

Wednesday March 19, 1986

Established in London in 1941

Mikhail Gorbachyov announces extension of nuclear explosion moratorium

REPLIES TO MESSAGE FROM LEADERS OF SIX STATES

MOSCOW, March 13, TASS:

HERE follows the full text of the reply made by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to a joint message from the leaders of Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Sweden and Greece, conveyed by him to Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, Julius Nyerere, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

It grieves me profoundly to say that Olof Palme, felled by the villainous hand of a lowly assassin, is no longer among you. His tragic death rankles in the hearts of all those who cherish peace, for the preservation of which he was campaigning impassionately and tirelessly.

Esteemed Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, I want to express to you our sentiments of profound respect for the consistency and purposefulness that are characteristic of your efforts to have the arms race folded up and to avert nuclear war. In our view, your promotion of joint initiatives meets in full measure the task of organising constructive and positive interaction of states and peoples on a worldwide scale, especially now that the very fate of the human race is hanging in the balance.

Ideas of universal security without nuclear weapons, voiced in your letter, are quite consonant with the concept of the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security put forward by us at the recent 27th CPSU Congress. One of the fundamental principles of such a system should be the complete and irreversible elimination of nuclear weapons, and we are unanimous with you in this respect.

I think that our viewpoints also coincide in that the ending of nuclear tests can and must become an important step on the path towards ridding mankind of the nuclear arms race with all its pernicious consequences.

Obviously, it is no chance that you are raising this question anew today, not long before the expiry of the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. The extra time we granted the American Administration to weigh our proposals is running out. We cannot extend it unilaterally in perpetuity. Having refrained from all nuclear explosions, both test and peaceful, for over seven months now, we have paid a certain price as it is, both militarily and economically.

At the same time, in response to your appeal to the USSR and the USA not to conduct any nuclear explosions till the next Soviet-American summit meeting, we state:

The Soviet Union shall not conduct nuclear explosions after March 31 either—until the USA carries out its first nuclear explosion.

As for the problem of verification, I would like to stress anew that we attach much importance to it because we have an interest in accords being strictly honoured and in all the participants being completely certain of the fact.

As regards a nuclear test ban, verification can be ensured by national technical means and also with the help of international procedures—including on-site inspections if need be. We offer the American side to reach agreement on possibilities for observers from both sides to visit sites where unclear phenomena occur on request and on a reciprocal basis, so as to remove possible doubts as to whether such phenomena are related to nuclear explosions.

We are willing to accept your proposal—naturally, if it is accepted by the other side, too—of assistance in verification of compliance with a nuclear test ban, including on-site inspections.

Naturally, a treaty banning nuclear weapon

tests on the basis of international law is needed fully to resolve the problem of testing. We suggest that work is started to draw up such a treaty without delay and that appropriate talks in any form—bilateral, tripartite or multilateral, moreover without linkage to any other questions—be resumed or started. And we offer those who fear that questions of verification may be pushed into the background at such talks simultaneously to start from the outset at them to tackle those questions, too, so as to have a comprehensive accord as soon as possible.

I can assure you that the Soviet Union for its part will continue to do everything necessary to put the solution of the urgent problem of ending nuclear tests onto practical tracks and to secure the complete elimination of the nuclear arms arsenals.

Truly yours,

Mikhail Gorbachyov

Mikhail Gorbachyov's meeting at CPSU Central Committee

MOSCOW, March 14, TASS:

"THE 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has answered questions posed by life itself and armed the Party and the people, at this crucial turning point in the development of Soviet society, with policy documents and a strategy for acceleration," said Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He was speaking at a meeting with officials in charge of the mass media and propaganda, which took place at the CPSU Central Committee.

"The line adopted by the Central Committee's plenum last April", Mikhail Gorbachyov went on, "has won full approval at the Congress. The main thing today is not only to preserve but also to enhance and enrich the atmosphere created by the Congress in every way with ideas and actions, and maintain frank and straightforward discussions in the press on ways of carrying out the decisions made by the 27th Congress of the CPSU"

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central

Committee stressed the need to concentrate organising and political work on the fulfilment of the plans for this year and the 12th five-year plan period (1986-90) as a whole.

He dwelt on the tasks facing the mass media in implementing the Party's social programme and comprehensively developing the democratic nature of Soviet society.

"Class enemies", the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, "go out of their way to sow mistrust in the realism of our plans. These intrigues are countered by our work, our mighty potential, and the enthusiasm and patriotism of the Soviet people."

"The country's foreign policy, the Party's course in international affairs, projected by the 27th Congress of the CPSU, are bound most closely with domestic policy. They are subordinated to a common goal—the interests of strengthening socialism, the interests of the working people, the interests of international peace. This truth should be carried to all people on Earth," Mikhail Gorbachyov said.

Eduard Shevardnadze receives ambassadors

MOSCOW March 15, TASS:

EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, today received Dimitr Zhulev, Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the USSR, and Trian Dudas, Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the USSR. On instructions from their governments they handed him the text of a declaration on the establishment of a chemical weapons-free zone in the Balkans.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the Soviet Union thought highly of this Bulgarian-Romanian initiative, which was consonant with

the comprehensive programme for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons put forward by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his statement of January 15 and approved by the 27th CPSU Congress. This initiative is in accord with the well-known proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member countries on ridding Europe of chemical weapons. If such a zone is established in the Balkans, the USSR is prepared to respect it and to guarantee its status—if, of course, the USA does the same.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Mikhail Gorbachyov's conversation with Le Duan

MOSCOW, March 14, TASS:

MIKHAIL GORBACHYOV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a conversation with Le Duan, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), today.

On behalf of the leadership of the CPV Central Committee and all Vietnamese Communists, Le Duan cordially congratulated Mikhail Gorbachyov on his election as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and wished him every success in that high post.

Le Duan highly appraised the work of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and said that the documents adopted by it were of paramount importance as an inspiration not only for the Soviet Union, but for all revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. He wished Soviet Communists, all working people the accomplishment of the tasks formulated by the Party Congress. Socialist Vietnam whole-

heartedly supports the Soviet programme of efforts for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security and for countering aggressive schemes of imperialism and reactionary forces.

Le Duan informed Mikhail Gorbachyov of the preparation for the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which will set out new landmarks for Vietnam's social and economic development.

Mikhail Gorbachyov expressed gratitude to Le Duan for his high assessment of the resolutions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. He emphasised the invariable solidarity of the CPSU, of the Soviet people with the Vietnamese Communists and the people of Vietnam, who, closely rallying their ranks, are waging the struggle in defence of the revolutionary gains and for the consolidation of the positions of socialism in Vietnam. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee conveyed fraternal greetings to the communists and to the working people of Vietnam and wished them fresh successes for the

Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Key matters of Soviet-Vietnamese relations, which are developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and the provisions of the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, were touched upon during the conversation.

The participants in the conversation condemned resolutely the actions of the imperialist and reactionary circles in South-East Asia, and confirmed their readiness to promote a search for ways to settle the existing disputable problems. The Soviet Union vigorously supports the constructive steps of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed at turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability, at ensuring security in the entire Asian-Pacific region.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality and community of views on questions discussed. □

Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

MOSCOW, March 13, TASS:

THE Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its meeting today endorsed priority measures to be taken to ensure the fulfilment of the decisions made at the 27th Party Congress and promote the study of its documents and explanatory work concerning them.

A resolution passed on this score sets the task of affirming in the Party organisations and in every work collective the atmosphere, created by the Congress, of Party principledness, criticism and self-criticism, and high demands on the cadres to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them and promptly identify and overcome shortcomings

and oversights.

The results of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the tasks stemming from its decisions are to be discussed at the plenary meetings of the Party committees, meetings of Party activists and in the primary Party organisations. It is also provided for these tasks to be discussed at sessions of the soviets of people's deputies, in the trade union and Young Communist League organisations, and at meetings of the collegiums of the ministries and departments.

All Party, local government and economic bodies should concentrate their attention on the practical fulfilment of the decisions taken at the Party Congress in the specific conditions of each economic sector, each city and village and each work collective, on meeting the targets planned for this year and for the 12th five-year period as a whole, and on improving organising and political work and the style and methods of guidance over economic and social development and the communist upbringing of the working people.

The Political Bureau highly assessed the speeches at the Congress by representatives of foreign parties and countries, their stated solidarity with the political course of the CPSU and the Soviet State. Corresponding departments were instructed to continue pursuing in a consistent way the line towards all-round consolidation and development of co-operation with fraternal socialist countries, towards backing all forces committed to social progress, peace and security of peoples.

Having examined the remarks and proposals made by delegates to the Party Congress, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee observed that their statements revealed high political maturity, understanding of the need for radical changes in all spheres of life of the society. The speeches by the delegates were exacting and constructive in their character. They corresponded to the innovatory spirit of the documents discussed at the Congress, and showed truly Party-style concern for the improvement of the state of affairs in the country and the eradication of everything that stands in the way of advancement. As a matter of fact, not a single sphere of life of Soviet society was left out of critical analysis.

Stressing the great political and practical importance of the remarks and proposals made by the delegates, the Political Bureau indicated that their implementation was a major condition for overcoming bottlenecks and difficulties in the national economy, intensifying control from below over the activities of bodies of administration, and elaborating effective decisions on questions of Party, state and economic construction.

Measures were examined for the further perfection of management in branches of the country's fuel and energy complex.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee approved at its meeting the measures for substantially accelerating in the current five-year period the production of new machines, equipment and instruments, fitted out with electronic devices and micro-processors, and adopted several other decisions directed at implementing the tasks advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress in the field of developing the national economy, in domestic and foreign policy. □

SOVIET PROTEST

MOSCOW, March 18, TASS:

A protest note was presented to the US Embassy in Moscow over US warships' violation of the state border of the USSR off the southern coast of the Crimea in the Black Sea on March 13.

The embassy's attention was called to the fact that the action was of a demonstrative, defiant nature and pursued clearly provocative aims. The note said it was not the first time that US naval ships had deliberately failed to comply with the laws and rules of the USSR concerning the regime of Soviet territorial waters, the inadmissibility of which has been repeatedly pointed out to the US side.

Such violations, the note emphasised, can have serious consequences the responsibility for which will be wholly on the United States.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry demanded that the US side take proper measures to rule out similar provocative actions in future. □

STATEMENT
by Mikhail Gorbachyov,
General Secretary of CPSU
Central Committee
January 15, 1986.

Available from Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary
Gardens,
LONDON, SW7 4NW. Price 20p.
(Cheque, PO).

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Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

MOSCOW, March 6, TASS: Here follows the full text of the new edition of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

**Workers of All Countries,
Unite!**

**Programme
of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union**

New Edition

**Adopted by the 27th Congress
of the CPSU**

Introduction

BORN of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Land of the Soviets has traversed a long and glorious road. Victories of world-historic importance have been scored under the leadership of the Communist Party. Consistently expressing the interests of the working class, of all working people, and armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching, with a wealth of experience in revolutionary struggle and socialist construction, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along a course of communist creative endeavour and peace.

The Party has emerged in the political arena as a worthy successor to the ideas for socialist transformation of society proclaimed in the first programme document of communists—'The Communist Manifesto', to the unfading exploit of the heroes of the Paris Commune, to the revolutionary traditions of the international workers' movement and the Russian revolutionary-democratic movement.

Basing themselves on the historic experience of class struggle and the accomplishments of foremost human thought, the founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, discovered the objective laws of social development, theoretically proved the inevitability of capitalism's collapse and substantiated the world-historic mission of the proletariat as the creator of the new, communist system. Their passionate call, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!", remains to this day the militant slogan of the workers' movement.

In new historical conditions Vladimir Ilyich Lenin brilliantly followed up the cause of Marx and Engels, comprehensively developing their teaching, providing answers to the key questions of the times and arming the workers' movement with the theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction, with a scientific system of views on matters of war and peace.

Marxism-Leninism is an integral revolutionary teaching. Created by the great Lenin, the Party has become the living symbol of union of scientific socialism with the workers' movement, of unbreakable harmony of theory and practice. It is ever a Party of Marxism-Leninism, a Party of revolutionary action.

At each stage in history the CPSU has solved the tasks scientifically substantiated in its programmes.

On adopting its First Programme at the 2nd Congress in 1903, the Bolshevik Party led the working class, the peasantry, all the working people of Russia on to struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and then the capitalist system,

and passed through the flames of three Russian revolutions. In October 1917 the working class took political power into its hands. A state of workers and peasants came into being for the first time in history. The creation of a new world was started.

In the Second Programme at the 8th Congress in 1919, the Party set the task of building socialism. Following untrodden paths, overcoming tremendous difficulties and displaying unprecedented heroism the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party carried out the plan for socialist construction drawn up by Lenin. Socialism became reality in our country.

Passing the Third Programme at the 22nd Congress in 1961, the Party undertook enormous work in all fields of communist construction. Soviet society achieved great successes in developing productive forces, economic and social relations, socialist democracy, and culture, and in moulding the new man. The country entered the stage of developed socialism. The role of the Soviet Union as a mighty factor in the struggle against the imperialist policy of oppression, aggression and war, for peace, democracy and social progress grew.

The time that has elapsed since the Third Programme was passed confirms the correctness of its main theoretical and political propositions. At the same time, the experience accumulated and scientific analysis of the changes in the country's domestic life and in the world arena offer an opportunity to define more correctly and concretely the perspectives for Soviet society's development, the ways and means of attaining the ultimate aim—Communism, and the tasks of international politics in the new historic conditions.

The Third Programme of the CPSU in its present edition is a programme for planned and all-round upgrading of socialism, for Soviet society's advance on to communism through accelerated national socio-economic development. It is a programme for peace and social progress.

Part One

Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and Communism as the Main Content of the Present Epoch

I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Building of Socialism in the USSR

Mankind's world-historic turn towards socialism, started by the October Revolution, is a logical result of social development.

Capitalism is the last exploiter system in the history of mankind. Having given a mighty impetus to the development of productive forces it then turned into an obstacle in the way of social progress.

The entire history of capitalism is a story of deepening of its main contradiction—conflict between the social nature of production and the

private capitalist form of acquisition, a story of growing exploitation of the working class and all working people, of aggravation of struggle between labour and capital, the oppressed and the oppressors, a story of economic crises, socio-political upheavals, wars of conquest and conflagrations bringing countless calamities to working people.

Early in the 20th century the process of concentration and centralisation of capital brought about mighty monopoly alliances of capitalists that seized the main levers throughout economic and political life. Capitalism entered its highest and last stage—the stage of imperialism. To use an expression of Lenin, "capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations", the main source of aggressive wars.

The material conditions for replacing capitalist production relations with socialist have taken form at the stage of imperialism and the objective and subjective preconditions for a victorious socialist revolution ripen. History has placed on the working class the mission of a revolutionary transformer of the old society and the creator of the new. In fulfilling this mission it expresses not only its own class interests, but those of all working people.

Aggravated by tsarist oppression and the leftovers of serfdom, imperialism's contradictions manifested themselves in Russia with exceptional force. Russia turned out to be the weakest link in international imperialism, the key point of its contradictions. It was to Russia that the centre of the world revolutionary movement had shifted. The Russian proletariat was confronted with the most difficult and responsible task of being the first to break the chain of the bourgeoisie's world domination. This could be done only under the guidance of a Party of a new type—a militant revolutionary organisation of the proletariat.

The forming of the Bolshevik Party was the turning point in the history of the Russian and international working class movement. It was an expression of an objective requirement of social development, of the proletariat's class struggle, a fruit of scientific foresight, a result of the tireless, political and organisational activity of Lenin and the Marxists who rallied round him. Lenin's call "give us an organisation of revolutionaries and we will overturn Russia!" found an ardent response in the hearts and minds of workers, the advanced people in Russian society, the best representatives of the working people. Lenin elaborated the ideological, political and organisational principles of the Party, the methods for its work among the masses. The Party of the new type was being created and gained in strength in the course of implacable clashes with revisionism and right-wing opportunism, dogmatism and leftist adventurism.

The revolution of 1905-1907, the first people's revolution of the epoch of imperialism, showed the strength of the working class and was a prologue to the proletariat's coming victories. The bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 swept away tsarism. But it did not deliver the popular masses from social and national oppression, from the hardships of imperialist war and neither did it solve the contradictions that were tearing Russian society apart. Socialist revolution became an imperative demand of the times.

The working class of Russia stood out for high revolutionary spirit and organisation. It was

headed by a Bolshevik Party tested in political battles and full of advanced revolutionary theory. Lenin armed it with a clear perspective of struggle by creating the teaching that victorious proletarian revolution in conditions of imperialism was feasible initially in one or several countries separately taken.

At the call of the Bolshevik Party and under its leadership the working class engaged the power of capital in a decisive battle. The Party fused into a single mighty stream the proletarian drive for socialism, the peasant struggle for land, the national-liberation fight of Russia's oppressed peoples, and the nation-wide movement for peace as against imperialist war, and directed that stream to overthrowing the bourgeois system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution became a turning point in world history, determining the general direction and main trends for world development. It started the irresistible process of capitalism's replacement by the new, communist socio-economic formation.

A state where there was dictatorship of the proletariat emerged for the first time in history. Uniting round itself all working people, the working class set about resolving the most complex tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, about creating the new society's foundations.

The winning of political power, victories on the fronts of the civil war, rout of the foreign military intervention, and prospects of building a new way of life generated a mighty upsurge of the strength and revolutionary energy of the working people. They overcame the privations and difficulties caused by economic dislocation, the counter-revolutionary plots and sabotage by the bourgeoisie, and the country's technical, economic and cultural backwardness. In the period of transition class struggle at times acquired the nature of sharp clashes. The Land of Soviets was subjected to fierce attacks under hostile capitalist encirclement, to numerous military and political provocations.

Relying on the enthusiasm of the masses, fighting off attacks by right-wing and 'leftist' opportunists, and strengthening its ideological, political and organisational unity, the Party undeviatingly pursued the Leninist general line for building socialism.

The main means of production passed into the hands of the people. The nationalisation of land, factories, plants and banks ensured the necessary preconditions for asserting and developing societal socialist ownership and organising the plan system of economy. Industrialisation turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power. Collectivisation of agriculture was a profound turn in economic relations, in the entire life style of the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry was placed on a strong socio-economic foundation. The cultural revolution saw illiteracy stamped out and broad vistas opened for development of the creative forces and the spiritual flourishing of the working person, the socialist intelligentsia was formed and Marxist-Leninist ideology became prevalent in the minds of Soviet people.

The solution of the nationalities question is an outstanding accomplishment of socialism. The victory of the October Revolution put an end for ever to national oppression and inequality of nations and peoples. A tremendous role was played by the voluntary unification of the free and equal peoples into a single multi-nation state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the course of socialist construction the rapid economic, social and cultural progress of the former national outlands was ensured. Ethnic strife became a thing of the past, and fraternal friendship, close co-operation and mutual assistance of all peoples of the USSR became a norm of life.

This signified that a social transformation of world-historic importance had been accom-

plished—the age-old dominance of private ownership was eliminated for ever and exploitation of man by man liquidated. Socio-political and ideological unity in Soviet society took shape on the basis of the common interests of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, people's intelligentsia, of the working people of all nationalities. The working man became the full master of the country. A fundamentally socialist society was built in the USSR.

The Great Patriotic War was a stern trial for the new system. Rallied round the Party and displaying unheard of heroism the Soviet people and its armed forces inflicted a crushing defeat on German fascism—the crack force of world imperialist reaction. By its victory the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to the liberation of Europe's peoples from nazi slavery, to saving world civilisation. The rout of fascist Germany and militarist Japan opened up new possibilities for struggle by the peoples for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Soviet people's victory raised high the Soviet state's international prestige.

Within a short period of time the USSR healed the severe wounds of war, considerably strengthened its economic, scientific-technical and defence potential and consolidated its international positions. Socialism in our country won fully and finally.

From what it had achieved, Soviet society continued to advance confidently in all spheres of economic, socio-political and cultural development. A single, national economic complex has formed. Major new areas in the north and east of the country have been developed, and nature utilisation has improved. National income and productivity of social labour have grown considerably. The level of the people's welfare has been raised substantially and a huge programme of housing construction has been carried out. The people's cultural wealth has multiplied, the transition has been made to universal secondary education and Soviet science and technology have achieved outstanding successes. The first atomic power station and the first atomic-powered ice-breaker were built in the Soviet Union which also produced the first artificial satellite of the Earth and the first manned space ship.

The socialist societal relations have gained in strength. A new social and international community—the Soviet people—has formed. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a socialist state of the whole people.

Displaying Bolshevik fidelity to principle and a self-critical approach, and relying on the support of the masses the Party has done much work to remove the consequences of the personality cult, the deviations from the Leninist norms of Party and state guidance, and to rectify errors of a subjectivist, voluntaristic nature. Soviet democracy has been further developed and socialist legality consolidated.

The dedicated work of the Soviet people, the big successes in the economy, the social and political spheres, in science and culture brought our country to new historic frontiers that opened the stage of developed socialism.

The establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO was a historic accomplishment of socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the countries of socialism and all progressive forces, and dashed the hopes imperialism's aggressive circles held of winning a world nuclear war. Preservation of this balance is a serious factor in safeguarding peace and international security.

The experience of the USSR and other socialist countries convincingly demonstrates the indisputable socio-economic, political, ideological and moral advantages of the new society as a stage in mankind's progress superior to

capitalism, and furnishes answers to questions that the bourgeois system is incapable of solving.

Socialism is a society inscribed on whose banner are the words 'everything in the name of man, everything for the benefit of man'. It is a society in which:

—the means of production are in the hands of the people, an end has been put for ever to exploitation of man by man, social oppression, the power of a privileged minority, and to the poverty and illiteracy of millions of people;

—the broadest vistas have been opened for the dynamic development of productive forces according to plan, where scientific and technological progress brings not mass unemployment but steady growth in prosperity for the entire people;

—an equal right to work and its remuneration according to the principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work' is ensured, the population enjoying such social boons as free medical services and education, and housing for a minimum payment;

—the inviolable alliance of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and intelligentsia has been asserted, men and women have equal rights and guarantees of their implementation, the young generation is offered a reliable road into the morrow and social security for veterans of labour is guaranteed;

—national inequality is abolished, the juridical and factual equality, friendship and brotherhood of all peoples and nationalities is asserted;

—genuine democracy—power exercised for the people and by the people—has been established and is developing, and extensive and equal participation of citizens in the management of production, social and state affairs is ensured;

—the ideas of freedom, human rights, dignity of the individual are filled with real content, and unity of rights and duties is ensured, whereby uniform laws and norms of morality, and a single discipline exist for each and all, and ever more favourable conditions for the all-round development of the individual are created;

—the truly humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology is dominant, the popular masses are given access to all sources of knowledge, an advanced socialist culture has been created which absorbs all the best there is in world culture;

—a socialist way of life has formed on a basis of social justice, collectivism and comradely mutual assistance and gives the working man confidence in the morrow, spiritually and morally elevates him as he creates new societal relations and his own destiny.

Socialism is a society whose deeds and thoughts in the international arena are directed at supporting the striving of peoples for independence and social progress, are subordinated to the main task of preserving and consolidating peace.

At the new stage of historical development our Party, the Soviet people were faced in full volume with the task of refining socialist society in every way, of making fuller and more effective use of its possibilities and advantages with the aim of further advance to communism.

II. Struggle Between the Forces of Progress and Reaction in the Modern World

After the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism the world-historic process of social liberation, started at the Great October Revolution, saw the overthrow of the power of exploiters in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, then America. Having initially become reality in our country, socialism has turned into a world system. The Marxist-Leninist theory of building the new society has been checked in practice on an international scale, socialism has

asserted itself on huge expanses of the Earth and hundreds of millions of people are on the road to creating communist civilisation. More and more peoples are withdrawing their confidence in capitalism, are not wishing to associate their prospects of development with it and are persistently searching for and finding roads to the socialist transformation of their countries.

Socialism's successes are the more impressive that they have been achieved within the shortest of time spans, in conditions of imperialism's unceasing pressure—from economic pressure and ideological subversion to direct attempts to organise counter-revolutionary coups and military aggression.

The experience accumulated in socialist countries is of unfading importance. The past decades have enriched the practice of socialist construction, and patently demonstrated the diversity of the world of socialism. At the same time the experience of these decades bears evidence to the immense importance of the common laws of socialism, such as: the power of working people with the working class playing the leading role; guidance of society's development by the Communist Party armed with the ideology of scientific socialism; enactment of social ownership of the main means of production and on this basis the plan growth of the economy in the interests of the people; implementation of the principle 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work'; development of socialist democracy; equality and friendship of all nations and peoples; defence of revolutionary gains from encroachments by class enemies.

The utilisation of common laws in the specific conditions of each of the socialist countries is the basis for their confident advance, overcoming the difficulties of growth and resolving in good time contradictions arising, a real contribution by the ruling communist parties to the common process of socialist development.

Socialism has brought into existence a new, previously unknown type of international relations that are developing among socialist states. Their firm foundation is formed by the uniformity of socio-economic and political system; the Marxist-Leninist ideology; class solidarity; friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance when solving tasks related to building and defending the new society; struggle for peace, international security and social progress; and equality, respect of the independence and sovereignty of each state.

The relations of socialist internationalism have become embodied most fully in the socialist community. The countries of the community—member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—are bound by community of cardinal interests and aims, by ties of extensive multifaceted co-operation, and coordinate actions in international affairs. History has not known such a community of countries in which nobody has nor can have special rights and privileges, in which international relations have really become relations between nations, in which fruitful ties at diverse levels have taken shape and are developing—from the highest Party and state leadership to work collectives. The community is multiplying the forces of the fraternal states in socialist construction and helping them ensure reliable security for themselves.

The objective requirement of socialist countries drawing ever closer together stems from the very essence of socialism. Whereas in the capitalist world there operates the law of uneven economic, socio-political and cultural development and strong countries enrich themselves by plundering weak ones and perpetuate in every way the backwardness of the latter, socialism creates the necessary conditions for raising the less developed countries to the level of advanced. The higher and closer the levels of the social development of socialist countries, the

richer and deeper their co-operation, the more organic the process of their drawing together.

The formation of the world system of socialism, the formation and strengthening of the socialist community have brought about a fundamental change in the alignment of forces in the international arena in favour of the peoples struggling for social progress, democracy, national freedom and peace. The socialist community is the most authoritative force of our time and without it no issue in world politics can be solved; it is a firm bulwark of peace on Earth, the most consistent champion of healthy, peaceful, democratic principles in international relations, the main obstacle to imperialist reaction.

The young world of socialism, geared as it is to the future, is opposed by the exploiter world of capitalism which is yet strong and dangerous but has already passed its peak. The general crisis in capitalism is deepening. The sphere of its domination is shrinking ineluctably, its historic doom becoming ever more obvious.

Modern capitalism differs in many ways from what it was at the beginning and even in the middle of the 20th century. In conditions of state-monopoly capitalism where the strength of the monopolies and the state is combined, the conflict between the gigantically increased productive forces and capitalist production relations is becoming ever more acute. The inner instability of the economy is growing, this expressing itself in the slowing down of the overall rates of growth, in the intertwining and deepening of cyclic and structural crises. Mass unemployment, inflation have become a chronic disease, and budget deficits and state debts have reached staggering dimensions.

The strengthening of transnational corporations, that make huge profits by exploiting working people on a world scale, is a direct result of the capitalist concentration and internationalisation of production. They not only undermine the sovereignty of the newly independent states but also encroach on the national interests of developed capitalist countries.

The monopoly bourgeoisie is constantly manoeuvring to adjust itself to the changing situation. A capitalist state redistributes through the budget a considerable part of the national income in favour of big capital, strives to place at its service the latest achievements of science and technology. The mechanism of exploitation has become more complex, more sophisticated. More and more profit is being squeezed out of the qualification, intellectual powers and nervous energy of personnel.

In conditions of world socialism's growing influence the class struggle of working people at times compels the capitalists to make partial concessions, to grant certain improvements in conditions of labour and its remuneration, and social security. This is being done to preserve the main thing—the domination of capital. But such manoeuvring is increasingly being combined with violent actions, with a direct offensive by the monopolies and the bourgeois state on the living standards of working people.

Under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution brings grave social consequences. The millions of working people thrown out of the factory gates are doomed to professional dequalification and material privations, and lose all confidence in the morrow. A considerable proportion of young people cannot find application for their energy and knowledge, and suffer from the hopelessness of their condition. Mass unemployment remains regardless of the economic situation, while the real prospect of it continuing to grow is fraught with the most serious upheavals for capitalism as a social system.

The monopolies have seized the dominant positions in the agrarian sector of the economy. A mass of farmers are being shouldered out of production while those who manage to survive do

so at a cost of excessive work and privations. The fate of farming families depends entirely on market fluctuations and the arbitrariness of monopolies. The lot of the peasantry is especially grave in the former colonies and semi-colonies. The small and medium urban businessmen are being increasingly exploited by big capital and caught in the net of financial dependence.

Even in the most developed capitalist countries there are a large number of people underprivileged, homeless, illiterate and without medical provision. Disgraceful discrimination against ethnic minorities persists and the rights of women are being impinged.

The tendency for all-round intensification of reaction is characteristic of imperialism in the political field. Where the working people have achieved certain democratic rights as a result of stubborn struggle, state-monopoly capitalism is conducting a persistent, at times cunningly camouflaged offensive against those rights. In situations dangerous to it it resorts without hesitation to political blackmail, repression, terror and punitive actions. Neo-fascism is vigorously emerging in the political arena. Where the usual forms of suppressing working people fail, imperialism implants and supports tyrannical regimes to directly suppress progressive forces by military means. Striving to weaken the international solidarity of working people, imperialism whips up and provokes national egoism, chauvinism and racism, and disdain for the rights and interests of other peoples and their national cultural and historical heritage.

Modern capitalism's inhuman ideology is inflicting ever greater damage on the spiritual world of people. The cult of individualism, violence and the mentality that everything goes, rabid anti-communism and exploitation of culture as a source of profit lead to spawning of spiritual callousness, to moral degradation. Imperialism has brought about a wave of crime and terrorism that has engulfed capitalist society. Ever more baleful is the role of the bourgeois mass media which befuddles peoples in the interests of the ruling class.

The uneven nature of development of countries inside the capitalist system is deepening. Three main centres of inter-imperialist rivalry have formed: the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Competition is mounting among them for markets, spheres of application of capital, sources of raw materials and superiority in the decisive areas of scientific and technological progress. New economic and political centres of rivalry are forming, particularly in the Pacific basin and Latin America. Contradictions between bourgeois states are worsening. The imperial ambitions and selfish policy of the United States monopolies, and their readiness, for egoistic considerations, to sacrifice the interests and security of other, even allied, states give rise to growing indignation and alarm throughout the world.

Imperialism bears responsibility for the huge and growing gap in levels of economic development between the industrial capitalist countries and the majority of the newly-free states, for the continued existence on Earth of vast zones of hunger, poverty and epidemic diseases.

The more the course of historical development undermines the positions of imperialism, the more hostile to the interests of peoples the policy of its more reactionary forces becomes. Imperialism is putting up a fierce resistance to social progress, attempting to stop the course of history, to undermine the positions of socialism and to avenge itself socially on a global scale. The imperialist powers would coordinate their economic, political and ideological strategy, desiring a common front of struggle against socialism, against all revolutionary, liberation movements.

Imperialism refuses to put up with the political realities of the present-day world. Ignoring the will of sovereign peoples, it strives to deprive

them of their right to choose their road of development themselves, threatens their security. Herein lies the main origin of conflicts in various parts of the world.

The imperialism of the United States is the citadel of international reaction. It is first and foremost from it that the threat of war emanates. Claiming world domination, it arbitrarily declares whole continents zones of its 'vital interests'. The policy of *diktat* pursued by the United States, of hegemonism, of forcing unequal relations on other states, of supporting repressive anti-popular regimes and of discriminating against countries that do not suit the United States disorganises interstate economic and political relations, obstructs their normal development.

The bloody war against Vietnam, the blockade of Cuba of many years, the flouting of the lawful rights of the Palestine people, the intervention in Lebanon, the armed seizure of defenceless Grenada, the aggressive actions against Nicaragua—such are only some of the countless crimes that will remain forever most shameful pages in imperialism's history.

The race unleashed by imperialism in the manufacture of nuclear and other arms on a scale that knows no precedent is its greatest crime against the peoples. It brings the monopolies exorbitant profits. The gigantic military expenditures weigh down heavily on the shoulders of working people. The monopolies that manufacture arms, the generals, the state bureaucracy, the ideological machine and militarised science have merged into the military-industrial complex to become the most zealous conduits and organisers of policies of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance of the manufacturers of death and the imperialist state power is a pillar of support of the extreme reaction, a constant and growing source of war danger, a convincing confirmation of the capitalist system's political, social and moral untenability.

No 'modifications' and manoeuvres by modern capitalism abolish or can abolish the laws of its development, can overcome the acute antagonism between labour and capital, between the monopolies and society, and take the historically doomed capitalist system out of its state of all-permeating crisis. The dialectics of development are such that the very same means which capitalism puts to use with the aim of strengthening its positions inevitably lead to an aggravation of all its deep-seated contradictions. Imperialism equals capitalism parasitic, decaying and dying, the eve of socialist revolution.

The working class remains the main revolutionary class of the present age. In the capitalist world, it is the main force struggling for the overthrow of the exploiting system and for building a new society.

Practice confirms the Marxist-Leninist concept of the growing role of the working class in society. As science is applied in production on an ever larger scale, the ranks of the working class are being replenished with workers of high skills. In the course of class battles, labour is growing more cohesive, creating its own political parties, trade unions and other organisations, and waging economic, political and ideological struggle against capitalism. The scale of that struggle is widening, its forms becoming more diverse and content being enriched. The basic interests of the proletariat are making it more and more imperative to achieve unity in the working class movement and concerted actions among all its detachments.

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

The vanguard of the working class movement, of all the forces of the world revolutionary process is the international communist move-

ment. The communists are working for both the immediate and the long-term goals of the working class, for the interests of all the working people, for social progress, national liberation of peoples, disarmament and peace. The communist movement is the most influential ideological and political force of our age.

The revolutionary parties of the working class guide themselves by the scientific theory of social development, Marxism-Leninism, and are pursuing a principled class-motivated policy. Their characteristic features are conviction in the historical inevitability of replacement of capitalism by socialism, a clear understanding of the objective law-governed processes of socialist revolution in whatever form—peaceful or non-peaceful—and an ability to apply the general principles of struggle for socialism in the concrete circumstances of every country.

The strength of revolutionary parties lies in that they are firmly upholding the rights and vital aspirations of the working people, point ways for leading bourgeois society out of the crisis situations, formulate a real alternative to the exploiter system and give socially optimistic answers to the basic questions of our time. They are the true exponents and most staunch defenders of the national interests of their countries.

A consistently class-motivated course enhances the authority of the communist parties, although the political and ideological machinery of imperialism is operating more and more insidiously, combining discrimination against and persecution of communists and outright anti-communist propaganda with support for those elements in the working-class movement which are opposed to class-motivated policy and international solidarity and stand for social reconciliation and partnership with the bourgeoisie. The monopoly bourgeoisie and reactionary forces attack the communists so fiercely precisely because they represent a movement which has deep roots in social development and which expresses the most vital interests of the mass of people.

A characteristic feature of our time is the upsurge in the mass democratic movements in the non-socialist world. The antagonism between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the population is growing deeper in capitalist countries. Professional and administrative staff, farmers, representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie, national minorities, women's organisations, young people and students are joining more and more actively in the struggle against the stranglehold of monopolies and against the reactionary policy of the ruling classes. People of various political persuasions are demanding an end to the militarisation of society and to policies of aggression and war, an end to racial and national discrimination, to infringements on the rights of women, to the deterioration in the situation of the younger generation, to corruption, and to the predatory attitude of monopolies towards the use of natural resources and the environment. These movements are objectively directed against the policy of the reactionary circles of imperialism and blend with the overall struggle for peace and social progress.

The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and countries which have shaken off the yoke of colonialism for stronger independence and for social progress constitutes an integral part of the world revolutionary process. The disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and the emergence of dozens of independent states from its ruins constitutes an historical achievement of the national liberation revolutions and movements, an achievement which has substantially influenced the alignment of forces in the world.

Many of those countries have since independence made appreciable progress in economic and cultural development and in consolidating national statehood. Collective forms of struggle by those countries for their rights on the international scene have taken shape. Practice has

demonstrated, however, that their way to stronger political independence and to economic and social rejuvenation is being seriously hampered by the legacy of their colonial and semi-colonial past and by the actions of imperialism.

Pursuing a policy of neo-colonialism, imperialism is seeking to emaciate the sovereignty won by the emergent states and to preserve and even tighten control over them. It is trying to drag them into a militarist orbit and to use them as staging areas for its aggressive global strategy. Pursuing these goals, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic *diktat* and support internal reaction. Even countries which won state independence long ago, such as states in Latin America, have to struggle strenuously against the stranglehold of US and other imperialist powers' monopolies.

Availing of the economic and technological dependence of the emergent countries and their unequal status in the world capitalist economy, imperialism mercilessly exploits them, levying multibillion tributes which are exhausting the economies of those states. The huge indebtedness of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the industrialised capitalist states has become a major means of exploitation of the former by imperialism, and primarily US imperialism. At the same time the resistance of the peoples of those countries to the policies of plunder and brigandage is growing. They continue their persevering, just struggle against neo-colonialism, against intervention in their internal affairs, against racism and apartheid. This resistance objectively links up with the overall anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples for freedom, peace and social progress.

The non-capitalist way of development, the way of socialist orientation chosen by a number of emergent countries, is opening up broad prospects for social progress. Their experience confirms that in the present-day conditions, with the existing world alignment of forces, there are broader possibilities for the previously enslaved peoples to reject capitalism and to build a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people. This is a phenomenon of immense historic importance.

Overcoming the resistance of external and internal reaction, the ruling revolutionary-democratic parties are pursuing a course of abolishing the dominance of the imperialist monopolies, tribal aristocracy, feudal lords and the reactionary bourgeoisie, of strengthening the public sector in the economy, of encouraging the co-operative movement in the countryside, and of enhancing the role of the mass of the working people in economic and political life. Defending their independence from the onslaught of the imperialists, those countries are broadening co-operation with socialist states. The road chosen by them meets the genuine interests and aspirations of the mass of people, reflects their desire for a just social system, and coincides with the mainstream of historical development.

The most acute issue facing mankind is that of war and peace. Imperialism was behind two world wars which claimed tens of millions of lives. And it threatens a third. Imperialism is turning the achievements of man's genius to the development of weapons of awesome destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, which are willing to sacrifice the destinies of whole peoples, is escalating the danger that these weapons may actually be put to use. It eventually threatens a global armed conflict in which there would be no winners or losers but in which world civilisation could perish.

The question of goals for which the fruit of the scientific and technical revolution will be used has become pivotal in the present-day socio-political struggle. Science and technology nowadays make it possible to ensure abundance on Earth and to

create material conditions for the flourishing of society and development of the individual. However, these creations of human mind and hands are being turned against humanity itself by class selfishness, for enrichment of the elite which dominates the capitalist world. This is a glaring contradiction which mankind has taken along to the threshold of the 21st century.

It is not science and technology in themselves that pose a threat to peace. This threat is posed by imperialism and its policy, the policy of the more reactionary militarist, aggressive forces of our time. The threat can be ended only by curbing those forces.

The only sensible and acceptable way out in the present-day world, which is riddled with acute contradictions and which faces impending catastrophe, is peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This means not merely the absence of wars. It is an international set-up under which good-neighbourliness and co-operation rather than armed force dominate and under which broad exchanges of achievements of science and technology and cultural values are practised for the good of all peoples. Delivery from the expenditures of huge resources for military purposes would make it possible to use the fruit of labour exclusively for purposes of construction. States which have embarked on roads of independent development would be shielded from external encroachments, which would facilitate their advance towards national and social progress. Auspicious opportunities would be provided also for the solution of global problems by the collective efforts of all the states. Peaceful coexistence meets the interests of all lands and all peoples.

The danger looming over mankind has never been so awesome. But neither have the possibilities for safeguarding and strengthening peace ever been so realistic. By pooling efforts, the peoples can and must avert the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The aggressive policy of imperialism is being countered by the growing potential of the forces of peace: that means the vigorous and consistently peaceable policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defensive might; that means the policy of the overwhelming majority of states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have a vital interest in safeguarding peace and ending the arms race; that means the anti-war movements of the broadest mass of people in all continents, movements which have become lasting and influential factors in societal life. A realistic view of the actual alignment of forces leads many politicians in capitalist states, too, to an understanding of the dangers involved in continuation and expansion of the arms race.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that, however grave the threat posed by the policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism to peace, world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.

The entire course of world development confirms the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the character and main contents of the present age. It is an age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, and of historical competition between the two world socio-political systems, an age of socialist and national-liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an age of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the emergent states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for peace, democracy and social progress.

The constant growth in these forces and their interaction guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom and

happiness will be translated into reality. The advance of humanity towards socialism and communism, though uneven, complex and controversial, is inexorable.

Part Two

CPSU's Tasks in Upgrading Socialism and Making a Gradual Transition to Communism

I. The Communist Prospect of the USSR and the Need to Speed Social and Economic Development

The ultimate goal of the CPSU is to build communism in our country. Socialism and communism are two consecutive phases of single communist formation. There is no sharp dividing line between them: the development of socialism, ever fuller revelation and use of its possibilities and advantages, and consolidation of the general communist principles characteristic of it is what is meant by the actual advance of society to communism.

Communism is a classless social system with the entire people owning the means of production, complete social equality of all members of society where alongside the all-round development of people the productive forces will grow on a basis of steadily developing science and technology, all sources of public wealth will flow in a full stream and the great principle 'from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs' will be fulfilled. Communism is a highly organised society of free and conscious workers, a society in which public self-government will be established and work for the benefit of society will become for all the primary need of life, a conscious need, and the abilities of everyone will be used with maximum benefit for the people.

The material and technical basis of communism presupposes the creation of such productive forces as open up opportunities for full satisfaction of the reasonable requirements of society and of the individual. All the productive activities under communism will be based on the use of highly efficient technical facilities and technologies, and a harmonious interaction of man and nature will be ensured.

At the highest phase of communism in action the directly social character of labour and production will become firmly established. Through eventual elimination of the remnants of the old division of labour and the essential social differences associated with it, the process of formation of a socially homogeneous society will be completed.

Communism signifies the transformation of the system of socialist self-government by the people, of socialist democracy into the highest form of organisation of society—communist societal self-government. With the ripening of the necessary socio-economic and ideological preconditions and the involvement of all citizens in administration, the socialist state will, as Lenin predicted, increasingly become—given appropriate international conditions—a transitional form "from a state to a non-state". The activities of state organs will become non-political in character and the need for a state as a special political institution will gradually disappear.

The inalienable feature of the communist way of life is a high level of political consciousness, of political activity, of discipline and self-discipline of members of society, in which observance of uniform generally accepted rules of communist community will become an inner need and habit of every person.

Communism means a social system under which the free development of everyone is a condition for the free development of all.

The CPSU does not set itself the aim of foreseeing in detail the features of full communism. As society advances to communism and more experience is accumulated in building it, scientific notions of the highest phase of a new society will be enriched and concretised.

The development of socialism into communism is determined by the objective laws of development of society, laws which cannot be ignored. Any attempts to go ahead too fast and to introduce communist principles without due account taken of the level of material and spiritual maturity of society are, as experience shows, doomed to failure and may cause losses of both economic and political character.

At the same time the CPSU proceeds from the belief that no delay in effecting ripe transformations and solving new tasks must be permitted. The Party takes into account the fact that in the seventies and the early eighties there were certain unfavourable trends and difficulties alongside indisputable successes in the country's development. They were due, in considerable measure, to failure to assess in due time and proper manner alterations in the economic situation and the need for profound change in all spheres of life, and failure to properly persist in making such change. This prevented fuller use of the potentialities and advantages of the socialist system and held back the onward movement.

The CPSU believes that under the present domestic and international conditions the all-round progress of Soviet society, its onward movement toward communism can and must be ensured by speeding up the country's socio-economic development. This is the strategic line of the Party for qualitatively transforming all aspects of the life in Soviet society: a radical renewal of its material and technical foundation on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; refinement of societal relations, above all economic; profound changes in the content and character of labour, in people's material and cultural conditions; and invigoration of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions.

The Party links successful solution of the tasks set with an increased role for the human factor. Socialist society cannot function effectively without finding new ways of developing the creative activity of the masses in all spheres of life. The greater the magnitude of the historic goals, the more vital proprietary, responsible, conscious and active participation of the millions in achieving them.

Soviet society is to reach new heights on the basis of acceleration of its socio-economic development. This means:

in the economic sphere—raising the national economy to a basically new scientific-technological and organisational-economic level, putting it on the track of intensive development, achieving the highest world level in productivity of social labour, quality of output and efficiency of production; ensuring an optimum structure and balance to the unified national economic complex of the country; considerably raising the level of socialisation of labour and production; drawing together of collective-farm and co-operative property and the property of the entire people with a view to their eventual fusion;

in the social sphere—ensuring a qualitatively new level of popular prosperity while consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work; establishment of an essentially classless structure of society, gradual disappearance of substantial differences in the socio-economic, cultural and living standards between town and countryside; a more organic combination of physical and brain work in productive activities; further cohesion of the Soviet people as a social and international community; a high level of creative energies and initiative from the masses;

in the political sphere—the development of

socialist self-government by the people through ever fuller involvement of citizens in running state and public affairs, improving the electoral system and activities of elected organs of peoples's power, enhancing the role of the trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organisations of the working people, and an effective use of all forms of representative and direct democracy;

in the sphere of cultural life—the further consolidation of socialist ideology in the minds of Soviet people; a full assertion of the moral principles of socialism, of the spirit of collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance; making the achievements of science and cultural values a possession of the broadest masses of the population; and the moulding of a well-developed personality.

These transformations will bring about a qualitatively new state in Soviet society, fully revealing the enormous advantages of socialism in all spheres of life. Thus a historic step will be made on the way to the highest phase of communism. The Party keeps correlating its policy, economic and social strategy and the tasks of its organisational and ideological work with the communist prospect.

II. Economic Strategy of the Party

The task set by the Party of speeding the social and economic development of the country calls for deep change primarily in the economy as the decisive sphere of human activity. A sharp turn is to be made toward the intensification of production and every enterprise and every branch is to be reoriented to fuller and top-priority use of qualitative factors for economic growth. A transition must be ensured to an economy of supreme organisation and efficiency with well developed productive forces, mature socialist production relations and well-oiled economic machinery. The country's production potential should double and be radically and qualitatively renewed already by the year 2000.

These tasks are being tackled by the Party and the people under conditions of further deepening in the scientific and technological revolution which is exerting a powerful influence on all aspects of present-day production, on the entire system of public relations, on man himself and his environment, and opens up new prospects for considerably boosting labour productivity and the progress of society as a whole.

The historical mission of socialism is to apply the achievements of foremost science, the most perfect and powerful technology, and the growing potential of creative collective work to the task of building communism.

Acceleration of Scientific and Technological Progress—the Main Lever for Raising Efficiency in Production.

The basic issue in the Party's economic policy is cardinal acceleration of scientific and technological progress. A new technical reconstruction of the national economy is to be carried out and the material and technical foundation of society thereby transformed.

Of primary importance is rapid renewal of the production apparatus through the extensive introduction of advanced technology, most advanced technological processes and flexible production units capable of adjusting quickly to put out new products with maximum economic and social effect. Comprehensive mechanisation in all branches of the productive and non-productive spheres is to be completed and a major step taken in automation of production, involving the transition to automatic shops and plants, and automatic control and design systems. Electrification, chemisation, robotisation and computerisation of production will be effected and biotechnology used on an increasingly large scale.

The Party will facilitate in every way the further growth and effective use of the country's scientific and technical potential and the development of scientific research which opens up new opportunities for major, revolutionary, changes in the intensification of the economy. The introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology to production, management, public services and every-day life must be ensured everywhere. Science will become in full measure a force directly involved in production.

A considerable increase in labour productivity is to be achieved on the basis of acceleration of scientific and technological progress, radical changes in technical facilities and technology, and mobilisation of all technical, organisational, economic and social factors. Without this, as V.I. Lenin taught, "the full transition to communism is impossible." Labour productivity is to be increased 130-150 per cent in the coming fifteen years as an important stage on the way to record levels.

Reserves for growth in labour productivity must be used to maximum degree at every amalgamation, every enterprise and every workplace. It is necessary to reduce the labour intensity of products, to cut waste of working time, to introduce up-to-date equipment and technologies, to enhance order and discipline, improve norm-setting, to apply broadly progressive forms of scientific organisation of labour, raise production standards to make work collectives more stable and to promote invention and rationalisation.

Scientific and technological progress should be aimed at a radical improvement in utilisation of natural resources, raw and other materials, fuel and energy at all stages—from mining and comprehensive processing of raw materials to the output and use of end products. The rates at which material intensity, metal intensity and power intensity of national income are reduced must be increased. Resource-saving will become the decisive source to meet the growing requirements of the national economy in fuel, energy, raw and other materials.

All-round improvement in the technical level and quality of products is becoming the centre-piece of the Party's economic policy. Soviet products should incorporate the latest achievements of scientific thought, meet the highest technico-economic, aesthetic and other consumer requirements and be competitive on the world market. Improving product quality is the reliable way to meet more fully the requirements of the country in commodities and the growing demand of the population for various goods. Poor quality and rejects mean wasting the material resources and labour of the people. The Party will actively support efforts to maintain the reputation of the Soviet trade mark. The quality of products should be a matter of professional and patriotic pride.

The effectiveness of scientific and technological progress depends not only on increasing the output of the latest technical facilities but also on better use of fixed assets, increasing the output of products per unit of equipment, per square metre of production space. The present downward trend in output-asset ratio is to be overcome and in the long run, this ratio is to be increased.

Accelerated scientific and technological progress is making higher demands on the general and vocational education of working people. The line of improving the entire personnel training and advancement system, of keeping, on a plan basis, the number of work places consistent with manpower resources in all branches and regions of the country shall be pursued.

The drive for all-round intensification and rationalisation of production, for greater production efficiency through scientific and technological progress is being organically combined, under the conditions of socialist economic planning,

with the implementation of the humanitarian goals of Soviet society, with full employment and steady refinement of all aspects of life.

Structural Reorganisation of Social Production

Switching to intensive national economic growth calls for serious structural changes. The national economy should be able to change flexibly and promptly in line with advances in science, engineering and technology, in social and individual requirements. There must be faster development of branches essential for scientific and technological progress and successful solution of social tasks, an optimum correlation between consumption and accumulation, and a better balance between manufacture of the means of production and consumer goods output, between branches in the agri-industrial complex. The social orientation of the economy will be strengthened and a turn to fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's growing requirements consistently assured.

In this connection new demands are being made on investment policy. It is called upon to ensure a higher effectiveness of capital investments, their concentration in the key sections on which depend speedy achievement of the highest economic effect and balanced development of the economy, and the highest increment in output and national income per rouble spent.

Emphasis must shift from new construction work to technical re-equipment and reconstruction of existing enterprises with considerable increase in the proportion of funds spent on these purposes from the overall volume of productive capital investments, and with enhanced spending on machinery and equipment. The top-priority task is to improve correlation between capital investments in resource-mining, processing-and-consuming branches and to redistribute funds in favour of branches essential for speeding up scientific and technological progress.

The task of making the Soviet economy the most sophisticated and powerful in the world calls for further development of heavy industry, the basis of economic strength.

Machine-building is assigned by the Party the key role in the application of the latest scientific and technological achievements. Higher growth in this industry is the basis for scientific and technological progress in all branches of the national economy and for maintaining the country's defences at a proper level. Machine-building is called upon to manufacture systems and sets of machinery, equipment and instruments of the highest technical and economic standards so as to ensure revolutionary changes in the technology and organisation of production, multiple increase in labour productivity, reduction in material intensity and power intensity, improvement in product quality and higher returns on capital. Priority should be given to the development of machine-tool building, electrical engineering, the microelectronic industry, computronics and instrument-making, the entire branch of information science as the catalyst for scientific and technological progress.

We must strengthen the potential of and effect a qualitative shift in metallurgy, chemistry and other branches of heavy industry which produce structural materials, persistently broadening the range and improving the quality of materials, and increasing the output of new, most economical and progressive types.

A most important task is to develop efficiently the country's fuel-and-energy complex. Stable satisfaction of the growing needs of the country in diverse types of fuel and energy demands improvement in the structure of the fuel-and-energy balance, accelerated development of the nuclear power industry, large-scale utilisation of renewable sources of energy and consistent implementation of vigorous and purposeful work to save fuel and energy resources in all sectors of

the national economy.

An essential condition of socio-economic progress is further build-up and improved efficiency in the agri-industrial complex and full satisfaction of the country's requirements in this produce. The task is to put agriculture on an industrial basis, introduce everywhere scientific systems of farming and intensive technologies, improve the use and raise the fertility of soil, achieve a notable increase in the yield of all agricultural crops and in livestock productivity, build up the fodder base, ensure stability in agricultural production, reduce its dependence on unfavourable natural and climatic conditions, and rule out losses in harvests and livestock-breeding output. Agri-industrial integration and inter-farm co-operation will be intensified and equipment, technology and organisation of production, procurement, transportation, storage and processing of agricultural produce will be raised to a new level.

Collective and state farms, agri-industrial associations and enterprises, which form the backbone of socialist agriculture, are called upon to decisively contribute to satisfaction of the country's requirements in agricultural produce. Parallel, small-holdings of enterprises and citizens, collective gardening and vegetable growing will help replenish the food resources.

The CPSU will direct efforts toward accelerated growth in consumer goods production and the entire sphere of consumer services for all-round satisfaction of the needs of Soviet people. Enterprises, associations and organisations in all sectors of the national economy should be involved in that.

In perfecting the integral national economic complex, the Party assigns an important role to technical re-tooling and more efficient performance in sectors of the production infrastructure—the systems of electric power, oil and gas supply, communication and information back-up of the national economy. Special attention will be attached to the development of the integrated transport system, upgrading of all its links and development of a ramified network of well-appointed roads.

The task is to improve substantially technical and economic standards in construction, turn construction work into an integral industrial process, improve quality and reduce cost in design and construction work, and cut down the time of construction of projects and the time needed for bringing output to design capacity.

The Party will continue to devote unremitting attention to improving location of productive forces, an effort which should ensure savings of social labour, and the comprehensive and highly efficient development of every region. The economies of all union republics will develop further through deepening social division of labour, and their contribution to meeting the needs of the country will grow. The task is to boost further the structure of the existing territorial-production complexes and economic ties, and to bring enterprises processing raw materials as close as possible to places where those materials are produced. It is vital to use to a fuller extent the possibilities of smaller and medium towns, and workers' settlements, locating there specialised production facilities to manufacture products under co-production arrangement with major enterprises, process agricultural and local raw materials and provide services to the population.

Accelerated development of productive forces in Siberia and the Far East remains a component part of the Party's economic strategy. In developing new regions it is of special economic and political importance to ensure comprehensive fulfilment of production tasks and development of the entire social infrastructure so as to improve people's working and living conditions.

In charting economic development prospects, the CPSU proceeds from the need to upgrade

foreign economic strategy, utilise to a fuller extent the possibilities offered by mutually advantageous international division of labour and, above all, the boons of socialist economic integration. Foreign economic, scientific and technical contacts will deepen, progressive structural shifts will be effected in exports and imports to improve economic efficiency, and guarantee independence from capitalist countries in strategically important areas.

The Refinement of Socialist Production Relations, the System of Administration and Management Methods

Continuous refinement of socialist production relations, the maintenance of a stable balance between them and the dynamically developing productive forces, and prompt identification and resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions between them are vital prerequisites for the acceleration of socio-economic progress.

Consolidation and enhancement of the public ownership of the means of production which forms the foundation of the economic system of socialism will remain in Party focus. The task is to further raise the degree to which production is socialised, and organised as in plans, to steadily improve the forms and methods for realisation of the advantages and potentialities of the property belonging to all the people.

An upsurge of productive forces in agriculture, the development of inter-farm co-operation and agri-industrial integration will help the drawing closer together—and in the future, the fusion—of collective farm-and-cooperative property and the property of all the people. This will be a result of all-round development and strengthening of both forms of socialist property, ever fuller realisation of the possibilities of the collective-farm and cooperative sector of the economy.

The Party will be persevering in fostering in work collectives and every worker a sense of co-ownership of social property, take necessary measures to protect socialist property, cut short all attempts to use it for personal enrichment, root out those forms of boons appropriation that are alien to socialism, and ensure the constitutional right of citizens to personal property.

The Party attaches great significance to refinement of relations in the sphere of distribution which have a pronounced effect on the enhancement of collective and personal interest in the development of social production, on the standards and mode of life of the people. It will be consistent policy to make the most effective distribution of social products and national income, ensuring that the mechanism of distribution becomes a dependable barrier to unearned income and levelling in pay, a barrier to everything that contradicts the norms and principles of socialist society. There must be strict control over the measure of work and the measure of consumption, the interest of collectives and every worker in achieving better national economic results must be boosted, and moral and material incentives in labour must be aptly blended.

A topical task is to develop further relations in the sphere of exchanges. The task is to enhance the dependability of economic ties, ensure a dynamic correlation between demand and supply, improve the circulation of material and money resources and accelerate the turnover of circulating assets.

Commodity-money relations must be used to fuller extent, in conformity with the new content that characterises them under socialism, to improve efficiency in production and to better distribution, exchange and consumption. The regime of economy and pecuniary control over the amount and quality of work must be tightened, the entire arsenal of economic levers and incentives used, the state budget fortified and the purchasing power of the rouble raised.

The acceleration of social and economic

development of the country demands continuous improvement in the guidance of the national economy, reliable and effective functioning of the economic mechanism, which comprises diverse, flexible forms and methods of management, and efforts to make them consistent with the changing conditions of economic development and the character of the tasks being fulfilled.

The improvement of administration should rely on a deeper and more comprehensive use of the advantages and possibilities of the socialist planned economic system and economic laws, take account in full measure of the changes in productive forces and production relations, the growth of educational standards, consciousness, qualification and experience of the broad mass of the working people. It is called upon to ensure an optimal combination of personal interests, and the interests of work collectives and different social groups with the interests of the entire state, the interests of all the people and, in doing so, to use them as the motive force of economic growth.

The entire system of management should be aimed at augmenting the contribution of every element of the national economy toward attaining the final goal—the fullest meeting of the requirements of society and the enlargement of this contribution in every way with minimum expenditure of all resources. This is the unalterable law of socialist economic management, the basic criterion for evaluating the performance of branches, associations and enterprises, of all production cells.

There must be consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of management and, above all, of the principle of democratic centralism which reflects the unity of both of its basic elements—enhanced efficiency of centralised guidance and considerable expansion of economic autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises.

The attention of central management bodies should be concentrated to an increasing degree on fulfilment of the strategic tasks for economic and social development, implementation in practice of the single policy in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and capital investments, structural shifts in the national economy, the proportionality of social production, the strengthening of the system of planned state reserves, location of productive forces, payment for work, social maintenance, prices, tariffs, finances, accounting and statistics.

The Party considers it essential to enhance the efficiency of planning as an instrument for realisation of its economic policy. Planning is called upon to be an active lever for accelerating the socio-economic development of the country, intensifying production on the basis of scientific and technical progress, implementing progressive economic decisions and ensuring balanced and dynamic economic growth. Qualitative indices reflecting efficiency of utilisation of resources, the scale of renewal of products and growth of labour productivity through the achievements of science and technology should occupy the leading place in plans. It is necessary to tackle economic and social tasks comprehensively, to organically combine long-term, five-year and annual plans, promote scientific standards in planning, enhance adherence to plan, ensure the priority of the interests of the entire state, and decisively cut short all manifestations of departmentalism and parochialism, red tape and voluntarism.

It is necessary seriously to improve the performance of the financing and crediting system and to enhance its impact on improvements in the efficiency of production and strengthening of money circulation and cost-accounting.

Developing centralised principles in management and planning, in the fulfilment of strategic tasks the Party will vigorously effect measures to enhance the role of the main production

element—associations and enterprises, consistently follow a line toward expanding their rights and economic autonomy, enhancing responsibility and interest in achieving high final results. Day-to-day economic management should be concentrated at the local level—in work collectives.

The Party sees as vital a further development and improvement in the effectiveness of cost accounting, consistently switching enterprises and associations to full-scale cost accounting, while boosting economic leverage and reducing the number of indicators set by higher organisations. The performance of associations and enterprises will be regulated to an ever fuller degree by long-term economic norms which give scope to initiative and creativity in labour collectives. Measures to improve administration from above should be combined with the development of collective forms of organisation and stimulation of labour at grass roots. The system of levers and incentives should effectively give advantage to the work collectives that score successes in accelerating scientific and technical progress, put out better products and enhance the profitability of production. The opportunities and rights of associations and enterprises to use money earned by them to develop production and material incentives for the personnel and to resolve social questions will grow.

Wholesale trade will expand, and the role of direct ties and economic contracts between the user-enterprises and manufacturers of products will grow as will the impact of the consumer on the technical standards and quality of products.

Price-formation must be improved to ensure that prices reflect more accurately the level of socially indispensable inputs and quality of products and services; stimulate more actively scientific and technical progress, resource, thrift, improvement of technical, economic and consumer properties of products and introduction of all things new and advanced; and promote consolidation of the economy drive.

The CPSU sets the task of consistently improving the organisational structure of administration of the national economy at all levels, streamlining the administration mechanism and trimming off its excessive elements. There must be improved administration of major national economic complexes and groups of interrelated and homogeneous branches; a rational blend of large, medium and smaller enterprises, and branch and territorial administration; extension of the network and heightened performance by production and research-and-production associations; and deeper specialisation with integration and co-operation in production developed.

The attention of inter-branch and branch bodies of administration will be concentrated on the most important trends in the development of branches and introduction of scientific and technical achievements. They must bear responsibility to fully meet the requirements of the national economy and the population in the products of the prescribed assortment and nomenclature. The role and responsibility of republican and local bodies in running economic development and the construction of social service and cultural establishments and in meeting the needs of the working people will grow, and the powers of these bodies will expand.

In its entire work to improve the management of the economy the CPSU will consistently pursue a line toward development of creative initiative by the working people and their increased participation in the process of administration of production, a line toward enhancing the role of work collectives in drafting plans and making economic decisions, in implementing measures in the field of social and economic development at enterprises, and finding and mobilising the inner reserves of production. Thriftiness, the skilful spending of public funds, rational use of every rouble, liquidation of mismanagement, and elimination

of the diverse non-productive expenditures and losses is the cause of the entire Party, all the people, a cause for every work collective, every worker.

The development of socialist emulation is an object of permanent attention of the Party. This is one of the most important spheres for promoting the creativity of the working people, one of the prime ways for self-assertion and social recognition of the individual. Relying on the Leninist principles of publicity, comparability of results and the possibility to emulate advanced experience, we must improve the organisation and enhance the efficiency of emulation, root out formalism and stereotypes and develop the spirit of comradesly co-operation and mutual assistance. Of great significance is all-round support for the initiative and creativity of the masses to accelerate scientific and technical progress, increase labour productivity, ensure thrifty utilisation of resources, improve the efficiency of production and quality of output while reducing output costs, and to attain a precise working rhythm with timely fulfilment of contractual obligations and better results in the national economy.

III. The Social Policy of the Party

The Party regards social policy as a powerful means for accelerating the country's development, enhancing labour and socio-political activity by the masses, moulding the new person, assertion of the socialist way of life, and as a major factor of political stability in society. It proceeds from the premise that social policy's impact on raising economic efficiency, on all spheres of public life will be intensifying. The CPSU considers undiminishing concern for the resolution of social questions of labour, everyday life, culture, the question of meeting the interests and needs of the people to be a law governing the activity of all state and economic bodies and public organisations.

The Party sets the following tasks as the principal tasks of social policy:

- steady improvement in the living and working conditions of Soviet people;

- more and more full realisation of the principle of social justice in every sphere of social relations;

- bringing closer together of the classes and social groups and strata, overcoming essential distinctions between brain and physical work, between town and countryside;

- the perfection of nationalities relations, the strengthening of fraternal friendship of all peoples and nationalities in the country.

Increasing Prosperity and Boosting the Living and Working Conditions of Soviet People

The production and spiritual potential created in the country, the task of accelerating social and economic development of the country make it necessary and possible to make notable headway toward achieving "full well-being and free, all-round development for all the members of society" (Lenin).

The CPSU sets the task of raising the well-being of Soviet people to a qualitatively new dimension, ensuring such a level and structure of consumption of material, social and cultural boons as will meet to the fullest degree possible the aim of moulding a harmoniously-developed, spiritually-rich individual, creating the necessary preconditions for full realisation of the abilities and talents of Soviet people in the interests of society.

As early as the next fifteen years it is planned to double the volume of resources channelled into meeting the requirements of the people.

The Party attaches special importance to enhancing the creative content and collective

character of work, improving its efficiency, encouraging highly skilled and highly productive labour for the good of society. All this will help make work a prime vital necessity of every Soviet person.

The task ahead is to continue to effect a complex of scientific and technical, economic and social measures ensuring full and effective employment of the population, the granting to all able-bodied citizens of the possibility to work in their chosen sphere of activity in accordance with vocation, abilities, education and training, with due regard for the needs of society.

There will be a consistent line toward cutting considerably the amount of manual work, reducing substantially and—in the future—eliminating monotonous, arduous physical and low-skilled work, toward ensuring healthy hygienic conditions and introducing modern occupational safety norms to stop industrial accidents and occupational disease. Intensification, improved efficiency of production, and higher labour productivity will open up in the future new possibilities for reducing working hours and extending the duration of paid holidays.

The Party will continue to do everything needed to steadily raise real incomes of the working people and further improve the well-being of all strata and social groups in accordance with the economic potential of the country.

Payment according to one's work remains the principal source of working people's income in the duration of the first phase of communism. The system of wages and salaries must be constantly refined so as to ensure that it fully complies with the principle of pay according to the amount and quality of work, takes account of its conditions and results, stimulates improvement in worker qualification, labour productivity, the quality of output, rational utilisation and saving of all types of resources. It is precisely on this basis that wages and salaries and the living standards of the working people should grow and improve. As social wealth grows the size of minimum wages will increase and the policy of reducing taxes on the population will be carried on. The Party attaches fundamental significance to decisive elimination of unearned incomes and all deviations from the socialist principles of distribution, anti-social forms of re-distribution.

Accelerated growth and refinement of the distribution of public consumption funds will continue. They are called upon to play an increasing role in the development of the state systems of free education, health care and social insurance for the people, in improving the conditions of rest and recreation of the working people, in smoothing out the distinctions that are objectively inevitable under socialism in the material standing of individual citizens, families and social groups, in evening out socio-economic and cultural conditions for the upbringing of children and promoting an end to low incomes for individual groups in the population.

The task of prime significance is to meet completely the growing demand of the population in high-quality and diverse consumer goods—foodstuffs, durable and beautiful clothing and footwear, furniture, commodities for cultural needs, and complex household appliances and goods.

Trade and public catering will see further development. Their material and technical basis will grow stronger and the standards of service will improve. Consumers' co-operatives called upon to improve trade in the countryside, organise purchases and marketing of agricultural products from the population and marketing will also develop further. The collective farm market will retain its significance. The policy of retail prices will be pursued in the interests of enhancing real incomes of the population.

It is planned to carry through large-scale measures to create a modern, highly developed service sector. The increase in the volume,

broadening in the range and improvement of the quality in services will make it possible to meet to a fuller extent the growing demand of the population for various types of housing and communal, transport, everyday, social and cultural services, to make household work and chores easier, to create better conditions for rest and rational use of free time. The service industries will expand at an accelerated rate in the countryside and the regions under development.

The Party considers as a matter of special social significance accelerated solution of the housing problem to ensure that by the year 2000 practically every Soviet family has a housing unit—an apartment or individual house—to itself. The large scale of state-funded housing construction, broader development of co-operative and individual house building, plus reconstruction, refurbishing and good upkeep of the housing fund and enhanced control over its distribution are called upon to promote this. Special attention will be devoted to the quality of housing construction, improving standards of comfort, bettering outlays and improving technical equipment of apartments and houses.

Higher demands will be made on architecture, landscaping and beautification of urban and rural settlements. The populated localities should be rationally organised complexes of production zones, residential districts, public, cultural, educational and child-care institutions, trade and service establishments, sports structures, and public transport to ensure the best conditions for work, everyday life and leisure of the people. The practice of using funds of the population for improving housing, cultural and everyday conditions, leisure, tourism and other purposes will be extended.

A matter of prime importance is building up the health of Soviet people and extending the period of their active life. The Party sets the task of complete satisfaction of the requirements of urban and rural residents everywhere in all types of medical services: these services should be provided by highly qualified personnel with dramatic improvement in quality. For this purpose it is planned to introduce a system of general medical check-ups for the population; to further extend the network of establishments for the protection of health of mother and child, clinics, hospitals and sanatoria and fit them out with modern medical equipment and apparatus; and to provide in due measure medicines, and articles for treatment, sanitation and hygiene.

The importance of physical training and sports and their introduction in everyday life is growing in the health-building of the population, harmonious development of the individual and in preparing youth for work and defence of their homeland. Efforts should be made to ensure that every person cares for their own physical fitness from young age, has knowledge in the field of hygiene and medical aid and lives a healthy way of life.

The CPSU attaches great significance to improvement of care for the family. It is playing an increasingly important role in building up health and upbringing of the younger generations, ensuring economic and social progress of society and improving demographic processes. It is here that the fundamentals of the personality of man, his attitude to work, and moral, ideological and cultural values take shape. Society is vitally interested in a durable, spiritually and morally healthy family. Proceeding from this, the Party considers it necessary to pursue a line of strengthening the family, rendering assistance to it in the performance of its social functions, upbringing of children, to expand measures aimed at improving material, housing and living conditions of families with many children and newly-wedded couples. There must be more profound interaction of the family, the school and the work collective, and enhanced responsibility of parents for the upbringing of children, just as the responsibility of children for the

welfare of parents and their secure life in old age.

An object of continuing concern of the Party is further improvement in the status of mothers. For such purpose felicitous conditions will be created for women to combine motherhood with active participation in labour and social activities. Special attention will be devoted to mother-and-child care, and the duration of pre-natal and childcare leave will be extended. The network of sanatoria, rest homes and boarding houses for family holidays will expand. Diverse forms of employment of women will see further development. Sliding work schedules, shorter working hours and work at home will be used on a wider scale on women's wish.

A broad range of measures will be implemented to create the necessary conditions for the upbringing of the younger generation. In the immediate future the demand of the population for child-care establishments will be met in full. The network of work-and-sports camps, young pioneer camps and houses, centres and stations for scientific, technical and artistic creative work will be expanded. The norms of spending on catering in pre-school, vocational training establishments and children's homes will grow.

The Party deems it necessary to substantially intensify attention to youth social problems and, above all, the development and fuller satisfaction of the socially meaningful interests and requirements of youths and girls in the sphere of work and everyday life, education and culture, professional advancement and promotion, and rational use of free time.

The CPSU will continue to show constant concern for improvement of the material standing of labour and war veterans, senior citizens, disabled persons, the families of soldiers killed on service, for the provision of social, medical and cultural services to them. The sizes of pensions and, above all, minimum and earlier granted pensions will be periodically increased. The provision of pensions to collective farmers will gradually approach the level established for production and office workers. The network of homes for the aged and disabled will see further development and the conditions of up-keep in such homes will improve. The expansion of opportunities for labour veterans with valuable experience to work to their capabilities, and be involved in public life and upbringing is a matter of major social and economic importance.

Harmonious interaction between society and nature, man and the environment is acquiring ever growing significance in improving the people's life. Socialist society which consciously builds its future effects balanced and thrifty nature management and holds leading positions in the efforts of humankind to preserve and augment the natural resources of our planet. The Party considers it necessary to intensify control over nature management, to conduct ecological education of the population on a wider scale.

Overcoming Class Distinctions and Forming a Socially Homogeneous Society

An important law for the development of social relations at the present stage is bringing closer together the working class, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia, and establishing a classless structure of society with the working class playing the decisive role in that process.

The political experience of the working class, its high consciousness, organisational level and will, rally our society. The growing general educational and cultural standards and skills, labour and socio-political activities of the working class enhance its vanguard role in upgrading socialism and in building communism.

In the course of consistent implementation of the agrarian policy of the Party, work in agriculture is turned into a variety of industrial work and the substantial distinctions in social, cultural and service standards between town and countryside are being eliminated. The way of life and

nature of work of the peasants are becoming increasingly similar to the way of life and nature of work of the working class. Overcoming differences between these classes to establish a classless society in our country will take place essentially in the historical framework of the first, socialist phase of the communist formation.

Revolutionary transformations of the productive forces lead to an increase in the share of brain work in the activities of the broad mass of workers and collective farm peasants. At the same time the number of intellectuals is growing and their creative contribution to material production and other spheres of public life is increasing. This promotes gradual elimination of substantial distinctions between physical and brain work and the drawing closer together of all social groups. Complete elimination of these distinctions with the formation of a socially homogeneous society will be accomplished at the supreme phase of communism. At the same time as long as such distinctions exist, the Party considers it a matter of prime significance to take account meticulously of distinctive features characterising the interests of the classes and social groups in its policies. Major importance will be attached to making the working and living conditions of the population even in the different regions of the country.

The role of work collectives in the social structure of Soviet society is growing. The Party promotes in every way a situation whereby every work collective will become an effective social cell of socialist self-management by the people, everyday genuine participation of the working people in the solution of questions of operation of enterprises, departments and organisations, the development and application of creative energies of the individual. It deems it necessary to enhance in a purposeful manner the impact of work collectives on all spheres of life of society, expand their rights and at the same time to enhance their responsibility for tackling definite tasks of economic, social and cultural development.

Further Flourishing and Drawing Closer Together of Socialist Peoples and Nationalities

The CPSU takes full account in its activities of the multi-nation composition of Soviet society. The results of the road covered offer convincing proof that the nationalities question inherited from the past has in the Soviet Union been successfully solved. Characteristic of the national relations in our country are both the continued flourishing of the peoples and nationalities and their steady coming closer together voluntarily on a basis of equality and fraternal co-operation. No artificial prodding or holding back of the objective trends of development are admissible in this. This development spells in the long-range historical perspective a complete unity of the nations.

The CPSU proceeds from the belief that in our socialist multi-nation state, in the process of the common work and life of the more than one hundred peoples and nationalities there naturally arise new tasks for refining national relations. The Party has been and will continue tackling them on the basis of the tested principles of the Leninist nationalities policy. It puts forward the following prime tasks in this field:

—all-round strengthening and development of the integral multi-nation Soviet State. The CPSU will continue struggling consistently against any manifestations of localism and national narrow-mindedness, while simultaneously showing constant concern for further increasing the role of the republics, autonomous regions and autonomous areas in accomplishing countrywide tasks and promoting the active involvement of the working people of all nationalities in the work of government and administrative bodies. Through creative application of the Leninist principles of socialist federalism and democratic centralism

the forms of relations between national groups will be enriched in the interests of all Soviet people and of each people and nationality;

—enhancement of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of the integral countrywide economic complex. Blending the initiative of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts with central control at countrywide level will allow rational use of the resources of the country and local natural and other features. It is essential to consistently deepen the division of labour between the republics, even out the conditions of economic management, encourage active participation by the republics in the economic development of new regions, promote inter-republican exchanges of workers and specialists, and extend and improve the training of qualified personnel from among citizens of all peoples and nationalities inhabiting the republics;

—the advancement of the Soviet people's integral culture, which is socialist in content, diverse in its national forms and internationalist in its spirit, on the basis of the best achievements and original progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR. The advancement and rapprochement of the national cultures and the consolidation of their inter-relationships make mutual enrichment more fruitful and open up most broad opportunities for the Soviet people to enjoy everything valuable that has been created by the talent of each people of our country.

Free development, and equal use by all citizens of the USSR, of native languages will be ensured in the future too. At the same time learning the Russian language, which has been voluntarily accepted by the Soviet people as a medium of intercourse between different nationalities, as well as the language of one's particular nationality, broadens one's access to the achievements in science and technology and in Soviet and world culture.

The Party proceeds from the belief that consistently implementing the Leninist nationalities policy and strengthening the peoples' friendship in every way is part of refining socialism and a way, tested in social practice, of ensuring the further flourishing of our multi-national socialist homeland.

IV. Development of the Political System of Soviet Society

Established as a result of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat played the decisive role in creating the new society, in the process undergoing changes itself too. With the abolition of the exploiter classes the function of suppressing the resistance of the overthrown exploiters gradually faded away and full scope was given to accomplishing its foremost, constructive tasks. Fulfilling its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat has evolved into a political power of all working people, while the proletarian state has become a state of the whole people. It is the main tool for refining socialism in our country, and on the international scene it performs the functions of protecting the socialist gains, strengthening the positions of world socialism, countering the aggressive policy of imperialist forces and developing peaceful co-operation with all nations.

The CPSU believes that at the present stage the strategic avenue of development of society's political system lies through advancing Soviet democracy and increasingly promoting the people's socialist self-government on the basis of the active and effective participation of the working people, their collectives and organisations in decision-making on the affairs of state and society.

The leading force in this process is the Party—the nucleus of Soviet society's political system. It exercises guidance over the work of all

the other parts of this system—the Soviet State, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the co-operatives and the other public organisations reflecting the common and specific interests of all sections of the population, all the country's peoples and nationalities. Acting within the framework of the constitution, the CPSU directs and coordinates the work of the state and public organisations and shows concern for each of them to discharge their distinctive functions in full. By all its activities the Party sets an example of serving the interests of the people and observing the principles of socialist democracy.

The Party shows concern for the principles of the people's socialist self-government to be applied consistently in the administration of society and the state, that is for administration not only to be exercised in the interests of the working people but also to become naturally and to an ever greater extent the concern directly of the working people themselves, who, to use Lenin's words, know no authority except the authority of their own unity.

The Party will continue working to ensure that the citizens' socio-economic, political and personal rights and liberties are extended and enriched and that ever more favourable conditions and guarantees are created for their full implementation. The Soviet citizen has every possibility to express and exercise his civic will and interests and enjoys all the benefits of socialism. The Soviet citizen's exercise of his rights and liberties is inseparable from his fulfilment of his constitutional duties. It is an immutable political principle of socialist society that there are no rights without duties and no duties without rights. The CPSU will continue its persistent efforts to make certain that each Soviet citizen is educated to be clearly aware of the indivisibility of his rights, liberties and duties.

It is a key matter of Party policy to develop and strengthen the Soviet socialist state and increasingly unfold its democratic nature as a state of the whole people, its creative and constructive role.

The CPSU shows unfailing concern for the soviets of people's deputies—the political foundation of the USSR, the main element in the people's socialist self-government, to improve their work. The Party attaches much significance to upgrading the forms of the people's representation, developing the democratic principles of the Soviet election system and to ensuring a free and all-round discussion of the candidates' personal and business qualities so that it is the most worthy and respected representatives of the working class, collective farm peasantry, people's intelligentsia, all peoples and nationalities of our country that are elected to the soviets. To improve the performance of the soviets and infuse fresh blood into them so that further millions of people will go through the school of running the state, the soviets' deputy composition will be systematically renewed at elections.

The CPSU constantly works for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the supreme soviets of the union republics to consistently perfect legislation, effectively resolve the key problems of home and foreign policy that are within their competence, exercise vigorous guidance over the soviets of people's deputies and check on the work done by the agencies under them. The local soviets' role in ensuring a comprehensive economic and social development of their respective regions, in providing their own solutions to local tasks and in coordinating and checking on the activities of organisations in their areas will continue to grow.

All conditions should be created for Lenin's recommendations that the soviets should be bodies that do not only make decisions but also organise their translation into life and check on their fulfilment to be carried out without fail. The soviets of all levels should apply ever more fully the democratic principles of work, including a

collective, free and business-like discussion of issues and decision-making on them; publicity; criticism and self-criticism; the deputies' accountability and regular reporting back to the constituencies up to, and including, a recall of those failing to justify the voters' trust; control over the work done by executives and other agencies; and extensive involvement of citizens in the job of administration.

The Party will unwaveringly maintain the line of democratising administration, the process of working out and taking decisions of importance to the state to ensure selection of the optimum solutions and the consideration and comparing of the different opinions and proposals of working people. The range of matters to be decided on only after discussion in work collectives, standing commissions of the soviets and trade union, YCL and other public organisations will broaden. The more important draft laws and decisions will be submitted for countrywide discussion and voting; the task is to continue bettering the system of generalising and fulfilling instructions from voters to their candidates in elections and other suggestions and proposals from citizens, and of studying public opinion and to have the population better informed about the decisions taken and the results of their implementation.

Expanding the rights and simultaneously the activity of work collectives in all matters of the management of production, the construction of cultural centres and service establishments, and in the political life of society are acquiring particular importance. The role of general meetings and councils of work collectives, the responsibility of the management for the fulfilment of the decisions made by them will be raised, transition will be effected to the appointment by election of foremen, managers of sections and other production units.

Improving the performance of the state apparatus and other administrative bodies is a matter of immense importance. The soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It should be competent and be able to do its work with dispatch. It is essential to press for streamlining the administrative machinery, reducing costs and cutting out from it redundant jobs, to persistently stamp out manifestations of red tape, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism and get rid of incompetent and inert officials without delay. Careless work, abuse of office, careerism, and striving for personal enrichment, nepotism and favouritism should be relentlessly cut short and punished.

The Party considers it necessary to abide strictly by the principle of accountability of the staff of state bodies and extend the system of filling vacancies through election or competition. The committee way of doing things should be consistently implemented, with the chief official at each level remaining personally responsible for the work done by his department, and officials should be objectively judged by their practical work and effective control be exercised over the actual fulfilment of the decisions taken.

The CPSU will be active in facilitating an increase in the effectiveness of state and public control. It views working people's involvement with these public inspectorates as an important way of increasing their political maturity and activity in protecting public interests and fostering a statesman-like approach to matters and a careful attitude to public property.

It has been and remains a matter of unremitting Party concern to reinforce the legal foundations of state and societal life and ensure strict observance of socialist law and order and improvements in the work of the bodies of judiciary, procurator's supervision, justice and internal affairs. Relying on the support of work collectives, public organisations and all working people, state bodies are bound to do everything necessary to ensure the safety and good condition of socialist property, protect the citizen's personal property, honour and dignity, wage

unrelenting struggle with crime, drunkenness and alcoholism, prevent offences of any kind and remove the causes provoking them.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union views among the more important functions of the Soviet State of all people to protect the socialist homeland, strengthen the country's defences and ensure state security.

From the standpoint of internal conditions our society does not need an army. But as long as there exists the risk of imperialism unleashing aggressive wars and military conflicts, the Party will pay unflinching attention to enhancing the defence might of the USSR, strengthening its security and preparedness of the armed forces to rout any aggressor. The armed forces and the state security bodies should display high vigilance and be ever prepared to cut short imperialism's intrigues against the USSR and its allies.

The Communist Party's guidance of military development and the armed forces is the cornerstone for bolstering the defences of the socialist homeland. It is under the Party's guidance that the country's defence and security policy and the Soviet military doctrine, which is purely defensive in nature and geared to ensuring protection against an outside attack, are shaped and applied.

The CPSU will apply every effort for the armed forces of the USSR to stay at a level ruling out strategic superiority of the forces of imperialism, for the Soviet State's defence capacity to continue to be improved in an all-round way and for the armies of the fraternal socialist countries' brotherhood-in-arms to grow stronger.

The CPSU will continue showing invariable concern for the combat potential of the Soviet armed forces to be a solid blend of military prowess and high technical standards, ideological staunchness, high organisation and discipline of officers and men, loyalty to their patriotic and internationalist duty.

The CPSU deems it likewise vital in the future to increase its organising and directing influence on the armed forces' activities, strengthen one-man leadership, broaden the role and influence of the political bodies and Party organisations of the Soviet Army and the Navy and make sure that the army's blood relationship with the people will become still stronger. Every communist, every Soviet citizen should do everything possible to maintain the country's defence capacity at proper level. Defence of the socialist homeland and military service in the ranks of the armed forces is a matter of honour and a sacred duty of the Soviet citizen.

The Party attaches priority significance to augmenting the role of the public organisations—important parts of the system of the people's socialist self-government.

The CPSU sees it as its task to facilitate the continued growth of the prestige and influence of the trade unions—the most broadly-based organisation of the working people, a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of communism. The trade unions are called upon to consistently discharge their principal functions: to do everything to help multiply public wealth, improve the working and daily-life conditions and leisure opportunities of the working people, protect their rights and interests, be constantly involved in the communist education of the masses, draw them into the management of production and social affairs and increase conscious labour discipline.

The task of the trade union organisations is to take a still more active part in promoting the people's socialist self-government and solving the fundamental questions of state, economic and cultural advancement, interact more closely with the soviets and other organisations of the working people, broaden the scope of the socialist emulation campaign and the drive to disseminate advanced experience for wider application, cultivate the social forms of control over compliance with the principles of social

justice and help work collectives exercise their powers.

The CPSU justly regards the all-union Leninist Young Communist League, a socio-political organisation with a membership of many millions, uniting the advanced part of Soviet youth, as its active helpmate and dependable reserve. The Party will continue increasing the YCL's role in bringing on the younger generation and the practical accomplishment of the tasks of speeding the country's social and economic development. Exercising guidance over the YCL, the CPSU pays special attention to strengthening its ranks organisationally and politically and enhancing the independent character of the youth league. The YCL should persistently encourage the young people's labour and social activity and help them form a Marxist-Leninist world outlook, raise their political and moral standards and become aware of their historical responsibility for the future of socialism and the world.

The Party furthers improvement in the work of the co-operatives—collective farms, consumer and home-building co-operatives and other co-operative organisations and associations—seeing them as an important form of socialist self-government and an effective means of developing the national economy.

The CPSU will facilitate further increases in the activity of the unions of professional, scientific, science and technology, cultural education, sport, defence and other voluntary societies, bodies of the population's social self-activity. Performing their functions, these organisations are called upon to make an ever greater contribution to furthering the Party's policy and show concern for all-round expression and enactment of the interests of the working people they unite, and increasing the Soviet people's civic initiative and sense of responsibility.

V. Ideological-Education Work, Public Education, Science and Culture

The Party will do everything necessary to make full use of Marxist-Leninist ideology's power for transformation to accelerate the country's social and economic development and will conduct purposeful work for the ideological, political, labour and moral education of the Soviet people to develop harmonious, socially active individuals combining spiritual richness, moral purity and physical perfection.

The CPSU sees it as the main task of its ideological work to educate the working people in a spirit of high ideological integrity and commitment to communism, Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism, a conscious attitude to work and public property, make the treasures of spiritual culture to an ever greater extent readily available to the masses and eradicate the mores contradicting the socialist way of life.

The Party proceeds from the belief that a person's education is inseparable from his practical involvement with constructive work for the benefit of the people, social life and the fulfilment of the tasks of socio-economic and cultural advancement. Divorce from reality, from the real problems dooms ideological-education work to abstract instruction and aimless gobbledygook and leads away from the pressing tasks of building communism. Ideological work should be marked by a close link with social practice, profound ideological and theoretical content, it should take a full and accurate account of the realities of domestic and international life and of the grown intellectual requirements of the working people and be close to the people, truthful, argumented and concrete.

Unity of words and deeds—the most important principle of all Party and state activities—is also an indispensable demand made on ideological-

education work. Active participation in it is a duty of all executives, a duty of every communist.

The Party puts forward the following tasks:

In the Field of Ideological-Education Work

The shaping of scientific world outlook. Socialism has ensured the prevalence in Soviet society's cultural life of a scientific world outlook based on Marxism-Leninism as an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views. The Party considers among its most important duties continuing with creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory through studying and generalising new phenomena in the life of Soviet society, taking account of the experience of the other countries of the socialist community and the world communist, working-class, national liberation and democratic movements and analysing the advances in natural, technical and social sciences.

The CPSU will show constant concern for all Soviet people to profoundly master the Marxist-Leninist teachings, raise their political standards, consciously participate in shaping Party policy and actively translate it into reality.

Labour education. The Party focuses educational work on inculcating in all Soviet citizens deep respect and readiness for conscientious work for the common good, be that work mental or physical. Work is the main source of society's material and spiritual wealth, the prime criterion of a person's social status as well as his sacred duty and the cornerstone of the communist education of an individual. The Party will continue showing concern for steadily increasing the prestige of honest, high efficiency work, encouraging labour initiative and innovation and strengthening the principle of the communist attitude to work.

The assertion of communist morality. As gradual progress is made towards communism, the creative potential of communist morality, the most humane, just and noble morality which is based on loyalty to the aims of the revolutionary struggle and the ideals of communism, manifests itself ever more fully. Our morality has assimilated both the universal human moral values and the norms of conduct of the people and their relations between themselves, which have been set by the popular masses in the course of their centuries-old struggle against exploitation, for freedom and social equality, for happiness and peace.

The communist morality upheld by the CPSU is:

—a collectivist morality. Its fundamental principle is "one for all, all for one". Being incompatible with egoism, self-love and self-interest, it harmoniously blends the common, collective and personal interests of the people;

—a humanist morality. It ennobles the working man, is permeated with deep respect for him and intolerant to infringements upon his dignity. It asserts truly humane relations between people—relations of comradely co-operation and mutual assistance, good will, honesty, simplicity and modesty in private and public life;

—an active, vigorous morality. It induces one to strive for new labour and creative accomplishments, take a personal interest and part in the affairs of one's collective and of the entire country, vigorously reject everything that contradicts the socialist way of life, and be persistent in the struggle for the communist ideals.

Patriotic and internationalist education. The Party will continue working tirelessly for every Soviet citizen to match his love for the country of the October Revolution where he was born and grew up, and his pride of the historic accomplishments of the world's first socialist state with a commitment to proletarian, socialist internationalism and a feeling of class solidarity with the working people of the fraternal countries, with all fighting against imperialism and for social progress and peace.

The Party, our state are interested in seeing

that feelings of friendship and fraternity that unite all peoples and nationalities of the USSR, the high standard of relations between nationalities and intolerance to manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, of national narrowmindedness and national egoism, and to the customs and mores hindering the communist renovation of life become inherent in every Soviet citizen.

It remains an important task of the Party's ideological education work to conduct military-patriotic upbringing and make certain that everyone is prepared to defend the socialist homeland, give it all one's strength and, if necessary, sacrifice one's life for it.

Law education. The Party attaches great importance to inculcating in the individual a lofty civic spirit, respect for Soviet laws and rules of socialist community life, intolerance to any violations of socialist legality, a readiness to actively participate in upholding law and order.

Atheistic education. The Party uses the means of ideological influence for spreading broadly the scientific-materialistic world outlook, for overcoming religious prejudices, without allowing an insult to the feelings of the believers. While favouring strict observance of the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of conscience, the Party condemns attempts to use religion to the detriment of society and of the individual. Heightening the people's labour and social activity, educating them, and widely adopting new Soviet rites and customs constitute a major integral part of atheistic education.

Work on communist education is inseparable from combatting manifestations of alien ideology and morals, and all negative phenomena connected with the vestiges of the past in the minds and behaviour of people, with shortcomings in practical work in various fields of social life, with delays in solving urgent problems. The Party attaches paramount significance to doing away steadily and consistently with violations of labour discipline, pilferage and bribe-taking, profiteering and parasitism, drunkenness and hooliganism, private-owner psychology and money-grabbing, toadyism and fawning. In combatting these phenomena, it is necessary to make full use of the power of public opinion and the force of law.

Struggle against bourgeois ideology. The most acute struggle between the two world outlooks on the international scene reflects the opposition of the two world systems—socialism and capitalism. The CPSU sees its task in carrying to the peoples the truth about real socialism and about the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in actively advocating the Soviet way of life and in exposing vigorously and in a well-argued manner the anti-popular, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploiter substance. It will inculcate in Soviet people high political awareness and vigilance, the ability to assess from clear-cut class positions social phenomena and uphold the ideals and spiritual values of socialism.

The mass news and information media are playing a growing role in society's life. The CPSU will insist that they analyse in depth trends and phenomena in domestic and international life, economic and social processes, extend active support to everything that is new and advanced, raise pressing issues of concern to the people and suggest ways of solving them. The work of the press, television and radio should be marked by political clarity and purposefulness, profound content and promptness, informativeness, vividness and intelligibility of statement. The Party will continue giving the press and all other mass news and propaganda media vigorous support and assistance.

Special attention will be given to developing television broadcasting, steadily increasing the population's receiving of radio and TV programmes and making the broadcasts more substantive in content, superior in ideological and artistic standards, and more interesting.

It is essential to decidedly eliminate any manifestations of windbagery, ostentation and

formalism in ideological-education propaganda work. All its forms and means should help mobilise the masses for the fulfilment of the tasks facing the country, while ensuring broad publicity for the work done by the Party and state bodies and public organisations, direct and frank talking to the people, correct shaping of public opinion and its enhanced influence on practical matters. The CPSU will take constant care to strengthen the material foundation of ideological work.

In the Field of Public Education

The Party consistently maintains a policy of rearing and training conscious, highly-educated people capable of both physical work and mental work, who can do their jobs with vigour in the national economy, in various fields of social and state life, in science and culture. The system of truly popular schools established in the USSR has brought knowledge within the reach of all citizens and made it possible in a historically short span of time to eliminate wholesale illiteracy and introduce universal secondary education.

The CPSU will continue refining the public education system with account taken of the need to expedite social and economic development, the prospects of communist construction and the requirements of scientific and technological progress. The reform of the general education and vocational training school system now being effected in the country is based on creative development of Lenin's principles of a uniform polytechnical labour school and geared to raising still higher the standards of instruction and education for the young; making them better prepared for their future work careers and gradually proceeding to universal vocational training. The school is called upon to imbue the students with love for their homeland, collectivism, respect for their elders, parents and teachers, inculcate in the younger generation a keen sense of responsibility for the quality of their study and work, for their conduct, and encourage student self-administration. As the measures planned are carried out, the vocational training and general education forms of schooling will continue to develop and draw closer together, with merger of them coming into perspective.

In keeping with the requirements of scientific, technological and social progress the system of secondary specialised and higher education will be further developed. It should respond readily and promptly to the requirements of production, science and culture and meet the national economy's needs for specialists that combine high professional standards, ideological and political maturity and organisational and managerial skills. The Party attaches much significance to developing the system of advanced training which, together with the system of studies by correspondence and evening courses, will be offering favourable opportunities for all working people to continue their education, steadily increase and refresh their knowledge and raise their general cultural and professional standards.

The Party will show unflinching concern for the teaching staff and for strengthening and extending the material foundation of the entire system of education.

In the Field of Science

Science is playing an ever greater role in advancing the productive forces, and upgrading social relations, creating fundamentally new kinds of equipment and technology, raising labour productivity, developing natural resources in the depths of the Earth and the ocean, exploring outer space and protecting and improving the environment.

The Party's policy in the field of science aims to provide favourable conditions for dynamic progress of all departments of knowledge, concentrate personnel, material and financial resources in the more promising areas of research called upon to speed up the achievement of planned economic and social goals and society's

spiritual advancement and ensure a reliable defence capability for the country.

Dialectic-materialistic methods were and remain the fundamental, tried-and-tested basis for progress in natural and social studies. They should continue to be creatively developed and skilfully applied in research and social practice.

Soviet science is called upon to occupy leading positions in the principal areas of scientific and technological progress and provide effective and timely solutions to current and long-term production, social and economic problems. It is important to ensure priority development of basic, exploratory research and press for an early application of scientific ideas in the national economy and other fields of human endeavour. The organisational-economic forms of integrating science and production and directing scientific and technological progress should be continuously updated and the scope of important applied research and development efforts and their efficiency increased. It is essential to consistently strengthen the interaction of the scientific collectives working at academic institutions, higher educational establishments and in industry.

The social scientists should focus their attention on studying and comprehensively analysing the experience of world development and the building of the new society in the USSR and other socialist countries, the dialectics of productive forces and the relations of production, material and spiritual spheres under socialism, the general laws governing the formation of the communist system and the ways and means of ensuring gradual movement towards its supreme stage. An urgent task facing the social scientists at the present stage is to provide scientific analysis of the objective contradictions in socialist society, work out substantiated recommendations on how to overcome them and make dependable economic and social forecasts.

The processes under way in the communist, working-class and national liberation movements and in capitalist society need to be studied in depth. The course of world development confronts mankind with quite a few questions of global scope. Science should furnish correct answers to these questions. Combating bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism was and remains an important task of social science.

The Party supports bold exploration, competition of ideas and schools of thought in science, and fruitful discussions. Scholastic discourses and the passive recording of facts which has no room for bold theoretical generalisation are alien to science, as are time-serving and loss of contact with reality. The involved and complex problems of the present day call for a broader integration of social, natural and technical sciences. Forms of organisation of science which ensure an interdisciplinary study of topical problems, adequate mobility of scientific personnel, a flexible structure for scientific centres, and effective research and development must be further expanded. It is vital to enhance their role in the formulation and fulfilment of social and economic development plans. An essential condition of scientific progress is a constant influx of fresh forces, in particular from production, efficient use of the creative potentialities of scientists and incentive to their work depending on the real contribution to the solution of theoretical and applied problems.

In the Field of Cultural Development, Literature and the Arts

The development of the multi-nation Soviet culture, which is truly people's culture and which has won international recognition, is an historic achievement of our system. The sources of that culture's mighty influence lie in its faithfulness to the truth of life and to the ideals of socialism and communism, in its profound humanism and optimism and in its close links with the people.

The CPSU attaches much importance to a fuller and more profound assimilation of the

values of spiritual and material culture by the mass of working people, and to their active involvement in artistic creative work. Consistently taking guidance from the Leninist principles of cultural development, the Party will see to the aesthetic education of the working people and of the rising generation from what is best in national and world artistic culture. Aesthetic principles will give even more inspiration to work, elevate the person and enrich his everyday life.

The sphere of culture is called upon to meet the growing needs of different strata of the population, to provide adequate possibilities for the amateur artistic activity of the people, to develop human capabilities, to enrich the socialist way of life and to mould healthy needs and lofty aesthetic tastes. The Party considers as an essential condition for the effective accomplishment of these tasks constantly improving the content and methods of cultural education and popularising activities, strengthening the material base of this work and carrying out intensive cultural development programmes in the countryside and in newly-developed regions.

The Party will promote in every way growth in the role of literature and the arts. They are called upon to serve the interests of the people and the cause of communism, to be a source of joy and inspiration for millions, to express their will, sentiments and thoughts and energetically contribute to their ideological development and moral education.

The main avenue for the development of literature and the arts lies through strengthening the ties with people's lives, truthful and highly artistic presentation of socialist reality, an inspired and vivid portrayal of what is new and advanced and an impassioned exposure of everything which hampers social progress.

The arts of socialist realism are based on the principles of loyalty to the people and the Party. They combine bold innovation in truthful artistic presentation of life with use and development of all the progressive traditions of national and world culture. Workers in literature and the arts have broad room for truly free creative endeavour, for professional growth and for further development of diverse forms, styles and genres of realism. As the cultural standards of the people grow, the influence of art on the life of society and on its moral and psychological climate is enhanced. This adds to the responsibility of workers in culture for the ideological orientation of their creative work and for the force of artistic impact of their productions.

The CPSU takes a careful and respectful attitude to talent and to artistic quests. At the same time it has always fought and will continue to fight, relying on intellectual unions, public opinion and Marxist-Leninist criticism of literature and the arts, against manifestations of ideological emptiness, omnivorousness in world outlook, aesthetic dullness.

Soviet culture facilitates mutual understanding and rapprochement among the peoples and energetically contributes to the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war. Conveying the ideological richness and diversity of the spiritual life of socialist society and its real humanism, it enriches world culture and manifests itself more and more forcefully as a mighty factor of the spiritual progress of mankind and as a prototype of the culture of communism that is to come.

Part Three

The Tasks of the CPSU on the International Scene, in the drive for Peace and Social Progress

The international policy of the CPSU proceeds 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 war. It is inseparably linked with the basic, strategic tasks of the Party within the country and expresses the common aspiration of the Soviet people to engage in constructive work and to live in peace with all the peoples.

The Main Goals and Directions of the International Policy of the CPSU:

—provision of auspicious external conditions for refinement of socialist society and for advance to communism in the USSR; removal of the threat of world war and achievement of universal security and disarmament;

—constant development and expansion of co-operation between the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries and all-round promotion of consolidation and progress in the world socialist system;

—development of relations of equality and friendship with newly-free countries;

—maintenance and development of relations between the USSR and capitalist states on a basis of peaceful coexistence and business-like mutually beneficial co-operation;

—internationalist solidarity with communist and revolutionary-democratic parties, the international working class movement, and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

The approach of the CPSU to foreign-policy matters combines firm protection of the interests of the Soviet people and resolute opposition to the aggressive policy of imperialism with a readiness for dialogue and for constructive settlement of international problems through negotiations.

The foreign policy course of peace formulated by the Party and consistently pursued by the Soviet State in combination with strengthening the defence capability of the country has ensured for the Soviet people and for most of the world's population the longest period of life in peace in the 20th century. The CPSU will continue to do everything within its powers to preserve peaceful conditions for the constructive endeavours of the Soviet people, to improve international relations, to stop the arms race which has engulfed the world, and to avert the threat of nuclear war looming over the peoples.

There is no loftier or more responsible mission than that of safeguarding and strengthening peace and curbing the forces of aggression and militarism for the cause of life for the present and future generations. A world without wars, without weapons is the ideal of socialism.

I. Co-operation with Socialist Countries

The CPSU attaches primary importance to the further development and strengthening of relations of friendship between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Party is seeking lasting comradely relations and diversified co-operation between the USSR and all the other states of the world socialist system. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the cohesion of the countries of socialism meets the interests of each of them and their common interests and promotes the cause of peace and the triumph of the socialist ideals.

The comprehensive strengthening of relations of friendship and the development and perfection of the relations of the Soviet Union with the other countries of the socialist community are a matter of special concern to the Party.

The motive force for their all-round co-operation lies in the ruling communist and workers' parties. To strengthen the cohesion of the communists of the fraternal countries and to ensure enrichment of the practice of running social affairs on a reciprocal basis, the CPSU will continue to contribute to the broadening of inter-party links embracing all the levels of the parties, from central committees to primary party organisations; it will contribute to exchanges of

opinions and experience both on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

The CPSU will continue its line of strengthening state-to-state relations between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of formalising them in treaties and agreements, of promoting contacts between legislative bodies and between public organisations, and of further energising every form of political co-operation.

The Soviet Communists stand for more and more efficient interaction of the fraternal countries on the international scene with due regard for the situation and interests of each of them and for the common interests of the community.

As long as there exists the imperialist military bloc of NATO, the Party considers it vital to contribute in every way to boost the activities of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation as an instrument of collective defence against the aggressive ambitions of imperialism and of joint struggle for lasting peace and broader international co-operation.

In economic relations, the CPSU stands for continued deepening of socialist economic integration as the material foundation of the cohesion of the socialist countries. It attaches particular importance to the consistent pooling of efforts by the fraternal countries in the key areas of intensification of production and acceleration of scientific and technical progress so as to accomplish jointly a task of historical importance, namely that of emerging into the forefront of science and technology, for further improvement in the welfare of their peoples and strengthening their security.

The Party proceeds from the assumption that integration is called upon to contribute to an ever growing degree to the progress of social production and the socialist way of life in the countries of the community, to speedier evening out of economic development levels and to strengthening of the positions of socialism in the world.

The CPSU will actively participate in the collective work of the fraternal parties to coordinate economic policies, to improve the machinery of economic co-operation, to evolve new forms of that co-operation, to expand specialisation and co-production, to concert plans, to exchange advanced experience and to establish direct ties between amalgamations and enterprises. It will contribute to enhancement of the role of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and broadening of economic, scientific and technical co-operation on the basis of bilateral and multilateral programmes.

Assessing equal and mutually beneficial economic co-operation between socialist and capitalist states as natural and useful, the CPSU at the same time believes that development of socialist integration must enhance the technical and economic invulnerability of the community to hostile actions of imperialism and to the influence of economic crises and other adverse phenomena which are intrinsic in capitalism.

In ideology the CPSU stands for pooling of efforts of the fraternal parties in studying and using the experience in building socialism and communist education of the working people, this so as to develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism by promoting its creative nature and upholding its revolutionary essence. Invigoration of collective thought and constant expansion of exchanges of cultural and intellectual values and co-operation in science and culture serve to further strengthen friendship between socialist countries.

The Party will continue to enhance the awareness of the unity and common historical destinies of the fraternal peoples. The propagation of the truth about socialism, exposure of imperialist policy and propaganda, repulsing of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism and struggle against dogmatic and revisionist views are tasks which are accomplished with greater success

when the communists act in a single front.

The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen, along with the other fraternal parties, the unity and build up of the might and influence of the socialist community. The course of competition between socialism and capitalism and the future of world civilisation depends to a great extent on its strength, on the successes of each country in its constructive endeavours, and on the purposefulness and coordination of their actions.

The practice of development of the world socialist system shows that socialism provides every opportunity both for the confident progress of society and for harmonious mutual relations between countries. But neither comes of its own accord.

The economic and political development levels of countries, their historical and cultural traditions and their actual circumstances are different. The societal development of socialist countries does not always proceed straight-forwardly. Every major stage of this development raises new complex tasks, accomplishment of which involves struggle, quests, and the overcoming of contradictions and difficulties.

All this, in the view of the CPSU, demands utmost attention, well-meaning comparison of viewpoints, effective solidarity so that there are no grounds for differences which could harm common interests. Special importance is attached to coordination of actions in matters of principle, comradely interest in each other's success, strict implementation of commitments and profound awareness of national and common, internationalist interests in their organic inter-relationship.

The emergence and development of a new society is taking place in a situation of acute struggle between the two world systems. Seeking to weaken the positions of socialism and to disrupt the mutual ties of socialist states and primarily ties with the Soviet Union, imperialism is using a system of differentiated measures—political, economic and ideological, is trying to exploit problems which arise, and manipulating nationalistic sentiments for subversive purposes. The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that strong unity and class solidarity among socialist countries are especially important in such situations.

The experience of the USSR, of world socialism, shows that the most important factors for its successful advance are loyalty of the ruling communist and workers' parties to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, creative application of that doctrine; firm links between the parties and the broad masses of the working people, strengthening of their authority and leading role in society, strict observance of the Leninist norms of Party and state life, development of socialist rule by the people; sober reckoning with the real situation, timely and scientific solution of problems that arise; building of relations with other fraternal states on principles of socialist internationalism.

Whatever the characteristic features of each of the socialist countries, its economic development level, size, and historical and national traditions, all of them have the same class interests. What unites and forges the socialist countries together is paramount, and immeasurably greater than what may divide them.

The CPSU is convinced that the socialist countries, fully observing equality and displaying mutual respect for their national interests, will continue to follow the road of ever greater mutual understanding and rapprochement. The Party will contribute to this historically progressive process.

II. Strengthening Relations with Newly-Free Countries

Formulating its policy towards former colonial and semi-colonial countries, the CPSU proceeds

from the assumption that the emergence of the formerly enslaved peoples onto the road of independence, the rise of dozens of new states and their growing role in world politics and in the world economy constitute one of the distinctive features of the present age.

The newly-free peoples, as Vladimir I. Lenin foresaw, are to play a great role in the destinies of mankind as a whole. The CPSU stands for the growing influence of these peoples to contribute more and more effectively to the cause of peace and social progress.

The Party is consistently pursuing a line of expanding the Soviet Union's ties with the newly-free countries and regards with profound sympathy the aspirations of the peoples who experienced at first hand the heavy and humiliating burden of colonial slavery. The Soviet Union is building its relations with those countries on a basis of strict respect for their independence and equality and supports the struggle of those countries against the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, against the survivals of colonialism, and for peace and universal security.

The Party attaches much importance to solidarity and political and economic co-operation with socialist-oriented countries. Every people is developing mostly by its own efforts the material and technical base needed to build a new society and is seeking to improve the well-being and cultural standards of the masses. The Soviet Union has been doing and will continue to do what it can to render the peoples following that road assistance in economic and cultural development, in training national personnel, in building up their defences and in other fields.

The CPSU is deepening its relations with the revolutionary-democratic parties of newly-free countries. Especially close collaboration is being practised with those of them which are seeking to base their activities on scientific socialism. The CPSU stands for development of contacts with all national progressive parties adhering to anti-imperialist and patriotic positions.

The practice of relations of the Soviet Union with newly-free countries has demonstrated that there also exist realistic grounds for co-operation with those emergent states which are following the capitalist road of development. That means common interest in safeguarding peace, strengthening international security and ending the arms race. That means the aggravating contradiction between the interests of the peoples and the imperialist policy of *diktat* and expansion. That means the understanding by emergent states of the fact that political and economic ties with the Soviet Union help to reinforce their independence.

However different newly-free countries may be and whatever road they follow, their peoples are united by a desire to develop independently and to decide their affairs without foreign interference. The Soviet Union is fully in solidarity with them. It is beyond doubt for the CPSU that it is the sacred right of the newly-free countries to decide their destinies and to choose the type of social system.

The CPSU speaks out in support of the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and the oppression of transnational monopolies, for the assertion of the sovereign right to be master of one's own resources, for the restructuring of international relations on an equal and democratic basis, for the establishment of a new international economic order, and for delivery from the debt yoke imposed by the imperialists.

The Soviet Union is on the side of the states and peoples repulsing the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism and standing up for their freedom, independence and national dignity. Solidarity with them nowadays also constitutes an important aspect of the overall struggle for peace and international security. The Party sees it as its internationalist duty to render

support for the struggle of the peoples who still are under the yoke of racism and who are victims of the apartheid system.

The CPSU regards with understanding the aims and activities of the Non-Aligned Movement and stands for the enhancement of its role in world politics. The USSR will continue to be on the side of the non-aligned states in their struggle against the forces of aggression and hegemonism and for overcoming arising disputes and conflicts through negotiations, and will be opposed to the involvement of those states in military and political groupings.

The CPSU stands for the equal participation of newly-free countries in international affairs and for the enhancement of their contribution to the solution of the most important problems of our time. The interaction of those countries with socialist states is vastly important for strengthening the independence of the peoples, improving international relations and safeguarding peace.

The alliance of the forces for social progress and national liberation is a guarantee of a better future for mankind.

III. Relations with Capitalist Countries. Struggle for Lasting Peace and Disarmament

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that historical contention between the two opposite social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism is proving its advantages not by force of arms but by force of example in every area of societal life—by the dynamic development of the economy, science and culture, by improvements in the living standards of the working people and by the extension of socialist democracy.

The Soviet Communists are convinced that the future belongs to socialism. Every people is worthy of living in a society which is free from social and national oppression, in a society of genuine equality and genuine democracy. It is the sovereign right of an oppressed and exploited people to free itself from exploitation and injustice. Revolutions are a natural result of social development, of class struggle in every given country. The CPSU has always believed and continues to believe that the 'export' of revolution, the imposition of it on anyone from outside, is fundamentally unacceptable. But the 'export' of counterrevolution in any form, too, constitutes a gross encroachment on the free expression of will by the peoples, on their right to independently choose their way of development. The Soviet Union is strongly opposed to the attempts to forcibly check and reverse the march of history.

The interests of the peoples demand that state-to-state relations be directed onto tracks of peaceful competition and equal co-operation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly and consistently upholding the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The policy of peaceful coexistence as understood by the CPSU presupposes: renunciation of war and the use or threat of force as a means of settling contentious questions, and their settlement through negotiations; non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for the lawful interests of each other; the right of the peoples to independently decide their destinies; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and inviolability of their borders; co-operation on a basis of complete equality and mutual benefit; fulfilment in good faith of commitments arising from commonly recognised principles and norms of international law and from international treaties concluded.

These are the foundations on which the Soviet Union is building its relations with capitalist states. They have been sealed in the Constitution of the USSR.

The CPSU will be purposefully contributing to the universal assertion in international relations of the principle of peaceful coexistence as a commonly recognised and respected norm of state-to-state relations. It considers inadmissible that ideological differences between the two systems be extended to the sphere of these relations.

The Party will seek development of the process of international detente, viewing it as a natural and essential stage on the road to the establishment of a comprehensive and dependable security system. The available experience of co-operation confirms the feasibility of this prospect. The CPSU stands for the establishment and use of international mechanisms and institutions which would make it possible to find optimal combinations of national, state interests with the common interests of mankind. It stands for enhancing the role of the United Nations in strengthening peace and developing international co-operation.

The nuclear powers bear a special responsibility for the world situation. The states possessing nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must renounce use or threat of use thereof and refrain from steps which lead to the aggravation of the international situation.

The CPSU stands for normal and stable relations between the Soviet Union and the USA, presupposing non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for each other's legitimate interests, recognition and practical observance of the principles of equality and equal security, and establishment of the greatest possible mutual trust on this basis. Differences between social systems and ideologies should not lead to strain in relations. There are objective preconditions for the establishment of fruitful and mutually beneficial Soviet-American co-operation in various fields. It is the conviction of the CPSU that the policies of both powers should be oriented to mutual understanding rather than hostility, which is fraught with the threat of catastrophic consequences for the Soviet and the American peoples and for other nations.

The Party is convinced that all states, big and small, regardless of their potentials, geographic situation and social systems, can and must participate in a search for solutions to acute problems, in the settlement of conflict situations and in measures to lessen tensions and to bridle the arms race.

The CPSU attaches much importance to the further development of peaceful good-neighbourliness and co-operation among European states. An inviolable condition of the stability of positive processes in this region, as in all others, is respect for the territorial and political realities which resulted from the Second World War. The CPSU is strongly opposed to attempts to revise them under any pretext and will counter any manifestation of revanchism.

The Party will be consistently seeking to ensure that the process of strengthening security, trust and peaceful co-operation in Europe, started on the initiative and with the active participation of the Soviet Union, develops and expands, embracing the whole world. The CPSU stands for pooling of efforts by all the interested states for ensuring security in Asia and for a joint search by them for a constructive solution to this problem. Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean can and must become zones of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The CPSU stands for development of extensive, long-term and stable contacts between states in economy, science and technology on a basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. Foreign economic co-operation has great political importance as it contributes to stronger peace and relations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. The Soviet Union rejects all discrimination and use of trade, economic, scientific and technical contacts as a means of pressure, and will work to ensure

the economic security of states.

The CPSU stands for broad mutual exchanges of genuine values of culture among all countries. These exchanges are to serve humanitarian goals, such as cultural and intellectual enrichment of the peoples and promotion of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The Soviet State will co-operate with other countries in tackling global problems which have grown especially grave in the second half of the 20th century and which are vital to the whole of mankind, such as environmental protection, energy, raw materials, food and demographic problems, peaceful exploration of space and the resources of the world ocean, the overcoming of the economic backwardness of many newly-free countries, eradication of dangerous diseases and others. The solution of these problems calls for joint efforts by all states. It will be eased substantially if the squandering of efforts and resources on the arms race is stopped.

Pursuing the interests of mankind and promoting the good of all the peoples, the CPSU and the Soviet State advocate an extensive and constructive programme of measures aimed at ending the arms race, achieving disarmament and ensuring peace and security.

The CPSU, considering universal and complete disarmament under strict and all-embracing international control a historic task and carrying on efforts to achieve it, shall be working consistently for:

—restriction and narrowing of the sphere of war preparations, especially those involving weapons of mass destruction. First and foremost, outer space should be totally excluded from that sphere so that it does not become a scene of military rivalry and source of death and destruction. Exploration and development of outer space must be carried out only for peaceful purposes, for the development of science and production, so as to meet the needs of all the peoples. The USSR stands for collective efforts in the resolution of this problem and will energetically participate in international co-operation to this effect. The Soviet Union will also advocate the adoption of measures contributing to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and to the establishment of zones free from these and other weapons of mass destruction;

—implementation step by step by the end of the 20th century of the complete removal of nuclear armaments and through an end to the testing and production of all types thereof, the renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons by all the nuclear powers, as well as freezing, reduction and elimination of the arsenals of these weapons;

—an end to the production of other types of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, their elimination, and a ban on the development of new types of such weapons;

—reductions in the armed forces of states, primarily the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and countries linked with them by military agreements, limitations on conventional armaments, an end to the development of new types of these armaments which are comparable in their effects to weapons of mass destruction, and reductions in military expenditure;

—a freeze on and reductions in the troops and armaments in the more explosive parts of the world, the dismantling of military bases on foreign territories, and measures to build up mutual trust and to lessen the risk of armed conflicts, accidental included.

The stand of the CPSU is to seek to overcome the division of the world into military-political groupings. The CPSU advocates simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation or, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organisations. The Soviet Union advocates as a measure to reduce confrontation between the military blocs the conclusion between them of a treaty on the mutual non-use of force and the maintenance of relations of

peace, a treaty which would be open to all other states.

The CPSU will exert efforts to ensure that questions of arms limitation and prevention of the war threat are tackled through honest and strictly observed agreements on a basis of equality and equal security of the sides so that any attempt to conduct talks from 'positions of strength' and use them as a cover for an arms build-up should be precluded.

The Soviet State and its allies do not seek military superiority but neither will they allow the military-strategic parity existing on the world scene to be tipped. At the same time they are consistently working to ensure that the level of this parity is consistently lowered so that the quantity of armaments on both sides is reduced and the security of all the peoples guaranteed.

The CPSU solemnly declares: there are no weapons that the Soviet Union would not be prepared to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis and with effective verification.

The USSR makes no attempts on the security of any country West or East. It threatens no one, nor does it seek confrontation with any state, and it wishes to live in peace with all countries. The Soviet socialist state has been carrying aloft the banner of peace and friendship among the peoples ever since the Great October Revolution. The CPSU shall remain loyal to that Leninist banner.

IV. The CPSU in the World Working Class and Communist Movement

The CPSU is an integral part of the international communist movement. It regards its activities to refine socialist society and to advance onward to communism as a major internationalist task, the accomplishment of which meets the interests of the world socialist system, the interests of the international working class and of mankind as a whole.

The communists, who have always been the most consistent fighters against social and national oppression, are now also in the forefront of the struggle for the preservation of peace on Earth and for the right of people to live. They are clearly aware of the causes of the war threat, expose the true culprits of aggravation of the international tension and the arms race, and seek co-operation with all capable of making a contribution to the drive against war.

The CPSU realises that communist and workers' parties in the non-socialist world are acting in a complex and controversial situation. The range of the circumstances and forms of their struggle is rather broad. But this expands rather than narrows the opportunities available to the movement. The diverse forms of activity practised by the communists enable them to take better account of specific national conditions and concrete historical circumstances, and of the interests of different social groups and strata of the population.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that the communists in each country independently analyse and evaluate the situation, formulate their strategic course and policies, and choose ways of struggle for the immediate and ultimate goals and for the communist ideals. The experience accumulated by the communist parties is a valuable internationalist asset.

The CPSU closely studies the problems and experience of foreign communist parties. It regards with understanding their desire to upgrade their strategy and tactics and to seek broader class alliances on a platform of anti-monopolistic, anti-war actions, and to uphold the economic interests and political rights of the working people, proceeding from the assumption that struggle for democracy is a component part of struggle for socialism.

The imperialist circles of different countries are closely concerting their actions against socialism and all the democratic forces and are

seeking to set some communist parties in opposition to others. The importance of proletarian internationalism and of comradely solidarity among the communists is growing in these circumstances.

The CPSU believes that differences over individual issues should not hinder international co-operation among communist parties and united action by them.

In the instances when divergences of views on individual problems arise between the fraternal parties, the CPSU considers it useful to hold comradely discussions for a better understanding of each other's views and reaching mutually acceptable appraisals. But when the point at issue is the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, the substance and role of real socialism, the CPSU will continue to firmly uphold positions of principle. This also defines the CPSU's attitude to any attempt to emasculate the class essence of the activities of the communists, distort the revolutionary character of the aims and means of struggle for attaining them. Experience shows that departure from the fundamentals of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin weakens the potentialities of the communist movement.

In its relations with the fraternal parties, the CPSU firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism which organically combines both revolutionary solidarity and recognition of the full independence and equality of each party. On the basis of this principle, the CPSU is actively developing its ties with the communist and workers' parties, exchanging information and participating in bilateral and multilateral meetings, in regional and broader international conferences called when the need arises.

Soviet Communists always side with their comrades in class in the capitalist world. The CPSU will use its international prestige to defend communists—victims of the arbitrary rule of reaction. It sets high store by solidarity of the fraternal parties, their struggle against anti-Sovietism. Mutual support of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist and non-socialist countries is an important factor for social progress.

The CPSU will continue its policy of development of ties with socialist, social-democratic and labour parties. Co-operation with them can play a considerable role above all in the effort to prevent nuclear war. However deep divergencies between various trends of the workers' movement, this is no obstacle to a fruitful and systematic exchange of views, to parallel or joint actions against the danger of war, for improving the international situation, eliminating the vestiges of colonialism, for the interests and rights of the working people.

The Party attaches much significance to invigorating co-operation of all contingents of the international working class movement, deepening interaction between trade unions of diverse trends, and youth, women's, peasant and other democratic organisations of various countries.

Being deeply aware of its historical responsibility to the world working class and its communist vanguard, the CPSU will continue to:

- uphold the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist fundamentals of the world communist movement, creatively develop the theory of scientific socialism, consistently fight against dogmatism and revisionism, all influences of bourgeois ideology on the working class movement;

- do its utmost for cohesion and co-operation among fraternal parties, international solidarity of the communists, for increasing the contribution of the communist movement to the cause of preventing world war;

- pursue a consistent policy of unity of action of the international working class movement, of all working people in the struggle for their common interests, for lasting peace and security

of peoples, for national independence, democracy and socialism.

Part Four

The CPSU—the Leading Force in Soviet Society

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a path unprecedented in depth and force of impact on social development. Swift has been its rise from the first Marxist circles via three people's revolutions to leadership of a great socialist power.

The history-making achievements of the Soviet people in building a new society, the victory in the Great Patriotic War, the country's confident advancement towards ever higher stages of socio-economic and cultural progress and the growth in the Soviet Union's influence on the course of world development are inseparably linked with the Communist Party's activities. It is the inspirer and organiser of the historical creativity of the mass of the people, our society's leading and guiding force. Equipped with the Marxist-Leninist theory, the Party is determining the general perspective for the country's development, ensuring science-based leadership of the creative activities of the people, and lending an organised, plan-based and purposeful character to the building of communism.

As a result of socialism having been built in the USSR, of transition of all sections of the working people to the positions of the working class, and consolidation of the socio-political and ideological unity of the Soviet society, the Communist Party, retaining its class essence and ideology as the Party of the working class, has become the Party of the whole people. This predetermines the revolutionary continuity, the class character of home and foreign policy, of the whole activity of the CPSU.

In the new historical conditions, when the country is confronted with important tasks in its internal development and in the international arena, the Party's leading role naturally grows in the life of Soviet society, and even higher demands are made on the level of its political and organisational activity. This is predetermined by such essential factors as:

- growth in the scale and complexity of the tasks for refining of socialism, accelerating the country's socio-economic development, the need to elaborate and consistently implement a policy ensuring their successful performance and an organic interconnection between economic, social and cultural progress in society;

- development of the political system, deepening of democracy and socialist self-government by the people through enhancing the political and labour activeness of the masses, drawing them on a large scale into the administration of production, state and public affairs;

- the need for further creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory, profound comprehension of the practices for building communism, search for scientifically substantiated and timely answers to the questions posed by life, so as to enhance the social consciousness of the working people, eradicating the manifestations of petty-bourgeois mentality and ethics and all deviations from the norms of the socialist mode of life;

- interests of extending all-round co-operation, enhancing the cohesion of the socialist countries, international communist and workers' movement, the solidarity with the forces of national liberation, the fight against bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, reformism and sectarianism;

- complication of the foreign policy conditions in connection with the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, the need for heightened vigilance, for assurance of the country's security and for

new, more persistent efforts to curb the forces of aggression, end the arms race, rid mankind of the threat of nuclear catastrophe and strengthen peace on Earth.

In carrying out the political leadership of society, the CPSU will further consistently apply the tested Leninist principles, assert the Leninist style in Party work, in all fields of administration of the state and the economy, enhance the science-based character of its policy; and look broadly to the collective wisdom and experience of the masses, developing their social initiative. It attaches fundamental significance to the unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organisational and economic activity, uncompromising struggle against any stagnation and conservatism, a creative quest for effective resolution of problems that arise.

The CPSU considers it necessary to take careful account of the specific character of the functions of Party, state and public organs, to coordinate their work, not permit duplication of effort, to enhance the role of the Party committees as organs of political leadership, eliminate manifestations of rigid formalism and red tape, bureaucratic and other distortions in the work of the administrative machinery; to boost checks on fulfilment of Party decisions and of economic plans; and reinforce state and labour discipline, order and organisational standards.

The CPSU will tirelessly assert in the activity of all Party organisations and work collectives a creative attitude, efficiency, high responsibility and principle, instil an ability to evaluate objectively and self-critically the results achieved, and be attentive and sensitive in attitude to people, their needs and requirements.

The Party inseparably links higher standards of the guidance of state, economic and cultural construction with further improvement of work with personnel. It considers essential that the Leninist principles of selection and evaluation of personnel by political, business and moral qualities be strictly observed everywhere from top to bottom, that public opinion be considered even more fully.

By the whole of its personnel policy the CPSU will foster promotion to leadership of communists and non-Party people, who are politically mature, of high moral standards, competent and full of initiative, and shall be more vigorous in advancing women to executive posts. The Party attaches fundamental significance to such leadership qualities as a sense for new ideas, closeness to people, readiness to take responsibility upon oneself, desire to learn to work better, an ability to consider the political essence of economic management and high standards for one's own self and others.

The Party sees to it that young, promising workers work in all areas alongside tested cadres of older generations, and gain experience and the necessary training. This is a natural process which creates a reliable guarantee against routine, stagnation and voluntarism.

There must be confidence in personnel but at the same time high standards expected, enhanced personal responsibility to Party organisations and work collectives for results of labour and observance of Party and state discipline, and greater monitoring by the masses of the activity of those leading. Each manager should be accountable in full measure for the work entrusted to him, build his relations with people correctly and inspire them by personal example. No Party organisation, no worker should be left above control.

The development of the Party is characterised by a further growth and strengthening in Party ranks, and refinement of inner-Party relations on principles of democratic centralism.

Swelling its ranks with foremost representatives of the working class, collective farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia, the Party increases its influence in various sectors of building communism. The CPSU considers it

vital that workers hold a leading place in its social composition. A person's political and business qualities, honesty and decency, preparedness to devote all his or her energies to the cause of communism remain the decisive condition for admission to Party ranks. Attempts to penetrate the Party and make a career of it should be stopped short.

Party membership gives no privileges, but implies only an even higher responsibility for all that is done in the country, for the destiny of building communism, of social progress. Every communist must be an example in work and behaviour, in public and personal life. The strength of the Party's links with the masses, its prestige among the people depends in large measure on how fully the vanguard role of the communists manifests itself. The Party will constantly raise the standards to which each communist is held in attitude to his or her duty, for an honest and pure character of the Party member, and appraise that person by work and deeds.

The CPSU sees an earnest of success of its activity, of high creative activeness by the communists in further developing and deepening inner-Party democracy, in strictly observing the Leninist norms for Party life. Promoting criticism and self-criticism, public openness.

The Party will continue to build the whole of its work on the tested principle of collectiveness. To ensure its further assertion and development, the CPSU considers it essential to increase the role and significance of Party meetings, plenums, conferences and congresses, and Party committees and bureaus as collective organs of leadership, to ensure favourable conditions for a free and business-like discussion in the Party of the questions relating to its policy and practical activity.

While demanding that the democratic principles of inner-Party life should be consistently pursued in practice, the CPSU simultaneously devotes unremitting attention to strengthening Party discipline. Firm, conscientious discipline of Party members is a necessary prerequisite of high socialist discipline in all fields of public life.

Successful Party activity and growing active-

ness of the communists are inseparably linked with a further improvement in work of the Party's primary organisations. Being the political nucleus of the work collectives, they are called upon to contribute in every way possible to fusing the Party's policy into the live creativity of the masses.

The Party will ever strengthen the unity and monolithic strength of its ranks. It preserves among the arsenal of its means organisational guarantees envisaged by the Rules of the CPSU against any manifestations of factionalism and clannishness. The most important source of its strength and invincibility is the indestructible ideological and organisational cohesion of the Party.

The CPSU proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist provision that the people are the architect of history, and communist creativity is the work of their hands, energy and wisdom. The live creativity of the people is the earnest of all our achievements.

The Party exists for the people, and sees the meaning of its activity in service to the people. The goals and tasks it sets itself are an expression of the aspirations, of the vital interests of the Soviet people. The Party will further work in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, permanently broadening and deepening its links with the masses, sharing people's needs and concerns. It sees as its duty constantly taking counsel with the working people on the key issues of home and foreign policy, attentively heeding public opinion, and drawing non-Party people on an ever large scale into involvement in the work of Party organisation. The more actively the Party is supported by the people, the more it influences the course of social development.

In all of its activity the CPSU is unwaveringly guided by the tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. It will contribute in every way possible to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, develop fraternal relations with all the 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 fight in defence of the vital interests of the working

people, for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Such is the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Party calls upon all the communists, all the working people—workers, collective farmers and intellectuals—to take up most vigorously implementation of the history-making tasks put forward in it. The Party is confident that the Soviet people, having received the Programme of the CPSU as their vital cause, will make every effort for its implementation.

Through substantial acceleration of socio-economic progress to the attainment of a new qualitative state in society—such is the Party strategy. All-round refinement of socialism will bring about new benefits for every family, for every Soviet person, will lead to a further flourishing of our socialist homeland and finally to the triumph of communism.

The onward march of our people to that cherished goal will increase the attractive force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, transformation of the society along the principles of humanism and social justice. They win the minds and hearts of people by the example of more perfect organisation of society, a steady growth in the productive forces, ensuring conditions for creative work, for people's happiness and well-being, a resolute rejection of aggressive wars, assertion of the principles of peace and broad co-operation between peoples on a basis of equality and general security.

The communists, all the working people of our country are looking optimistically to the future. The Party is firmly convinced that by the selfless labour effort of the Soviet people—a creator people, an architect people—the tasks set will be resolved and the goals outlined achieved. Such is the adamant will of the Communist Party, of the whole Soviet people.

Under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people have built socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism the Soviet people will build communist society. □

Eduard Shevardnadze's speech in Warsaw

WARSAW, March 17, TASS:

"THE vigorous participation of the Polish People's Republic in the implementation of the concerted line of the fraternal socialist states at achieving a turn for the better in European and world affairs is highly appreciated in the Soviet Union," said Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, who is now on an official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic.

He was speaking here today at a dinner given in his honour by Marian Orzechowski, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Foreign Minister of the Polish People's Republic.

Eduard Shevardnadze noted that his visit to the Polish People's Republic was taking place shortly after the 27th CPSU Congress. "I would like to emphasise particularly here today", he said, "the following features of fundamental importance from the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress."

"The dynamism of the economic and political

development of the world socialist system now has a greater impact than ever on the destinies of peace and social progress. The forms of co-operation of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries are being upgraded and enriched.

"The CPSU attaches ever greater importance to lively, extensive communication between citizens of socialist countries. The socialist community can gain a lot from care and respect for each other's experience, and its practical implementation.

"Peace is the highest class principle of socialism, the Congress declared. The struggle against the nuclear danger, against the arms race and for safeguarding and consolidating peace has been proclaimed the cardinal direction of the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU.

"Having formulated the principle of solving any international problems exclusively by political means, on the basis of equality, confidence and universality," Eduard Shevardnadze emphasised, "the CPSU has advanced programme directions at achieving these aims. In accordance with them, priority importance in the Soviet Union's entire foreign policy is attached to the implementation of the programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of the current century, which was advanced in Mikhail Gorbachyov's statement. The historic concept of a world without nuclear

arms has been advanced by the collective thinking of the entire socialist community. It reflects the aspirations of all peaceful people on Earth." □

Demichev meets Gandhi

NEW DELHI, March 18, TASS:

Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, today received Pyotr Demichev, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Culture of the USSR, who is paying an official visit to India at the invitation of the government of the country.

Pyotr Demichev conveyed to Rajiv Gandhi friendly greetings and best wishes from Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders. In the course of the meeting the sides discussed bilateral relations and ways for the further development of multilateral Soviet-Indian co-operation. They exchanged opinions on a number of international problems and also discussed the development of cultural contacts between the USSR and India. Their conversation passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. □

Nikolai Ryzhkov's Stockholm meetings

STOCKHOLM, March 14, TASS:

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met here today Ingvar Carlsson, the Swedish Prime Minister. On behalf of the Soviet leadership Nikolai Ryzhkov conveyed to Sweden's Government and people profound condolences upon Olof Palme's tragic death.

Questions of the further development of Soviet-Swedish relations, including contacts at a high political level, were discussed during the conversation. Both sides proclaimed the striving to deepen equal good-neighbourly co-operation between the USSR and Sweden.

Nikolai Ryzhkov informed Sweden's Prime Minister of the reply made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachyov, to the joint message of the leaders of six states and handed over to him the text of the message which contains the Soviet Union's new important proposal on the question of terminating nuclear tests.

Ingvar Carlsson declared that the Swedish Government intended to continue playing an active role in the struggle for peace and disarmament, including in the framework of the group of six states who were authors of the Delhi Declaration.

Present at the conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, were, from the Soviet side, Viktor Maltsev, USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister, and the USSR Ambassador to Sweden Boris Pankin; and from the Swedish side, Sten Andersson, Foreign Minister, and Pierre Schorri, General Secretary of the Foreign Ministry of Sweden.

Meeting with Rolf Hagel

Nikolai Ryzhkov also had a meeting with members of the leadership of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party led by Rolf Hagel, Chairman of the party's board. During the conversation, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, the sides touched on questions of mutual interest, primarily those dealing with the common tasks of both parties in the effort to safeguard and strengthen peace and radically improve the international situation.

Rolf Hagel spoke highly of the results of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and on behalf of the Party's leadership conveyed to the Soviet people and the CPSU wishes of success in implementing the decisions of the Congress.

Nikolai Ryzhkov's meeting with Swedish King

STOCKHOLM, March 15, TASS:

Nikolai Ryzhkov paid a visit today to Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf. The head of the Swedish State expressed gratitude for the participation of the high-ranking Soviet delegation in the mourning ceremony of the funeral of Olof Palme.

A conversation was held, in the course of which some issues of Soviet-Swedish relations and topical international issues were touched upon.

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers was accompanied by the USSR Ambassador to Sweden, Boris Pankin.

Last night, Nikolai Ryzhkov met here with representatives of Swedish business circles and senior executives of the country's industrial and trade companies.

In the course of the meeting, views were exchanged on issues pertaining to trade-economic and scientific-technological relations

between Sweden and the USSR. The prospects for economic and social development of the USSR and the opportunities opening up in this connection for Sweden's business circles, about which Nikolai Ryzhkov spoke, aroused much interest from the audience.

Both sides pointed out the topical significance of an active use of both traditional and new forms of mutually beneficial Soviet-Swedish co-operation, which is an important factor in strengthening mutual understanding between the two countries.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and George Shultz meet

Nikolai Ryzhkov had a meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz at the Soviet Embassy here today.

In the course of their conversation the sides discussed some aspects of Soviet-US relations and a number of international problems.

Attending the meeting, from the Soviet side, were Viktor Maltsev, Boris Pankin and Oleg Grinevsky, the leader of the Soviet delegation to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe; from the American side, Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, and other officials.

Nikolai Ryzhkov's conversation with Daniel Ortega

Nikolai Ryzhkov had a meeting with Daniel Ortega, President of the Republic of Nicaragua and member of the national leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

During the conversation Nikolai Ryzhkov reaffirmed the solidarity of the Soviet people with the people of Nicaragua who heroically defend their right to free and independent development. The US Administration's course toward interference in the internal affairs of Central American countries was condemned and the need for scaling up international efforts in the interests of a just political settlement in that region was emphasised.

Daniel Ortega gave a high appraisal to the results of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and wished the Soviet people, its Leninist Party and the Soviet Government every success in building communism and in strengthening peace.

Viktor Maltsev and Boris Pankin took part in the conversation from the Soviet side, and Miguel d'Escoto, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, from the Nicaraguan side.

Conversation with Rajiv Gandhi

Nikolai Ryzhkov met Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India here today.

During the conversation that passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding they exchanged views on questions of mutual interest to both sides.

Nikolai Ryzhkov and Rajiv Gandhi expressed mutual satisfaction at the high level of development of Soviet-Indian relations, which meet the vital interests of the peoples of both countries, and peace and security in Asia and the world over.

Nikolai Ryzhkov took note of India's important role in the effort to end the arms race and eliminate the threat of nuclear war. He handed over to Rajiv Gandhi the reply of Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to leaders of six countries.

The message sets forth a new Soviet initiative on the question of the termination of nuclear explosions.

Rajiv Gandhi spoke with appreciation of the efforts made by the USSR in order to eliminate mass annihilation weapons completely by the end of the 20th century and bring about a radical improvement of the international situation.

The meeting was also attended from the Soviet side by Viktor Maltsev and Boris Pankin, and from the Indian side by Narayan Datt Tivari, the Minister of Industry, Romesh Bhandari, Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the Ministry of External Affairs of India, and A P Venkatesvaran, Secretary at the Ministry of External Affairs.

Meeting with President of Finland

STOCKHOLM, March 16, TASS:

Nikolai Ryzhkov met President Mauno Koivisto of Finland in Stockholm yesterday.

During the conversation, the sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the stable relations of mutual trust and friendship between the two countries, and with their advancement in the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Finland and of the cause of peace in Europe.

Both sides intend to continue paying special attention to deepening good-neighbourliness and all-round co-operation.

The need was stressed for universal efforts to curb the arms race, above all in nuclear arms, to prevent the militarisation of outer space, eliminate the existing tension in the world and restore detente.

Viktor Maltsev and Boris Pankin also attended the conversation, together with Bjern-Olaf Allholm, Finland's Ambassador to Sweden. □

Soviet-Chinese talks

PEKING, March 16, TASS:

THE Soviet-Chinese commission on economic, trade, scientific and technical co-operation opened its first session here today. The Soviet side at the talks is represented by Ivan Arkhipov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the commission, and the Chinese side by Li Peng, Vice Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and chairman of the Chinese side of the commission.

Arkhipov informed the Chinese side about basic decisions of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and about the economic and foreign political strategy of the Soviet Union elaborated at the Congress. The head of the Soviet delegation in his statement drew attention to the clause on Soviet-Chinese relations contained in the CPSU Central Committee's political report, delivered by Mikhail Gorbachyov, the General Secretary of the Central Committee.

The head of the Chinese delegation described the economic restructuring in the course of socialist construction in China.

The commission is examining a broad range of questions of the practical implementation of the Soviet-Chinese governmental agreement on trade and payments, the Soviet-Chinese agreement on economic and technical co-operation of December 28, 1984, the agreement between the governments of the USSR and China on economic and technical co-operation in the construction and modernisation of projects in China, and the agreement on scientific and technical co-operation.

The discussion is being held in a business-like, constructive atmosphere.