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SOVIET INTERNAL : PARTY CONGRESS : NEW DRAFT PARTY PROGRAMME

SUMMARY

1. A NEW DRAFT PROGRAMME PREPARED FOR PRESENTATION TO THE CPSU CONGRESS. CLAIMED AS A COMPROMISE REFLECTING THE VIEWS OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY. BUT MAKES FEW CONCESSIONS TO THE HARD LINE SENTIMENT WHICH DOMINATED LAST WEEK'S RUSSIAN PARTY CONGRESS. A CONSIDERABLE ACHIEVEMENT IF GORBACHEV CAN GET THIS ENDORSED BY THE CPSU CONGRESS.

DETAIL

2. PRAVDA OF 27 JUNE HAS PUBLISHED AN EXTENSIVELY REWRITTEN VERSION OF THE PARTY'S DRAFT PLATFORM FOR THE FORTHCOMING CONGRESS. LIKE THE ORIGINAL DRAFT PLATFORM, APPROVED IN FEBRUARY AT A PARTY PLENUM, IT IS ENTITLED 'TOWARDS A HUMANITARIAN, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM'.

3. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS :

CRISIS IN SOCIETY AND STRATEGIC AIMS OF THE PARTY

- THE INACCURATE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIALISM AS A SOCIETY BASED ON THE MONOPOLY OF STATE OWNERSHIP, LEADING TO THE PARTY AND THE STATE GAINING ASCENDANCY OVER THE PROLETARIAT LED TO TYRANNY AND LAWLESSNESS. THE AUTHORITARIAN/BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM IS UNABLE TO ACT AS A CHANNEL FOR THE PROCESS OF CIVILISATION. PERESTROIKA ALONE PROVIDED THE FUNDAMENTAL TURNABOUT IN THE POLICY OF LIBERATING THE COUNTRY FROM ITS ALIENATION FROM SOCIALISM. BUT OBVIOUSLY THE REORGANISATION OF ALL SPHERES OF LIFE IN A COUNTRY OF ALMOST 300 MILLION PEOPLE IS A HUGE TASK.

- IT HAS TO BE OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME DECISIONS BY PARTY LEADERS IN RECENT YEARS WERE BADLY THOUGHT OUT, INCONSISTENT AND IN SOME CASES MISTAKEN. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE POLITBURO HAVE LAGGED BEHIND IN REFORMING THE PARTY, OFTEN ACTING ON THE BASIS OF TRIAL AND ERROR.

- THE PARTY IS LIVING THROUGH A COMPLICATED AND CRITICAL PERIOD. AGGRAVATED INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS OF SOCIETY HAVE LED TO A

POLARISATION OF OPINIONS, A REDUCTION IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS AND CRITICISM OF THE PARTY AS A WHOLE.

- AT ONE END OF THE SPECTRUM IS A CONSERVATIVE, DOGMATIC TENDENCY WHICH REGARDS THE POLICY OF RENEWAL AS AN ATTACK ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM. BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURES, UNABLE TO REFORM THEMSELVES, REGARD THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOCIETY AS A THREAT TO THEIR OWN POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

- AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM ARE FORCES WHICH REJECT THE CHOICE OF SOCIALISM AND STRUGGLE TOWARDS THE TRANSFER INTO PRIVATE HANDS OF THE LION'S SHARE OF SOCIETY'S PROPERTY. THEY ARE JOINED BY EXTREMISTS WHO SUPPORT MONARCHIST AND EVEN FASCIST DOCTRINES.

- NATIONALISTIC FORCES HAVE ALSO ACHIEVED SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT IN THE REPUBLICS, SETTING ONE NATION AGAINST THE OTHER AND PROCLAIMING SEPARATISM.

- IN THE CENTRE OF THIS POLITICAL SPECTRUM STANDS THE DEMOCRATIC, RECONSTRUCTED GROUPS, ORIENTATING THEMSELVES TOWARDS SOCIALISM AND BEING REPRESENTED BY THE MAJORITY OF MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS.

- DURING THIS PERIOD OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY WHICH COULD LEAD EITHER TO SOCIAL CHAOS OR TO CONSTRUCTIVE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN POLITICAL FORCES, THE COMMUNIST PARTY SEES ITS ROLE AS ACHIEVING WIDESPREAD CIVIL SUPPORT AND AMALGAMATING AND SUPPORTING ALL THOSE WHO HAVE CREATED OR WISH TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF PROSPERITY AND SPIRITUAL VALUE FOR THE PEOPLE. THE PARTY IS OPPOSED TO THOSE FORCES WHO WOULD WISH TO RETURN TO A BOURGEOIS AND REGIMENTED REGIME LEADING TO CIVIL CONFRONTATION. WE MUST MOVE TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALISM.

- THE PARTY STANDS FOR A CREATIVE APPROACH TOWARDS THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM, TOWARDS ITS CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE OF THIS CENTURY. HUMANITARIAN, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM - THIS IS THE REALISATION OF FREE COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION AMONGST ALL POLITICAL FORCES, ACTING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE LAW.

TOWARDS AN EFFECTIVE ECONOMY

- THE ESSENCE OF THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME LIES IN CREATING DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC RELATIONS, THE GENUINE DEVELOPMENT OF INITIATIVE AND BUSINESS ACTIVITIES. THIS IS TO BE BASED ON THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EQUAL BUT DIFFERENT FORMS OF OWNERSHIP.

- STATE PROPERTY MUST BE RETAINED NOT AS A BUREAUCRATIC FORM OF OWNERSHIP BUT AS PROPERTY CONTROLLED AND MANAGED BY ITS OWN WORKERS. SHARE OWNERSHIP AND LEASING MUST BE INTRODUCED TO PERMIT THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. BUT THE PARTY IS

AGAINST A COMPLETE DENATIONALISATION, WHATEVER IT IS CALLED.

- THE BANKING, TRADE AND PRODUCTION SPHERES MUST BE DEMONOPOLISED AND SUPPORT BE GIVEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED ENTERPRISES.

- STATE REGULATION OF MARKET RELATIONS WILL ENSURE THE DEFENCE OF CITIZEN'S RIGHTS. INDIRECT REGULATION VIA THE SYSTEM OF STATE ORDERS, TAXES, INTEREST RATES ETC WILL ENSURE STRATEGIC AIMS ARE NOT NEGLECTED. COMPENSATION AND INCOMES INDEXATION WILL PROTECT PEOPLE FROM PRICE RISES FOR GOODS AND SERVICES.

TOWARDS A RENEWED UNION OF SOVEREIGN REPUBLICS

- THE PARTY ACKNOWLEDGES THE RIGHT OF A NATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING SEPARATION: BUT THE RIGHT OF EXIT FROM THE UNION AND THE ADVISABILITY OF SUCH A MOVE SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH EACH OTHER. GIVEN THE TENDENCIES EVIDENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TOWARDS INTEGRATION, THE PARTY IS FOR SAFEGUARDING UNITY WITHIN A RENEWED UNION STRUCTURE.

PARTY REFORM

- FOR MANY YEARS THE NUCLEUS OF THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM, THE PARTY ITSELF HAS UNDERGONE SERIOUS DEFORMATION. UNDOUBTABLY THE PARTY MUST BEAR POLITICAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COMPLICATED SITUATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY. AND IT HAS SPOKEN OUT OPENLY ABOUT ITS MISTAKES AND THE CRIMES WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE STALIN PERIOD AND WHICH WERE PERMITTED BY THE PARTY AND STATE LEADERS.

- BUT THE CONGRESS REJECTS UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS DIRECTED TOWARDS HONEST COMMUNISTS OF BOTH THE PREVIOUS AND THE PRESENT GENERATIONS. MILLIONS OF COMMUNISTS UNSELFISHLY SERVED THE PEOPLE AND BRAVELY FOUGHT FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE MOTHERLAND.

- THE PARTY ALSO REJECTS POLITICAL MONOPOLISM. IT WILL DEFEND ITS RIGHTS TO PROVIDE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN OPEN COMPETITION WITH OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL GROUPS. AND IT WILL PROMOTE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF WORLD SOCIALISM IN CONDITIONS OF PLURALISM.

- THE PARTY REJECTS THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WHICH WAS DEVELOPED UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE COMMAND-ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND INSTEAD DEFENDS THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY - AN ELECTION PROCESS BASED ON PLURALISM, OPENNESS, ACCOUNTABILITY, THE SUBORDINATION OF THE MINORITY TO THE MAJORITY AND THE GUARANTEE OF RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY.

- THE CONGRESS DOES NOT CONSIDER IT CORRECT TO DEPRIVE COMMUNISTS WITHIN THE ARMY, KGB AND MVD OF THEIR RIGHT TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE CREATION OF PARTY ORGANISATION OR THE RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY. HOWEVER THESE GROUPINGS

MUST BE KEPT SEPARATE FROM STATE AND POLITICAL ORGANS, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MORAL/POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES, MVD AND KGB.

- THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL OF THE FEDERATION MUST ENCOURAGE THE INDEPENDENCE OF REPUBLICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. LEADERS OF THESE PARTIES FORM PART OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY. IN CASES OF DISAGREEMENT WITH THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP, THE REPUBLICAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS THE RIGHT TO DEMAND THE DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM BY A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

- THE CREATION OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, ACTING AS A FORCE TO STRENGTHEN THE SOVEREIGNTY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC, WILL SERVE TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND OF THE ALL-UNION FEDERATION.

COMMENT

4. THIS NEW VERSION OF THE DRAFT PLATFORM, NOW CALLED A 'PROGRAMME STATEMENT', IS MUCH SHORTER AND MORE TIGHTLY DRAFTED THAN ITS PREDECESSOR WHICH WAS APPROVED IN FEBRUARY AT A PARTY PLENUM AND THEN PUBLISHED FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION. IT HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY A WORKING GROUP CHAIRED BY VADIM MEDVEDEV, POLITBURO MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR IDEOLOGY. IT WILL BE PUT TO THE CPSU PLENUM NOW EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE TOMORROW, 29 JUNE. IF ENDORSED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IT WILL BE PUT TO THE CONGRESS ON THEIR AUTHORITY. IF IT DOES NOT GET CENTRAL COMMITTEE ENDORSEMENT IT WILL, ACCORDING TO MEDVEDEV, STILL BE PUT TO THE CONGRESS OVER THE SIGNATURE OF HIS WORKING GROUP. MEDVEDEV SAID AT A PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY THAT THE NEW PROGRAMME TOOK ACCOUNT OF THE VIEWS OF VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE PARTY - IN PARTICULAR THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM. REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE GROUPS (PRESUMABLY INCLUDING THE HARD-LINE MARXIST PLATFORM) HAD TAKEN PART IN HIS WORKING GROUP.

5 . THE REVISED PROGRAMME CONTAINNS A NEW SECTION ANALYSING THE REASONS FOR THE CURRENT CRISIS IN THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY. THIS IS IN RESPONSE TO INSISTENT DEMANDS FROM PARTY MEMBERS IN RECENT WEEKS. IN WHAT IS A CONCESSION TO THE SORT OF HARD-LINE VIEWS EXPRESSED LAST WEEK AT THE RUSSIAN PARTY CONGRESS, THIS SECTION CONTAINS 2 SHORT PASSAGES CRITICISING THE CENTRAL PARTY LEADERSHIP. BUT THIS IS ONE OF VERY FEW CONCESSIONS TO SUCH VIEWS. THE TONE OF MOST OF THE DOCUMENT IS VERY MUCH IN THE GORBACHEV MOULD. THE APPROACH TOWARDS IDEOLOGY IS FLEXIBLE RATHER THAN DOGMATIC : THE PARTY, IT IS SAID, STANDS FOR A CREATIVE INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALISM. THERE IS A STRONG ATTACK ON THOSE WHO REGARD PERESTROIKA AS AN ATTACK ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM. THE SECTION ON THE ECONOMY IS CONSERVATIVE BY

COMPARISON WITH THE DEBATE GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE. BUT FOR THE PARTY, IT MARKS AN ADVANCE ON SEVERAL FRONTS - REFLECTING THE LEADERSHIP'S NEW COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF A MARKET. IT REJECTS THOSE WHO WISH TO DISMANTLE STATE CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMY, BUT ACCEPTS THAT PRIVATE OWNERSHIP HAS A ROLE. IT ALSO ACCEPTS THE NEED FOR SHARE-OWNERSHIP, AND FOR DEMONOPOLISING BANKING AND OTHER SECTORS.

6. ON THE SENSITIVE ISSUE OF THE ROLE OF THE PARTY ORGANISATIONS IN THE ARMY AND THE KGB, THE LANGUAGE SUGGESTS A CAREFUL COMPROMISE. THIS IS ONE OF THE KEY ISSUES OF DISPUTE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM AND THE REST OF THE PARTY. THE LANGUAGE SUGGESTS THAT POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS - JUSTIFIED AS PROVIDING A POLITICAL EDUCATION SERVICE, SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE - BUT THAT OTHER PARTIES AS WELL AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO SET UP PARTY STRUCTURES WITH THE ARMED FORCES.

7. ALTHOUGH MEDVEDEV CLAIMS THAT ALL THE RIVAL POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE PARTY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN PRODUCING THIS DOCUMENT, THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT IT WILL NOT COME UNDER ATTACK AT THE CONGRESS - PARTICULARLY FROM HARD-LINERS. THE FIRST TEST WILL BE THE RECEPTION IT RECEIVES AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM.

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