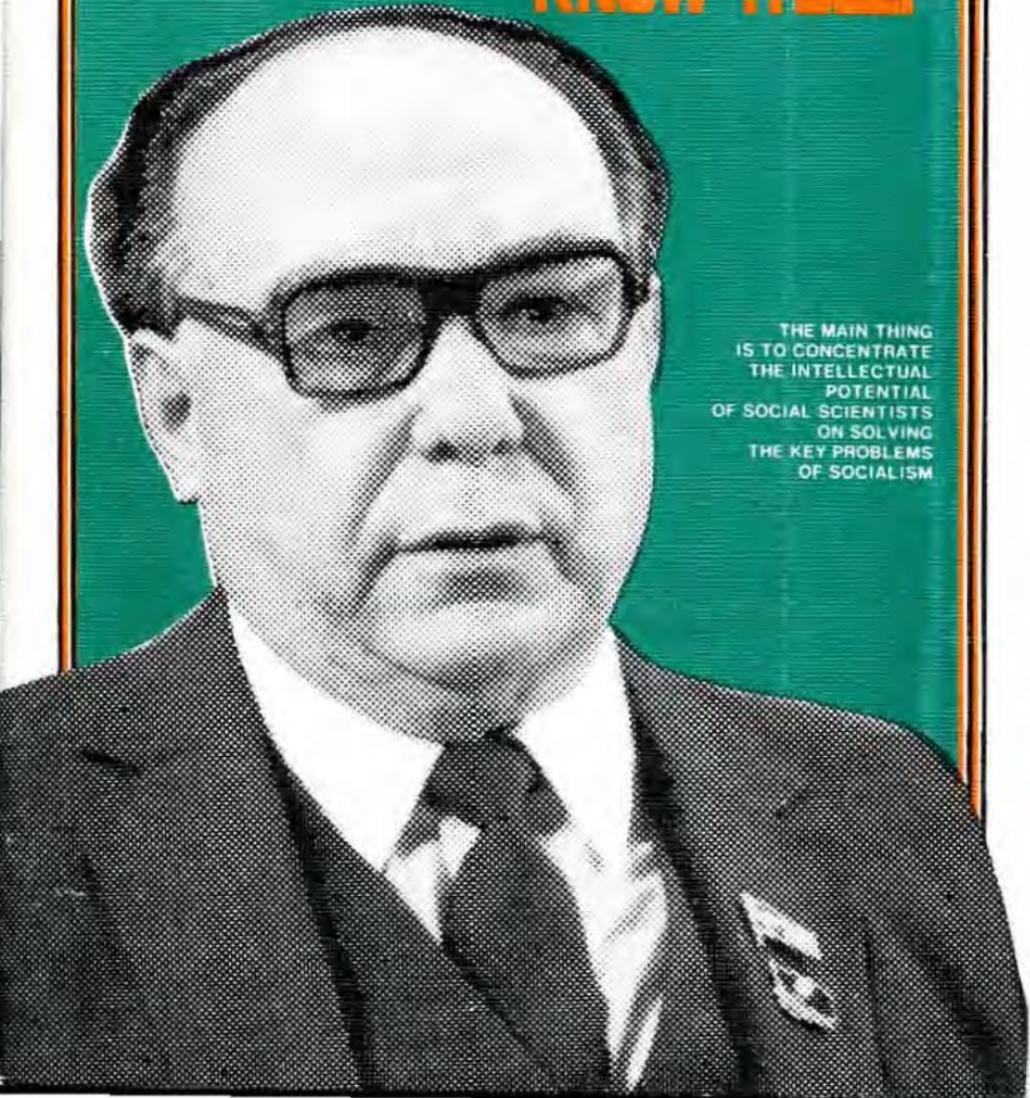


Expert Opinion

Alexander YAKOVLEV

**MODERN SOCIALISM
MUST FIRST AND FOREMOST
KNOW ITSELF**



THE MAIN THING
IS TO CONCENTRATE
THE INTELLECTUAL
POTENTIAL
OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
ON SOLVING
THE KEY PROBLEMS
OF SOCIALISM.

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The Achievement of a Qualitatively New State of Soviet Society and Social Sciences

Alexander
YAKOVLEV,
Member of the
CC CPSU
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'Since the March 1985 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee the Party has been tackling tasks that are unprecedented for their novelty and complexity, scope and responsibility. It is having to solve equations with many unknowns. Restructuring is a thoroughgoing process and it is moving forward, but it is a contradictory and at times difficult business. A whole range of factors is holding it back, including an imperfect understanding of the theoretical aspects of the reforms.'

The period since the April 1985 Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee has been marked by a vigorous theoretical search, in the course of which a set of ideas which have enriched social development intellectually and emotionally has been formulated and introduced into the life of the Party and the people. The efforts of the Party are creating a new vision of the socialist perspective, furthering the general comprehension of the aims and character of the current revolutionary changes. In his address to social scientists Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a programme of social research pertaining to basic questions of our movement in general and to their applied aspects in particular. Of major significance was a decision of the CC CPSU concerning the journal *Kommunist*.

The October Revolution of 1917 and the current restructuring, separated as they are by seven decades, display an unbreakable continuity and a common key element. The restructuring period is one of fundamental change and a sequel to the cause of the October Revolution in the new historical conditions. Being a moment of revolutionary truth, and following a certain stagnation in social processes, restructuring has required an objective analysis of the state of Soviet society, of world development and of all basic problems in the life of the individual and mankind.

The Soviet Communist Party has scientifically tested knowledge of the basic features of the present epoch, of the contradictory but mutually interconnected and largely integral world, as well as an understanding of the optimum ways, means and methods of solving questions vital to the destinies of civilization at the present stage, which is turning the tide of world history. The requirements dictated by time are determined not only by the pragmatic aspects of the present and future world situation, but also by those new forms which are being assumed by the historical confrontation between the two systems in the conditions of the current scientific and technological revolution, tying together the intrasocial and international contradictions of social progress.

A conception and methodology of new political thinking has been proposed. It is based on the analysis of the dialectics of classes and the general in the present conditions, on the assumption that only socialism, in alliance with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces can preserve and multiply the humanistic values of civilization and display historic initiatives along the mainlines of social progress. Large-scale questions of complex dialectical interconnections between the internal progress of socialism and world development as a whole have been raised.

The ideological and theoretical platform of the acceleration of the Soviet Union's socio-economic development and of the achievement on this basis of a qualitatively new stage of society has, in the main, been created. The seed of revolutionary restructuring was planted in the people's soil in April 1985. It has sprouted in the form of a mass struggle for the implementation of a programme for a renewal of socialism.

The conception of acceleration is not only and not so much an answer to the question as to how to increase the economic growth rates. It is a search for effective ways and means of providing in the foreseeable future a worthy answer to the challenge of our time and of making socialist society a real embodiment of all that is advanced and humane in world progress, a model of social efficiency.

The growth of the material and spiritual potential of socialism brings to the fore questions of the quality of development. What is the most expedient way to make use of the new possibilities? What can they be applied to best? And what qualitative criteria should measure long-term development?

In general, we have found ourselves unprepared to provide answers to these questions—both practically and theoretically. The search for answers should develop the conception of optimum interaction between all the spheres of the life activity of the social organism. Herein, it seems, lies the essence of the problem of social efficiency.

In this context acceleration is one of the most complex manoeuvres in socialist construction, one that requires a move towards strictly scientific social thinking. Acceleration is not aimed at any spurring of the economy as an end in itself. It is not an artificial precept to society to become dynamic. The conception of acceleration is a theoretical and

practical expression of the objective requirements of the present stage of society's development directed at the effective renewal of socialism at all levels—its basis and superstructure, its social sphere and culture, and its social life as a whole. It is the gaining of a new quality.

The new approach to social policy, concretizing the humanistic tradition of Marxist-Leninist thought, largely determines the novelty of the modern system of socio-economic, spiritual and moral priorities of the Party strategy. In this renewed system of value coordinates, centrality is being gained by man as the aim of socialist progress and by the human factor as its decisive force.

The interconnection between the economy, science, material well-being, human consciousness, and the culture of the masses has become so profound that any retardation of any of these spheres has an immediate effect on the others, disturbing the rhythm of the common movement. Only the complete and organic linking of the economic, the social and the spiritual yields the effect of the qualitative integrity of a new system.

There has been a considerable enrichment of our conceptions of the regularities of the economic development of socialism and the dialectics of its productive forces and production relations. Questions of the perfection of the use of socialist property, in particular, of the development of its cooperative forms, of the intensive bringing into play of the law of value and of the mechanisms of commodity-money relations, of the principles of acceleration of scientific and technological progress and of the inexhaustible resources and reserves inherent in the human factor, have been reformulated.

The current restructuring, innovative in spirit, carries the revolutionary wind of sudden change. The revolutionary nature of the restructuring consists in the recognition that we have no right to lose more time either in choosing strategy and tactics or in the scientific validation of each orientation point, each task, and each step. This is required by the aims of the qualitative renewal of society, just as by the conclusions from the experience and lessons of the past.

The current restructuring is an act of creative purposeful construction. It is designed to bear such a character not only in the fields of the economy and politics, but wherever the state and tendencies of, and prospects for, spiritual development are touched upon—in culture and education,

in the social sciences and morality, in literature and art.

The present political and moral atmosphere makes possible a sober and honest analysis of how deeply the role and responsibility of the social sciences in the new conditions have been realized. Following the lessons of truth taught by the 27th CPSU Congress, we should speak about everything openly and work at the highest level of sincerity. As Lenin pointed out, we should not "hoodwink" ourselves but we should "have the courage openly to admit the existence of what exists."

There is a pressing need to say in no uncertain terms that neither the practical efficiency of the social sciences, nor their position in society, nor the very state of these sciences can be regarded as satisfactory in terms of their correspondence to the demands of the time. The alarming acuteness of the situation consists in the fact that in the social sciences there operates a mechanism of inhibition that obstructs the freeing of the potential of the social scientists.

It is very important that our social scientists should restore as soon as possible their good reputation by a critical and self-critical analysis of their past errors. This would be a curative step. Putting it mildly, our philosophers, political economists, historians, and literary scholars have none too frequently been trail-blazers and advocates of the novel and the progressive. At one time they joined in discrediting genetics and cybernetics, later in declaring that methods of mathematical modelling as applied to economics were well nigh anti-scientific, and in ridiculing Soviet prognostics. Retrospectively, it is clear that too much strength has been spent on what has virtually been found to be the theoretical validation of complacency, external reliability and thus stagnation in the socio-economic and political development of our country. It is a "legacy" which we should vigorously shed. And we should do this thoroughly if we want to derive lessons for the future—both philosophical and moral.

But it is also true that together with the processes which have now been publicly denounced opposite processes developed. A party and civic conscience was hard at work, without which the April Plenary Session of the CC CPSU and the current political and moral shake-up would have been inconceivable. A search for ideas pertaining to a wide range of problems of the economy, management, social life and socialist legality was under way. The ideological and

moral potential of future fundamental changes broke through and gradually gained in strength. In society and science there was a growing demand to put an end to inertia and indifference, political irresponsibility and thoughtless drifting, dogmatism and scholasticism.

This amounts to another confirmation of both the historical inevitability of restructuring and of its practicability, of the requirement in the close linking of the objective course of restructuring with philosophical and psychological readiness for the scientific elaboration of real problems of socialist development. In essence, socialism is facing a new stage both practically and theoretically. What is necessary is an integral, comprehensive conceptualization of the past and the future designed to give a broader and more graphic idea of all the shades and subtleties of our advance and to enable us to identify in time its concrete tasks and to find means for their solution.

The important thing is to concentrate the intellectual potential of our social scientists on solving the key problems of developing socialism. And to do this with an eye to relevant experience—both positive and negative.

Firstly, social scientists must thoroughly appreciate their responsibility for the theoretical conceptualization and further development of the strategy and tactics of current acceleration and for the way in which restructuring is proceeding and will continue to proceed.

Secondly, an atmosphere of creative search should be ensured in the social sciences, searching thought should be brought to bear, and a wide scope should be opened for innovative ideas, fresh views, and original suggestions.

Thirdly, revolutionary renewal is impossible without a thorough-going rejection of vague and airy-fairy notions that are divorced from reality, and without the renunciation of all that has failed to vindicate itself in practice or that was based on deformed practices, objectively having become an apology for stagnation and conservatism.

Fourthly, we should marry tried and tested theory to practice in the interests of restructuring, acceleration and social science itself. Without this, theory ossifies, thought dries up, and practice is doomed to a superficial skimming over the problems of life.

Fittingly, we should enable the very mechanism of the functioning of research teams constantly to stimulate democratic interrelations between the scientists and reject all attempts to monopolize the truth.

The recent mounting criticism of social sciences for their remoteness, even detachment, from social practices, for their style and methods, for the moral and psychological climate of research, is a just criticism. Social sciences didn't simply reflect the state of society, but took an active part in its formation. The ideology and camouflage of stagnation did not require an exact knowledge of life. Whatever defied the Procrustean bed of dogmatic thinking and "universal admiration" was regarded, overtly or covertly, as doubtful and suspicious. But the January Plenary Session of the CC CPSU was quite unambiguous on this issue.

Wasn't the concept of developed socialism lent a time-serving interpretation oriented to the deliberate, timid and inconsistent perfection of particulars, which sanctified smugness and deadened the realization of the crying need for cardinal changes?

Haven't the ignoring of the socialist principles of cooperation and the attitude to individual holdings and individual labour as something alien diverted considerable potential resources of society?

Hasn't all the praise for centralized forms of management frozen initiative, independence and socialist enterprise? Afterall, vitally important though such forms of management might be, they remain only one integral part of the principle of democratic centralism. Perhaps this praise has bred departmentalism and bureaucratism, which have become the key levers of our economic mechanism?

Haven't the conceptions of the "anti-commodity" theorists, which resembled political accusations, developed into an economic brake? It was believed that purely scholarly debates were in progress. In effect, neglect of the law of value dominated both theory and practice. Ignoring self-sufficiency and self-repayment and subsidy-based methods in a number of branches of the national economy has done a disservice to the national economy as a whole, leading to all sorts of consequences.

Haven't the derogatory interpretations of socialist self-management and regular intimidation with the "unpredictable" consequences of the expansion of democracy inflicted damage on our society?

Hasn't the absence of wide openness and of genuine control from below, the drop of the level of criticism and self-criticism and the gap between word and action furthered the rising tide of negative phenomena in society such as social passivity and corruption, irresponsibility and moral licentiousness, careerism and consumerism?

There can be no successful advancement on the lines of restructuring without an understanding of the factors which have made these phenomena possible. Such factors lay both in the field of practice and in the field of consciousness.

Our country entered and proceeded along the road of socialist development under extremely complex conditions. During this progress it had to effect the theoretical conceptualization of the problems and contradictions of the new society, pioneering in character, and to develop conceptions for the future. There were no ready-made blueprints for socialism, and there couldn't be any.

But at a certain stage preference began to be given not to the creative development of theory, but to scholasticism, a dogmatic interpretation of certain propositions of Marxism-Leninism. Statements made at the January Plenary Session of the CC CPSU declared that certain Leninist propositions concerning socialism were interpreted simplistically, that their theoretical profundity and significance had been trivialized. A shallow understanding of socialism and communism, abstract theorising, and far-fetched prophecies divorced from life and its actual processes gained ground. One of the conceptions which was imposed said that advancement towards communism brought mounting uniformity and that multiformity would wither away and even disappear. It was declared that the economy was comprised of only state property and that there was only one pattern for its management, that there was an erasure of all possible differences in the social sphere, and that there was an immutability of political structures in the political field. And so on. The exponents of such an approach saw progress as the increasing simplification and rectification of all that exists.

Works by Marx, Engels and Lenin are distinguished by their vision of the real dialectics of life, of the complexity and multiformity of historical development. The entire known experience shows that history has never achieved progress in any direction through simplification. On the contrary, each

successive formation and socio-economic and political system was found to be internally more complex than the previous one. And there are no reasons to regard socialism and communism as an exception to this rule.

Nevertheless, the conception of uniformity was introduced with enviable stubbornness both in practice and in theoretical constructions. Its influence can be traced to this day—in approaches to the solution of a number of economic tasks, in the social sphere and culture.

Or take the proposition regarding the operation of social regularities. For instance, in considering capitalism, we can see the complex and alternative nature of its internal processes and mechanisms. But as soon as it comes to socialism, it is regarded as a field dominated by perhaps full automatism independent of man. Production relations allegedly establish correspondence with the development of the productive forces of their own accord. The planned, systematic and balanced character of economic development was thought of as self-regulated along with the solution of social questions. The mechanisms of the development of social consciousness, social justice, the relations between nationalities, and much else were understood to operate automatically.

These and other conceptions coincided with processes in social life which led to the exclusive supremacy of available theoretical formulae, to the identification of the transient specific features of a certain historical stage with the substantial characteristics of socialism as a system, and to the canonization of certain propositions and conceptions. As a consequence, a steady tendency towards a frivolous attitude to the role of social sciences in socialist development made its appearance.

Thus, a vicious circle formed. Unhealthy phenomena in practice gave rise to unhealthy tendencies in social consciousness and science. These, in their turn, rendered difficult—and the further, the more so—the return of theory and practice to realism, in other words, to real life and its contradictions.

Putting it in another way, we gradually developed a loss of ability for critical self-analysis. Instead of the study of real, living socialism, preference was given to the construction of speculative models. Theory became increasingly tautological. We either leaped ahead, declaring communist development to be the immediate task of the day, or, guided

by what in fact was bare evolutionism, we absolutized the stability of economic, social and other structures and attempted to justify stagnation and sluggishness in the course of socialist transformations. The demands made on social sciences acquired a purely time-serving character, which was why social science lost its real function.

These tendencies became particularly evident in the 1970s, when the study of living and developing socialism began to be more and more often replaced with thought-up formulae and schemes. Furthermore, under the influence of an uncritical attitude to stagnation phenomena, a whole range of effects which deformed the progress of theoretical thought developed and ossified.

As a result, we entered the 1980s not only with serious practical omissions and miscalculations now well-known, but also with a theoretical awareness which largely revealed the level of the 1930s, when our society was at a relatively early stage of its formation. Such a situation objectively furthered the entrenchment of dogmatism, scholasticism, and doctrinarianism. And it impeded the creative development of problems of modern socialism. Just as enclaves closed to criticism formed, the number of areas closed to research grew. Prevalence was gained by the conception that only particular, evolutionary corrections were permissible, and these rather in practice than in theory. But it should be clear to each Marxist that any deadening of revolutionary theory—this great intellectual capital of mankind—invites harsh consequences, namely, stagnation not only in the theory, but also in the practice of the development of the new society.

We are to emerge at a new level of sober assessment of experience—both of the miscalculations and of the achievements without any exemptions. We should take an unbiased view of everything, be self-critical, honestly and overtly realize the consequences that have resulted from the opportunistic interpretation of a number of propositions of the revolutionary theory, which contradicts its essence, and mobilize ourselves and research teams for a revolutionary search for answers to questions posed by life. This is what is required of social sciences now. It is a difficult and even painful process, but it is inevitable.

We are all products, and at times captives, of our time. But no one will restructure life on new lines for us, no one will conceptualize new problems theoretically, and no one

will get rid of many conceptions which may have been correct for their time but which, under the pressure of the new conditions and tasks, have lost their former validity. All these things we must do ourselves.

Now it appears that the social scientists have developed a kind of split personality.

It is clear that they realize the complexity and responsibility of the day. Social scientists perhaps see more clearly and assess more soberly than others the situation in the economy and in the social, spiritual, and moral spheres. We would be sinning against the truth if we said that the swelling of negative tendencies did not cause alarm in many social scientists or escaped their notice. We know very well of social scientists who have addressed themselves to pressing problems, although this improved neither their health nor their social standing.

But we still face strong inertia—the consolatory illusion according to which the present state of the social sciences in principle correctly reflects the present stage of the development of socialism. Such a “mirror” perception of reality nullifies or, at any rate, strongly impedes the recognition of the fact that negative phenomena and stagnation were the consequence of dogmatism, of conceptions divorced from life, and dead schemes. This is what makes it so vital to overcome what amounts to specific personal estrangement from the difficulties of the moment, to resist the temptation of self-indulgence, and to realize how important it is to restore to the social studies the Leninist spirit of undaunted search for the truth.

Creative Marxism-Leninism is always a discovery, and not a screen. “We have repeatedly referred to Lenin, his thoughts and ideas,” Mikhail Gorbachev said addressing the January Plenary Session of the CC CPSU. “This is not just a tribute of great respect, not only an acknowledgement of Lenin’s authority. This reflects the pressing desire to revive in modern conditions and to the fullest extent the spirit of Leninism.”

Leninism offers classical, model lessons of revolutionary dialectics. “It is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of *reality*, and not cling to a theory of yesterday.” Such was Lenin’s credo.

A militant antagonist of dialectics is dogmatism, this specific parasitic excrescence on the living body of the

revolutionary theory. Smug ignorance and venal time-service create the soil for the growth of dogmatism, doctrinarism and scholasticism.

The dogmatic interpretation of economic laws and categories, of certain propositions of socialism, socialist democracy, social justice, and the rate of, and prospects for, the development of communist civilization has formed stagnant zones in the science of society. Hence, the principal demand, or perhaps the imperative of our time—to revive the dialectical, creative Leninist approach to the understanding of the aims and expedients of socialist transformations, to make a meticulous thoughtful study of real contradictions, and to discard their vulgar and philistine interpretation. Not from preset, convenient and consolatory principles to facts of life, but from the realities of life, from real life processes to conclusions and the formulation of principles and aims. Such is the road of real science of society.

New realities of life and a new informational basis make quite possible and quite attainable breakthroughs into the unknown, the enrichment of the classical fund and the grasping of new laws of social being.

It is a fact that we, who recognize dialectics as the general theory of development and methodology of revolutionary transformations, have not always supported the novel in science and life. Furthermore, we frequently rejected the novel if we failed to find for it a direct, literal confirmation in the classical legacy overlooking the fact that we thus demanded of the classics the impossible. To foresee details of the future of our new society, the particulars of all the stages and specific features of its development would defy the abilities of even "seventy Marxes", as Lenin put it.

It was not a coincidence that these words were recalled from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress. Marx, Engels, and Lenin solved problems of their time. They have left to us the great heritage of their achievements and discoveries, of dialectical-materialist methodology, and the creative spirit of a search for the truth in science. But any inheritance should be used ably, especially such a great inheritance as Marxism-Leninism, which is basically anti-dogmatic, itself having been borne from life and demanding constant penetration into the secrets of social being. The point is that we should direct the accumulated theoretical and methodolo-

gical potential and dialectical thinking itself at the advancement and stimulation of new propositions and approaches.

The starting point of the theoretical task can be summed up as follows: *modern socialism must first and foremost know itself*. This will not work if social science continues to be dominated by a fear of touching problems which do not yet form an integral part of political decisions and if it remains at the level of commenting on the latter.

The writer Alexander Yashin wrote a story entitled *The Levers*. In this story four collective farmers, all members of the Communist Party, wait for a fifth to hold a Party meeting. While waiting, they have an informal conversation. The four roundly condemn the orders prevailing on their farm, economic mismanagement, the arbitrary rule of the district agricultural bodies, the unsubstantiated plans handed down from above, and so on. Now comes the fifth person, a schoolmistress concerned about the problem of obtaining firewood for her school. "Let us discuss our current affairs later. Now we have to hold a meeting," they snap at her. This is followed by a flow of hackneyed cliché-ridden phrases: "We have failed to make provisions for certain things, allowing events to take their own course," "we should take the lead of the masses, comrades!" "under conditions of high and increasing labour productivity, the collective farm is developing..."

The writer neatly conveyed the gap not only between word and deed, but also between word and word—a situation fairly typical of many social study teams.

Socialism arose as the negation of capitalist exploitation and bourgeois morality. By virtue of this the new society appeared to be something romantically ideal, devoid of vices and contradictions, whose troubles and flaws were confined to notorious "survivals of the past". If things had been that simple! The apparence of the advantages of socialism created the illusion that it was immune to the rise of negative tendencies and to the revival of petty-bourgeois tendencies. The objective laws of socialism were frequently conceived outside the context of world development. The forecasts of the development of the capitalist system, of the boundaries of its viability, and of the reserves of its survival

were found to be largely oversimplified. It all has to be abandoned, which is not at all easy.

Lenin's demand for an integral, comprehensive approach to the analysis of interaction between different aspects of social life always retains relevance, and particularly so in the present situation. It is a question of adopting an attitude which would consider the complex interaction between the productive forces and production relations, of the basis and the superstructure, of policy and the economy, of centralism and democracy, of personal and public interests, of ideology and the material conditions of life, of psychological and moral elements, etc.

The systems, or integral analysis of reality organically flows from the very nature of *Marxism-Leninism as a cohesive and integral theory*. It is necessary to advance towards a system-based general philosophical conceptualization of reality being armed at all points with modern knowledge. Now we particularly need breakthroughs towards fundamental generalizations, towards the development of an integral view of the world in the entirety of its real contradictions and determining tendencies. What is vital is social research proper—sociological, socio-psychological and humane. Hence, the requirement in the relevant orientation of research.

Under socialism, the criterion and supreme aim of social progress is man. Not a certain idealized person, but a real, living individual of concrete time with his real connections with society, with other people, with the material and spiritual spheres. Progress towards communism is primarily the perfection of social relations—naturally, on the requisite material and spiritual basis. Theoretical consciousness is called upon to see and reflect not only the depth of these processes, but also the exceedingly complex dialectics of the interconnections between consciousness and practice and the regularities of the development of consciousness itself—both scientific and everyday.

There is an acute need for the further development of the *principle of historicism* in social science. Many miscalculations could have been avoided if the structures of our society had been regarded—not only in word, but also in deed—as dynamic and developing, and not as frozen.

It should be emphasized that it is not a question of another time-serving rewrite of the history of society, the Soviet state, the Party, and economic and social develop-

ment. This has already been done, and the results are known. Here it is necessary to see, conceptualize, and analyse the past to the full extent and with all its dialectical contradictions. To see the entire spectrum of cause-and-effect relationships—in the economy, the social, political and other spheres as well as between these spheres.

Theoretical research cannot exclude such a basic element as the non-axiomatic character of social knowledge. It is dictated by several factors. Society itself as an object of social cognition is in constant movement and development. It is also connected with the ability of an individual, classes, groups, and society as a whole to accumulate, generalize and use experience. On this ability is based the entire conscious activity of people, but it also has another facet. In a more complex and developed and better educated society the organizational forms of its life activity change accordingly. But if negative phenomena appear and persist in society for a sufficiently long time, they may accumulate their own "experience", generating tendencies capable, in their turn, of deforming social relations or a certain area of these relations.

The restructuring poses the task of renovating socialism as a whole, qualitatively, and not simply that of perfecting its individual aspects, spheres, or facets. The idea of a new qualitative state of socialist society stimulates the grasping of the problem of construction as a dialectically contradictory process of human activity in which not only the form, but also the very essence of socialism develops. This point was made by Lenin when he wrote: "... not only are appearances transitory, mobile, fluid, demarcated only by conventional boundaries, but the *essence* of things is so as well."

III

Restructuring of the present scope inevitably invades the sphere of radical questions of the political economy of socialism, demanding their consideration as applied to the conditions of the present stage of the development of social production.

In any structure we know and at any passed historical stage the contradiction between the productive forces and

their social form—production relations—changes and perfects the socio-labour activity of people, begetting revolutions and speeding up rates of progress. However, instead of subjecting this contradiction to a deep study in socialist society, we dogmatically claimed that under socialism the fundamental contradiction is between the "visible sprouts of communism" and "survivals of capitalism". With the "survivals" was classed all that limited the administrative-bureaucratic methods of management—collective farm and cooperative property, personal holdings, in particular, subsidiary plots of land, individual labour, commodity production and commodity-money relations, the market, profit, and self-sufficiency.

Lenin distinguished between formal and real achievements in the development of socialist society. It should be recalled that Lenin emphasized the basic difference between formal-legal socialist socialization and real socialization. *Continuing this Leninist tradition, we should achieve the real balanced development of production, real centralism and real democratism in economic management.*

The real degree of balanced development is measured by how reliably we succeed in maintaining and regulating proportionality. Real centralism is measured by how much economic processes are subordinated to the economic centre. The real democratism of economic management is measured not simply by the granting of rights to labour teams, but by the creation of necessary socio-economic and political conditions for their virtual utilization.

The beginning of the formation of the mechanism of inhibition is apparently connected with the factors which gradually (from the 1930s) led to a certain change in the ratio between the objective conditions and practical actions in favour of the latter. Extensive economic development was once objectively determined, corresponding to the tasks of the time, and yielded considerable results. But this way itself and the methods of management, planning, distribution, etc., connected with it objectively inhibited economic development at its next, higher stage, when pride of place went to qualitative factors and when it became necessary to go over to intensive forms of economic management. But the inertia of thinking and practice was found to be too stubborn and the efforts designed to overcome it were clearly insufficient. As a result, in recent decades there objectively developed a system of undermining of the material foundations of socialism—the expendability of the

economy. The reasons for it should be searched for not on the surface and not in individual economic errors, but in the depth of social being, in the genesis of stagnation.

In the sphere of the basis such a factor was virtually the absolutization of state property, which was equated to the highest form of property—all people's property, which has led to the primacy of administrative pressure and the increasing scope of bureaucratism.

Bureaucratism needs dogmatism, and vice versa. Both bureaucrats and dogmatists can exist only by infringing the interests of society, achieving this by their affiliation to the state apparatus if it arrogates the functions of specific omnipotence. Hence, the urge for the "statization" of everything under the sun and for connecting all successes and achievements with administrative methods of management as "the best".

The focussing of attention on abstract speculations about the advantages of the state form of property over the collective-farm-and-cooperative form by no means furthered the real cognition of the mechanism of economic life. By violating life, dogmatism dragged the cooperative system into the state. Step by step the *ours-is-not-mine-it-is-nobody's* stereotype attitude to state property was consolidated. This bred troubles and indifference, and economic mismanagement, although, of course, all these phenomena had other causes as well. But, in our opinion, it is precisely cooperation which can now assume functions that do not necessarily have to be performed by the state, thus furthering the normalization and effective functioning of the socialist market and strengthening the rouble jointly with the state.

Under socialism all types of public property are uniform. Reasonable proportions between its integral parts can be established only by real life. Artificially created anomalous proportions in all people's property are a generator of a whole set of contradictions which in other conditions could have a "milder" expression or not exist at all.

According to Marx, changes in the foundations of the social system are necessary in order "to convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free and cooperative labour". Lenin described socialism as a "system of civilized cooperators" and as the cooperation of "the entire population", explaining that "it will take a whole historical epoch" to achieve this.

No form disappears until it has exhausted its potential. If the family contract can ensure double or triple productivity compared to other forms of labour organization, how can it be regarded as a historically outlived form, exhausted with regard to the structure of socialist production? If individual labour can bring benefit, why should we erect ideological and practical obstacles to its development? Only one limitation should be strictly maintained. We should allow no exploitation. The strengthening of socialism should in practical terms be regarded as the main task, to which all efforts and all forms of labour organization and of social life should be directed. This could also be promoted by the unbiased rethinking of the substantial characteristics of the tangled web of fundamental economic relations in their multiformity and dynamics.

One of the acutest contradictions at the present stage of the restructuring is the *contradiction between the quantity and quality of labour*. The practical economy, as before, orients itself to the priority of quantity whereas the demand of the time is the optimum combination of both the quantitative and the qualitative growth indicators. The underestimation of the latter in the past only added to society's already great requirement in giving priority to qualitative aspects at the present stage of our development everywhere and in everything. The essence of the "strategy of quantity" is expendability-based deficit-inflationary production. The break-up of the expendability-based mechanism and its replacement with a self-sufficiency mechanism, basically new and adequate to the nature of developing socialism, is a supertask posed by restructuring.

In *philosophical* terms, expendability is the subjective braking of the objective transition of quantity into quality, the primacy of the former over the latter. Perhaps it is the megatonnage of dogmatism and the incomprehension of the dialectical essence and non-acceptance of contradictions. It is thinking in categories of social indifference.

In *economic* terms, expendability is the minimal final result with maximal intermediate expenditures, the increasing exacerbation of contradictions between the productive forces and production relations, the anarchy of the former and the bureaucratization of the latter, the conservation of scientific and technological backwardness, and a way to stagnation. The diktat of the producer constantly generates expendability, and the further, the uglier the form in which

it rejects self-sufficiency and generates the view of the consumer not as an interested partner, but as an irksome fellow-traveller.

In *ideological* terms expendability is a constant urge to present wishes as facts, pomposity, ostentation, trumpery, the raising of ovations to thunder point and the lowering of criticism to whisper level. It is the proliferation of dogmas and the inhibition of fresh thought and creative quest. It is the oblivion of the fact that under socialism the economy cannot be separated from such notions as morality, honesty and decency—in work, and in accounting, and in the distribution of the benefits.

Let us take another group of deep-seated contradictions—*contradictions in labour itself*. As Marx put it, "society will never be able to reach a balance until it begins to rotate around the sun of labour." Labour is the only deity which was worshipped by our teachers. Humiliating and insulting labour is a blasphemy. Life punishes such blasphemers, and punishes them severely.

Developing socialism does not remove the division of labour into abstract and concrete. Nevertheless, social consciousness and practice have been penetrated by the postulate that the absence of private property and even simply a state plan make any labour (both useful and harmful, both flawless and slipshod) directly social and necessary.

This dogma is objectively a catalyst of expendability. When all types of labour are remunerated on an egalitarian basis the results are figure-padding, eyewash and other forms of deception. The national income is redistributed spontaneously and on an organized-crime basis. The morality and ethics of labour are distorted, and its culture slumps. Payment for work is deformed, which undermines labour and social motivation.

Simultaneously, labour has found itself divided into productive in the material sphere and unproductive in other spheres. Hence, the "residual" principle of investments in the social infrastructure, technocratism and the underestimation of the human factor. Hence, the materially and morally inferior position of the labour of a doctor, teacher, engineer, and scientist, highly skilled and necessary in the conditions of the present scientific and technological revolution. Hence, the depreciation of the social status of knowledge and genuine professionalism. Perhaps herein lies an added reason for rethinking certain notions?

The expendability-based mode of economic management, which breeds irresponsibility, also loosens the moral content of labour. This inevitably affects the attitude to labour on the part of a certain proportion of the working class and the farmers, the intelligentsia, and especially young people. We have not tried and tested the system of punishing slipshod workers either by shaming them or by fining them. The problem of the culture and motivation of labour acquires a new implication, since the conditions of self-financing, self-repayment and self-management inevitably transform the criteria of labour relations.

And this is not only of practical importance. There are reasons to believe that it is precisely here, at this living and acute boundary of the economic and the social, of the material and the spiritual, of the personal and the social, at this crossroads of burning and little studied problems that the most serious *methodological breakthrough* in our social sciences as a whole can be expected. A breakthrough which will become possible if man is indeed made central to the real system of his social connections and relations.

IV

The dominant feature of the April Plenary Session is the intensification of the entire system of political and social institutions, the urgency of the democratization of the entire social life and of the affirmation of a democratic understanding and perception of the world in the mode of thinking and action.

Democracy is the most important, or, more exactly, the only possible mode of the implementation of socialism as a social organism. Marxism does not at all reduce the socio-economic essence of socialism simply to the socialization of the means of production. Socialized production assumes its truly socialist form when the decisive role in running production and other public affairs is really played by the working people and when labour teams solve acute questions of economic and social development themselves.

Individualism is the alpha and omega of the bourgeois understanding of rights and freedoms, completely based on the relations of economically isolated subjects. Naturally, the rights of an individual property owner here are in the foreground. Bourgeois law equates individuals legally, but

it cannot, and does not set out to, overcome economic inequality, which is inevitably inherent in capitalism and whose derivatives are all other forms of inequality, including social, political, national, and cultural.

Socialism destroys economic inequality, complementing the emancipation of the working people with the recognition of all possible forms of equality in the law and with its affirmation in life. The social guarantees, political freedoms, and legal rights of a member of socialist society are incomparably broader. They are guaranteed by the gains of the new system. It is clear, however, that their practical content is not something established once and for all, not something frozen. It is a derivative from real historical conditions, both objective and subjective. Man is the highest value for socialism, not only on the general plane, but also on the extremely concrete plane, individually. Such is the meaning of the present stage of the development of socialist democracy. Now this is the target of the social and cultural policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Democratization is that facet of the modern life of Soviet society which attracts close attention all over the world. Some welcome the policy of openness and publicity and of criticism and self-criticism, seeing in it the onward movement of socialism and its fuller humanistic self-realization. Others, who would like to see socialist democracy in the form and likeness of bourgeois democracy, cherish hopes for the degeneration of our society. Still others speculate about the "perniciousness" of self-management and the "danger" of democratization in general. The reasons for such interpretations are clear. They are different in terms of class sources, and in terms of the degree of understanding of the essence of current events, and in terms of the sincerity of the hopes associated by the world's progressive forces with the development of the socialist social system.

In Lenin's political lexicon the notions of "democracy", "self-government", and "the lively initiative of the masses" are key notions, especially with regard to judgements about socialism. Lenin substantiated the value of democracy in convincing terms, disclosing its essence and defining its content. The participation of the working people in the discussion of the laws and plans of the state, the promotion and election of their representatives to bodies of authority, control of their activity from below, openness, criticism and self-criticism as methods of political guidance, respons-

ibility, conscious discipline, and the equality of all citizens before the law—these Leninist ideas have found reflection in the directives of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and of the January Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee. Only democracy and its development can activate all that serves socialism and enable it to show the full extent of its potential. As Lenin taught us, "victorious socialism cannot consolidate its victory ... without implementing full democracy".

The restructuring has formulated in its own way questions of socialist democracy also in the context of the requirement in new approaches to the management problem. There can be no solving of any of the tasks now facing society without ensuring the interested and businesslike day-to-day involvement of the working people. The proposition about socialist self-management as advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress also means the development of the Leninist thesis about the historical necessity of a gradual transition from the power for the people to the power of the people themselves at all the stages of the political system of socialism. The Party has been making a vigorous search in this direction.

We should find forms of, and incentives for, the real participation of people in evolving basic as well as current decisions—on the scale of the country, community and collective and disclose as accurately as possible the operating mechanism of democracy as a mode of solving emerging contradictions of all levels and characteristics. There is an extremely great need for theoretical development covering the full gamut of democratization and its effect on other spheres of life, on man, on the formation of the political culture of society and its managerial and administrative organizations.

Particular attention should be devoted to the achievement of a new quality of the *legal sciences*. Herein lies a mass of problems ranging from the legal support of the economic reform to the necessity of making cardinal changes in those sections of jurisprudence which form the basis of the economic, political and social rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. In other words, theoreticians are duty bound to propose dialectically developed organizational, legal and political methods of ensuring increasingly broad democracy that would be adequate to the present stage.

The relations between legal science and current political

and economic practice remain fairly complex. The striving of certain leaders to escape the solution of pressing problems and manifestations of departmentalism and localism did not further the interest in the serious scientific ensuring of success. Use was made only of those recommendations of scientists which could impart quasi-scientific respectability to decisions being taken, even incorrect ones, and give them legal justification.

Now the situation can and should change. The time has come to realize the genuine value of the legal form of social relations and of the all-round development and effective utilization of the humanistic and moral potential of socialist law. Without law, legality and justice, social progress cannot be achieved, nor can there be any guarantee of the normal functioning of material production and institutions of political democracy, nor the selection and proving of effective management, nor the stimulation of the development of the individual.

But even recently-published generalizing monographs have not overcome the narrowly normative interpretation of law, which relegates its social-value orientation to the background. Such major social qualities of law as its correspondence to the requirements and interests of the people and loyalty to the principles of humanity and justice are screened by considerations of administrative and managerial expediency. As is known, the legal status of citizens—their rights and freedoms—are rooted in the sum total of social relations, and law registers and ensures what has formed in real life. However, there are persisting conceptions about the rights of citizens as a blessing granted from above, which shows a lack of understanding of the real connection which exists in our country between the individual, society, law, and the state. Or take the question of socialist enterprise. To what extent does the law ensure it legal protection? In legal documents and instructions the spirit of "general intent" with regard to economic initiative persists. So far, the Law of Individual Labour Activity seems to be the only operating law dominated by the whatever-is-not-banned-is-permitted principle. But, as before, it is widely assumed that anything which is not referred to in the law is forbidden.

Now a most serious task facing legal science and practice is to turn law in the direction of common sense, in other words, to give unqualified respect to human dignity. A no

less promising task is to develop requisite organizational forms of society's activity—a kind of social designing.

The end of the 20th century can be conventionally called a period of multiple revolutions—social, scientific and technological, cultural, psychological, demographic, ecological, etc. The combination of competition and confrontation of the two systems with a mounting tendency towards the interdependence of states is a manifestation of the dialectical complexity of modern world development. This conclusion of the 27th CPSU Congress poses questions of a basically new nature before social scientists.

The changes in world development are so essential and comprehensive that they require serious rethinking, an integral evaluation of all its new factors and tendencies, and a considerable deepening of the theoretical analysis of the modern world with all its multiformity, contradictoriness and integrity. The need to solve the problem of survival awakens in mankind forces of self-preservation, creating in the opposite social systems stimuli for *interaction* proportionate to the imperatives of the nuclear age. •

Only too recently many philosophical and economic works presented the notion of the world-historical, or generic being of mankind as a certain high-level abstraction which had no practical application in our socially divided world. But under the new conditions, considering the basic class differences and the historical confrontation of the two socio-economic systems, there can be no neglecting the exceedingly complex dialectics of their interaction. The dialectico-materialist vision of the modern epoch does not accept either the negation of the basic opposition of the two existing formations and modes of production or the ignoring of the substantial unity of modern mankind with its common interests and values.

The conception of a cohesive and interdependent world is closely connected with the ecological problem as well. In my opinion, we have not yet fully realized that, in terms of its global consequences, clinging to the present approaches to nature use is catastrophic. The development of technical civilization based on the thoughtless conquering of nature has considerably undermined the self-regenerating potential of natural complexes. It is precisely we, the Marxists,

who are duty bound to develop a comprehensive strategy for saving mankind from an ecological catastrophe, which, if colossal efforts of the entire world community are not forthcoming, could occur, according to forecasts, within the next few decades.

The task is not confined to increasing the expenditures on environmental protection. It is vital to effect a transition to a new stage of political and ecological culture. In *political* terms, it is peace and cooperation between the states on a safe international law basis. In *economic* terms, it is a transition of the world economy to waste-free production processes and the preservation and cultivation of the environment. In *social* terms, it is the intensification of the battle against long-time sworn enemies of man—hunger, disease, destitution, and illiteracy. In *philosophical* terms, it is a harmony of man-nature relations, the cleansing of the human intellect and soul of all forms of the social evil of exploitative societies, the protection and development of the genuine achievements of culture and the prevention of its degradation.

In fact, an innovative development in the theory of international relations is the formulation of the question of *the formation of a security system* underlain by all-human values and large-scale initiatives oriented to the creation of a nuclear-free world. It is necessary to develop an extensive system of views, a political philosophy which would prompt the states to rise above the present contradictions in the face of the necessity of the survival of mankind.

The formation of a demilitarized nuclear-free world requires the elimination of the deep-lying reasons for, and sources of, mistrust, tension and hostility in the present-day world. Scholars of international relations face the question as to how to overcome the traditional confrontational approaches in international relations. It is vital to find common orientation points of their development which would respond to the interests of all member-states of the international community. International economic security should become another reliable standby of the violence-free world.

New approaches should also be adopted to the problem of cooperation *in the field of the study of the humanities*. The spirit of restructuring and democratization in our socialist home should be fully felt outside it as well. This opens up to Soviet specialists in international affairs new possibi-

lities for the theoretical development of the question of the moral and spiritual factors behind the comprehensive system of international security.

The conception of the *sufficiency* of military potentials, including in the conditions of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons as advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress, should be developed and infused with a concrete content. It appears that a no less important task is to analyse, jointly with military experts, our military doctrine, whose strategic essence is based on the policy of *averting nuclear war*.

In other words, it is a question of the further enrichment of Marxist thought at a qualitatively new spiral of world development, of the incessant renewal and perfection of the scientific world outlook. Let us recall what Lenin wrote in this connection in *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*: "Engels says explicitly that 'with each epoch-making discovery even in the sphere of natural science' (not to speak of the history of mankind), 'materialism has to change its form'."

VI

The tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress lend considerable relevance to the problem of the development of *social consciousness*—an inexhaustible source of social energy. It is seen along two interconnected lines. Firstly, through improving the "quality of consciousness", through raising it to a new level of scientific rigorousness, education, general culture, information and horizons. Secondly, through the conversion of knowledge into convictions and of convictions into human actions. The social sciences occupy a specific place and play a specific role.

The strengthening of the social economy and of the social infrastructure, socialist democracy, and the educational sphere represent a cohesive range of problems which demand breadth of theoretical formulation, purposefulness, and competence in practical affairs.

Major problems are posed *philosophical science* by restructuring. Departure from reality has received here a specific methodological, or theoretical "substantiation". Such a tendency has had a distinct expression in a distorted interpretation and application of Lenin's theory of the cognition of the truth as proceeding "from living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice". From this

Leninist methodological proposition was practically excised that part of it which pointed to the necessity of constant turning in the course of theoretical cognition to the real object.

At the same time, another tendency is noticeable—sliding into empiricism and descriptivism. Many published works by philosophers and other social scientists outline observed facts and various events without their theoretical conceptualization.

I think that we should be seriously concerned about the retardation of our science in the *integral* study of the problem of man and of ways to intensify the human factor. Vital importance is gained by problems connected with man's inner world. It is exactly on these questions that the ideological battle is at its most intensive. Regrettably, the entire sphere of moral and philosophical problems remains a kind of virgin land. When man gives thought to the "eternal", agonising problems of the meaning of life, moral choices, and the ethical validation of his actions, more often than not he does not turn for help to moral philosophers.

Instead of studying the actual structure of society, the dynamics of socio-class and intraclass changes, and the complex and contradictory formation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society, works on scientific communism, philosophy and sociology ritually announce only a thesis about this homogeneity. Instead of studying the complex formation and education of a socialist individual we have scholastic speculations about a near-ideal Soviet citizen. A question arises: what then is the origin of the stagnation phenomena, unworthy people, degenerates infected with consumerism and "thingism", spiritually empty individuals, careerism, bureaucratism, and indifference?

There are a good many gaps in the development of *scientific communism*, although the discussion of its subject matter and method, laws and categories began over a quarter of a century ago. Nevertheless, it is small wonder that such a long debate has not been completed. It bears a formal character, remaining within the framework of "pure" consciousness. It is confined to a speculative interpretation of certain categories and individual, at times arbitrarily advanced points of view. Works on scientific communism, as a rule, are based on second-hand information. The authors find in their field of vision materials pertaining

predominantly to the development of conceptions and notions, and not of real processes.

The situation in *sociology* remains no less complex. The professional level of many sociological studies is still low, there is a wide dissemination of descriptivism and the oversimplified interpretation of questions of social development and public opinion. There persists indefiniteness with regard to the place of sociology in the system of social sciences.

Withdrawal from reality also manifests itself in the study of the relations between the nationalities. Perhaps this sphere has accumulated more than any others outdated and dogmatic assessments inadequate to reality.

In essence, our social scientists have left uninvestigated the real contradiction which consists in the fact that as the class differences wither away and as the common features of the people's way of life and spiritual make-up continue to develop, the differences of a non-class character—vocational, cultural and everyday life, age, national, and linguistic—make themselves felt more. It should all be seriously conceptualized and forecast, and corrections in political activity, in social development plans, and in educational work should be made in advance.

As regards *historical science* no small proportion of its exponents specialize largely on the exposure of pseudo-scientific conceptions of bourgeois authors without practising the independent study of sources, without developing scientific ideas, and without engaging in the critical conceptualization of outdated conceptions. Vulgar sociologization has revived on a new basis. Certain historians, under the guise of eradicating minor themes, propose what in fact is only the filling of sociological schemes with "historically" presented factual illustrations.

There is no welcome situation as regards methodological questions either. This manifests itself mainly in the departure of a number of historians and men of letters from the class assessments of historical events and individuals. The striving to embellish the reality of pre-revolutionary Russia and the past of other Soviet republics wittingly or unwittingly blurs the acuteness of class contradictions, whose rising tide led to three Russian revolutions.

In the last few years we have heard sometimes muted and sometimes overt criticism of the October Revolution and Soviet power for their allegedly destructive policy towards

national cultures. Such speculations imply that it was exactly the class, socialist approach and proletarian internationalism that were actually responsible for the "impoverishment" of national cultures. These political speculations stem from ignorance, being a direct result of the fact that demagogy, which repeats bourgeois propaganda fables, does not receive a reasoned rebuff based on scientific criticism which is called upon to vindicate the historical truth.

The scientific history of the Party is facing serious problems. In spite of the presence of many experts in the history of the CPSU and Soviet society, many key questions of primary importance remain unexplored in this field. In recent times there has been a mounting criticism of the historians of the Party for their sins against the truth. The violation of the principle of historicity, the depersonalization of the historical process, "blanks" in the history of whole periods, and sketchy and colourless writing are but a few of these just reproaches.

A new approach should be adopted to the presentation of many major and complex periods of the Party history. From each should be derived necessary lessons strictly with an eye to the principle of historicity, the principle of truth. In the specific atmosphere of restructuring a profound knowledge of the past is an invaluable aid to the present and the future.

The tasks are many, and they are formidable. But how deeply can our social sciences be restructured in the spirit of our time given the present organization and set-up of research and the moral atmosphere which prevails in our research institutions? Now it is one of the acutest questions.

Above all, the present situation makes imperative the development of democracy in science and of scientific

Democracy in science is a curative form of the civilized and not power-based solution of contradictions. Tolerance of, and respect for, another point of view are not at all tantamount to a loss of one's position. They are based on the feeling of one's dignity, on respect for this feeling in others, and on the ability to understand problems and people. Hence, on genuine principledness, inseparable from elevated morality.

Openness is the tool whereby society controls the state of affairs in all spheres of life, including science. If no changes are made here, there will be no radical improvements in the

content of the work of research institutions. Too many alarming phenomena have become accumulated. We cannot endure an official monopoly of the truth—a situation in which the last word in the work of thought belongs not to the truth, but to the office. It would be unjust to keep under suspicion all the heads of the scientific structures of all levels. Nevertheless, a pressure of official authorities is a widely disseminated phenomenon. There are many abuses of office—unfounded attempts to impose co-authorship, the cultivation of scientific opportunism among the subordinates, mutual guarantee, lenience, undemandingness of “one’s own” people, and the ostracism of the unwanted.

It is necessary to democratize the very forms of science organization, to increase the role of academic councils, scientific conferences and discussions, to revive scientific criticism, and to subordinate the authority of the office to the authority of thought.

But of particular importance is scientific ethics and the ethics of behaviour. Our social scientists have found themselves divided into two groups, as it were. While one group works, raising problems, the other carefully looks on, waiting until the former makes an error or fail. When “their hour strikes”, they strive to show that they had known the truth from the very outset.

There is also a category of people who, in spite of their disagreement with something, avoid open discussions and do not vindicate the truth in a scientific debate. But, firmly convinced only of their correctness, write letters to various organizations demanding that “those guilty of error” be called to account. They attach labels and make insulting accusations. It is necessary to draw public attention to such people and persistently to implant the ethics of lofty scientific and human decency.

Science can develop only in the process of constructive discussions and of clashes of opinion. It appears that not only the forms and procedures which have developed so far, but also the content of scientific discussions need critical conceptualization. What is needed is discussions arising from a competition of ideas, from a desire to advocate the truth and new knowledge, and not discussions in which the truth, on the contrary, becomes swamped and disappears. If scientific discussions are to become an effective component of acceleration, it should be realized that no

one has a monopoly of the truth, either in formulating new questions or in providing answers to them.

It is also good to renounce a snobbish attitude to proposals coming from laymen. The restructuring has called forth a political search of millions of Soviet people. Their vision of problems frequently brings golden grains of truth, the freshness and originality of approaches, and that distinctive world perception which has always brought amazing discoveries to mankind.

Perhaps the acutest problem in the development of social sciences in our days is their *connection with life*. As Lenin put it, "the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed into practice, vitalized by practice, corrected by practice, tested by practice". Necessary work and its tangible outcome are simultaneously the result and the most important guarantee of democratism, openness, and a healthy atmosphere in science itself.

It is time we included science as a constant component in the system of countrywide work. We should widely introduce scientific investigations of technical, economic and social projects and intensify the consultative principle in the activity of research teams. The time has come to give thorough thought to the establishment of self-sufficiency-based consultation centres for management, social planning, sociological analysis, ecology, etc. This area of the scientific potential of higher school should be broadened as well.

Cardinal restructuring is necessitated by the system of planning of scientific research. The entire content of such plans is now reduced to preparations for the publication of corporate monographs, many of which are not the result of research and do not contain new information, or new generalizations, or new conclusions, or forecasts. Many enquiries are not dictated by social requirements. The present system of planning and accounting in science is an extensive way of accumulation of publications. It diverts colossal creative and material resources.

Radical democratization is required by *the publishing industry*. The necessity of the revival of scientific ethics and of openness and publicity in science is extremely acute—above all, in scientific journals. Here particular danger is posed by such phenomena as clannishness and a drop in the role and significance of the editorial boards and editorial

councils. Most of the scientific periodicals to this day have not put the theoretical ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress to effective use. Instead, they relate what is generally known, new authors are invited timidly, and there is a persisting fear of publishing acutely debatable articles formulating new questions. As before, the journals overflow with complimentary reviews written in a complacent, if not panegyric, tone.

The course charted by the April Plenary Session of the CC CPSU and the 27th CPSU Congress and the decisions of the January Plenary Session of the CC CPSU have raised great hopes, opening up new prospects. Soviet society has come into motion in all directions. The beginning has been made. And there is no way back.

What can and should ensure a breakthrough into the unknown if not creative Marxism-Leninism? Who can and should provide an answer to complex questions of our time, including questions of socialist development, if not social scientists? There is no alternative.

Александр Николаевич Яковлев

СОВРЕМЕННЫЙ СОЦИАЛИЗМ ДОЛЖЕН ПОЗНАТЬ
В ПЕРВУЮ ОЧЕРЕДЬ САМОГО СЕБЯ

Серия «Авторитетное мнение»

на английском языке

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