

Congress resolution – Party tasks

Here follows the full text of the resolution on the CPSU Central Committee's political report to the 28th Congress of the CPSU and the tasks of the Party:

HAVING heard and discussed the political report of the Party's Central Committee delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Congress notes that deep-going changes have occurred in Soviet society in the time between the 27th and 28th congresses. The Central Committee of the CPSU and its Political Bureau, being collective bodies of political leadership, have directed the Party and all progressive forces to the country's revolutionary turn towards humanism, democracy, and social justice.

The Stalinist totalitarian system which has inflicted tremendous damage to the country, the people, the Party, and the socialist idea itself, is being overcome. The making of a society of free citizens based on socialist values is now under way.

The entire political superstructure is being radically altered, and true democracy is taking root, asserting human rights, free elections, and plurality of parties.

The over centralised state is being transformed into a true union based on self-determination and the free will of the constituent nations.

Ideological diktat is giving way to free thought, glasnost, and informational openness.

The state-monopoly relations of production which alienated the working people from property and from the results of their labour, are being dismantled.

Conditions are being created for free competition between socialist producers.

The Party decisions taken since perestroika was begun, have therefore paved the way for practical action aimed at reviving people's rule, working out the legal foundations of a democratic state, cultivating the new political thinking, and carrying out economic reform. All this has involved millions of people in political affairs and is helping to make perestroika irreversible.

Congress stresses that the future of the Party, its historical perspectives, are directly linked with the achievement of the goals of perestroika and the improvement of the people's quality of life. Congress calls for resolute renovation of the CPSU, for liberating it from dogmatism, mastering the art of political work with the masses and the skill of winning people's minds by the power of the truth, by valid arguments and co-operating constructively, chiefly by concrete deed, with other socio-political forces.

Congress declares: the CPSU, a voluntary union of people of like mind, remains a Party of the socialist option and communist perspective, which through its policy expresses and promotes the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all working people. This is inseparable from its commitment to universal human and humanitarian values, and social justice. Most communists have served and continue to serve the people honestly. They bear no responsibility for the crimes committed by Stalin and his accomplices or for the mistakes of the political leadership during the years of stagnation.

Congress is opposed to authoritarian thinking and stands for the creative development of the legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, of socialist theory, and for deep-going study of the historical experience of the 20th Century, the activity of the CPSU itself, and the achievements of world-wide social thought.

The CPSU attaches top priority to multiplying

society's intellectual wealth as expressed in science, education and culture.

Congress resolutely condemns attacks on V. I. Lenin. It is the duty of every communist and every decent person to protect him as a politician and thinker against slander and defamation, and also against official honours and over-praise.

Congress rejects attempts at implanting and cultivating anti-communism and anti-sovietism in our society, or extremism on the excuse of criticising deformations of socialism and the Party's mistakes, it expresses its firm intention to counteract by all legal means attempts at economic or political persecution of the Party.

The CPSU is a Party of consistent internationalists, sensitive to national interests, needs and customs, and intolerant of nationalism, chauvinism and racism, and any other manifestation of reactionary ideology.

Congress considers it a vital task to ensure the primacy of the Party's rank and file in the CPSU, so that every communist should have a real opportunity to participate in the elaboration and realisation of the Party's policy, radically heightening the role of its local branches. The ideological and political integrity of the CPSU is based on the self-administration of Party branches and the independence of the communist parties of the union republics incorporated in the CPSU.

Congress considers it extremely important for Party branches to actively participate in the workers' and peasants' movement that is reviving in the country.

In the setting of a plurality of parties, the CPSU is prepared for open competition and co-operation with other parties and movements on the basis of the law, in elections, parliamentary activity, and so on.

Congress confirms that the Party's policy of perestroika and revolutionary renovation meets the country's vital interests.

When perestroika was being carried into effect, the CPSU Central Committee, the Political Bureau and secretariat, did not, however, take due account of the economic, social and moral consequences of some of the concrete measures. The anti-alcoholic campaign, the practice of organising co-operatives, the transition to regional economic autonomy and independence of enterprises, along with a number of other major actions, were carried out unsystematically, without preliminary substantive consideration by Party branches. This either lowered the effect of these important and necessary measures or was even counter-productive.

Difficulties and snags in the practical implementation of perestroika policy are due above all to underestimation by the Central Committee of the CPSU of the difficulties in overcoming the legacy of the bureaucratic command system of administration, the unsatisfactory organisational, ideological and propaganda backing of the adopted decisions, and the absence at all Party levels of experience of working in the new conditions. The reports of members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, and of Central Committee secretaries, have borne out the fact that Central Committee activity in organising the fulfilment of adopted decisions has been insufficient. The Central Committee commissions failed to draw sufficiently on the Party's intellectual potential, and on the creativity of Party organisations.

As a result, many of the tasks set by the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the 19th All-Union Party Conference remained undone, aggravating crisis phenomena and complicating the situation in society and the Party.

The demand voiced at the 27th Congress concerning social reorientation of the economy to face up to the people's needs, has not been carried out. Serious social tension and legitimate public dissatisfaction was generated by what is in effect the collapse of the consumer market, growing shortages, and devaluation of the rouble. The socio-economic problems of the countryside have grown more acute.

The abrupt decline of state and labour discipline, growth of crime, violence entailing loss of life and appearance of refugees, corruption, profiteering, drunkenness, drug addiction, and the fall in morality, have created alarm and are complicating the political situation.

The disastrous state of science, education, culture, and public health, is a menace to the country's present and future.

Many regions of the country – the Chernobyl area, the Aral Sea and Aral area, the Volga Basin, the Semipalatinsk testing grounds and others – remain ecological disaster areas. Decisions on ecological problems are being implemented much too slowly. Government programmes on the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia and other regions of the country are being held up.

Congress points out that the Party was taken unawares by deteriorating inter-ethnic relations. The Central Committee often lost initiative in settling conflicts and reconciled itself with half-hearted measures in the centre and the provinces. Conclusion of a new treaty of union has dragged out, jeopardising the integrity and the very existence of the USSR.

The 28th CPSU Congress denounces separatist tendencies as running counter to the interests of the peoples. It expresses regret over the split in the communist parties of the Baltic republics, which resulted in the loss of their decisive influence on the political situation.

Congress declares its support for the stand of the Party branches upholding the socialist option in the development of society. It calls on the communists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to unite on the basis of the 28th CPSU Congress policy documents.

Congress points out that the CPSU leadership, which took a bold step towards renovation of the Party, failed to use all the possibilities for its radical transformation from a government Party into a political leader. The CPSU Central Committee and other Party committees failed to reorganise their work and to mobilise the creative potential of the Party branches.

The 28th CPSU Congress holds that the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Central Committee Secretariat needs drastic improvement, while their personnel policy needs renovation. The Central Committee and its Political Bureau should concentrate their efforts on such key problems as the unity of the CPSU and the development of democracy in the Party, consolidating society, attaining civic peace in the country by political means, and working out and implementing immediate measures to extricate the country from the crisis. Fundamentally new approaches are needed in working among women, young people and veterans, taking into account their specific position in society and to involve these groups effectively in Party activity and in the social structures.

Congress entrusts the new CPSU Central Committee to work out, in the course of three months, the practical measures to implement the Congress decisions and to put into effect the

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Vladimir Ivashko elected CPSU deputy leader

VLADIMIR IVASHKO, 58, who recently headed the Ukrainian Communist Party, was elected Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, it was officially announced at the Party's 28th Congress on July 12.

Ivashko, who was nominated by Mikhail Gorbachev, polled 3,109 votes, with 1,309 delegates voting against.

His main rival, Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, 69, polled 776 votes to 3,642.

The third candidate, who nominated himself, Anatoli Dudyrev, 45, the rector of a Leningrad institute, polled 150 votes to 4,268.

The "number two man" post was instituted in the Soviet Communist Party at this Congress. Because Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is also the President of the Soviet Union, Ivashko is expected to be in charge of the Party's day-to-day activities.

tific degree of Candidate of Science (economics) and became an assistant professor.

Upon joining the Soviet Communist Party in 1960, Ivashko was elected secretary of a primary Party organisation. In 1973 he became the head of the department of science and educational establishments of the Kharkov Regional Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (UCP).

Ivashko was elected Secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Regional Committee of the UCP in 1978, Secretary of the UCP Central Committee in 1986, Second Secretary in 1988 and First Secretary in 1989.

In 1986 Vladimir Ivashko became candidate member and then full member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. He was elected a Politburo member in December 1989. He was also elected a USSR People's Deputy from the CPSU.

This year Ivashko was elected Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. During the 28th Congress of the CPSU he resigned from the post. When asked about his resignation by Congress delegates, he cited disagreement with an attempt by a number of deputies to pressure him.

Ivashko is married. His wife, Lyudmila, is an engineer and teaches technical subjects. His son Andrei is also a teacher at an institution of higher education and is a Candidate of Science (technology). □

Vladimir Ivashko, a Ukrainian, was born in the city of Poltava in 1932. He graduated from the Kharkov Mining Institute after World War II and for many years worked as a teacher in higher education establishments in the city. He defended his thesis and was awarded the scien-

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delegates' critical remarks and proposals.

Taking into consideration the complicated socio-political situation in the country, to recommend that the current situation and the Political Bureau and Secretariat reports be discussed at the meetings of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Control Commission. To entrust the CPSU Central Committee to consider within a year the problem of renovating the ideological work in the Party. To recognise it expedient to reorganise the Academy of Social Sciences, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Institute of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee in view of the new tasks of the Party.

The Party should conduct a strong social and economic policy that would be understood by the people. It should make its own analysis of the situation and its own independent assessments to be able to offer society and the government bodies a way out of the crisis and means of stabilising the situation and solving problems of everyday life.

Congress views all acts aiming at eliminating Party branches in work collectives and other liquidatory manifestations as a violation of democracy and legality.

Congress declares that it is the duty of the CPSU to complete the political reform and to bring to conclusion the transfer of all power to the soviets. The Party committees should organise interaction with new soviets, help them emerge as bodies of real authority and give effective support to workers and peasants during election campaigns. The constructive posture of

the communist deputies and Party branches should help the soviets to pass over the effective and normal work as soon as possible.

Congress deems it right and necessary to introduce the institution of presidency into the country's political system. At the same time it points out that the structure of the President's interaction with the republican and local authorities has not been legalised nor the forms of control over the implementation of the President's decrees been determined.

Congress supports the international activity of the Soviet State, which is based, in keeping with the conclusions of the 27th Party Congress and the 19th Party Conference, on the freedom of choice, balanced interests, equality and non-interference, mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, arms reduction, primarily reduction of nuclear weapons, democratisation and humanisation of relations on the basis of respect for human rights.

Congress points out that the new Soviet foreign policy evolved on these principles promoted a marked improvement of the international situation, lessened military threat, and gave impulse to the solution of global problems, the integration of the economy into the world economic system, interaction in the field of ecology, cultural co-operation and broader communication among the people and to lessening the burden of military spending. As a result favourable external conditions are taking shape for the solution of domestic problems.

Positive shifts on the international scene do not eliminate the task of ensuring reliable safety of the country on the principles of reasonable sufficiency. Problems of military policy and concern for the servicemen and their families should be constantly in the field of vision of the state and the Party.

Congress comes out in favour of broadening and deepening the international contacts of the Party and emphasises the importance of close interaction with the communist and workers' parties and other left-wing forces and of looking for areas of mutual interest with a broad spectrum of political parties and mass movements.

The radical renovation of the Party calls for a

Yeltsin quits Communist Party

BORIS YELTSIN, Chairman of the Russian Parliament, told the 28th Communist Party Congress on July 12 that he intended to leave the Party.

In a statement following his nomination for the Party's Central Committee, he explained that due to his current parliamentary post, which, he said, involves tremendous responsibility to the people of Russia, and to the changeover to a multi-party system, he will not be able "to fulfil only Communist Party decisions."

As head of the Russian supreme legislature, Yeltsin said, he must "obey the will of the people and their plenipotentiary representatives. This is why, in accordance with my campaign pledges, I declare my withdrawal from the CPSU," he said.

"In order to have a greater possibility to effectively influence the work of elected governing councils," Yeltsin said, he was prepared "to co-operate with all parties and mass political organisations in the republic." □

radical renovation of its programme. Congress deems it necessary to set up a commission to prepare a new Party programme and to bring its draft for discussion to the Party branches.

The CPSU offers society and the state a programme of action for the forthcoming period. It is expounded in the policy statement of the Congress "towards humane, democratic socialism" and in the resolutions on the key problems of the country's development.

Party Congress draws the attention of all of the communists and those who will be entrusted to work in the CPSU ruling bodies to the inadmissibility of repeating the mistakes of the past, which have led the party and society to the crisis, the country to stagnation and one-man rule and socialism to deformation.

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The country is going through difficult times. It is necessary as never before to consolidate all the democratic forces. The CPSU proposes that all the champions of the socialist idea should rally within a broad coalition in the soviets, mass organisations and movements and in everyday practical activity. It is ready to conduct dialogue on an equal footing, upholding all constructive ideas for the sake of the working people, civic peace and national accord. □

The Requirements of Common Sense

by Stanislav Kondrashov
Stanislav Kondrashov (b. 1928), a graduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, is a political analyst with the newspaper *Izvestia*. His specialities are Soviet-American relations and life in the United States, where he spent many years as an *Izvestia* correspondent. Stanislav Kondrashov has written numerous books, essays, feature-stories, and articles, including, to mention just a few, *Martin Luther King*, *A Long Look at America* and *People Across the Ocean*.

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