

Towards humane, democratic socialism

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The period that has passed since the party set the country on the course of restructuring has become a test and trial of the direction taken at that time. The main result of this transitional period is the spiritual and political emancipation of society.

In an atmosphere of freedom, democratisation and glasnost, people have acquired civic and ethnic dignity and are taking the affairs of the state into their own hands.

We knew that this truly epoch-making turning-point in the life of a huge country, with a population of nearly 300 million, would not be simple or easy. Indeed, perestroika is being accompanied by considerable complications.

Problems in the sphere of the economy, in social and inter-ethnic relations and in society's intellectual life have been exposed after accumulating for decades. The acuteness of the problems and the scope of the changes required have proved far greater than initially imagined. In addition, there were errors and miscalculations during the implementation of the reforms.

Such is the reality. The entire experience gained during these years — positive and negative — enables us to say with confidence that there is no sensible alternative to perestroika.

This is a hard and dramatic — but correct — path towards securing for people a worthy life and tapping the potential of our great country. It is necessary to follow this path with courage and consistency, countering the forces which would like to throw our society back or push it towards civil confrontation. The vital issue now is the pace of reform and the acceleration of the solution of the acute socio-economic and political problems.

We have approached a point when to a considerable extent the previous system of

economic management and government is not operating, while new mechanisms have not yet started to work at full capacity. This transitional state is accompanied by manifestations of instability and weakened management and engenders confusion in people's minds. If protracted, this state may bring about serious negative consequences for the people.

The only way out is through acting more resolutely, and vigorously implementing the planned reforms.

The suggested platform is intended to be, after approval by the congress and until the elaboration of the party's new programme, a principled basis for the work of communists and a system of political guidelines in the transitional period.

I

WHAT is the essence of perestroika, what should resolutely be discarded and what should be preserved in the party's ideological and political arsenal?

First of all, we are breaking with the authoritarian-bureaucratic system which is incompatible with socialist principles. Our ideal is a humane, democratic socialism.

Having embarked on the road of revolutionary changes, it is necessary to discard completely the fetters of the past that hinder our movement towards this objective.

While reaffirming our faithfulness to the creative spirit of the materialist world outlook and the dialectic methodology of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and being guided by it, we resolutely reject ideological blinkers, dogmatism and intolerance towards different views and ideas.

While adhering to the positions of the working class and all working people, we abandon the simplified class approach which opposes national and universal

human values.

We denounce total state hegemony in public life and everything that engendered arbitrariness and lawlessness, unpunishable abuses of power and undeserved privileges.

We denounce the primitive view of socialist ownership, disregard for commodity-money relations, and all forms and methods of administration and management that entail man's alienation, and prevent him from making use of his abilities and endowments.

We renounce the treatment of nature as an object for ruthless exploitation, an attitude we have inherited from the beginnings of our industrialisation.

We condemn negligence of the people's cultural and historical values, and of the country's accumulated intellectual capital.

We reject negative dogmatic stereotypes in our relations with other parties of the working people, including social-democratic parties, which contribute to the progressive development of states and nations.

We proceed from the premise that the objectively growing interdependence of states and the emerging integrity of the world, in which various societies interact while retaining their freedom of option, are a basic feature of our epoch.

The CPSU deems it fundamentally important to distinguish everything in our past that was engendered by Stalinism, and by violations of socialist principles, from what constitutes the party's and the people's concrete contribution to their country and to all of humanity.

It is as dangerous to idealise the past and to refuse to learn the complete and grim truth about the tragic aspects of our history, as it is to try to obliterate everything that is truly great and valuable in our historical legacy. The continuity of the Soviet people's labour efforts and struggle must not be interrupted.

Socialist development is impossible without an ideal. And the latter, in turn, will lose all sense if people forget or neglect their history. Historical awareness, love of one's country and patriotism, which in our conditions is unacceptable without internationalism, are symptoms of sound health and vitality in a nation.

The image of the future, even only a few decades ahead, cannot be described exactly, in minute detail. But one thing is clear: it will be an absolutely different society that will develop in democratic conditions on the basis of powerful cultural and scientific-technological progress. It will be founded on the humanistic values of the peoples of our country and of all humanity. It will be a society that realises the value of civilisation and nature, in which man is history's end in itself.

These features of the future social organisation reflect the initial essence of the socialist idea, which has found its embodiment in people's labour and efforts for social emancipation.

Our socialist choice and our adherence to the ideas of October — all power to the soviets; factories to the workers; land to the peasants; peace to the peoples; free self-determination to the nations — are immutable for us.

We have inherited spiritual power and courage from our senior generations and their self-sacrifice for the sake of the country. We cherish the sacred memory of the

sacrifices they made during years of sinister trials.

We adhere to the idea of social justice. It permitted millions of people to rise up from historical non-existence, and it inspired them to deeds that turned our state into a mighty world power. The Soviet state played a decisive role in saving humanity from fascist slavery, and has become the mainstay of many peoples in their struggle for national liberation. It has made an indispensable, unique contribution to world science, technology and culture.

The right to work, to pensions, free education and medical care and other social benefits that first appeared on Soviet soil have now become the privileges of all civilised societies. To forget this means to disrespect the truth, to disrespect those who have displayed noble heroism and self-sacrifice in their passionate urge for the socialist ideal.

These are the points at issue in perestroika's thinking and morality.

II

Man as the focus of party policy

THE party seeks to place man in the centre of social development, providing him with worthy living and working conditions, guaranteeing him social justice, political liberty and the possibilities for comprehensive development and spiritual fulfilment, and regards this as its main goal. This is exactly what should determine social progress.

The CPSU stands for the earliest formulation of legal acts guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens. The recognition of personal liberty as the key and vital value and a *volte-face* to guarantee the entire complex of human rights is perestroika's most important accomplishment. Now it is necessary to consolidate these rights, to rest them on a solid material, legal and political foundation.

The party will uphold:

- Reliable legislative protection of a citizen's personality and honour, the immunity of his home and property, the secrecy of correspondence and telephone conversations;
- Stronger guarantees to realise the right to work, including payment according to the quantity and quality of work done and its final results. The formation of a mechanism to maintain employment, training and re-training of personnel and adequate material support for those who are forced to change their trade, profession or place of work;
- The development and strengthening of the political rights of citizens: participation in running the affairs of society and the state, freedom of speech, the press, meetings and demonstrations and to form public organisations. Law and order and the requirements of Soviet law should be strictly observed;
- Freedom for creative activities, and an attitude to talent as a national asset. Encouraging a multi-faceted culture in every way, the party will uphold humanistic criteria and, at the same time, protect society from pseudo-culture. A commercial attitude to culture is unacceptable to socialism;
- Man's free self-determination in the

spiritual sphere, the freedom of conscience and religion. Without abandoning its world outlook, the party will step up the dialogue between atheists and believers, and pursue a policy that offers all churches the opportunity freely to operate within the law, contributing to mutual understanding between people;

- A higher role of the court of law in protecting civil rights, and the establishment of public-state commissions exercising law-enforcing activities.

The CPSU prioritises the adoption in the near future of laws on the press and other mass media, freedom of conscience and of religious associations, public associations, the order of emigration from and immigration to the USSR, Soviet citizenship, languages of Soviet peoples and other legislative acts that will guarantee the political and personal rights of citizens.

The party will persistently seek to strengthen and develop the economic and social rights of Soviet people and to raise their well-being.

It will concentrate its efforts in this area on the following tasks:

- The drafting and legislative adoption of a state-wide demographic policy providing for human reproduction and the regulation of migration;
 - The implementation of the housing programme that was put forth by the 27th CPSU congress and that aims to provide each Soviet family with a separate flat or an individual house by the year 2000. This aim necessitates an increase in the rate of construction and a substantial rise in the quality of housing construction, provided by state funds and the funds of enterprises, co-operatives, the savings of the population and easy credits. It also necessitates stiffer public control over the distribution of flats, and comprehensive development and architectural plans that reflect the needs of the inhabitants;
 - The right to health protection, by improving medical services, involving a considerable increase in appropriations for public health and the utmost mobilisation of the resources of enterprises, industries, republics and local soviets for these purposes;
 - Stronger guarantees to preserve the natural habitat, rational use of natural resources, the adoption of a long-term state ecological programme for the country and the union and autonomous republics, as well as laws on environmental control; improvement of the structure and operation of bodies engaged in environmental protection;
 - The development of the sphere of education, enlightenment and culture and increased investment for those aims. The radical improvement of the quality of teaching and the training of specialists. Increasing the prestige of teachers, the promotion of competitiveness among ideas and talents, overcoming the administrative approach in the intellectual sphere and the monopoly of group interests. The preservation of our cultural and spiritual heritage and historical monuments. Support for various social initiatives and donations in the interest of developing education and culture. Broad and free exchange of spiritual values with foreign countries.
- The strategy of perestroika is based upon the profound understanding of the role of science, and mastering its results in order

to achieve a qualitatively new state for our society.

The development and use of the country's creative potential should be based upon solid legislation. It is important to ensure the effective protection of intellectual property. The party stands for the independence of higher education establishments and academic and branch scientific institutions, and for their diversity.

The CPSU's economic policy pays special attention to the protection of all social layers, and to those groups in the population that need primary help and support from society.

The CPSU stands for:

- Carrying out broad measures to improve the labour and housing conditions of women, including granting them a reduced workday, work according to a convenient schedule, and increased maternity leave and leave for mothers of large families and single mothers, paid by enterprises. Setting additional subsidies for leave and for health treatment. Prioritising the development of high quality goods production and services for women, and their liberation from hard work that may harm their health. Within the framework of the political reform the party will fight to promote the employment of women in the government;

- The resolute improvement of child care, the allocation of more funds for the construction of children's institutions and the improvement of their work, and for the extension of the production of children's goods, the immediate implementation of measures to reduce infant mortality rates;

- The development and implementation of an effective youth policy, the opening of wide possibilities for fulfilling the capabilities and meeting the requirements of the younger generation, efforts to ensure its equal participation in the political, economic and cultural life of society, the renewal of the youth movement, of the Young Communist League, student and other organisations, support for their initiatives and for their growing desire for independence;

- The improvement of the position of invalids and war and labour veterans, the adoption of a new law on pensions and the development of a special programme for the provision with flats, in the next five years, of all invalids, war and labour veterans, and families of soldiers and officers who gave their lives; the implementation of resolutions on the improvement of medical services and the extension of the production of goods for veterans and invalids, on increased pensions and allowances in line with inflation, and on granting working pensioners the right to receive full wages irrespective of the amount of their pension.

Communists are convinced that citizens' rights and freedoms are inseparable from their civil duties. The party will consistently work towards the establishment in society of respect for labour, law and order and of readiness to defend the socialist motherland, towards the creation of legal and moral guarantees of such common human values as honesty and decency, kindness and mercy, moral self-control and conscientiousness, human dignity and freedom of choice.

The CPSU opposes all illegitimate

privileges and benefits, and advocates full openness on this issue. Communist party membership or a leading post do not, in themselves, provide any advantages. Abuses of office must be eradicated.

III

For an effective plan-market economy

THE party prioritises the launching of effective work by legislative and executive bodies at all levels to improve the economic situation in the country.

The CPSU will help implement a series of measures, worked out by the Council of Ministers and approved by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, to stabilise the consumer market, and above all to eliminate the gap between the large amount of 'free' money and the degree to which it is matched by goods.

These measures should have an explicit social orientation and improve people's economic positions, above all those of low-income groups.

The availability of foodstuffs to the population remains the most acute problem. The CPSU advocates the priority development of the agrarian sector in order to accelerate an increase in the production of meat, milk, vegetables and other products of farming and livestock.

The solution of the food problem should rest on the development of all forms of economic management in agriculture. State-run, co-operative and individual farms and diverse forms of management, based on contract, leasing and other principles, should be given equal possibilities.

The strengthening of the material and technical basis of agricultural production, of the processing and storage of products and the lessening of their losses before they are sold remains a major area of work.

The creation of a social balance between the town and the country is a major task of perestroika. New possibilities will have to be created within a short period of time to provide villagers with comfortable dwellings, services and roads.

We continue to focus on efforts to increase the production of consumer goods. The CPSU will help implement measures to help satiate the market.

The party advocates an effective financial recovery programme, including such measures as the encouragement of deposits in savings banks at increased interest rates, the development of the insurance business, the distribution of state loan bonds on advantageous terms, the selling of homes, advance payments by the population for durable goods they plan to buy in the future, and the selling of stocks and other securities.

More flexible economic instruments and quotas will be needed to prevent unearned incomes and the issue of money in excess of the supply of goods.

The CPSU believes that the solution of current and future socio-economic problems is inseparably linked with the radical economic reform. The reform must replace the command-and-distributive system — characterised by monopoly, lack of initiative, wastefulness, mismanagement and disregard for consumers' interests — with a plan-market economy based on a diver-

sity of property forms, competition between independent manufacturers and a developed financial system, and on the powerful stimuli of personal and collective interest.

The economic reform has proved much more difficult than was initially perceived. But we are fully determined not to allow a return to forms of economic management that discredited themselves and led the country into stagnation, throwing it behind developed countries.

Economic reform is unthinkable without a deep restructuring of the relations of property. The CPSU advocates the diversity of its forms. Their equal and sound competition is the economic basis of civil freedoms, of the freedom to choose the form and method in which a worker will work, and the guarantee of consumers' interests and rights.

Another important task is the transformation of state property into property that will be democratically controlled by workers themselves on the basis of leasing, full cost-accounting, contracts, joint-stock and other modern forms. All of the forms will take into account the scale of production, the specific features of regions, and the degree to which integrating ties are developed.

The party stands for the all-round promotion of the co-operative movement, for the strengthening of production co-operatives, including collective farms, and for the broadening of the sphere of activity of various forms of labour-collective property, including sharing and joint-stock property.

The CPSU believes that the existence of individual property, including ownership of the means of production, does not contradict the modern stage in the country's economic development.

The use of any form of property must rule out the worker's alienation from the means of production and the exploitation of man by man.

One of the most difficult aspects of the economic reform is finding an organic combination of plan and market methods to regulate economic activity.

Modern production is impossible without a centralised planned management. This essentially socialist principle of economic management has been adopted by many countries.

However, it is crucially important to determine the precise degree and methods of such management. Unlike in the past, when the plan attempted to encompass the entire process of production and distribution, there is now a need for a procedure in which planned, centralised economic management will be exercised through prices, taxes, interest rates, credits, payments, etc. Its sphere will be strictly defined by the nature of the strategic tasks.

These tasks include the implementation of major scientific, technical and structural programmes, the development of an infrastructure, comprehensive measures to protect the human environment and renew its resources, tax and credit policy and a guarantee of a stable monetary circulation.

Matters pertaining to the people's social security require centralised regulation.

The party proceeds from the assumption that the country needs a single all-union market, fully-fledged and regulated, which must become a permanently operating

mechanism to achieve and maintain a balance between production possibilities and requirements, and a dynamic equilibrium between solvent demand and supply. This is also a condition for the incorporation of the Soviet economy into world economic relations, and the transfer to a convertible rouble.

The creation of a fully-fledged market economy requires the formation of markets for consumer products, capital goods, securities, investment, currencies and research and development, and an early reform of the financial, monetary and credit systems.

The restructuring of price formation is a *sine qua non* for the market to start regulating the economy. The artificial price levels and proportions, the burden of ineffective subsidies for some goods and ruinous deductions from others provide false reference-points for economic management. They confound the assessment of management's effect, perpetuate scientific and technological backwardness, and prevent the efficient utilisation of the advantages of the international division of labour.

Competition between product manufacturers, including foreign firms, must become an important factor regulating and restraining the growth of prices. Making competition a reality calls for a legislative de-monopolisation of production, trade, credit services and insurance businesses.

The party advocates a structural change in the economy in favour of the consumer, measures to curtail ineffectual and capital-intensive production, and the renovation of existing enterprises. There is a need to give more attention to implementing programmes that rationally utilise nature and save resources, stocks, raw materials and labour inputs, as well as combating mismanagement.

The conversion of defence industries must become an organic component of the structural change. Based on their high skills and scientific and technological potential, it is possible to increase sharply the output of modern capital goods and consumer products.

At the same time, the necessary resources must be allocated for expanded reproduction, without which economic development is bound to get caught in a dead end.

The party will do its utmost to support efforts to speed up scientific and technological progress, which will be measured by its economic, ecological and social effectiveness, and the prospects for its rapid introduction into all spheres of society's life. The provision of necessities for the powerful development of basic and applied research is another major concern of the state. More scope must be given to a variety of research activities and the dissemination of knowledge.

The protection of nature is the protection of humanity. Towards the close of the 20th Century, environmental protection has become a categorical imperative for preserving life on Earth. We must introduce world standards in this country and take an active part in international ecological co-operation.

The rapid industrial growth of the USSR, coupled with an attitude of neglect toward conservation measures, has led to grave pockets of ecological disaster. Urgent measures and large investments are re-

quired to rectify the situation.

When deploying new industrial capacities, the party deems it necessary to institutionalise a procedure to make a strict scientific assessment and to consider public concerns.

At the same time one cannot panic, allowing unfounded demands to close down enterprises that are vital to the country, without which it is impossible to meet the most elementary needs of the people. It will be impossible to tackle ecological problems and save nature without modern scientific, technological and industrial development.

The USSR's broader participation in the international division of labour and co-production is indispensable to its effective economic development. A reliable way to achieve this is to increase the competitiveness of Soviet goods and services, to enhance steadily the foreign economic independence — including in currency terms — of enterprises, to do away with the prevalence of raw materials in exports and to revise the import structure.

Working to implement all of the above listed measures, the CPSU will carefully look after the interests of the working people and erect a reliable legal barrier against the shadow economy, corruption, speculation and people seeking to form monopolies.

IV

Towards broad socialist democracy and people's self-government

DEMOCRATISATION is both the end and the means of perestroika. The creation of a rule-of-law state and a self-governing socialist society is necessary for the entire renewal process, and is a guarantee of the observance of human rights.

The party's policy proceeds from the recognition of the sovereign will of the people as the only source of power. The rule-of-law state of the whole people has no room for dictatorship by any class, and even less so for the power of a management bureaucracy. It constitutes a republic of soviets that grants all citizens the ability to participate in the affairs of the state and to hold any office.

We have already taken important steps away from an authoritarian system towards a democratic one. The supreme bodies of authority have been formed on the basis of new principles. The restructuring of all government bodies is now to be completed. Power will be transferred to the soviets, and the Soviet federation will be radically changed.

The electoral system

The electoral system should be brought in line with the principles of universal, equal direct suffrage. We wish elections to become an honest competition between representatives of all sections of society, of individuals and ideas submitted to the judgement of voters by the party, public organisations and movements, and individual candidates.

The party will strive to ensure the adequate representation in the deputies' corps and in state bodies of workers, peasants, women, young people, veterans, and sec-

tions and groups of society that are not involved in political life to a sufficient extent and whose interests should be protected.

Democracy and political pluralism

The democratisation of our society is accompanied by the emergence of new socio-political associations. The development of society does not preclude the possibility of forming parties. The procedure for their formation will be established by law and reflected in the Constitution of the USSR.

The formation and activity of organisations and movements that expound violence and inter-ethnic strife and that pursue extremist, unconstitutional aims, should be prohibited by law.

The CPSU does not claim a monopoly, and is prepared for a political dialogue and co-operation with everyone who favours the renewal of socialist society.

We believe in principle that the level of democratisation, the democratic character of state and public institutions, the citizens' engagement in politics and the steady development of the perestroika process are of decisive importance.

The CPSU today is a real political force that promotes the democratisation of society to its utmost and is, at the same time, playing the stabilising role in a huge, diverse country.

The soviets of people's deputies

The soviets must become fully-fledged bodies, consistently expressing the will of the people and exercising state control. They should have corresponding rights and economic independence, and should rely on strong and competent deputies' corps.

With the deepening of political reform and the decentralisation of management, the CPSU will promote the establishment and development of self-governing communities.

This will enable the leading bodies to get rid of many of the present economic functions and to concentrate on deciding comprehensive tasks on the scale of union and autonomous republics, regions, and the whole country.

State authority

The CPSU holds that the separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers is fundamentally important to the government's efficiency. In Lenin's terms, we should combine the advantages of the Soviet system with the advantages of parliamentarism.

The initial steps in this direction have been taken. But the experience of perestroika dictates the need for a more precise division of responsibility and jurisdiction among state bodies.

With the decisive role of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there is a need for a reliable and effective mechanism to ensure the implementation of the policies of perestroika and compliance with adopted laws. The experience of the work of the new supreme bodies of authority shows that this mechanism is taking form.

The question of instituting the post of head of state (President) responsible to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and having the necessary powers, is posed by society ever more insistently.

A President is needed to maintain the country's stable development, to speed up

perestroika and guarantee its irreversibility, to ensure the normal and effective functioning of all state and public institutions in the process of democratisation, to ensure compliance with the law and the security of citizens, to protect the Soviet Union's interests and to represent our state on the international arena.

We must consolidate the positions and prerogatives of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Communists — members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and members of the government — should act more decisively and with a greater sense of responsibility, pressing for the implementation of necessary measures to stabilise the situation in the country and to overcome the economic crisis.

The state and managerial apparatus

Significant restructuring must take place in this area. We believe it should be based on the apparatus's accountability to representative bodies and the public, its reasonable sufficiency and professionalism, glasnost in major procedures and limitations on secrecy. The apparatus should be renewed upon the election of new soviet deputies.

Legality and the protection of public order

There is a need for urgent measures to consolidate the legal process and public order. Observance of the law should become the prerequisite for all activity by state bodies and public organisations, and for the conduct of officials and citizens. The party favours the further strengthening of the independence of the court and public prosecutor's office as guarantors of law and order.

Vast work lies ahead in the implementation of the legal reform, in the creation of highly effective justice. Above all, we must reverse the trend towards the increase in crime and ensure the punishment of criminals, thieves, murderers, bribe-takers, embezzlers, swindlers, dealers in the shadow economy, speculators, rapists and hooligans.

We believe it is important to improve professional training, and to enhance the prestige and increase the material security of officials of law-enforcement agencies — the courts, the public procurator's office, the investigation apparatus and the militia.

Every means envisaged by law should be used to combat crime, while the presumption of innocence and the right to protection and juridical norms should be strictly observed.

The transition to new conditions of economic management, specifically the wide use of contractual relations, requires more efficient arbitration, the employment of legal experts in the national economy and the upgrading of the entire system of juridical education.

Defence

The possibility of ensuring the country's security by political means has been considerably expanded by the new thinking. However, we need reliable defence capabilities as long as the world remains militarised and there is a danger of armed conflict.

The party feels responsible for ensuring that our army and navy, which have per-

formed great services for our country, are able to cope with the tasks they encounter in present conditions. This requires a military reform based on the new defence doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Since military production is oriented towards quality, there is a need to enhance professionalism among personnel, and to ensure that the code of honour in the army is worthy of its glorious traditions.

The party will exert efforts to enhance the prestige of the military service, and to strengthen the social protection and improve the living conditions of servicemen and their families.

A rule-of-law state presupposes the effective political guidance of its defence, the accountability of the military department to the supreme civil authorities, and maximum openness in the activity of the military department, taking into account the level of confidence among states.

The CPSU supports the conversion of defence industries to civilian use. These industries should preserve and replenish their potential and must not permit the quality of equipment manufactured for the armed forces to slip.

Internal security

In view of the need to protect state frontiers, counteract foreign intelligence agencies, protect the Soviet constitutional system and the rights of citizens, we should be attentive to the needs of the frontier and internal troops, who fulfil complex and at times dangerous duties.

Remaining vital to the maintenance of public order, interior and state security bodies should operate strictly within the law and under the control of elective government bodies.

A rule-of-law state and self-governing society

The party proceeds from the premise that the formation of a rule-of-law state is a comparatively lengthy process, during which a corresponding structure of state bodies and an integral system of laws will take shape, and traditions will accumulate serving as a guarantee against encroachments on democracy and attempts to reinstate arbitrariness. The development of a political culture is very important when shaping a rule-of-law state.

The more all social processes are regulated by economic and legal means, and the need to use state coercion gradually lessens, the more correctly and reliably the principles of socialism and democracy can be implemented. The shaping of a self-governing society will make it possible to tap the people's immense creative potential.

On the new Constitution of the USSR

The radical renewal of our society has put forward the issue of creating a new fundamental law for the Soviet state. We consider it proper to work actively towards adopting a new Constitution.

V

Towards a new federation

The CPSU's nationalities policy at the current stage

THE fate of perestroika and the future of the country depend to a great extent on the development of inter-ethnic relations.

We resolutely reject attempts to cross out the great and worthy achievements of our country due to the October Revolution — the consolidation and accession to statehood of many peoples from former colonial provinces of the Russian Empire, the overcoming of their backwardness, new values of inter-ethnic relations and the sense of being equal members of a great world power.

At the same time distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy brought immense suffering and loss to the peoples of our multi-ethnic state. Serious problems accumulated during objective migrational and demographic processes as well.

The way out of these difficulties, as the party sees it, lies in the consistent implementation of economic and political reforms, in the resolute rejection of the Stalinist, essentially unitary, model of state structure, and in the complete and invariable implementation of the principle of federalism.

Our approach to the development of nations and inter-ethnic relations was set out in the CPSU platform *The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present-Day Conditions*.

It rests on the following key principles:

- The unconditional observance of the rights of citizens of any nationality all over the country's territory;
- A real substantiation of the sovereignty of union republics and a new level of independence for all forms of national autonomy;
- The preservation of the country's integrity as a federation of free and equal republics, voluntarily delegating part of their rights to the union in order to attain common goals.

Self-determination of nations

The principle of the self-determination of nations in a renewed Soviet federation presupposes the freedom of national-state entities to choose forms by which to structure life, institutions and symbols of statehood. Our ideal is not unification, but unity in diversity.

The party reaffirms its commitment to Lenin's principle of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, and favours the adoption of a law on a mechanism for the exercise of this right.

At the same time we are convinced that the weakening and disruption of reciprocally diverse and interrelated ties could lead to negative consequences for all peoples, to say nothing about individual destinies — consequences that are very difficult to foresee.

That is why we resolutely oppose separatist slogans and movements that would lead to the destruction of the great multi-ethnic democratic state.

The Union and union republics

The transformation of the Soviet federation should be based on harmonising inter-ethnic relations and establishing optimal links between union republics and the Union as their common entity.

The CPSU believes it is necessary to promote the agreement principle of the structure of the Union. This would make it possible to reflect the considerable changes

that have taken place and to execute new approaches to an entire range of problems involving nationalities and inter-ethnic relations.

The voluntary delegation of clearly defined functions to the competence of the Union will help strengthen the status of the union republics as sovereign states with constitutional guarantees.

The republics' real sovereignty is impossible without their economic independence. But the present-day economy cannot make do without the centre operating at the macro-level. The centre has no interests that differ from the vital interests of the republics and the peoples forming the federation. A clear delineation of the competence of the Union and the republics is required, including in planning, budget arrangement, taxation, crediting and price formation.

Direct contract ties between the enterprises of all republics and regions forming a Union-wide market should become the economic foundation of integration processes, the renewal and consolidation of our federation.

The republics' relations with the centre and among themselves must take proper account of their specifics — geographical location, historical development, formation of statehood, role in the country's pattern of production forces, character and level of economies, psychological frame of mind and customs of the peoples inhabiting their territories.

The development of autonomous formations

The perfection of the Soviet federative state presupposes that the sovereignty and rights of autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts will be strengthened and broadened, that they will be given more opportunities to make independent decisions on major problems of economic, social and cultural life. The party will devote untiring attention to this.

The rights of nations and the rights of the individual

Due to migrational processes and deformations that have occurred during the preceding development period there is the danger that some peoples will lose their distinctive national traits while residing in their historical homelands. Measures are therefore perfectly warranted to protect the native language, cultural and ethnic features, the national spiritual values, the original way of life and every republic's demographic structure.

At the same time, such measures must not be carried out at the expense of the interests and rights of citizens of other nationalities, inhabiting a republic. Racism, chauvinism and nationalism are incompatible with the principles of socialism, with our country's laws and with international standards. No nation, no matter how small it is, should forfeit its culture and language, its inimitable image and character which were formed over centuries. We favour granting compact national groups the possibility to set up their public, educational, religious and other associations, to have cultural and information institutions, schools and places of worship.

Particular concern must be displayed at the state level for small nations, for their

specific way of life and development.

The CPSU upholds the unconditional right of all peoples to use their native language freely, to declare it an official language within the limits of their autonomous national-state formations.

The Russian language serves all-national requirements, including the Soviet Union's foreign policy. It is an instrument for inter-ethnic communication. It is advisable to grant it the status of an official language throughout the country's territory.

Communists dedicated to internationalism value equally the interests of all the peoples of our country. The status of a party, uniting people of all nationalities, allows and obliges us to use this political potential to settle inter-ethnic disputes and conflicts. And we intend to act in this manner.

VI

Towards mankind's peaceful development

New thinking, new foreign policy

BY starting perestroika and thereby initiating profound changes in the entire world situation, by determining what our country will be like as a result of our renovation, we have taken upon ourselves a huge responsibility to humanity.

What the world will be like in the 21st Century depends on the success of perestroika in the USSR. In turn, the radical improvement of the international situation and the ushering in of a peaceful era in the world's development meet the vital interests of the Soviet people and contribute to perestroika's progress.

Foreign policy, based on new thinking, has already yielded positive results. The world is throwing off the bonds of confrontation. The integrity of modern civilisation is more clearly discernable now, calling for a new world policy. The Cold War has been stopped.

The danger of a world military conflict has receded. A positive turn towards new relations has been made in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The first major steps have been taken towards practical disarmament. Dialogue and talks are becoming the principal form of international relations. Political methods are assuming priority in settling regional conflicts.

The Soviet Union's new thinking and new foreign policy have placed it at the forefront of efforts to build a safe and civilised world order. We stand for free socio-political choice. This principle, in addition to the principle of balanced interests, must become universal during the coming epoch, must rid it of the positions of strength policy and militarised thinking.

Our long-range foreign policy course comprises:

- a comprehensive range of mutually advantageous equitable relations and contacts with all the countries of the world
- the renovation and development of co-operation with allied states and CMEA members
- active participation in the European process
- the construction of an "all-European

home"

- activity in the Asian-Pacific region in order to turn it into a zone of peace and co-operation

- all-out support for the United Nations' efforts to implement the opportunities that have opened up before it

- "good offices" in the political settlement of regional conflicts

- solidarity with peoples and states defending their independence from any outside interference.

To demilitarise the world community, our course provides for:

- a complete ban on and the phased elimination of nuclear weapons

- an end to nuclear tests everywhere

- a ban on and liquidation of chemical weapons and their manufacture

- a radical reduction in conventional arms and armed forces, moving towards eliminating the very possibility of offensive wars

- the withdrawal of all foreign troops from territories of other states and the liquidation of military bases there

- the prevention of the militarisation of space

- the reorganisation of military alliances (pending their elimination) into defensive-political associations in the service of universal security and international stability

- deep cuts in military budgets and defence industry conversion

- gradual progress towards reciprocal openness on land, at sea, in the sky and in outer space

- the effective control of military activity and compliance with treaties.

The party is convinced that only a policy leading towards a historically irreversible era of peace for mankind accords with the genuine interests of the Soviet state now and in the future.

Towards a new quality of international co-operation

The destinies of peoples, given the unqualified sovereignty of the states in which they live, are intertwined more closely today than ever before. This places new demands on world politics. It is imperative to unite the efforts of the entire world community in order to solve humanity's global problems.

It is only through concerted efforts that states may overcome hunger, misery, mass epidemics, drug addiction and international terrorism and halt the profound disparities developing in different parts of the world.

Only concerted efforts can prevent an ecological disaster, the signs of which are already making themselves felt on all continents. Only the elimination of obstacles to scientific and technological exchanges and the creation of a genuinely world economy will provide the material basis for the peaceful development of civilisation.

Progress towards these objectives of the new epoch requires a drastically new level of international co-operation. Here the United Nations' role is irreplaceable. We also favour interaction with all progressive organisations on the local, continental, regional and international level.

The world community's viability lies in the variety of its modes of development and in its multi-faceted nature: ethnic, spiritual, social, political, geographical and cultural. It is within the mainstream of the overall, progressive movement of civilisation — and

we are convinced of this — that the ideas of socialism will be reborn and begin to gain an ever-growing influence.

Although they differ from country to country, the dramatic developments in Eastern Europe are painfully overcoming the negative experience that emerged during socialism's struggle in the extremely unfavourable setting of the Cold War and without due account of the ethnic factor.

The changes that have occurred in East European countries have not changed our friendly attitude towards their peoples. The party believes that the reforms begun there, like perestroika in the USSR, will create a more natural and firm basis for voluntary and mutually advantageous relations.

The party is open to co-operation with the communist and workers', socialist and social-democratic, liberal and national-democratic parties, with all organisations and movements espousing peace, democracy and social progress.

Perestroika allowed the historical split in the socialist movement to heal and permitted the movement's revival as a world movement on a modern basis. One can desecrate the prospect — and the party welcomes it — of a consolidation of left forces in a search for a new world, and for social progress.

VII

Towards renewal of the party

IF the party is drastically restructured itself, it can maintain its vanguard positions and continue, during this difficult period, the undertaking it began, which is supported by the people.

The authoritarian regime has had an extremely negative effect on the party, its role in society and its methods of work. A party-state power structure has emerged. In inner-party life, the relations between the primary cells and the leading bodies were deformed, communists were prevented from shaping the party's policy and exerted little influence on the activity of higher party committees. Much harm has been done by overcentralisation, the suppression of free thought and the purges. The party's prestige was greatly damaged because of ideological and moral degeneration.

However, the broad party masses maintained their allegiance to Leninist ideals and their selfless commitment to serve the people. There have always been living active forces in the party, and this permitted it to overcome the inertia of Stalinism and stagnation. It stands at the head of revolutionary change and once again proves the party's capacity to discharge its vanguard role.

The scope and novelty of the new tasks have brought about the urgent need for the party to change its status in society radically and to renounce its claims to impeccability and its political monopolism.

The dynamic of change in society dictates the fast pace of the party's transformation. If it does not change, it may be driven to the sidelines of political life. The party masses are keenly aware of this situation and are raising the issue of reform in the party and its profound restructuring more and more insistently.

The CPSU is a self-governing socio-

political organisation, a voluntary union of communists holding the same views.

We perceive a renewed CPSU as a socialist party that expresses the interests of the working class and all working people and that builds its policy on the basis of the scientific analysis of new realities and the creative development of the legacy of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Vladimir Lenin in the context of the public thinking and historical experience of the 20th Century.

In its theoretical and practical activity, the CPSU relies on the democratic and humanistic traditions of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

Organically combining national and international principles, the party is irreconcilable with chauvinism, nationalism, racism and all other manifestations of reactionary ideology and obscurantism.

It rids itself of those who reject its ideological, political and organisational foundations and who participate in anti-socialist, nationalist and anti-Soviet organisations and actions.

The place and role of the CPSU in renewing society

The CPSU will conduct its policy and work to preserve its status as a ruling party in the framework of a democratic process. It will seek to win electors' votes to receive the people's mandate to form leading bodies in the centre, republics and the provinces.

The CPSU, like other socio-political organisations and mass movements, participates in the management of state and public affairs and nominates its representatives to soviets of people's deputies and other state bodies.

The party does not assume state powers. Its role is to be a democratically recognised political leader acting through communists and not seeking advantages nor establishing a privileged status for itself in the USSR Constitution.

The party considers it necessary to submit a corresponding proposal on Article 6 of the country's fundamental law to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, by way of legislative initiative.

Relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU conducts ideological and political work among the masses, propagandising its policy and objectives, proliferating the humanistic values of socialism and campaigning for the implementation of the tasks of perestroika.

Relieving itself of duties beyond its sphere of competence, the CPSU gains the possibility to focus on the development of theory and programmes of action, on organisational and educational work, on implementation of its personnel policy and on the accomplishment of its task to consolidate society through its revolutionary renewal.

This is the main meaning of its vanguard role, and its new relations with all socio-political organisations acting in the framework of the USSR Constitution — relations of dialogue, discussion, co-operation and partnership — will be subordinate to this meaning.

The party regards trade unions as independent public organisations and supports their desire to act in the interests of working people and to defend their labour, social and economic rights.

The CPSU builds its relations with the Komsomol (Young Communist League) on the basis of ideological unity, friendly co-operation and interaction. The CPSU is interested in the Komsomol's direct participation in the development and implementation of party policy.

The party initiated the establishment of glasnost in the country. It will continue to make every effort to make glasnost a natural medium for the formation of public opinion, a powerful means of people's direct influence on policies and their participation in all state and social affairs, and a factor in perestroika's irreversibility and dynamisation.

Taking into account the important role of mass media in society's life, above all in the implementation of glasnost, the party will promote the media in every way and exert its ideological influence on the media on a democratic basis.

The CPSU will oppose disinformation and the use of mass media for personal and group interests, for kindling ethnic strife and propagandising ideas alien to humane, democratic socialism.

This is how we understand the party's new role in society. This does not mean that everything is already clear. The development of reform will help us specify answers to many concrete questions.

Democratisation of the party

What should be done? How can the structure of the CPSU and the character of party work be altered in order to enable the party effectively to fulfil its role, taking into account its changed situation in society?

There is a need for the profound democratisation of the party, which should be based on the authority of the mass of party members.

There is a need for rethinking the principle of democratic centralism. It should no longer be treated in such a way that it can be used to implement barrack-room, hierarchical discipline. There is no other way to overcome communists' dissatisfaction with their role in the policy and activity of the party. There is no other way to restore to each of them a sense of dignity and inner freedom.

The CPSU needs the genuine democratisation of inner-party debates and decision-making, in an atmosphere of true comradeship.

The party rules should guarantee the collective nature of the work of all party bodies, pluralism of opinions, freedom of criticism, multifaceted approaches and platforms, the holding of referendums in special cases, the minority's right to uphold its views and the fulfilment of decisions adopted by the majority.

The renewal of the principle of democratic centralism will ensure the democratic unity of party ranks and prevent the formation of factions with specific internal organisation and discipline.

The enhancement of the role of the communist masses presupposes widening the rights of the primary organisations that form the backbone of the party.

They should have an opportunity to decide responsibly, taking into account present tasks and specific conditions, matters of party structure, programmes and activities and the frequency and procedure of holding party meetings and political actions.

They should act in accordance with rules and procedures that enable them to influence the work and decisions of higher party bodies, conferences and congresses.

Communists justifiably support enhancing the independence of primary party organisations in vital matters of party structure.

It is suggested that primary organisations be given the final say in enrolling people into the party. It is also suggested that there should be no candidate membership prior to full membership.

These and other questions should be discussed by a broad spectrum of communists and taken into consideration when drafting the new rules of the CPSU.

Confirming the territorial/production principle — that is, the work of party organisations in production and other collectives — the party supports communists' effective work in public organisations and local government bodies.

The important role of district party organisations is seen as a means to strengthen the party's foundation. District organisations help primary organisations in their work and are the closest to communists and non-party people.

Direct ties between communists and district party organisations should be envisaged. Delegates to conferences and congresses should be elected directly by all communists. There should be more than one candidate in such elections.

The proposal to elect the first secretaries of party committees at meetings, conferences and congresses on a multi-candidate basis should be supported, as such an election procedure will not place them above corresponding party boards nor above control and criticism.

During pre-congress discussions, we should discuss the extension of the role, rights and functions of all elected party bodies.

It is necessary to renounce the system under which elected bodies included mostly people holding specific posts. This fully applies to the CPSU central committee, too. The only criterion must be the political and human qualities of a communist and his competence.

About the communist parties of constituent republics

During the transformation of the Soviet federation, the correct resolution of the issue of independence for the communist parties of constituent republics acquires particular political importance.

The former tutelage of the CPSU central bodies over them is no longer acceptable. The republican communist parties should have the possibility, under the CPSU's programme and rules, to work out their own policy documents, to independently resolve organisational, personnel and financial issues, to engage in publishing activities and to have the right to directly participate in the solution of fundamental problems of party life.

This is why the leaders of the central committees of the republican communist parties should, in accordance with the rules, be members of the CPSU central committee's leading body.

The central committees of the republican communist parties could be given the right to demand the convocation of a CPSU central committee plenum, if they disagree with decisions of the party's central bodies.

It is necessary to extend the rights of regional and territorial party committees. Party bodies at all levels should work proceeding from the interests of primary party organisations and communists.

The broad development of democratic principles in our internationalist party will facilitate the consolidation of the voluntary ideological, political and organisational unity of the CPSU. It will provide maximum opportunities for the CPSU to act as the consolidating political force in the multi-ethnic society.

About the CPSU central committee

The CPSU's new role makes new demands on its central committee as a body of collective leadership that should concentrate the party's theoretical and political potential.

It is expedient that not only comrades elected to the central committee's leading bodies, but also other members who represent workers, farmers and intellectuals, should work directly in the central committee and its commissions for a fixed term on a permanent basis, receiving pay from the party treasury.

It is proposed that party congresses elect a party chairman and his deputies. Central committee plenary meetings would elect a presidium to handle political and organisational issues between sessions of the central committee.

In order to organise the work of the central committee on a permanent basis it is advisable to set up corresponding commissions of central committee members with the participation of other authoritative communists. These commissions would be headed by CPSU central committee secretaries to be elected at central committee plenums and work under the leadership of the chairman and his deputies.

In between party congresses, it is advisable to envisage the holding of regular all-party conferences, which will have the right to re-elect the composition of the leading bodies.

The democratisation of the party envisages a regular rotation of the composition of all leading bodies.

The CPSU congress shall elect the party's central control-and-auditing body.

Communists and the general public of the Russian Federation actively speak in favour of closer co-ordination of the republic's party organisations and the establishment of a corresponding leading body.

Taking into account the important role of the Russian Federation's party organisations in the preservation of the integrity and unity of the CPSU, it is advisable to submit these issues for discussion to primary party organisations, city, district, area, regional and territorial party conferences in the Russian Federation. They should be examined thoroughly at a republican party conference before the 28th CPSU congress.

About the party apparatus

The party needs an apparatus, and it will perfect its structure, enhance competence and eradicate red tape. Conditions must be created that make it possible to attract trained, educated and qualified party members to work in the apparatus. The apparatus should have the optimum number of personnel and be strictly accountable

before elected bodies.

About the party's mass media bodies

The CPSU looks at its own information media in the centre and in the periphery as an important means of exercising its policy and ideology and conducting its organisational, ideological and educational work. The party directs their activity.

It is advisable that chief editors of party publications be approved at plenary meetings of corresponding party committees.

Chief editors and other top executives of central party mass media bodies should be approved by the presidium of the CPSU central committee.

The chief editor of the newspaper Pravda, the central publication of the party, should be approved by a plenary meeting of the party central committee.

About the party budget

All activities of the CPSU, its organisations and party committees should continue to be secured by monetary and material resources formed exclusively from the party's revenues.

The party possesses and disposes of property. The accumulation and spending of monetary resources should be carried out openly. It is necessary to expand the independence of party organisations in matters concerning the use of party resources.

The communist parties of union republics and territorial and regional party organisations must themselves dispose of their budget, augment revenues ensuring the transition to self-financing, handle structural, personnel and financial matters and determine spending for the activities of primary organisations.

Efficient and open control of the party budget resources at all levels — from primary organisations to the CPSU central committee — is required.

Such are the ideas that the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is advancing towards the 28th congress, mindful of the fact that structures that will probably determine the face of society for years ahead are now being formed.

Views and assessments, set out here, have appeared in one form or another in newspapers, in speeches by communists, in resolutions of party meetings and in letters to the party central committee.

The 19th party conference, plenary meetings of the CPSU central committee, the first and second congresses of USSR People's Deputies, sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and meetings with workers and farmers, representatives of various sections of the intelligentsia, youth and veterans have all produced rich material for analyses and conclusions.

The CPSU central committee believes that communists will define their stance on issues set out in the platform during the pre-congress discussion. The discussion itself will stimulate the renewal of party work.

We invite non-party people — all who are not indifferent to the party's role under perestroika — to the discussion. Along with suggestions and proposals, we are prepared to consider alternative drafts. The combined intellect of the party and the people is the powerful engine of perestroika.