co-operation with the socialist states. The path they have selected accords with the genuine interests and aspirations of the people's masses, reflects their aspiration for a just social system and coincides with the main avenue of mankind's development.

**THE MOST ACUTE PROBLEM FACING MANKIND NOW IS THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE.** Imperialism is to blame for two world wars which exacted a toll of many tens of millions of lives. It threatens a third world war. Imperialism places the achievements of human genius at the service of the creation of weapons of monstrous destructive force. The policy of imperialist circles, which are prepared to sacrifice the fates of whole peoples, intensifies the danger that such weapons might be put into action. Ultimately, this threatens a global military conflict as a result of which there would prove to be neither victors nor vanquished, but world civilisation could perish.

The issue as to which purposes the fruits of the scientific and technical revolution will be used for has become one of the chief issues in the present socio-political struggle. Science and technology in our time provide the opportunity to ensure on Earth an abundance of blessings, to create the material conditions for the flourishing of society and for the all-round development of the individual. But they - these creations of man's intellect and hands - are being turned against man himself, by dint of class egoism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite which holds sway in the capitalist world. Such is the flagrant and intolerable contradiction with which mankind has arrived at the threshold of the 21st century.

In themselves science and technology do not carry a threat to peace, but this threat is carried by imperialism and its policy - the policy of the most reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of the present time. Only by curbing these forces can this threat be done away with.

In a world packed with acute contradictions and in the face of the threatening catastrophe, there is just one sensible, just one acceptable way out - **THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.** This is not simply an absence of wars. It is the kind of international order whereby not military force, but good-neighbourliness and co-operation would predominate and whereby a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and of cultural values for the benefit of all peoples would take place. Deliverance from the expenditure of enormous resources on military needs would make it possible to channel the fruits of labour exclusively toward creative goals. States which have embarked on the path of independent development would be protected from outside encroachments, and this would facilitate their movement along the path of national upsurge. Favourable

opportunities would also be revealed for the solution of mankind's global problems by the collective efforts of all states. Peaceful coexistence accords with the interests of all countries and all peoples.

There has never been such an awesome danger hanging over mankind. But neither have there ever been such real opportunities to preserve and strengthen peace. By pooling their efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The growing potential of the forces of peace is confronting the aggressive policy of imperialism. These include the active, consistently peace-loving policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defence power. It includes the policy of the vast majority of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have a vital interest in the preservation of peace and the ending of the arms race. It includes the anti-war movements of the broadest people's masses on all continents, which have become a long-term and influential factor of public life. A sober reckoning of the real correlation of forces is even leading many statesmen and politicians of capitalist states to an understanding of the danger of continuing and expanding the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great may be the threat to peace being created by the policy of the aggressive forces of imperialism, **THERE IS NO FATAL INEVITABILITY OF WORLD WAR. IT IS POSSIBLE TO PREVENT WAR AND SAFEGUARD MANKIND FROM CATASTROPHE. THIS IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF SOCIALISM AND OF ALL THE PROGRESSIVE, PEACE-LOVING FORCES OF OUR PLANET.**

The whole course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the nature and basic content of the present epoch. **THIS IS THE EPOCH OF THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, OF THE HISTORIC COMPETITION OF THE TWO WORLD SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS, THE EPOCH OF SOCIALIST AND NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTIONS, OF THE DOWNFALL OF COLONIALISM, THE EPOCH OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE MAIN MOTIVE FORCES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT - WORLD SOCIALISM, THE WORKERS' AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, THE PEOPLES OF THE LIBERATED STATES AND THE MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS - AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND OPPRESSION AND FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.**

The constant growth of these forces and their interaction is a guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful, free and happy life will be translated into reality. For all its unevenness, complexity and contradictoriness, mankind's movement toward socialism and communism is inexorable.

## **PART TWO THE CPSU'S TASKS FOR THE PERFECTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE GRADUAL TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM**

### **I. The communist perspective of the USSR and the need to accelerate socio-economic development**

The CPSU's ultimate goal is the building of communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two successive phases of the single communist formation. There is no sharp boundary between them: the development of socialism, the increasingly full revelation of its potential and advantages and the consolidation of its inherent general communist principles in fact signify society's real advance toward communism.

**COMMUNISM IS A CLASSLESS SOCIAL SYSTEM WITH THE UNIFIED OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION BY THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, WITH FULL SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, WHERE PRODUCTION FORCES WILL GROW ALONGSIDE PEOPLE'S ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT ON THE BASIS OF CONSTANTLY DEVELOPING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ALL SOURCES OF PUBLIC WEALTH WILL MERGE IN A FULL STREAM AND THE GREAT PRINCIPLE "FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITIES AND TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS" WILL BE IMPLEMENTED.**



COMMUNISM IS A HIGHLY ORGANISED SOCIETY OF FREE AND AWARE WORKERS IN WHICH SOCIAL SELF-MANAGEMENT WILL BE ASSERTED, LABOUR FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY WILL BECOME THE FIRST VITAL REQUIREMENT AND CONSCIOUS NEED FOR EVERYONE, AND EACH PERSON'S ABILITIES WILL BE USED TO THE PEOPLE'S GREATEST BENEFIT.

Communism's material and technical base presupposes the creation of production forces which open up opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible requirements of society and the individual. All production activity under the conditions of communism will be built on the use of highly effective technical means and technologies and man's harmonious interaction with nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communist formation the directly social nature of labour and production will be asserted in full. As a result of the definitive overcoming of vestiges of the old division of labour and the connected substantial social differences, the process of the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism marks the transformation of the system of the people's socialist self-management and of socialist democracy into the highest form of society's organisation - communist social self-management. As the necessary socio-economic and ideological prerequisites develop and all citizens are enlisted to management, given the existence of the appropriate international conditions, the socialist state, as Lenin predicted, will increasingly become the "transitional form from state to non-state". The activity of state organs will acquire a non-political nature and the need for the state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

An inalienable feature of the communist tenor of life is a high standard of awareness, public activeness, discipline and self-discipline on the part of the members of society whereby the observance of the same universally accepted rules of communist intercourse will become an innate need and habit for every person.

Communism is a social system in which the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not set the aim of anticipating in every detail the features of full (Russian: polny kommunizm) communism. As we advance toward it and as experience of communist construction is accumulated, scientific notions of the supreme phase of the new society will be enriched and given concrete form.

Socialism's development into communism is defined by the objective laws of the development of society, which have to be considered. Experience shows that any attempts to rush ahead and introduce communist principles without consideration for society's level of material and spiritual maturity are doomed to fail and may generate economic and political losses.

At the same time the CPSU proceeds from the premise that dilatoriness cannot be allowed in implementing urgent transformations and resolving new tasks. The Party believes that in the 1970s and early 1980s, alongside the undoubted successes which were achieved, there were certain unfavourable tendencies and difficulties. They are connected to a considerable degree with the fact that changes in the economic situation and the need for in-depth transformations in all spheres of life were not promptly and properly assessed and due persistence was not displayed in their implementation. This prevented the fuller use of the potential and advantages of the socialist system and held back our advance.

The CPSU believes that under present-day domestic and international conditions, Soviet society's all-round progress and advance toward communism can and must be ensured on the paths of THE ACCELERATION OF THE COUNTRY'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. That is the Party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative transformation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society: The fundamental renovation of its material and technical base on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution; the improvement of social relations and above all of



economic relations; in-depth changes in the content and nature of labour and of the material and spiritual conditions of people's lives; and the activation of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions.

The Party connects the successful solution of the projected tasks with THE ENHANCED ROLE OF THE HUMAN FACTOR. Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the creative activity of the masses in all spheres of social life. The greater the scale of the historical goals, then the more important it is that millions should, with a proprietorial interest, take a responsible, aware and active part in their achievement.

On the basis of accelerating socio-economic development, Soviet society must scale new heights, which means:

in THE ECONOMIC FIELD - the raising of the national economy to a fundamentally new scientific and technical and organisational and economic level and its transition to a footing of intensive development; the attainment of the highest world level of social labour productivity, output quality and production efficiency; the ensuring of the optimum structure and balance for the country's unified national economic complex; a considerable improvement in the standard of socialisation of labour and production; and the approximation of collective farm and co-operative ownership to ownership by all the people and in the long term the merging of the two.

in THE SOCIAL FIELD - the ensuring of a qualitatively new standard for the people's wellbeing while consistently implementing the socialist principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour"; the creation of a basically classless structure of society and the erasing of the major socio-economic and cultural and consumer differences between city and countryside; the increasingly organic union of physical and mental labour in production activity; the Soviet people's further cohesion as a social and international community; the masses' high standard of creative energy and initiative;

in THE POLITICAL FIELD - the development of the people's socialist self-management through the increasingly full involvement of citizens in the management of state and public affairs, the improvement of the activity of the elected organs of people's power, the enhanced role of trade unions, the Komsomol and the working people's other mass organisations and the effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

in THE FIELD OF SPIRITUAL LIFE - the further consolidation of socialist ideology in the Soviet people's consciousness, the full assertion of the moral principles of socialism and the spirit of collectivism and comradely mutual aid, the provision of access for the broadest masses of the population to the achievements of science and the values of culture and the formation of a comprehensively developed individual.

The result of these transformations will be a qualitatively new state for Soviet society - what Lenin called "whole socialism" (Russian: tselnyy sotsializm), which reveals in full the new system's tremendous advantages in all spheres of life. A historic step forward will thus be taken on the path toward the higher phase of communism. The Party will constantly correlate its policy, economic and social strategy and tasks of organisational and ideological work to the communist perspective.

## II. The Party's economic strategy

The task set by the Party of accelerating the country's socio-economic development requires profound shifts first and foremost in that decisive sphere of human activity - the economy. A sharp turn toward production intensification must be implemented and each enterprise and each sector must be reoriented toward the complete and priority use of the qualitative factors of economic growth. The transition to a more highly organised and more highly efficient economy with comprehensively developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations and a well adjusted economic mechanism must be ensured. Before the end of the year 2000 the country's production potential must be doubled and fundamentally and qualitatively renewed.



The Party and the people are resolving these tasks under conditions of the further deepening of the scientific and technical revolution, which has a powerful influence on all aspects of modern production, on the entire system of social relations and on man himself and the environment he inhabits and opens up new prospects for considerably increasing labour productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

Socialism's historic vocation is to place the achievements of advanced science and the most sophisticated and powerful technology at the service of communist building and thereby provide a firm material base for the implementation of the CPSU's main programmatic goals - the rapid growth of the people's wellbeing and the all-round development of man and the strengthening of our homeland's economic and defence power.

Accelerating scientific and technical progress is the main lever for  
improving production efficiency

The fundamental matter of the Party's economic strategy is to cardinally accelerate scientific and technical progress. We are faced with **IMPLEMENTING THE NEW TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY** and on that basis transforming society's material and technical base.

The rapid **RENEWAL OF THE PRODUCTION APPARATUS ON THE BASIS OF ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY** and the widespread introduction of the most progressive technological processes and flexible production systems making it possible to switch swiftly to the production of new output and providing the greatest economic and social effect is of paramount importance. Comprehensive mechanisation must be completed in all sectors of the production and non-production sphere and a major step must be taken in the automation of production with the transition to automated shops and enterprises and automated control and design systems. The electrification, chemicalisation, robotisation and computerisation of production will be carried out on an increasingly wide scale, as will the application of biotechnology.

The Party will promote in every possible way the further build-up and efficient use of the country's **SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL POTENTIAL** and the development of scientific research that opens up new opportunities for major, revolutionary shifts in economic intensification. The universal introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology into production, management and the service and leisure spheres must be ensured. Science will fully become a direct productive force.

On the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the fundamental transformations in equipment and technology and the mobilisation of all technical, organisational, economic and social factors a considerable **INCREASE IN LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY**, without which, as V. I. Lenin taught, "the final transition to communism is impossible", must be achieved. It is planned to increase labour productivity by 130-150% over the next 15 years as an important landmark along the road to the highest labour productivity.

It is necessary to make maximum use of the reserves of labour productivity growth at each association, enterprise and workplace. It is necessary to struggle actively to reduce the labour-intensiveness of articles, reduce losses of worktime, introduce the latest equipment and technology, strengthen order and discipline, improve norm setting, make extensive use of progressive forms of scientific labour organisation, raise production standards and strive to ensure that labour collectives become increasingly stable.

Scientific and technical progress must be aimed at radically improving the use **OF NATURAL RESOURCES, RAW AND OTHER MATERIALS, FUEL AND ENERGY** at all stages - from the extraction and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the production and use of end products. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of the reduction of the material, metal and energy-intensiveness of national income. Resource-saving will be a decisive source for satisfying the growth in the national economy's requirements for fuel, energy and raw and other materials.

The Party's economic policy will always focus on **RAISING THE TECHNICAL STANDARD AND QUALITY OF OUTPUT** in every possible way. Soviet output must embody the latest achievements of scientific thought, correspond to the highest technical and economic, aesthetic and other consumer demands, and be competitive in the world market. Improving its quality is a reliable way of more fully satisfying the country's need for necessary articles and the population's growing demand for various goods. Low quality and substandard goods represent a waste of material resources and the people's labour. The Party will actively support the struggle for the honour of the Soviet brand. Output quality must be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technical progress depends not only on increasing the production of the latest equipment but also on the **BETTER USE OF FIXED CAPITAL** and increasing the productivity of each unit of equipment and each square metre of production area. The prevailing trend of a decline in the return on capital must be overcome and an increase must be ensured in the future.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress makes ever higher demands on working people's general and vocational education. The line of improving the entire system of training and increasing the qualifications of cadres and systematically ensuring conformity between workplaces and manpower resources in all sectors and regions of the country will be persistently pursued.

The struggle for the comprehensive intensification and rationalisation of production and its supreme efficiency on the basis of scientific and technical progress is organically combined under conditions of the planned socialist economic system with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, full employment and the steady improvement of all aspects of people's lives.

#### The structural reorganisation of social production

The transition to the path of intensification requires serious **STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY**. The national economy must undergo a flexible and timely restructuring in line with the progressive shifts in science, equipment, technology, and social and individual needs. It is necessary to develop at a higher rate sectors ensuring scientific and technical progress and the successful resolution of social tasks and to seek the optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation and improvements in the proportions between the production of means of production and objects of consumption on the one hand and the sectors of the agro-industrial complex on the other. The social orientation of the economy will be stepped up and the switch to the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing needs will be consistently implemented.

In this connection new demands are made on **INVESTMENT POLICY**. It is called upon to ensure an increase in the effectiveness of capital investments and their concentration in the decisive sectors on which the rapid achievement of the highest national economic effect, the balanced development of the economy and the obtaining of the greatest growth in output and national income per rouble of expenditure depend. It is necessary to shift the centre of gravity away from new construction to the technical retooling and modernisation of existing enterprises, to considerably increase the proportion of funds channelled into these goals in the total volume of production capital investment and increase the proportion of expenditure on equipment and machines in that investment. The paramount task is to improve the correlation between capital investments in the resource-extracting, processing and consuming sectors and redistribute funds in favour of sectors that ensure the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The task of turning the USSR's economy into the most sophisticated and powerful in the world requires the further development of **HEAVY INDUSTRY** - the foundation of economic power.

The Party allots the key role in the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution and the realisation of the latest achievements of science and technology to **MACHINE-BUILDING**. The acceleration of the pace of Soviet machine-building's growth is the main direction of development for the future and the basis for scientific and



technical progress in all sectors of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defence capability at the proper level. Machine-building is called upon to produce systems and complexes of machines, equipment and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards; systems and complexes that ensure revolutionary changes in technology and the organisation of production, multiple increases in labour productivity, reductions in material and energy-intensiveness, improvements in output quality and growth in the return on capital. Machine-tool building, the electrical equipment industry, microelectronics, computer equipment, instrument-making, and the entire information technology industry - the genuine catalysts of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress - must receive priority development.

It is necessary to strengthen the potential of and implement a qualitative shift in metallurgy, the chemical industry and other sectors of heavy industry that produce **CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS**, to constantly expand the range and improve the quality of materials, and increase the output of the most economic and progressive new types of these materials.

A most important task is to efficiently develop **THE COUNTRY'S FUEL AND ENERGY COMPLEX**. The steady satisfaction of the country's growing needs for all types of fuel and energy requires the improvement of the structure of the fuel and energy balance, the accelerated boosting of the nuclear power industry, the extensive use of renewable sources of energy and consistent and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of the economy.

An indispensable condition of the country's socio-economic progress is to further strengthen and enhance the efficiency of the **AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX** and to fully satisfy the country's needs for its products. Agriculture's switch to an industrial basis must be completed, scientific farming systems and intensive techniques must be introduced everywhere, land use must be improved and its fertility increased, considerable growth in the yields of all agricultural crops and in livestock productivity must be ensured, the feed base must be strengthened, the stability of agricultural production must be ensured, its dependence on unfavourable natural and climatic conditions must be reduced and losses of the harvest that is produced must be precluded. Agro-industrial integration will be stepped up and the technology, techniques and organisation of the production, procurement, transport, storage and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Collective and state farms and agro-industrial associations, which constitute the basis of socialist agriculture, are called upon to make a decisive contribution to meeting the country's needs for agricultural produce. At the same time enterprises' subsidiary farms and citizens' private plots, collective horticulture and market gardening will be used to supplement the country's food resources.

The CPSU will channel efforts into ensuring accelerated growth of the production of **CONSUMER GOODS AND THE ENTIRE SERVICES SPHERE** in the interests of the all-round satisfaction of the Soviet people's needs. Enterprises, associations and organisations in all sectors of the national economy must be involved in this.

The Party allots an important role in improving the country's unified national economic complex to retooling and increasing the efficiency of the work of all sectors of the **PRODUCTION INFRASTRUCTURE** - the electricity, oil and gas supply systems, communications and information support for the national economy. Special attention must be devoted to developing a unified transport system, improving all its components and creating a ramified network of roads with all the necessary amenities.

With a view to intensifying the economy and accelerating scientific and technical progress the technical and economic standard of **CONSTRUCTION** must be substantially improved, construction work must be turned into a unified industrial process, the quality of project and construction work must be increased and its cost reduced and the time taken to construct projects and assimilate production capacities must be shortened.



The Party will continue to devote unremitting attention to improving the **SITING OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES**, which must ensure savings in social labour and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of each region of the country. On the basis of the deepening of the social division of labour the national economies of all union republics will be further developed and their contribution to satisfying the entire country's needs will increase. The structure of existing territorial production complexes and economic ties must be further improved and enterprises engaged in the processing of raw materials must be sited as close as possible to the areas where these materials are extracted. It is necessary to make fuller use of the potential of small and medium-sized towns and worker settlements by siting in them specialised production facilities linked with the production of output under production sharing agreements with large enterprises and with the processing of agricultural and local raw materials and the provision of services to the population.

The accelerated development of the productive forces of **SIBERIA AND THE FAR EAST** has been and continues to be part and parcel of the Party's economic strategy. Strictly ensuring the comprehensive solution of production tasks and developing the entire social infrastructure in the interests of improving people's working and living conditions are of particular economic and political importance in opening up new regions.

In defining the prospects for national economic development the CPSU proceeds from the need to improve the **FOREIGN ECONOMIC STRATEGY**, and to make fuller use of the potential of the mutually advantageous international division of labour and, first and foremost, of the advantages of socialist economic integration. Foreign economic, scientific and technical ties will be deepened and progressive structural shifts will be implemented in exports and imports in the interests of improving national economic efficiency and ensuring independence from capitalist countries in strategically important avenues.

#### Improving socialist production relations, the management system and economic management methods

The Party sees the constant improvement of production relations, the maintenance of a stable correlation between them and the dynamically developing production forces and the prompt exposure and resolution of the non-antagonistic contradictions which arise between them as necessary preconditions of the acceleration of society's socio-economic progress.

The Party's attention will continue to be centred on the **STRENGTHENING AND AUGMENTATION OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION**, which is the basis of socialism's economic system. It is necessary to further increase the level of socialisation of production and its planned organisation and to steadily improve the forms and methods of realisation of the advantages and potential of ownership by the whole people.

The boosting of agriculture's production forces and the development of inter-farm co-operation and agro-industrial integration will promote the further drawing together and, in the long term, the merging of collective farm-co-operative ownership with ownership by the whole people. This process will take place as a result of the all-round development and strengthening of the two forms of socialist ownership and the increasingly full realisation of the potential of the collective farm-co-operative sector of the economy.

The Party will persistently develop in the labour collectives and in every working person a sense of proprietorship in relation to public property and will adopt all the necessary measures to protect socialist property, cut short any attempts to use it for self-interested purposes, eradicate forms of appropriation of goods which are alien to socialism and safeguard the constitutional rights of citizens to personal property.

The Party attaches great significance to **IMPROVING DISTRIBUTION RELATIONS**, which have an active influence on the growth of a collective and personal interest in the development of social production and on people's standard of living and



way of life. The line of ensuring the most efficient distribution of the social product and national income and of ensuring that the machinery of distribution is a reliable barrier of unearned income and to levelling in labour remuneration - to everything that is contrary to the norms and principles of socialist society - will be consistently pursued. It is necessary to exercise strict control over the extent of labour and the extent of consumption, to step up the interests of collectives and of every worker in the attainment of the best national economic results and to skilfully combine moral and material incentives for labour activity.

The further development of the RELATIONS OF EXCHANGE is an urgent task. It is necessary to increase the reliability of economic ties, seek a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and monetary resources and accelerate the turnover of circulating capital. It is necessary to make fuller use of the money-goods relationship in accordance with the new content which is inherent in it under socialism, strengthen the credit system increase the purchasing power of the rouble, strengthen the thrift policy and the monitoring of the quantity and quality of work and use more fully and more effectively the entire arsenal of economic levers and incentives.

The acceleration of the country's socio-economic development requires the constant IMPROVEMENT OF LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY and the reliable and efficient functioning of the economic machinery, which incorporates diverse, flexible forms and methods of economic management, seeking to ensure that these conform to the changing conditions of economic development and the nature of the tasks being resolved.

The improvement of management should be based on the more profound, comprehensive use of the advantages and potential of the socialist planned system of the economy and economic laws and should take full account of changes in production forces and production relations and the rise in the level of education, consciousness, skills and experience of the broad masses of working people. It is called upon to ensure the optimum combination of personal interests and the interests of labour collectives and various social groups on the one hand and the interests of the whole state and the whole people on the other and thus to use those interests as the motive force for economic growth.

The entire management system must be oriented toward increasing the contribution of each component of the national economy to the attainment of the final goal - the fullest possible satisfaction of society's requirements with the lowest possible expenditure of all types of resources. This is an essential law of socialist economic management and a basic criterion in assessing the activity of sectors, associations and enterprises and all production cells.

It is necessary to ensure the consistent implementation of Leninist management principles and above all the principle of DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, which expresses the unity of its two bases - both increasing the effectiveness of centralised leadership and significantly extending the economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management organs should be concentrated to an ever increasing degree on the resolution of the strategic tasks of economic and social development and the practical implementation of an integrated policy in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and capital investments, structural shifts in the national economy, the proportionality of social production and the strengthening of the system of planned statewide reserves, the siting of productive forces, labour remuneration and social security, prices, tariffs, finance, accounting and statistics.

The party considers it necessary to increase the effectiveness of PLANNING as an instrument for the realisation of its economic policy. Planning is called upon to be an active lever for the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development, the intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress and the implementation of progressive economic decisions and to ensure balanced and dynamic economic growth. A leading place in the plans should belong to qualitative indicators



which reflect the efficiency of the use of resources, the scale of renewal of output and the growth of labour productivity on the basis of the achievements of science and technology. It is necessary to resolve economic and social tasks comprehensively, organically combine long-term, five-year and annual plans, make planning more scientific, strengthen plan discipline, ensure that statewide interests take priority and resolutely cut short any manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism, bureaucracy, and voluntarism.

In developing centralised principles in management and planning and the resolution of strategic tasks, the Party will actively implement MEASURES TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF THE BASIC PRODUCTION LINK - associations and enterprises - and consistently pursue the line of extending their rights and economic autonomy and stepping up their responsibility and interest in the attainment of high end results. The centre of gravity of all day-to-day economic work should be on the spot - in the labour collectives.

The Party deems it necessary to further develop and increase the effectiveness of FINANCIAL AUTONOMY and to ensure the consistent transition of enterprises and associations to full financial autonomy, strengthening the economic levers and reducing the number of indicators set by higher organisations. The activity of associations and enterprises will be governed increasingly by long-term economic norms which offer scope for initiative and creativity on the part of labour collectives. Measures to improve management from above should be organically combined with the development of collective forms of labour organisation and incentives from below. The system of levers and incentives should give real advantages to labour collectives which achieve successes in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, produce better output and increase the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to dispose of the resources they earn for the purposes of developing production, providing material incentives for the collective and resolving social issues will increase.

Wholesale trade will be extended, the role of direct ties and economic contracts between consumer enterprises and the manufacturers of output will be increased and the consumer's influence on the technical standard and quality of output will be strengthened.

PRICE FORMATION should be improved, so that prices more accurately reflect the level of socially necessary expenditure as well as the quality of products and services, more actively stimulate scientific and technical progress, resource-saving, the improvement of the technical, economic and consumer properties of articles and the introduction of everything new and advanced, and help to strengthen the thrift policy.

The CPSU is setting the task of consistently implementing measures to improve the ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF MANAGEMENT of the national economy at all levels, reducing the management apparatus, and eliminating superfluous components. It is necessary to improve the management of major national economic complexes and groups of inter-connected and similar sectors, to seek the rational combination of large, medium and small enterprises and of sector and territorial management, extend the network and improve the work of production and science-and-production associations, deepen specialisation and develop integration and production sharing.

The attention of inter-sectoral and sectoral management organs will be concentrated on the most important avenues of the sectors' development and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. They should bear the responsibility for the full satisfaction of the requirements of the national economy and the population for output in the range and product mix laid down. There will be an increase in the role and responsibility of republican and local organs in the management of economic and socio-cultural building and the satisfaction of the working people's needs and these organs' rights will be extended.

In all the work to improve leadership of the economy the CPSU will consistently pursue a line of developing THE WORKING PEOPLE'S CREATIVE INITIATIVE AND INVOLVING THEM INCREASINGLY FULLY IN THE PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT PROCESS and of increasing the labour collectives' role in the elaboration of plans, the taking of economic decisions and the implementation of measures relating to the socio-economic development of enterprises and to seeking out and mobilising internal



production reserves. Thrift, the skilful expenditure of the people's resources, the rational use of every rouble, the eradication of thriftlessness and the elimination of various non-productive types of expenditure and losses - this is the cause of the whole Party and the whole people and the cause of every labour collective and every worker.

The development of SOCIALIST COMPETITION is the subject of the Party's constant attention. This is a most important sphere for the development of the working people's creativity and one of the basic means of self-assertion and social recognition for the individual. On the basis of Leninist principles, it is necessary to improve the organisation and enhance the effectiveness of competition, eradicate formalism and stereotyped approaches, disseminate leading experience more widely, bring the laggards up to the frontrankers' level and develop the spirit of initiative, comrade co-operation and mutual assistance. Very great significance is attached to supporting in every way the masses' initiative and creativity aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress, increasing labour productivity, ensuring the thrifty use of resources, enhancing production efficiency and output quality, reducing the prime cost of output, ensuring an efficient labour rhythm and the prompt fulfilment of contract commitments and achieving the best national economic end results.

### III. The Party's social policy

The Party regards social policy as a powerful means of accelerating the country's development, boosting the masses' labour and socio-political activeness, moulding the new man and establishing the socialist way of life and as an important factor in society's political stability. The Party proceeds on the basis that its influence on economic growth, on increasing the economy's efficiency and on all spheres of public life will be strengthened. The CPSU regards unremitting concern for the resolution of the social issues of labour, everyday life and culture and for the satisfaction of people's interests and needs as a law of the activity of all state and economic organs and public organisations.

#### The Party advances as the MAIN TASKS OF ITS SOCIAL POLICY:

- steadily improving the Soviet people's living and working conditions;
- implementing increasingly fully the principle of social justice in all fundamental spheres of social relations;
- effecting the drawing together of classes and social groups and strata and overcoming the substantial differences between mental and physical labour and town and countryside;
- perfecting national relations and strengthening the fraternal friendship of all the country's nations, and ethnic groups.

#### Increasing the wellbeing and improving the working and living conditions of the Soviet people

The production and spiritual potential created in the country and the requirements of the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development make possible and essential substantial progress toward achieving the "COMPLETE prosperity and free ALL-ROUND development OF ALL members of society" (Lenin).

The CPSU sets the task of raising the Soviet people's wellbeing to a qualitatively new level and ensuring a level and structure of consumption of material, social and cultural benefits that will correspond to the greatest extent to the objectives of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and creating the necessary conditions for the fullest revelation of the Soviet people's abilities, gifts and talents in the interests of society.

Already in the next five-year period it is planned to double the volume of resources aimed at satisfying the people's requirements.

**THE PARTY ATTACHES PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO INTENSIFYING THE CREATIVE CONTENT AND COLLECTIVIST NATURE OF LABOUR, RAISING ITS STANDARD AND ENCOURAGING HIGHLY SKILLED AND HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE WORK FOR THE BENEFIT OF SOCIETY.** All this will promote the gradual transformation of labour into a prime necessity of life for every Soviet man.

Another task which lies ahead is to continue to implement a package of scientific, technical, economic and social measures ensuring full and effective employment for the population and enabling all able-bodied citizens to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with their vocation, abilities, education and professional training taking society's requirements into account.

The line aimed at considerably reducing manual labour, substantially reducing and, in the long term, eliminating monotonous, heavy physical and low-skilled labour, ensuring healthy sanitary and hygiene conditions and introducing sophisticated safety equipment eliminating accidents at work and occupational diseases will be consistently pursued. The intensification and growth of the efficiency of production and the growth of labour productivity will open up new opportunities in the long term for shortening the working day and increasing the length of the working people's paid leave.

**THE PARTY WILL CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO STEADILY INCREASE WORKING PEOPLE'S REAL INCOMES AND FURTHER IMPROVE THE PROSPERITY OF ALL STRATA AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL.**

Labour remuneration remains the basic source of the working people's income throughout the first phase of communism. It is necessary to constantly improve the wages system so that it takes fully into account the quantity and quality of labour and its conditions and results and promotes the growth of the working people's skill and labour productivity, the improvement of output quality and the saving of all types of resources. It is on precisely this basis that the working people's wages and living standards must grow. The level of minimum wages will increase and the line aimed at reducing taxes on the population will be continued in line with the growth of public wealth. The Party attaches fundamental significance to resolutely eradicating unearned income, any deviations from socialist principles of distribution, anti-social forms of redistributing incomes and benefits, parasitism and speculation.

There will be continuation of the accelerated growth and improvement of the distribution of **SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS**, which are called upon to play an increasing role in developing the statewide systems for free public education, health care and social welfare and in improving the working people's leisure conditions, to alleviate the differences in the material situation of individual citizens, families and social groups which are objectively inevitable under socialism, to equalise socio-economic and cultural conditions for raising children and promote the elimination of the low level of provision for individual groups of the population.

A task of priority importance is to **FULLY SATISFY THE POPULATION'S GROWING DEMAND FOR HIGH-QUALITY AND DIVERSE CONSUMER GOODS** - food products, good-quality and attractive clothing and footwear, furniture, cultural items and complex household equipment and domestic appliances.

**TRADE AND PUBLIC CATERING** will be further developed. Their material and technical base will be strengthened and the standard of service will rise. The consumer co-operative system, which is called upon to improve trade in the countryside and organise the purchase from the population and marketing of agricultural products, will also be further developed. The collective farm market will retain its significance. A retail price policy will be pursued in the interests of increasing the population's real incomes.

It is planned to implement major measures to create a **MODERN HIGH-DEVELOPED SERVICES SPHERE**. An increase in the volume, expansion of the range and improvement in the quality of services will make it possible to satisfy more fully the



population's growing requirements for diverse forms of housing, municipal, transport, consumer, social and cultural services, alleviate housework and create better conditions for relaxation, the meaningful use of free time and full leisure. There will be accelerated development of the services sphere in rural localities and newly opened-up regions.

Accelerating the solution of the HOUSING PROBLEM so that practically every Soviet family has separate housing - a flat or individual house - by the year 2000 is regarded by the Party as a matter of particular social significance. The large scale of housing construction out of state funds, the broader development of co-operative and individual construction and also the modernisation, updating and improvement of the condition of the housing stock and the intensification of monitoring of its allocation are called upon to promote this. Particular attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, the improvement of comfort levels, the improvement of layout and the improvement of provision of equipment in flats and houses.

Higher demands will be made of the architecture, aesthetic appearance and amenity level of urban and rural settlements. They must constitute a rational integrated organisation of production zones, residential areas and a network of social, cultural and educational establishments, sports facilities, trade and consumer service enterprises and transport ensuring the best conditions for people's labour, everyday life and leisure. The practice of drawing funds from the population to improve housing, cultural and everyday life conditions, leisure and tourism and for other purposes will be expanded.

The IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S HEALTH and the lengthening of their active life is a matter of priority importance. The Party sets the task of ubiquitously and fully satisfying urban and rural inhabitants' requirements for all types of highly skilled medical services and radically improving their quality. To this end it is planned to introduce a system of universal medical check-ups for the population; further develop the network of mother and child health protection establishments, health centres, hospitals and sanatoriums and equip them with modern medical apparatus; and ensure the full provision of medical, treatment and sanitary and hygiene resources.

The significance of PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SPORT AND THEIR INTRODUCTION INTO DAILY LIFE in improving the population's health, harmoniously developing the individual and preparing young people for labour and the defence of the homeland is increasing. Matters must be organised in such a way that from his youth every person is concerned to improve himself physically, has a knowledge of the field of hygiene and medical assistance and leads a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches tremendous state significance to INTENSIFYING CONCERN FOR THE FAMILY. The family is playing an increasingly important role in improving the health of and educating the rising generations, ensuring society's economic and social progress and improving demographic processes. It is here that the fundamentals of a person's character and his attitude to labour and to the most important moral, ideological and cultural values are shaped. Society has a vital interest in a solid and spiritually and morally healthy family. Proceeding from this, the Party considers it essential to pursue a line aimed at strengthening the family and assisting it in fulfilling its social functions and rearing children and to expand the measures aimed at improving the material, housing and everyday living conditions of families with many children and young families. It is necessary to deepen the interaction of family, school and labour collectives and to increase responsibility of parents for educating children.

THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSITION OF MOTHERS is a subject of the Party's constant concern. To this end favourable conditions will be created for combining motherhood with active participation by women in labour and social activity. Particular attention will be devoted to mother and child protection and the length of ante-natal leave and also child-care leave will be increased. The network of sanatoriums, rest homes and boarding-houses for family vacations will be expanded. Diverse forms of labour employment for women will be developed and flexible working schedules and incomplete workdays will be applied on a broader scale in accordance with women's wishes.



A broad package of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for rearing the rising generation. In the very near future the population's requirements for children's establishments will already be fully satisfied. The network of Young Pioneer, labour and sports camps, Young Pioneer centres and scientific, technical and artistic creativity centres and stations will be expanded. Catering expenditure norms will be raised in pre-school establishments and vocational and technical educational establishments.

The Party stresses the need to considerably **INTENSIFY THE ATTENTION DEVOTED TO YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS** and, first and foremost, to satisfy more fully their requirements in the sphere of labour and everyday life, education and culture, professional and vocational growth and the rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to display constant **CONCERN TO IMPROVE THE MATERIAL SITUATION OF LABOUR AND WAR VETERANS**, elderly people, invalids and the families of deceased servicemen and to provide social, medical and cultural services for them. Pension scales, primarily minimum and previously designated ones, will be raised periodically. Pension provision for collective farmers will gradually move closer to the level established for workers and employees. The network of residential homes for elderly and disabled people will be developed and maintenance conditions in them will be improved. The broadening of opportunities for labour veterans with great experience to participate as far as they are able in labour activity and in public life and educational work is a matter of great socio-economic importance.

The harmonious interaction of society and nature and man and the environment, is assuming increasing significance in the improvement of the people's life. Socialist society, which builds its future in a conscious manner, engages in the plan-governed and solicitous use of nature and occupies vanguard positions in mankind's struggle to preserve and augment the planet's natural resources. The Party considers it necessary to intensify the monitoring of the use of nature and to develop the ecological education of the population on a broader scale.

#### Overcoming class differences and forming a socially homogeneous society

An important natural law of the development of social relations at the present stage is **THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF THE WORKING CLASS**, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia and the establishment of a classless structure for society with the decisive role in this process belonging to the working class.

The political experience of the working class, its high degree of awareness and organisation and its will cement our entire society. The improvement of the general educational, cultural and professional standard of the working class and the growth of its labour and socio-political activeness enhance its vanguard role in the improvement of socialism and in the entire process of communist construction.

During the consistent implementation of the Party's agrarian policy agricultural labour is transformed into a form of industrial labour and the substantial social and cultural and daily living differences between town and countryside are erased. The way of life and nature of the labour of the peasantry are becoming increasingly similar to the way of life and nature of the labour of the working class. The overcoming of differences between these classes and the assertion of a society without classes in our country will take place mainly within the historical framework of the first, socialist, phase of communist formation.

The revolutionary transformations in productive forces are leading to an increase in the proportion of mental labour in the activity of the broadest masses of workers and collective farmers. At the same time the numerical strength of the intelligentsia is increasing and their creative contribution to material production and other spheres of social life is growing. All this is helping to gradually erase the substantial differences between physical and mental labour and to bring all social groups closer. The complete overcoming of these differences and the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed at the highest phase of communism.



The CPSU will help by every means the overcoming of class and social differences. At the same time, as long as these differences exist, the party considers it a matter of paramount importance to take careful account in its policy of the special features of the interests of classes and social groups. Great attention will be paid to equalising the working and daily living conditions of the population of different regions of the country.

In the social structure of Soviet society **THE ROLE OF THE LABOUR COLLECTIVES IS INCREASING**. The Party is seeking to help to ensure by every means that every labour collective becomes an effective social cell of socialist people's self-management, the working people's daily and real participation in the solution of matters of the work of their enterprises, institutions and organisations and the development and augmentation of the individual's creative forces. It considers it essential purposefully to intensify the labour collectives' influence on all spheres of the life of society and at the same time to raise their responsibility for the solution of specific tasks of economic, social and cultural development.

**The further flowering and drawing together of the socialist nations  
and ethnic groups**

In its activity the CPSU comprehensively considers Soviet society's multinational nature. The results of the path which has been travelled convincingly attest that **THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION INHERITED FROM THE PAST HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED IN THE SOVIET UNION**. National relations in Soviet society are characterised by the further flowering of nations and ethnic groups and their steady drawing together, which is taking place on the basis of voluntariness, equality and fraternal co-operation. Any artificial pushing or curbing of ripe objective trends of development is inadmissible here. This development entails, in the remote historical future, the complete unity of nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that in our multinational socialist state, in the process of the joint labour and life of over 100 nations and ethnic groups, **NEW TASKS IN IMPROVING NATIONAL RELATIONS** naturally arise. The Party has resolved and will continue to resolve them on the basis of the tested principles of Lenin's nationalities policy. It sets the following basic tasks in this field:

- the all-round consolidation and development of the multinational Soviet state. The CPSU will continue to strengthen our unified, multinational, union state, to struggle consistently against any manifestations of parochialism and national narrowness and at the same time display constant concern for the further enhancement of the role of the republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs in resolving the common tasks of all nations and for the active participation of working people of all nationalities in the work of the organs of power and management. The forms of international relations will be enriched on the basis of the creative application of Lenin's principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism in the interests of the whole Soviet people and of each nation and ethnic group;
- the build-up of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of a unified national economic complex. The combination of the initiative of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs with centralised management on an all-union scale makes it possible to make rational use of the resources of the entire country and local natural and other features. It is essential consistently to intensify the division of labour between republics, equalise their conditions of economic management, encourage the active participation of republics in the economic development of new regions, develop the inter-republican exchange of worker and specialist cadres and expand and improve the training of skilled workers from among the citizens of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republics;
- the development of the Soviet people's single culture - socialist in content, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in spirit - on the basis of the best achievements and unique progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR. The growth and drawing together of national cultures and the consolidation of their mutual links make their

mutual enrichment even more fruitful and open up before the Soviet people the broadest opportunities for access to everything of value generated by the talent of each of our country's peoples.

The free development of their native languages and their use on an equal basis by all citizens of the USSR will continue to be ensured. At the same time the mastering, alongside the language of their nationality, of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by the Soviet people as the means of inter-nation communication, expands their access to the achievements of science, technology and our own and world culture.

The Party proceeds from the premise that the consistent pursuit of Lenin's nationalities policy and the all-round consolidation of the friendship of the peoples are a component of the improvement of socialism and a path, tested by social practice, toward the further flowering of our multinational socialist homeland.

#### IV. The development of Soviet society's political system

The dictatorship of the proletariat established as a result of the socialist revolution played a decisive role in the creation of the new society. During this process it underwent changes itself. With the elimination of the exploiter classes the function which it had fulfilled of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually disappeared and the implementation of its main, creative tasks developed with full force. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a political organisation of all the working people and the proletarian state developed into a state of the whole people. It is the main instrument for the improvement of socialism in our country and in the international arena it performs the functions of defending socialist gains, consolidating world socialism's positions, opposing the aggressive policy of imperialist forces and developing peaceful co-operation with all peoples.

**THE CPSU BELIEVES THAT AT THE PRESENT STAGE THE STRATEGIC LINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM LIES IN IMPROVING SOVIET DEMOCRACY AND IMPLEMENTING INCREASINGLY FULLY THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S SELF-MANAGEMENT THROUGH THE DAILY, ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION OF WORKING PEOPLE, THEIR COLLECTIVES AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS IN RESOLVING MATTERS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE.**

The leading force in this process is the Party - the nucleus of Soviet society's political system. All other components of this system - the Soviet state, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the co-operative and other social organisations reflecting the unity and distinctive identity of the interests of all strata of the population and all the country's nations and ethnic groups - function under its leadership. Operating within the framework of the Constitution, the CPSU directs and co-ordinates the work of state and social organisations and is concerned to ensure that each of them fully performs its distinctive functions. By all its activity the Party sets an example of serving the people's interests and observing the principles of socialist democratism.

The Party is concerned to ensure that the principles of socialist people's self-management are consistently implemented in the management of society and the state, that is, to ensure that management not only is implemented in the working people's interests but also according to pattern, step by step, becomes the direct concern of the working people themselves, who, in Lenin's words, are conscious of no power over themselves except the power of their own association.

The Party will continue to contribute to ensuring that citizens' socio-economic, political and personal rights and freedoms are expanded and enriched and that increasingly favourable conditions for and guarantees of their full implementation are created. The Soviet people possess every opportunity to express and implement their civic will and interests and enjoy all the benefits that socialism gives them. The exercise of Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms is inseparable from their execution of their constitutional duties. There are no rights without duties and no duties without rights -



that is the immutable political principal of socialist society. The CPSU will continue to seek persistently to ensure that every Soviet man is educated in the spirit of a clear understanding of the unity of his rights, freedoms and duties.

The key issue of the Party's policy is **THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE** and the increasingly full revelation of its nature as democratic and belonging to the whole people.

The CPSU shows constant concern for comprehensively improving the activity of the soviets of people's deputies - the political foundation of the USSR and the main component in the socialist people's self-management. The Party attaches great importance to improving forms of popular representation and the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system and to ensuring the free and comprehensive discussion of the personal and professional qualities of candidate deputies so that the worthiest and most authoritative people are elected to the soviets. In order to improve the work of the soviets and produce an influx of new forces into them and in order to ensure that further millions of working people pass through the school of state management, the composition of deputies of soviets will be systematically renewed in elections.

The CPSU seeks to contribute to ensuring that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union republican supreme soviets consistently improve legislation and efficiently resolve key problems of domestic and foreign policy, actively lead the soviets of people's deputies and check the work of the organs accountable to them. The role of local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of regions, in independently resolving tasks of local importance and in co-ordinating and monitoring the activity of the organisations located on their territory will continue to increase.

It is necessary to create all the conditions for ensuring that Lenin's directions regarding the soviets as organs that not only make decisions but also ensure the organisation and verification of their execution are rigorously observed. Democratic principles of work must be increasingly fully implemented in the activity of soviets of all levels - the collective, free and businesslike discussion and resolution of matters; publicity; self-criticism and criticism; regular reporting and the responsibility of deputies, up to and including the early recall of those who have not vindicated voters' trust; monitoring of the work of executive and other organs; the widespread involvement of citizens in participation in management.

The Party will unswervingly pursue the line of **DEMOCRATISING MANAGEMENT AND THE PROCESS OF FORMULATING AND ADOPTING STATE DECISIONS**, a line which ensures that the optimum versions of them are chosen and that the various opinions and proposals submitted by meetings of labour collectives and also of citizens at their place of residence are taken into account and collated. The most important bills and decisions will be referred for nationwide discussion and voting. The range of matters on which decisions can be made only after discussion in labour collectives, in soviet standing commissions, and in trade union, Komsomol and other social organisations will be expanded. The system for the generalisation and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' statements and proposals and for the study of public opinion must be further improved and the population's level of information regarding decisions and the results of their implementation must be increased.

The CPSU attaches great importance to improving the work of the state apparatus and all management organs. The Soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It must be well qualified and efficient. It is necessary to seek to simplify and reduce the cost of the management apparatus and to eliminate over-staffing, persistently eradicate displays of bureaucratism and formalism, departmentalism and parochialism and get rid of incompetent and unenterprising personnel without delay. Unscrupulousness, the abuse of official positions, careerism, the desire for personal enrichment, nepotism and protectionism must be resolutely suppressed and sternly punished.

The Party believes that it is necessary to strictly observe the principle of the accountability of the personnel of state organs and to expand, where expedient, the



elective and competitive systems of filling posts. Collegiality must be consistently implemented in the work of the relevant components of the state apparatus along with the personal responsibility of each leader and the objective assessment of personnel on the basis of their practical actions and the effective monitoring of the actual implementation of resolutions must be ensured.

The CPSU will actively help to increase the effectiveness of PEOPLE'S CONTROL. It regards working people's work in people's control organs as an important way of developing their political maturity and activeness in defending the people's interests and of instilling a state approach toward matters and a thrifty attitude toward the people's property.

The STRENGTHENING OF THE LEGAL BASIS OF STATE AND SOCIAL LIFE, the unswerving observance of socialist legality and law and order and the improvement of the work of the people's courts and other organs of justice, of supervision by the procurator's office and of justice and the militia have been and remain a matter of constant concern for the Party. State organs must do everything necessary to ensure the safe-keeping of socialist property and the protection of citizens' personal property, honour and dignity, conduct a resolute struggle against crime, prevent any offences, and eliminate the reasons giving rise to them.

THE CPSU REGARDS THE DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST HOMELAND, THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COUNTRY'S DEFENCE AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF STATE SECURITY AS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS OF THE SOVIET STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

From the viewpoint of internal conditions our society does not need an army. However, as long as the danger exists that imperialism will unleash aggression, military conflicts and various kinds of provocations, it is necessary to pay unremitting attention to reinforcing the USSR's defence power and strengthening its security. The Armed Forces and state security organs must display great vigilance and be always ready to suppress imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies and to rout any aggressor.

The ultimate foundation of the strengthening of the defence of the socialist homeland is the Communist Party's leadership of military building and the Armed Forces. Policy in the sphere of defence and the country's security and Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and is directed toward defence against external attack, are formulated and implemented with the Party playing a leading role.

The CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level excluding strategic superiority on the part of the forces of imperialism, that the Soviet state's defence capability is comprehensively improved and that the combat collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries' armies is strengthened.

The CPSU will continue to show invariable concern for ensuring that the Soviet Armed Forces' combat potential constitutes a strong fusion of military skill, ideological staunchness, organisation and discipline on the part of personnel, loyalty to their patriotic and internationalist duty and a high level of technical equipment.

The CPSU deems it necessary to continue to strengthen its organising and directing influence on the life and activity of the Armed Forces, to strengthen the principle of one-man command, to enhance the role and influence of army and navy political organs and party organisations and to seek to ensure that the blood ties between the army and the people become still stronger. Every communist and every Soviet man must do all in his power to maintain the country's defence capacity at the due level. THE DEFENCE OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND AND SERVICE IN THE RANKS OF THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE USSR CITIZEN'S HONOURABLE OBLIGATION AND SACRED DUTY.

The party attaches prime importance to enhancing the role of social organisations - important components in the system of the socialist people's self-management.



The CPSU sets it as its task to promote the constant growth of the prestige and influence of TRADE UNIONS - the working people's biggest organisation, a school of management, economic management and communism. The trade unions are called upon to consistently fulfil their main functions: Contributing in every possible way to augmenting the people's wealth and to improving people's working, daily living and leisure conditions, defending working people's rights and interests, constantly engaging in the communist education of the masses, involving them in the management of production and social affairs and strengthening conscious labour discipline.

Trade union organisations must take a more active part in developing socialist people's self-management and in resolving fundamental matters of state, economic and cultural construction, co-operate more closely with the soviets and other working people's organisations, raise the standard of socialist competition and of the propaganda and introduction of advanced experience, develop public forms of monitoring the observance of the principles of social justice and help implement the powers of labour collectives.

The CPSU rightly regards THE ALL-UNION LENIN KOMOSOMOL - a socio-political organisation with many millions of members - as its loyal assistant and reliable reserve. The Party will continue to increase the Komsomol's role in educating the rising generation and in practically resolving the tasks of accelerating the country's socio-economic development. In implementing leadership of the Komsomol, the CPSU pays particular attention to the organisational and political strengthening of its ranks and of the independent (Russian: *samodeyatelnyy*) nature of the youth league. The Komsomol must persistently develop the labour and social activeness of young men and women and mould in them a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, political and moral standards and an awareness of their historic responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace.

The Party seeks to perfect the activity of CO-OPERATIVES - collective farms and consumer co-operatives, housebuilding co-operatives, and co-operative organisations and associations - regarding them as an important form of socialist self-management and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will help to further boost the activeness of CREATIVE UNIONS, SCIENTIFIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL, CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT, SPORTS, DEFENCE AND OTHER VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES AND ORGANS OF THE POPULATION'S SOCIAL AMATEUR ACTIVITY. In performing their functions, these organisations are called upon to make a bigger and bigger contribution to implementing the Party's policy and to show concern for comprehensively expressing and implementing the interests of the working people they unite and for strengthening the Soviet people's civic initiative and responsibility.

#### V. Ideological education work, education, and culture

The Party will do everything necessary in order to make full use of the transforming power of Marxist-Leninist ideology for the acceleration of the socio-economic development of the country and to perform purposeful work on the ideological-political, labour and moral education of the Soviet people and ON SHAPING A HARMONIOUSLY DEVELOPED, SOCIALLY ACTIVE PERSONALITY COMBINING WITHIN ITSELF SPIRITUAL RICHNESS, MORAL PURITY AND PHYSICAL PERFECTION. In ideological work the CPSU considers the main element to be the nurturing of the working people in a spirit of high moral fibre and devotion to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude towards labour and public property, giving them increasingly full access to the treasures of spiritual culture, and the eradication of morals that are at variance with the socialist way of life.

The Party proceeds from the premise that the education of man is inseparable from his practical participation in creative labour for the benefit of the people, in social life and in the solution of tasks of socio-economic and cultural construction. Separation from reality and from its real problems dooms ideological education work to abstract pedantry and vague wordiness and leads away from the vital tasks of communist



construction. Ideological activity must be marked by profundity of ideological and theoretical content and by informativeness on a broad scale, it must fully and precisely take into account the realities of domestic and international life and the heightened requirements of the working people and it must be close to the people, truthful and comprehensible.

Unity of word and deed - the most important principle of all Party and state activity - also acts as an indispensable requirement as regards political education work. Active participation in it is an obligation for all leading cadres and the duty of every communist.

The Party puts forward the following tasks:

1. In the sphere of ideological education work

**THE FORMATION OF A SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK.** Socialism has ensured the domination in the spiritual life of Soviet society of a scientific world outlook whose foundation is Marxism-Leninism as an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views. The Party considers its most important obligation to be the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the study and generalisation of new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, consideration of the experience of the other countries of the socialist community and of the world communist, workers' national liberation and democratic movement and analysis of the achievements of the natural and social sciences.

The CPSU will take constant pains to ensure that all Soviet people have a profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist teaching, enhance their political standards and consciously participate in drawing up the Party's policy and actively translate it into reality.

**LABOUR EDUCATION.** The Party places at the focus of educational work the shaping in each Soviet man of a profound respect and readiness for conscientious labour for the common good, be it mental or physical labour. Labour is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society, the main criterion of man's social prestige, his sacred obligation and the foundation of the communist education of the individual. The Party will continue to take pains over the all-round enhancement of the prestige of honest, highly productive labour, over the development of initiative and creativity in work and over the consolidation of the principles of a communist attitude toward labour.

**THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNIST MORALITY.** The creative potential of communist morality - the most humane, just and noble morality based on loyalty to the goals of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism - is revealed increasingly fully under the conditions of the gradual advance toward communism. Our morality has absorbed both simple, universal human moral values and the norms of people's behaviour and relationships generated by the people's masses in the many centuries of struggle against exploitation and for freedom and social equality, happiness and peace.

Communist morality, for whose assertion the CPSU is acting, is:

**A COLLECTIVIST MORALITY.** "One for all and all for one" - that is its basic principle. It is incompatible with egotism, selfishness and conceit and it harmoniously combines nationwide, collective and personal interests;

**A HUMANITARIAN MORALITY.** It ennobles the working man and is pervaded with profound respect for him and will not tolerate encroachments on his dignity. It asserts truly human relations between people - relations of comradely co-operation and mutual aid, benevolence, honesty, simplicity and modesty in personal and public life;

**AN ACTIVE, EFFECTIVE MORALITY.** It prompts man to undertake new labour and creative achievements, to take an interested part in the life of the collective and of the entire country, to actively reject everything which runs counter to the socialist way of life and to struggle persistently for communist ideals.



**PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONALIST EDUCATION.** The Party will continue to work tirelessly to ensure that in Soviet man love for the homeland of October and for the land where he was born and grew up, and pride in the historic achievements of the world's first socialist state are combined with proletarian, socialist internationalism and with a sense of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries and with all those who are struggling against imperialism and for social progress and peace.

The CPSU will persistently seek to ensure that inherent in every Soviet man are feelings of friendship and fraternity which unite all nations and ethnic groups of the USSR, a high standard of intercourse among the nations and intolerance toward manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national narrowness and national egotism and customs and morals which impede the communist renewal of life and man.

An important task of the Party's ideological education work is military-patriotic education, the formation of a readiness to defend the socialist Fatherland and to devote to it all one's efforts and if necessary one's life too.

**ATHEISTIC EDUCATION.** While advocating the unconditional observance of constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience, the Party denounces attempts to use religion to the detriment of the interests of society and the individual. The correct path for overcoming religious prejudices is people's enhanced labour and public activeness, their enlightenment and the creation and widespread dissemination of new Soviet ceremonies.

An important component of communist education work is **THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MANIFESTATIONS OF ALIEN IDEOLOGY AND MORALITY AND ALL NEGATIVE PHENOMENA** connected with vestiges of the past in people's awareness and behaviour, with shortcomings in practical work in various spheres of public life and with delay in resolving urgent problems. The Party attaches paramount importance to the consistent and persistent eradication of violations of labour discipline, embezzlement and bribery, speculation and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, a private ownership mentality and money-grubbing, toadying and servility. It is essential to make full use of the authority of public opinion and the force of the law for this purpose. A good example in public and private life and in doing one's duty as a citizen is of tremendous educational importance.

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY.** The very acute struggle between the two world outlooks in the international arena reflects the antithesis between the two world systems - socialism and capitalism. The CPSU sees its task as being to bring the peoples the truth about real socialism and the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy, actively propagandise the Soviet way of life and reveal in a thrusting, well reasoned way the anti-popular, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiting essence. It will form in Soviet people high political awareness and the ability to assess social phenomena from clear-cut class-based positions and to defend the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society.

The role of **THE MASS INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA MEDIA** is being enhanced in the life of society. The CPSU will seek to ensure that they analyse in depth domestic and international life and economic and social phenomena, actively support everything new and progressive, raise the topical problems which perturb people and propose ways of resolving them. The press, television and radio broadcasting are called on to persuade people through the political clarity and purposefulness, depth of content, promptness, fully informed nature, vividness and comprehensibility of what they say. The Party will continue to render active support and assistance to the press and all mass information and propaganda media.

Special attention will be paid to the development of television, the all-round expansion of the coverage of radio and television programmes for the population and the improvement of the content, ideological and artistic standard and appeal of programmes.

In mass political and propaganda work it is essential resolutely to eradicate manifestations of empty verbosity, formalism and primitivism. All its forms and means



must help to mobilise the creative energy of the masses for the fulfilment of the tasks facing the country, ensuring the broad publicity of the work of party and state organs and public organisations, the directness and frankness of communication with people, the correct formation of public opinion and the growth of its impact on practical deeds. The CPSU will be constantly concerned for the consolidation of the material base of ideological work.

## 2. In the sphere of public education

The Party consistently pursues a line of educating and training conscious, highly educated people capable of both physical and mental labour and energetic activity in the national economy, in various spheres of public and state life and in the sphere of science and culture. The education system created in the USSR, which is truly of the people, has ensured that all citizens have access to knowledge and made it possible in a historically short space of time to eliminate mass illiteracy and go over to universal secondary education.

THE CPSU WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ACCELERATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE PROSPECTS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEMANDS MADE BY PROGRESS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. The reform of general and vocational educational schools which is being implemented in the country is based on the creative development of the Leninist principles of an integrated polytechnical labour education system and is aimed at raising still higher the standard of young people's education and upbringing, improving their preparation for an independent working life and effecting a gradual transition to universal vocational education. This education system is called upon to inculcate in students a sense of love for the homeland and respect for their elders, parents and teachers, to educate them in a spirit of high responsibility for the quality of study and labour and for their own behaviour and to develop student self-management (Russian: *uchenicheskoye samoupravleniye*). In the course of implementation of the measures planned, the further development and drawing together and, in the long term, the merging of vocational and general education will take place.

In accordance with the requirements of scientific, technical and social progress, the system of secondary specialised and higher education will be further developed. It should react sensitively and promptly to the needs of production, science and culture and supply the national economy's requirements for specialists who combine a high level of vocational training, ideological and political maturity and the habits of organisational and management activity. The Party attaches great significance to the development of the system of improving skills, which alongside correspondence and evening teaching will create favourable opportunities for all working people to continue their education and constantly widen and renew their knowledge and for the constant growth of their overall culture and professional standard.

The Party will display tireless concern for pedagogical cadres and for strengthening and developing the material base of the entire education system.

## 3. In the sphere of science

Science plays an ever-increasing role in the development of productive forces and the improvement of social relations, the creation of fundamentally new types of technology and techniques, the improvement of labour productivity, the exploitation of the resources of the Earth, the oceans and space, and the conservation and improvement of the environment.

THE PARTY'S POLICY IN THE SPHERE OF SCIENCE IS AIMED AT CREATING FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR DYNAMIC PROGRESS IN ALL SECTORS OF KNOWLEDGE AND AT CONCENTRATING CADRES AND MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN THE MOST PROMISING AVENUES INTENDED TO ACCELERATE THE ATTAINMENT OF THE PLANNED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GOALS AND SOCIETY'S SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO ENSURE THE COUNTRY'S RELIABLE DEFENCE CAPACITY.



The dialectical materialist methodology was and is a principled, tried and tested basis for natural science and social knowledge. It must continue to be developed creatively and applied skilfully in research work.

Soviet science is called upon to hold leading positions in the basic avenues of scientific and technical progress and to find effective, timely solutions for long-term and current production and socio-economic problems. It is important to ensure the preferential development of basic and fundamental research and to seek the speediest implementation of scientific ideas in the national economy and other spheres of human activity. Organisational and economic forms of integration of science and production and management of scientific and technical progress should be constantly improved, topical applied research and experimental and design studies should be extended and their effectiveness in terms of results should be increased. Collaboration among academic, higher educational establishments and sector science must be consistently strengthened.

The attention of social scientists should be concentrated on the study and all-round analysis of the experience of world development, the creation of the new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and production relations, the material and spiritual spheres in the conditions of socialism, the laws governing the development of communist formation and the ways and means of gradual progress toward its highest phase. The scientific analysis of the objective contradictions of socialist society and the elaboration of well substantiated recommendations for resolving them, and reliable economic and social forecasts - that is the urgent task of the social sciences at the present stage of development.

The processes taking place in the communist, workers', and national liberation movements and in capitalist society need to be studied in depth. The course of world development raises many questions of a global scale for mankind. Scientific thought should give the correct answers to these questions. The struggle against bourgeois and reformist ideology, revisionism and dogmatism was and is an important task for social science.

The Party supports the bold quest, the rivalry of ideas and avenues in science and fruitful debates and discussion. Both scholastic arguments and the practice of passively recording facts while shunning bold theoretical generalisations, opportunism (Russian: *konyunkturshchina*) and dissociation from reality are contraindicated for science. The complicated, interconnected nature of present-day problems requires a deepening of the integration of social, natural and technical sciences. There should be wider development of those forms of organisation of science which ensure the inter-disciplinary study of topical problems, the necessary mobility of scientific cadres and the flexibility of the structure of scientific institutions, research and development. It is necessary to increase their role in the formation and implementation of economic and social development plans. An essential condition for science's progress is the constant influx of fresh forces, including forces from the production sphere, the skilful use of scientists' creative potential and the provision of incentives for their labour, depending on their real contribution to the study of theoretical and applied problems.

#### 4. In the sphere of cultural building, literature and art

The creation of a multinational Soviet culture which is truly of the people and has won international recognition is a historic achievement for our system. The source of that culture's mighty influence lies in fidelity to the truth of life and to the ideals of socialism and communism, profound humanism and optimism and close links with the people.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FULLER, MORE PROFOUND ASSIMILATION BY THE WORKING PEOPLE'S MASSES OF THE RICHES OF SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL CULTURE AND ACTIVE ACCESS TO ARTISTIC CREATIVITY FOR THEM. Guided consistently by the Leninist principles of cultural construction, the Party will display concern for the aesthetic education of the working people and rising generations in the best examples of our country's and the world's artistic culture. The aesthetic principle will still further animate labour, elevate man and embellish his life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to satisfy the growing needs of various categories of the population, ensure the necessary conditions for amateur artistic creativity by the people, develop abilities, enrich the socialist way of life and mould sound requirements and high aesthetic tastes. In the Party's view, an essential condition of the successful resolution of these tasks is the constant improvement of the content and methods of cultural and enlightenment work and the strengthening of its material base and intensive cultural building in the countryside and in regions being newly opened up.

**THE PARTY WILL HELP IN EVERY WAY TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART.** They are called upon to serve the people's interests and the cause of communism as a source of joy and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, feelings and thoughts, and to actively help their ideological enrichment and moral education.

The main line in the development of literature and art is the strengthening of ties with the people's life, the truthful representation, to a high artistic standard, of socialist reality, the inspired, vivid revelation of what is new and advanced and the impassioned unmasking of all that hinders society's forward movement.

The art of socialist realism is founded on the principles of popular and Party spiritedness. It combines bold innovation in the truthful artistic reproduction of life with the use and development of all the progressive traditions of the culture of our country and the world. Personalities in literature and art have broad scope for really free creativity, for improving their skill and for further developing diverse realistic forms, styles and genres. As the people's cultural level rises, the influence of art on society's life and its moral and psychological climate intensifies. This increases the responsibility of the masters of culture for the ideological thrust of creative work and the artistic force of their works' influence.

The CPSU has a solicitous, respectful attitude toward talent and the artistic quest. At the same time it has always struggled and will continue to struggle, with the help of creative unions, public opinion and Marxist-Leninist artistic criticism, against manifestations of lack of ideological content, philosophical eclecticism, aesthetic aridity and hackwork.

Soviet culture promotes the mutual understanding and drawing together of peoples and participates actively in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war. Embodying the ideological wealth and diversity of the socialist society's spiritual life and its real humanism, it enriches world culture and reveals itself increasingly fully as a mighty factor for mankind's spiritual progress and a prototype for the future culture of communism.

### **PART THREE**

#### **THE CPSU'S TASKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AND IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS**

The CPSU's international policy stems from the humane nature of socialist society, which is free from exploitation and oppression and has no classes or social groups with an interest in unleashing wars. It is indissolubly linked with the party's vital, strategic tasks inside the country and expresses the Soviet people's one desire - to engage in creative labour and live in peace with all peoples.

**THE MAIN AIMS AND AVENUES OF THE CPSU'S INTERNATIONAL POLICY ARE:**

- to ensure favourable external conditions for the improvement of socialist society and for the advance toward communism in the USSR; to eliminate the threat of world war and achieve universal security and disarmament;

- to steadily extend and deepen the USSR's co-operation with the fraternal socialist countries and promote in every way the strengthening and progress of the world system of socialism;



- to develop equal, friendly relations with the countries which have liberated themselves;
- to maintain and develop the USSR's relations with capitalist states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and businesslike, mutually advantageous co-operation;
- international solidarity with communist and revolutionary democratic parties, the international workers' movement and the peoples' national liberation struggle.

The CPSU's approach to foreign policy problems combines the firm defence of the Soviet people's interests and resolute opposition to imperialism's aggressive policy with a readiness for dialogue and the constructive resolution of international issues by means of talks.

The peace-loving foreign policy course which has been elaborated by the Party and is consistently implemented by the Soviet state, combined with the strengthening of the country's defence capacity, has secured for the Soviet people and for most of the planet's population the longest period of peaceful life in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything in its power to preserve peaceful conditions for the Soviet people's creative labour, to improve international relations, end the arms race which has swept through the world and avert the threat of nuclear war which hangs over the peoples.

To defend and consolidate peace, to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of the present and future generations - there is no higher and more responsible mission. A WORLD WITHOUT WARS, WITHOUT WEAPONS - THAT IS THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM.

#### I. Co-operation with the socialist countries

The CPSU attaches priority significance to the further development and strengthening of friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

THE PARTY SEEKS LASTING, COMRADELY RELATIONS AND MULTI-FACETED CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND ALL THE STATES OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM. It proceeds on the basis that the socialist countries' cohesion accords with the interests of each one of them and with their common interests and serves the cause of peace and the triumph of socialist ideals.

It is a subject of special concern to the CPSU to strengthen the friendship in every way and develop and improve the ties between the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries.

The motive force in their all-round co-operation is the ruling communist and workers' parties. With a view to strengthening the cohesion of the communists in the fraternal countries and mutually enriching the practice of leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to promote the widening of inter-party ties embracing all levels of the parties - from central committees to primary party organisations - and to promote the exchange of opinions and experience on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue the line of strengthening inter-state relations between the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and enshrining them in treaty form, developing contacts between legislative organs and public organisations and further activating all forms of political co-operation.

Soviet communists advocate increasingly effective collaboration among the fraternal countries in the international arena, taking account of the situation and interests of each of them and the common interests of the community.

In the conditions so long as the NATO imperialist military bloc exists, the Party deems it necessary to promote in every way the improvement of the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as an instrument of collective defence against imperialism's aggressive aspirations and the joint struggle for lasting peace and the widening of international co-operation.

In the sphere of mutual economic relations the CPSU advocates the further deepening of socialist economic integration as the material basis for the cohesion of the socialist countries. It deems it particularly important to consistently pool the fraternal countries' efforts in the key avenues of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress and for the joint resolution of a task of historic significance - that of attaining leading positions in science and technology with a view to the further growth of their peoples' wellbeing and the strengthening of their security.

The Party proceeds on the basis that integration is called upon to promote to an increasing extent the progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the community countries, the acceleration of the process of equalization of their levels of economic development and the strengthening of socialism's positions in the world.

The CPSU will participate actively in the joint work of the fraternal parties to co-ordinate economic policy, improve the machinery of economic collaboration, seek new forms of such collaboration, deepen specialisation and production sharing, co-ordinate plans, exchange leading experience and establish direct ties between associations and enterprises. It will promote the enhancement of the role of the CMEA and the expansion of economic, scientific and technical co-operation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programmes.

While regarding equal and mutually advantageous economic co-operation between socialist and capitalist states as natural and useful, at the same time the Party proceeds on the basis that the development of socialist integration should strengthen the community's technical and economic invulnerability to hostile acts by imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism.

In the sphere of ideology the CPSU advocates the pooling of the fraternal parties' efforts aimed at the study and use of the experience of socialist construction and the communist education of working people and at developing Marxist-Leninist theory while deepening its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. The activation of collective thought and the constant expansion of the exchange of spiritual assets and co-operation in the sphere of science and culture serve to further deepen the friendship among the socialist countries.

The Party will continue to promote the strengthening of consciousness of the unity and commonality of the historic destinies of the fraternal peoples. Disseminating the truth about socialism, exposing imperialist policy and propaganda, rebuffing anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and struggling against dogmatic and revisionist views - all these tasks are resolved more successfully when communists act in a united front.

**THE CPSU CONSIDERS IT ITS INTERNATIONAL DUTY TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER FRATERNAL PARTIES TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY AND INCREASE THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.** The course of socialism's competition with capitalism and the future of world civilisation depend to an enormous extent on the socialist community's strength, the successes of each country's creative activity and the purposefulness and co-ordinated nature of their actions.

The experience of the development of the world socialist system attests that the socialist system creates every possibility both for society's confident progress and for harmonious mutual relations among countries. But neither one nor the other comes spontaneously.

The levels of countries' economic and political development, their historic and cultural traditions and the conditions in which they find themselves are not identical. The socialist countries' social development does not always go in a straight line. Each major stage of this development puts forward complicated new tasks whose resolution is linked with a struggle and quests and with overcoming contradictions and difficulties.

All this - the CPSU is convinced - requires the greatest attention and all-round co-operation in order to ensure that grounds for disagreements capable of damaging



common interests are not created. The co-ordination of actions on fundamental issues, comradely interest in each other's successes, the precise fulfilment of adopted pledges and the profound understanding of both national and common international interests in their organic inter-relationship are of particular importance.

The formation and development of the new society is taking place in a situation of acute confrontation between the two world systems. In order to weaken socialism's positions and disrupt mutual links among the socialist states - and first and foremost links with the Soviet Union - imperialism employs a whole system of differentiated political, economic and ideological measures, tries to speculate on problems that arise and resorts to the use of nationalist sentiments for subversive ends. The CPSU proceeds on the basis that under these conditions the socialist countries' firm unity and class solidarity is of particularly great importance.

The experience of the CPSU and all world socialism attests that the most important factors of its successful onward movement are the loyalty of ruling communist and workers' parties to Marxist-Leninist teaching, the creative application of that teaching, the parties' firm links with the broad masses of working people, the strengthening of their prestige and leading role in society, the strict observance of Leninist norms of Party and state life and the development of socialist people's power; a sober consideration of the real situation and the timely and scientifically substantiated resolution of problems that arise; and the building of relations with the other fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the particular features of each socialist country - its economic level, size and historical and national traditions - they all have the same class interests. What unites and rallies the socialist countries is the main thing and is immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that, given full observance of equal rights and mutual respect for national interests, the socialist countries will travel the road of increasingly great mutual understanding and drawing together. The Party will promote this historically progressive process.

## II. Strengthening relations with the liberated countries

In defining policy toward former colonial and semi-colonial countries, the CPSU proceeds on the basis that the entry of formerly enslaved peoples on the path of independence, the emergence of tens of new states and the raising of their relative weight in world politics and economics are one of the distinguishing features of the modern era.

The liberated peoples, as Lenin foresaw, are faced with playing a great role in the fate of all mankind. THE CPSU ADVOCATES THAT THESE PEOPLES' MOUNTING INFLUENCE INCREASINGLY PROMOTES THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

The CPSU consistently pursues the line of expanding friendly ties between the Soviet Union and the liberated countries and has profound sympathy for the aspirations of peoples that have experienced the heavy and demeaning yoke of colonial servitude. The Soviet Union builds its relations with these countries on the basis of strict respect for their independence and equal rights and supports their struggle against imperialism's neo-colonialist policy, against vestiges of colonialism and for peace and universal security.

The Party attaches great importance to solidarity and political and economic co-operation with SOCIALIST-ORIENTED COUNTRIES. Mainly through its own efforts every nation creates the material and technical base needed for building the new society and strives to increase the masses' wellbeing and culture. To the extent of its abilities the Soviet Union has given and will continue to give peoples travelling this route aid in their economic and cultural construction, in training national cadres, in increasing their defence capacity and in other spheres.

The CPSU is deepening relations with the liberated countries' REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. Particularly close co-operation has taken shape with those of them which are striving to build their activity on the basis of scientific socialism. The CPSU favours the development of links with all national progressive parties occupying anti-imperialist and patriotic positions.

The practice of the USSR's relations with the liberated countries has shown that real grounds also exist for co-operation with young states which are travelling the capitalist road. There is the interest in maintaining peace, strengthening international security and ending the arms race. There is the sharpening contradiction between the peoples' interests and the imperialist policy of dictates and expansion. There is the young states' realisation of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union promote the strengthening of their independence.

However, the liberated countries differ and whatever paths they travel, their peoples are united by the desire to develop independently and resolve their own affairs themselves and without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is wholly in solidarity with them. For the CPSU it is indisputable that it is their sacred right to determine the destiny of the liberated countries and choose their social system.

The CPSU supports the just struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of the multinational monopolies and advocates the assertion of the sovereign right to control one's own resources, the restructuring of international relations on an equal, democratic basis, the creation of a new international economic order and deliverance from the bondage of debt imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of states and peoples repelling the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and defending their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them in our time is also an important part of the overall struggle for peace and international security. The Party deems it its international duty to support the struggle of peoples who are still under the yoke of racialism and are victims of the apartheid system.

The CPSU understands the goals and activity of the non-aligned movement and advocates increasing its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to side with the non-aligned states in the struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for the surmounting by means of talks of any disputes and conflicts that arise and to oppose the involvement of these states in military-political groupings.

The CPSU favours equal participation by the liberated countries in international affairs and an increase in their contribution to the resolution of the most important problems of the day. Collaboration between these countries and the socialist states is of immense importance for consolidating the peoples' independence, improving international relations and maintaining peace.

**THE ALLIANCE OF THE FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IS THE GUARANTEE OF MANKIND'S BETTER FUTURE.**

### III. Relations with capitalist countries. The struggle for lasting peace and disarmament

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the historical dispute between the two opposed social systems into which the modern world is divided can and must be resolved peacefully. Socialism proves its advantages not by force of arms but by the force of its example in all areas of social life - by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by the enhancement of the living standard of the working people and by the deepening of socialist democracy.

Soviet communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Each people is worthy of living in a society free of social and national oppression and in a



society of genuine equality of rights and genuine democracy. To rid themselves of exploitation and injustice is the sovereign right of oppressed and exploited peoples. Revolutions are the logical result of social development and of the class struggle in each given country. The CPSU has always considered and does consider the "export" of revolution and its imposition upon anyone from outside to be fundamentally unacceptable. But any forms of the "export" of counter-revolution are also a very crude encroachment upon the free will of the peoples and upon their right to independently choose the path of their development. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes attempts to halt and reverse the course of history by force.

The interests of the peoples require that inter-state relations be directed into the channel of peaceful competition and equitable co-operation.

**THE CPSU UPHOLDS FIRMLY AND CONSISTENTLY THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.** The policy of peaceful coexistence, as the CPSU understands it, presupposes: The renunciation of war and of the use of force or threat of force as a means of resolving disputes and their solution by negotiation; non-interference in the internal affairs and consideration of the legitimate interests of each other; the right of peoples independently to determine their own destiny; strict respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of states and for the inviolability of their borders; co-operation on the basis of full equality of rights and mutual benefit; and the conscientious discharge of commitments arising from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and from international treaties that have been concluded.

Such are the fundamental principles upon which the Soviet Union builds its relations with the capitalist states. They are enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

The CPSU will purposefully promote the affirmation everywhere in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a generally acknowledged norm of interstate relations which is observed by all. It considers the spread of the ideological contradictions between the two systems to the sphere of these relations to be inadmissible.

The Party will strive for the development of the process of the relaxation of international tension, regarding it as a natural and necessary stage on the path toward the creation of a comprehensive and reliable system of security. The available experience of co-operation confirms the feasibility of such a prospect. The CPSU favours the creation and use of international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find an optimal correlation of national and state interests with the interests common to all mankind. It favours the enhancement of the role of the UN organisation in consolidating peace and in the development of international co-operation.

Special responsibility for the situation in the world rests with the nuclear powers. The states possessing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce their use and the threat of their use and refrain from steps leading to an exacerbation of the international situation.

**THE CPSU FAVOURS NORMAL, STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA,** which presuppose non-interference in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, the acknowledgement and practical implementation of the principle of identical security and the establishment of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences of social systems and ideology are not a reason for tense relations. Objective preconditions exist for the establishment of fruitful, mutually advantageous Soviet-American co-operation in various spheres. It is the CPSU's conviction that the policy of both powers must be oriented towards mutual understanding and not towards enmity, which entails the threat of catastrophic consequences not only for the Soviet and American peoples but also for other peoples as well.

The CPSU is convinced that all states, both large and small, regardless of their potential, their geographical location and irrespective of which social system they belong to, can and must participate in the quest for solutions to acute problems, in the settlement of conflict situations and in measures to relax tension and curb the arms race.

THE CPSU ATTACHES GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PEACEFUL GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS AND CO-OPERATION AMONG THE STATES OF EUROPE. Respect for the territorial and political realities which came about as a result of the second world war is an inalienable condition for the stability of positive processes in this and in other regions. The CPSU is resolutely opposed to attempts to revise these realities on any pretexts whatsoever and will rebuff any manifestations of revanchism.

The Party will consistently strive to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful co-operation in Europe, commenced at the Soviet Union's initiative and with its active participation, develops and deepens AND ENCOMPASSES THE WHOLE WORLD. The CPSU advocates the pooling of efforts of all interested states for the purposes of ensuring security in Asia and it advocates a joint search by them for a constructive solution to this problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins can and must become zones of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The CPSU favours the development of broad, long-term and stable links between states in the sphere of the economy, science and technology on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage. Foreign economic co-operation is of great political significance, promoting the strengthening of peace and of relations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The Soviet Union rejects any forms of discrimination and the use of trading, economic, scientific and technical relations as a means of exerting pressure and it will seek to ensure the economic security of states.

The CPSU is an advocate of the broad mutual exchange of genuine cultural values between all countries. This exchange must serve humane goals: The spiritual enrichment of peoples and the strengthening of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The Party and the Soviet state will co-operate with other countries in solving global problems, which have become especially exacerbated in the second half of the 20th century and are vitally important for all mankind: The preservation of the environment; the energy, raw materials, food and demographic problems; the peaceful development of space and of the wealth of the world's oceans; the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many liberated countries; and the elimination of dangerous diseases and so forth. Their solution requires the joint efforts of all states. It will be substantially facilitated if the squandering of effort and means on the arms race is terminated.

In the interests of mankind and for the good of the present and future generations, THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET STATE UPHOLD A BROAD, CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME OF MEASURES AIMED AT ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND SECURING DISARMAMENT AND AT ENSURING THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES.

Regarding GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT under strict, comprehensive international control as a historic task and continuing the struggle for its realisation, the CPSU will consistently seek:

the LIMITATION AND NARROWING OF THE SPHERE OF MILITARY PREPARATIONS, especially those connected with weapons of mass destruction. Above all, space must be totally excluded from this sphere to ensure that it does not become an arena of military rivalry and a source of death and destruction. The exploration and development of space must be carried out only for peaceful purposes for the development of science and production in accordance with the needs of all peoples. The USSR favours collective efforts in the solution of this problem and will participate energetically in international co-operation of this kind. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures which promote the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the creation of zones free of these and other means of mass destruction;

the implementation of steps leading to THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS and including the ending of tests and the production of all types of these weapons, the renunciation by all nuclear powers of the first use of nuclear weapons and the freezing, reduction and destruction of all arsenals of these weapons;



the CESSATION OF THE PRODUCTION AND THE DESTRUCTION OF OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, including chemical weapons, and the banning of the creation of new types of such weapons;

the REDUCTION IN THE ARMED FORCES OF STATES, and primarily of the permanent members of the Security Council and of states linked with them by military agreements, the limitation of conventional arms, the ending of the creation of new types of conventional arms which approximate to weapons of mass destruction in terms of casualty-inflicting potential, and the reduction of the military expenditure of states;

the FREEZING AND REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMS IN THE MOST EXPLOSIVE REGIONS OF THE PLANET, the elimination of military bases on foreign territory, the adoption of measures for mutual confidence building and for reducing the risk of the emergence of armed conflicts, including those arising accidentally.

The CPSU's position is to seek to overcome the world's division into military-political groupings. The CPSU favours the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty or, as a first step, the dismantling of their military organisations. For the purpose of reducing the confrontation between military blocs, the Soviet Union advocates the conclusion of a treaty between them on the mutual non-use of force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, which treaty will be open to all other states.

The CPSU will strive to ensure that matters of arms limitation and of averting the threat of war may be resolved by honest and strictly observed accords on the basis of the equality and equal security of the sides and that any attempts to conduct negotiations "from a position of strength" or to use them as a cover for building up arms may be ruled out.

The Soviet state and its allies are not striving to achieve military superiority but nor will they allow the military and strategic balance which has come about in the world arena to be upset. At the same time they consistently seek to ensure that the level of this balance is steadily lowered and that the quantity of arms on both sides is reduced while the security of all peoples is guaranteed.

**THE CPSU SOLEMNLY STATES THAT THERE IS NO WEAPON THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT BE PREPARED TO LIMIT OR BAN ON A MUTUAL BASIS WITH THE APPLICATION OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL.**

The USSR does not encroach on the security of any country, be it in the West or in the East. It threatens no one, does not seek antagonism with any state and desires to live in peace with all countries. Since the time of Great October, the Soviet socialist state has held high the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples. The CPSU will continue to preserve its loyalty to this Leninist banner.

#### IV. The CPSU in the world workers' and communist movement

The CPSU is a component of the international communist movement. It views its activity to improve socialist society and to advance toward communism as a very important international task whose solution accords with the interests of the world socialist system and the interests of the international working class and all mankind.

The communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also on the front-line of the struggle for the conservation of peace on Earth and for the people's right to life. They clearly understand the reasons for the threat of war, expose those really to blame for the aggravation of international tension and the arms race and seek to co-operate with all those who can contribute to the anti-war struggle.

The CPSU believes that the communist and workers' parties of the non-socialist world are acting in a complicated and contradictory situation. The range of the conditions and forms of their struggle is very broad, but that does not restrict but, on the contrary, expands the movement's potential. The multiplicity of the forms of their

activity enables communists better to consider specific national features and the specific historical situation and the interests of various social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the communists of each country independently analyse and assess the situation and determine autonomously their own strategic course, their own policy and the choice of particular paths of struggle for immediate and ultimate goals and for communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable international asset.

The CPSU attentively studies the foreign communist parties' problems and experience. It treats with understanding their desire to improve their strategy and tactics, to achieve the expansion of the class alliances on the platform of anti-monopoly, anti-war actions and to uphold the working people's economic interests and political rights, proceeding from the premise that the struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles of various countries are closely co-ordinating their actions against socialism and all democratic forces and are seeking to set some communist parties against others. Under these conditions the importance of proletarian internationalism and the comradely solidarity of communists increases.

The CPSU believes that the existence of differences on individual matters should not prevent the international co-operation of the communist parties and their united actions.

In those cases when differences on individual problems arise between the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions with a view to better understanding each other's views and elaborating mutually acceptable assessments. When it is a case of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the thrust and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue from principled positions to rebuff opportunism and reformism, dogmatism and sectarianism. This also defines the CPSU's attitude towards any attempts to emasculate the class meaning of communists' activity or to distort the revolutionary nature of the goals and means of the struggle to achieve them. Experience shows that deviations from the foundations of the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin weaken the communist movement's potential.

In its relations with the fraternal parties THE CPSU FIRMLY ADHERES TO THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, which organically includes revolutionary solidarity and a recognition of each party's full autonomy and equal rights. On the basis of this principle the CPSU actively develops ties with the communist and workers' parties, exchanging information and taking part in bilateral and multilateral meetings and the regional and broader international conferences held when necessary.

Soviet communists are always on the side of their class comrades in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists who are the victims of reaction's tyranny. It assesses highly the solidarity of the fraternal parties and their struggle against anti-Sovietism. The mutual support of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist and non-socialist countries is an important factor of social progress.

The CPSU will continue its line towards the development of relations with socialist, social-democratic and labour parties. Co-operation with them can play an important part above all in preventing nuclear war. However deep the differences between various currents of the workers' movement, this is no obstacle to the fruitful and systematic exchange of opinions or to parallel and even joint actions against the danger of war and for the normalisation of the international situation, the abolition of the vestiges of colonialism and for the working people's interests and rights.

The CPSU attaches great importance to activating the co-operation of all sectors of the international workers' movement and to the deepening of collaboration between trade unions of various orientations and the youth, women's, peasants' and other democratic organisations of various countries.



Profoundly aware of its historic responsibility to the world working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue to:

- defend the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist foundations of the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism and consistently struggle against dogmatism and revisionism and any influences exerted by bourgeois ideology on the workers movement;
- do everything for the cohesion and collaboration of the fraternal parties, the international solidarity of communists and an increase in the communist movement's contribution to the prevention of world war;
- steer a consistent course toward the unity of actions of the international working class and all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for lasting peace and the peoples' security and for national independence, democracy and socialism.

#### **PART FOUR** **THE PARTY - THE LEADING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY**

The CPSU has travelled a path unprecedented in its depth and in the force of its impact on social development. Its ascent has been rapid from the first Marxist circles through three people's revolutions to the leadership of a great socialist power.

The Soviet people's historic achievements in building a new society, the victory in the Great Fatherland War, the country's confident advance toward ever higher levels of socio-economic and spiritual progress and the growth of the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are indivisibly linked with the Communist Party's activity. It is the inspirer and organiser of the historical creativity of the masses and the leading and guiding force of our society. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party defines the general prospects for the country's development, ensures the scientific leadership of the people's constructive activity and imparts an organised, planned and purposeful nature to communist construction.

As a result of the building of socialism in the USSR, the transition of all strata of working people to the positions of the working class and the consolidation of Soviet society's socio-political and ideological unity, the Communist Party, while remaining the party of the working class in terms of its class essence and ideology, has become the party of the whole people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity and class-based nature of the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and entire activity.

Under the new historical conditions, when the country has been faced with crucial tasks in internal development and in the international arena, THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE NATURALLY GROWS in the life of Soviet society and higher demands are made on the standard of its political and organisational activity. This is conditioned by basic factors like:

the increased dimensions and the complexity of the tasks of improving socialism and accelerating the country's socio-economic development and the need to elaborate and consistently implement a policy which ensures their successful solution and the organic interconnection of society's economic, social and spiritual progress;

the development of the political system and the deepening of democracy and the people's socialist self-management on the basis of the masses' enhanced political and labour activeness and their broad involvement in the management of production and state and social affairs;

the need for the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the profound consideration of the practice of communist construction, the search for scientifically substantiated and timely answers to the questions set by life, the raising of the working people's awareness and the eradication of vestiges of a petty bourgeois mentality and morality and any deviations from the norms of the socialist way of life;

the interests of strengthening the socialist countries' cohesion, expanding their all-around co-operation and strengthening the unity of the international communist, workers' and

national liberation movement and the struggle against bourgeois ideology, revisionism, dogmatism, reformism and sectarianism;

the complication of foreign policy conditions in connection with the growth of imperialist aggressiveness, and the need to increase vigilance, ensure the country's security, and for new and increasingly persistent efforts aimed at curbing the forces of aggression, ending the arms race, saving mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and strengthening world peace.

In implementing the political leadership of society, the CPSU will continue to consistently apply tried and tested Leninist principles, assert the Leninist style in Party work and in all spheres of state and economic management, enhance the scientific grounds for its policy, extensively rely on the collective reason and experience of the masses and develop their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organisational and economic activity, to the uncompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism and to the creative quest for modern solutions to socio-economic, scientific, technical and ideological education problems.

The CPSU deems it necessary to thoroughly take the specific functions of Party, state and social organs into account, co-ordinate their work, prevent duplication, enhance the role of Party committees as organs of political leadership, eradicate manifestations of formalism, conventionalism and bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the management apparatus, step up monitoring of implementation of Party resolutions and national economic plans and strengthen state and labour discipline, order and organisation.

The Party will tirelessly assert a creative approach, professionalism and high responsibility and principledness in the activity of all Party organisations and labour collectives, foster the ability objectively and self-critically to assess the results that have been achieved, and adopt an attentive and sensitive attitude to people and their needs and requirements.

The Party indissolubly links the enhancement of the level of the leadership of state, economic and cultural building with further IMPROVING WORK WITH CADRES. It deems it necessary for the Leninist principles of the selection and assessment of cadres according to their political, business-like and moral qualities to be rigorously observed everywhere, from the top down, and for public opinion to be more fully taken into account.

In its entire cadre policy the CPSU will promote the nomination for leadership of politically mature, highly moral, competent and enterprising workers drawn from communists and non-party people and will more actively nominate women for leadership work. It attaches principled importance to leadership qualities such as a sense of what is new, a willingness to take responsibility, a desire to learn to work better, an ability to take into account the political purport of economic management and any activity linked with people and demandingness toward oneself and others.

The Party is concerned to ensure that in all sectors young and promising workers should work hand in hand with experienced cadres of the older generation, gain experience and acquire the necessary tempering. This is a natural process which must not be violated since it creates a reliable guarantee against sluggishness, stagnation and voluntarism.

Trust in cadres must be combined with demandingness toward them, increasing their personal responsibility to Party organisations and labour collectives for the results of work and the observance of Party and state discipline and stepping up controls over the activity of leaders on the part of the masses. Each leader must be fully accountable for his assigned task, build relations with people properly and inspire them through personal example. **NO PARTY ORGANISATION AND NO WORKER CAN REMAIN OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF CONTROL.**



The development of the Party is characterised by the further GROWTH AND STRENGTHENING OF PARTY RANKS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF INTRA-PARTY RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

Absorbing front-ranking representatives of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, the Party is increasing its influence in various sectors of communist construction. The CPSU considers it necessary that workers occupy the leading place in its social composition. People's political and professional qualities, honesty and probity and readiness to devote all their strength to the cause of communism have been and remain the determining condition for admission to Party ranks. It is necessary to strictly put a stop to attempts to get into the Party for careerist motives.

Belonging to the Party brings no privileges but means merely higher responsibility for everything that is happening in the country and for the fate of communist construction and social progress. Each communist is obliged to be a model in labour, in behaviour and in social and personal life. The stability of the Party's ties with the masses and its prestige among the people largely depend on how fully the VANGUARD ROLE OF COMMUNISTS is manifested. The Party will constantly step up demands on each of its members for the attitude to their duty and for the honest and pure make-up of a Party member and assess them by their deeds and actions.

The CPSU regards the further DISSEMINATION AND DEEPENING OF INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY, the strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party life, the development of criticism and self-criticism and extensive publicity as a guarantee of its successful activity and high creative activeness.

The Party will continue to build its entire work on the basis of the tried and tested PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVENESS. With a view to further asserting and developing it the CPSU deems it necessary to enhance the role and importance of Party meetings, plenums, conferences and congresses and of Party committees and bureaus as collegial organs of leadership and to ensure favourable conditions for the free and businesslike discussion within the Party of matters of its policy and practical activity.

In striving to ensure that the democratic principles of intra-Party life are consistently implemented, the CPSU simultaneously devotes unremitting attention to the STRENGTHENING OF PARTY DISCIPLINE. The firm and conscientious discipline of Party members is a necessary prerequisite for high socialist discipline in all spheres of society's life.

Successful Party activity and the growth of communists' activeness are indissolubly linked with further improving the work of primary Party organisations. As the political nucleus of labour collectives they are called upon to promote in every possible way the combination of Party policy with the vital creativity of the masses.

The Party will always strengthen the unity and monolithic nature of its ranks. It retains in the arsenal of its means the organisational guarantees stipulated by the Party Rules against any manifestations of factionalism and cliquishness whatsoever. The most important source of the Party's strength and invincibility lies in its indissoluble ideological and organisational cohesion.

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the people are the creators of history, and communist creation is the work of their hands, their energy and their minds. The people's living creativity is the guarantee of all our achievements.

The Party exists for the people and sees the purport of its activity in serving them. The goals and tasks which it sets itself reflect the Soviet people's aspirations and fundamental interests. The Party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, constantly expand and deepen its links with the masses and live for their needs and concerns. It considers it its duty to constantly consult working people on the most important matters of domestic and foreign policy, to attentively take account of public opinion and involve non-Party people more widely in participating in the work of Party organisations. The more actively the Party is supported by the people the greater the influence it exerts on the course of social development.

In all its activity the CPSU is steadily guided by the TRIED AND TESTED MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM. It will promote in every possible way the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, develop fraternal ties with all communist and workers' parties, actively co-operate with them in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and support their struggle for the defence of the working people's fundamental interests and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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#### THAT IS THE PARTY PROGRAMME.

The Party calls on communists and all working people - workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia - to tackle with all their vigour the implementation of the historic tasks put forward by it. The Party is confident that the Soviet people will perceive the Party Programme as their vital concern and will make every effort to implement it.

The Party's strategy is to achieve a qualitatively new state of society through the substantial acceleration of socio-economic progress. The all-round improvement of socialism will bring new benefits to each family and every Soviet man and will lead to the further prosperity of our socialist fatherland and ultimately to the triumph of communism.

Our people's onward movement toward this cherished goal will increase the magnetic force of the ideas of transforming society on the basis of humanitarianism and social justice. They are winning people's hearts and minds through the example of the more sophisticated organisation of society, the steady growth of productive forces, the nurturing of the conditions for the people's creative labour, happiness and prosperity, the resolute rejection of aggressive wars and the assertion of the principles of peace and broad co-operation among the peoples on the basis of equality and general security.

Communists and all our country's working people are looking to the future with confidence. We are confident of our strength and are firmly convinced that through the selfless labour of the Soviet people - a creator people and builder people - the tasks that have been set will be solved and the planned targets will be achieved. That is the inexorable will of the Communist Party and the whole Soviet people.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE BUILT SOCIALISM.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-LENINISM THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL BUILD A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

[Note: The press text of the draft was also broadcast in Moscow home service (e.g. 0001 and 0660 gmt 26 Oct 85, the reading taking four hours seven minutes, less three musical intervals totalling 17 minutes. Moscow radio's "World Service" in English broadcast a 19-minute summary (1600 gmt 25 Oct 85), and summaries were also broadcast in other foreign-language services. The Tass service in English transmitted its own "full text" (between 1617 gmt 25 and 0220 gmt 26 Oct 85).]

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**Correction** On page C/29, please amend the heading (V) to read "Ideological education work, education, science and culture".