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MANIFESTO ANALYZES SOVIET FUTURE, URGES REFORM

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[THE SECRET DREAM OF A SOVIET TOMORROW. THIS IS A COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF THE SAMIZDAT DOCUMENT LEAKED TO THE GUARDIAN BY ALLEGEDLY HIGHLY PLACED OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW]

[TEXT] TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION: A GROUP OF SOVIET CITIZENS WITH ACCESS TO OBJECTIVE INFORMATION HAVE MADE A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONDITION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY TODAY AND OF THE PERSPECTIVES FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT UP TO THE YEAR 2000; OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION NOW AND IN THE NEAR FUTURE; AND OF THE USSR'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND THE ALIGNMENT OF THE FORCES OF CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM.

THE RESULTS OF THIS ANALYSIS SHOW THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS REACHED A LIMIT BEYOND WHICH LIES AN INSURMOUNTABLE LAG IN ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT BEHIND THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL NATIONS; A REVERSE OF PRESENT US-SOVIET MILITARY PARITY IN FAVOUR OF THE USA, AND AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE MILITARY THREAT TO OUR COUNTRY; A FURTHER WEAKENING OF THE USSR'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND ITS DECLINE INTO A SECOND-RATE POWER; AND DEEPENING CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH WITH A COLLAPSE OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

BECAUSE OF THE EXCEPTIONALLY GRAVE SITUATION FACING OUR COUNTRY, THIS GROUP HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL (MSR), AND AS THE FIRST STEP, TO BRING TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S ATTENTION THE RESULTS OF OUR ANALYSIS, THEREBY OFFERING FOR DISCUSSION A NUMBER OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MEASURES WHICH MAY STILL RESCUE THE SOVIET UNION FROM DEADLOCK AND PROVIDE ITS PEOPLE WITH THEIR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS.

AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, LENIN WROTE THAT RUSSIAN HAD TWO ALTERNATIVES: "EITHER TO PERISH, OR TO CATCH UP WITH THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES AND OVERTAKE THEM ECONOMICALLY."

ALMOST 70 YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THEN, YET IN ALL KEY INDICATORS THE SOVIET UNION HAS STILL FAILED TO CATCH UP WITH, LET ALONE OVERTAKE, THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES. THUS THE USSR'S GNP IS 50 PER CENT THAT OF THE USA. IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, THERE HAS BEEN SINCE THE 1970S A SHARP DECLINE IN AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH-RATES (21 PER CENT IN THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN, 10 PER CENT IN THE 50S AND 60S, 5 PER CENT

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IN THE 70S, AND 2-3 PER CENT IN THE 80S). THIS DECLINE HAS TAKEN PLACE AGAINST AN "EXPLOSIVE" INDUSTRIAL GROWTH IN THE USA IN THESE YEARS (BY TWO TO SEVEN TIMES), IN THE EEC COUNTRIES (THREE TO NINE TIMES), AND IN JAPAN (23 TIMES). THE SOVIET UNION LAGS 10 TO 15 YEARS BEHIND THE CAPITALIST

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COUNTRIES IN ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND THIS LAG IS GROWING. THE USSR IS NOW ON THE PATH TO BECOMING ONE OF THE UNDER-DEVELOPED NATIONS.

LENIN SAID: "CAPITALISM CAN AND WILL BE FINALLY CONQUERED, BECAUSE SOCIALISM WILL CREATE A NEW AND HIGHER LABOUR-PRODUCTIVITY." IN THE 68TH YEAR OF SOVIET POWER LABOUR-PRODUCTIVITY IN SOVIET INDUSTRY WAS 55 PER CENT, AND IN AGRICULTURE 25 PER CENT, THAT OF THE USA.

SPEAKING OF RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS, LENIN CITED AS EXAMPLES THE STRUCTURE OF THE RUSSIAN EXPORT TRADE, WHICH WAS DOMINATED BY THE SO-CALLED "COLONIAL" GOODS, LIKE GRAIN, TIMBER, FUR AND MINERALS. IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET EXPORT TRADE TO THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN THE 1980S, 85 PERCENT OF REVENUE FROM EXPORTED GOODS IS FROM MINERALS, WHILE THAT FROM MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT HAS REMAINED FOR OVER 20 YEARS AT 2 PERCENT. FROM A COUNTRY EXPORTING GRAIN AND FOOD PRODUCTS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOW BECOME A MAJOR IMPORTER OF THESE GOODS (FROM 1970 THROUGH 1980 GRAIN AND FOOD IMPORTS TRIPLED).

THE TRADE BALANCE OF THE USSR WITH THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IS A NEGATIVE ONE, COVERED BY WESTERN CREDITS. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW ONE OF THE MAJOR DEBTOR NATIONS IN THE WORLD, WHOSE DEBTS TO THE CAPITALIST FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (ABOUT 30 BILLION AMERICAN DOLLARS IN THE MIDDLE OF 1983) PLACE IT THIRD, AFTER BRAZIL AND MEXICO. PROJECTING ON TO THE FUTURE AN ANALOGOUS STRUCTURE OF THE EXPORT-IMPORT PLAN, THE SOVIET UNION'S DEBTS TO THE CAPITALIST NATIONS WILL HAVE INCREASED SIX-FOLD BY THE YEAR 2000, AND BY THE YEAR 2005 THE COUNTRY WILL HAVE BEEN FORCED TO SPEND 75 PERCENT OF ITS EXPORT RECEIPTS JUST TO REPAY ITS EXTERNAL DEBTS. JOBS IN FACTORIES AND IN ROAD CONSTRUCTION WHICH MEN WILL NOT TAKE.

ECONOMICS IS THE ART OF MANAGING THE ECONOMY. THE DEFINING FEATURE OF SOVIET ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT AT THE

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PRESENT TIME IS MISMANAGEMENT -- A LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY AMONG SENIOR PEOPLE IN THE MACHINERY OF STATE FOR THE CONDITION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY; AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY MATERIAL INCENTIVES FOR OFFICE, FACTORY AND FARM WORKERS, OR FOR SCIENTISTS AND THE TECHNICAL AND CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA, IN THE RESULTS OF THEIR WORK.

THE COUNTRY IS SHORT OF METAL, BECAUSE ALMOST A THIRD OF ALL METAL IS WASTED, AND IN SOME CASES, THIS AMOUNTS TO 70-80 PER CENT. THE COUNTRY IS SHORT OF GRAIN, BECAUSE 30 PER CENT OF IT IS LOST DURING HARVESTING AND TRANSPORTATION. THE LOSSES OF OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, LIKE POTATOES, FRUIT AND VEGETABLES, AMOUNTS TO OVER 60 PER CENT. THE COUNTRY IS SHORT OF TIMBER PRODUCTS AND PAPER, ALTHOUGH THE USSR'S TIMBER RESOURCES ARE THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD. AND ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION IS ONE OF THE MAJOR OIL-PRODUCING

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COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD, ITS ECONOMY SUFFERS FROM A SERIOUS SHORTAGE IN OIL PRODUCTS.

THE SOVIET UNION LEADS THE WORLD IN ITS WASTEFUL ATTITUDE TO IRREPLACEABLE MINERAL RESERVES. OVER THE PAST 10 YEARS ALONE, THE EXPORT OF GAS ROSE 30-FOLD; HUGE AMOUNTS OF CRUDE OIL ARE EXPORTED; THE EXPORT OF GOLD IN SOME YEARS AMOUNTS TO 300 TONS A YEAR; AND MANY OTHER MINERALS, SOME OF THEM STRATEGIC, ARE ALSO WIDELY EXPORTED.

SOVIET PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING IS ONE OF THE LOWEST IN THE INDUSTRIALLY DEVELOPED WORLD, INCLUDING THE MEMBER NATIONS OF CEMA. IN THE USA, A WORKER RECEIVES ON AVERAGE 1,000 RUBLES A MONTH. THE AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARY OF A SOVIET WORKER IS 185 RUBLES -- FIVE TIMES LESS. AND THERE IS AN EVEN GREATER DISPARITY BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN THE SALARIES OF THE TECHNICAL AND CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA, THE MILITARY, AND OFFICIALS OF THE STATE APPARATUS.

LOW PAY IS EXACERBATED BY DIFFICULT LIVING CONDITIONS. CHRONIC SHORTAGES OF BASIC FOODSTUFFS LIKE MEAT, MILK AND BUTTER IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, AND FREQUENT STOPPAGES OF THESE PRODUCTS ALTOGETHER IN MANY OTHERS, HAVE A BAD EFFECT ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH, ESPECIALLY CHILDRENS', AND CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF NERVOUSNESS AND UNCERTAINTY, WITH PEOPLE WASTING THEIR FREE TIME, AND EVEN TAKING TIME OFF WORK, TO SEARCH FOR FOOD AND STAND IN QUEUES.

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THE SOVIET UNION ON AVERAGE LAGS BEHIND THE USA TWO-FOLD IN PER CAPITA PRODUCTION OF SUCH BASIC FOODSTUFFS AS MEAT, DAIRY PRODUCTS, EGGS AND SUGAR. IN THE 68TH YEAR OF SOVIET POWER THE RATIONING OF CERTAIN FOODSTUFFS WAS IMPOSED IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, JUST AS IN THE WAR YEARS. THIS IS A CAUSE OF THE RISE IN INFANT MORTALITY.

THE CONSTANT DISAPPEARANCE FROM THE SHOPS OF FIRST ONE SERIES OF GOODS AND FOODSTUFFS, THEN ANOTHER, THE ETERNAL HUNT FOR THE MOST BASIC GOODS AND SMALL EVERYDAY THINGS, FORCES PEOPLE TO LIMIT THEIR RANGE OF INTERESTS TO ONE EVERLASTING SEARCH, LEAVING THEM NEITHER THE TIME NOR THE PHYSICAL STRENGTH TO SATISFY THEIR SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS, AND KILLING THEIR HUMAN DIGNITY.

THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE RURAL POPULATION, ESPECIALLY THOSE NOT LIVING IN THE CENTRAL GROUNDS OF STATE AND COLLECTIVE FARMS, IS REMINISCENT OF THE LIFE OF THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY IN THE EARLY PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

SOVIET PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS, WHEREVER THEY WORK: IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORT, CONSTRUCTION, THE MACHINERY OF STATE, AND RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS ARE THOSE OF YESTERDAY AND THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY FOR THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THE INADEQUATE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR, POOR INDUSTRIAL DISCIPLINE, THE LOW LEVEL OF THE MECHANIZATION

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AND AUTOMATION OF MANUAL AND LABOR INTENSIVE OPERATIONS AND THE ELECTRIFICATION OF MANAGERIAL AND SCIENTIFIC WORK, THE VIOLATION OF SAFETY EQUIPMENT RULES AND SANITARY STANDARDS, REGULAR STORMING AND ALL-HANDS-TO-THE-PUMP WORK AT THE END OF THE MONTH, QUARTER, AND YEAR, THE INADEQUATE OPERATION OF THE PUBLIC CATERING SYSTEM--THESE ARE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF A VAST NUMBER OF SOVIET ENTERPRISES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

AT THE END OF THE WORK DAY IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET TO A THEATER, THE MOVIES, A CAFE, RESTAURANT OR SPORTS GROUNDS ONLY WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY. THE NUMBER OF MOVIE THEATERS PER 1,000 PERSONS IN THE USSR IS 3-5 TIMES LESS, AND THE NUMBER OF CAFES AND RESTAURANTS 10-20 TIMES LESS THAN IN THE DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES.

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IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES SECTOR, THE USSR SIMPLY DOES NOT COMPARE WITH THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES -- OR EVEN WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THERE IS A DESPERATE SHORTAGE OF EVERYDAY SERVICES LIKE GROCERIES, SAVINGS BANKS AND HEALTH CENTERS. LONG QUEUES HAVE BECOME AN INEVITABLE PART OF SOVIET PEOPLE'S LIFE.

LOW SALARIES LEAD TO THE FEMINIZATION OF MEN, WHO ARE UNABLE TO BE THE FINANCIAL HEAD OF THE FAMILY -- WITH ALL THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES THIS ENTAILS FOR THEIR FAMILIES, THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN, AND THE ROLE OF MEN IN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

MEN'S INABILITY TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES RESULTS IN THE MASCULINIZATION OF WOMEN. MARX SAID THAT A SOCIETY'S PROGRESSIVENESS COULD BE ASSESSED IN TERMS OF THE POSITION OF THE FAIR SEX. THE SOVIET OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR HAS JUST ADOPTED A RESOLUTION BANNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN HEAVY WORK. IT HAS TAKEN 60 YEARS FOR THIS MEASURE TO BE ADOPTED, YET IT STILL REMAINS ON PAPER, AND WOMEN CONTINUE TO BE USED IN THOSE HEAVY, MONOTONOUS JOBS IN FACTORIES AND IN ROAD CONSTRUCTION WHICH MEN WILL NOT TAKE.

SINCE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO LIVE ON A MAN'S SALARY, WOMEN IN THE USSR ARE FORCED TO ABANDON FAMILY AND CHILDREN AND FIND WORK IN A FACTORY OR OFFICE. BUT WORK DOES NOT LIBERATE A WOMAN FROM HOUSEWORK AND THE CARE OF HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN. THE REASON FOR THE APPEARANCE OF SO MANY PROBLEM CHILDREN AND YOUNG CRIMINALS IS THAT MANY CHILDREN ARE NOT CARED FOR AT HOME, IN THE FAMILY, BUT HAVE TO CARE FOR THEMSELVES AND GET THEIR EDUCATION FROM THE STREET.

IN THESE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS, DRUNKENNESS AND ALCOHOLISM FLOURISH, ALONG WITH PROSTITUTION AND THIEVING.

THE SOVIET UNION FIRMLY LEADS THE WORLD IN ITS CONSUMPTION OF STRONG ALCOHOL: FOR EVERY MEMBER OF THE POPULATION, INCLUDING INFANTS, 11 LITRES OF VODKA AND

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SPIRITS ARE CONSUMED A YEAR, AND BETWEEN 1950 AND 1984 ALONE, ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION ROSE FOUR TIMES. 10 TO 15 TIMES MORE VODKA IS CONSUMED IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY THAN WAS CONSUMED IN TSARIST RUSSIA.

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FEMALE ALCOHOLISM, WHICH IS INCREASING PARTICULARLY SHARPLY, IS NOW ON THE AGENDA, AND EXPLAINS THE SIGNIFICANT RISE IN THE BIRTH OF MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY IMPAIRED BABIES.

ALCOHOL HAS PENETRATED DEEPLY INTO THE LIFE OF SOVIET PEOPLE, AND HAS ASSUMED THE CHARACTER OF A NATIONAL DISASTER, WHICH THREATENS THE VERY FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

THE RAPID DISINTEGRATION OF THE BASIC CELL OF SOVIET SOCIETY -- THE FAMILY -- IS OCCURRING IN THE COUNTRY. IN 1913 THERE WERE 0.44 DIVORCES PER 100 MARRIAGES, IN 1965 SOME 17.94 AND IN 1974 SOME 28.52, THAT IS, THE INTENSITY OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE FAMILY HAS GROWN 59 PERCENT COMPARED WITH 1965, 65 PERCENT COMPARED WITH 1913.

OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT THE CURRENT STAGE IS CLOSELY LINKED WITH AN ACCELERATION OF S&T PROGRESS. THE POLICY OF AN INTENSIFICATION OF PRODUCTION, SAVINGS OF MATERIAL RESOURCES, FUEL, AND ENERGY, AND THE RATIONAL USE OF LABOR RESOURCES -- ALL THESE DIRECTIONS MAY BE DEVELOPED SUCCESSFULLY ONLY GIVEN THE MOST EFFICIENT USE OF AVAILABLE S&T POTENTIAL.

THE SOVIET UNION LEADS THE WORLD IN TERMS OF THE NUMBERS OF RESEARCH PERSONNEL. ONE OUT OF EVERY FOUR SCIENTISTS IN THE WORLD IS A CITIZEN OF THE USSR. THE NUMBER OF SCIENTISTS IN THE USSR IS DOUBLING EVERY 7 YEARS AND INCREASING TWICE AS FAST AS IN THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIET UNION LEADS THE WORLD IN TERMS OF THE NUMBER OF INVENTIONS.

THE FIRST SATELLITE, THE FIRST COSMONAUT, THE FIRST NUCLEAR POWER STATION. THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN ONE OF THE LOCOMOTIVES OF S&T PROGRESS.

THE MID-70'S WITNESSED A NEW TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORLD, BASED ON THE LATEST DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE SOVIET UNION UNDERESTIMATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE NEW DEVELOPMENTS OF WORLD SCIENCE FOR ITS NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE STRENGTHENING OF ITS MILITARY POTENTIAL, AND SPENDING 1.5 TO TWO TIMES LESS THAN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN WORK, IT BEGAN TO GRADUALLY LAG BEHIND THEM IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THERE IS AN ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT LAG IN SUCH AREAS CRUCIAL TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY AS THE COMPLEX AUTOMATION AND MECHANIZATION OF PRODUCTION (40 PER CENT OF ALL WORK IN INDUSTRY ALONE IS

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MANUAL); IN CYBERNETIC METHODS OF MANAGEMENT, AND IN THE USE OF THE AUTOMATED SYSTEMS (THE USE MADE IN THE USA OF AUTOMATION EXCEEDS BY MORE THAN EIGHT TIMES AN ANALOGOUS INDICATOR IN THE SOVIET UNION); IN COMPUTERIZATION, INCLUDING THE USE OF MICROPROCESSOR TECHNIQUES AND OPTOELECTRONICS, BIOTECHNOLOGY AND NUCLEAR POWER (THE CAPACITY OF THE AVERAGE NUCLEAR POWER STATION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS ALMOST FOUR TIMES LESS THAN THAT IN THE USA); AND IN ENERGY-SAVING TECHNOLOGY.

IN ADDITION, A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF S&T PROGRESS IN THE USSR IS BEING EXERTED BY THE COUNTRY'S LACK OF AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR THE SPEEDIEST APPLICATION IN THE ECONOMY OF PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS AND EFFICIENT INVENTIONS AND ALSO MATERIAL INCENTIVE FOR THEIR REALIZATION. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE USSR ARE DEVELOPING UNDER CONDITIONS OF STUBBORN RESISTANCE BY THE ENTIRE SOCIOECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH IS "REJECTING" ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE THE RESULTS OF S&T PROGRESS AS A LIVING ORGANISM REJECTS A FOREIGN BODY.

THE USSR'S SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL BACKWARDNESS HAS BECOME CHRONIC AND UNQUESTIONED -- AS THOUGH THE URGENT PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COULD BE SOLVED BY SIMPLY IMPORTING ADVANCED WESTERN TECHNIQUES AND TECHNOLOGY, INCLUDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF WHOLE "TURN-KEY" FACTORIES PAID FOR WITH OUR IRREPLACEABLE NATIONAL RESOURCES OF OIL, GAS, IRON ORE, CONCENTRATES AND OTHER MINERALS. THE SOVIET UNION IS LIVING FOR TODAY; OUR LEADERS GIVE NO THOUGHT TO TOMORROW, TO THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE. "APRES MOI LE DELUGE," SAID LOUIS XV, AND HIS COURTIER MARVELLED AT HIS WISDOM. HISTORY NOW REPEATS ITSELF IN ANOTHER COUNTRY AND ANOTHER HISTORICAL ERA.

THIS YEAR THE SOVIET PEOPLE COMMEMORATED A SPLENDID DATE IN THEIR HISTORY -- THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR.

"NO ONE IS FORGOTTEN..." -- THIS MEANS OVER 20 MILLION SOVIET PEOPLE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE VICTORY -- "NOTHING IS FORGOTTEN" -- THIS MEANS THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO SUCH HUGE HUMAN LOSSES.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE INITIAL PERIOD OF THE WAR SHOWS THAT THE MAIN FACTORS WHICH HAD CONFRONTED THE RED ARMY AND THE SOVIET UNION WITH CATASTROPHE, AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE WITH THE THREAT OF ENSLAVEMENT, WERE THE UNDERESTIMATION OF THE ROLE AND PLACE IN MODERN WARFARE OF AVIATION AND MECHANIZED FORMATIONS, THE PRACTICAL ABSENCE IN THE RED ARMY OF AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, EFFECTIVE ANTITANK WEAPONS, AND MODERN

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TANKS AND AIRCRAFT, AND THE MOST FLAGRANT MISCALCULATION BY THE COUNTRY'S TOP MILITARY-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BOTH IN DETERMINING THE AXIS OF THE MAIN ASSAULT OF GERMANY'S ARMED FORCES AND IN DETERMINING THE TIME OF THIS ASSAULT.

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THE SOVIET UNION WON A HISTORIC VICTORY IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR, BUT THE SOVIET PEOPLE COULD HAVE ACHIEVED THIS VICTORY WITH FAR LESS HUMAN AND MATERIAL LOSSES, AND THE ROAD TO BERLIN NEED NOT HAVE STARTED FROM MOSCOW, LENINGRAD, STALINGRAD AND THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS.

MARXIST-LENINIST SCIENCE DEFINES POLITICS AS THE CONCENTRATED EXPRESSION OF ECONOMICS. A SICK ECONOMIC ORGANISM INEVITABLY WEAKENS THE COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION. THE SOCIALIST CAMP IS NO LONGER A UNITED AND MONOLITHIC UNION OF FRATERNAL NATIONS. THE LEADING ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AMONGST THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY WEAKENED, AND ITS AUTHORITY IS NOW LOWER THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN IN ALL ITS HISTORY.

THE "ETERNAL AND UNBREAKABLE" SOCIALIST FRATERNITY IS COLLAPSING BEFORE THE EYES OF ONE GENERATION. THE SOCIALIST CAMP HAS ABANDONED SUCH FORMER ALLIES AS CHINA, WITH ITS BILLION STRONG POPULATION, YUGOSLAVIA, ALBANIA AND KOREA. ROMANIA IS THE WEST'S

"TROJAN HORSE" IN CEMA AND THE WARSAW PACT.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION IS NO LONGER THE RECOGNISED LEADER OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT, WHICH HAS DISINTEGRATED INTO SEPARATE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL UNITS OF THE WORKING-CLASS, UNCONNECTED BY ANY UNITED WORLD VIEW, OR COMMON ORGANIZATIONAL OR PARTY LINKS.

THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL REGIMES IN HUNGARY AND POLAND AND THE GDR REMAIN LOYAL TO THE SOVIET UNION, THANKS TO THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS ON THEIR TERRITORIES. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOVIET STATE, THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES ARE CONDUCTING IN AFGHANISTAN AN UNDECLARED AND HOPELESS WAR, WHICH BRINGS GLORY NEITHER TO THE SOVIET UNION NOR TO ITS ARMED FORCES.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY HAS EXPERIENCED SERIOUS SET BACKS

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IN THE FORMER DEPENDENT AND COLONIAL COUNTRIES. FROM THE VAST RESOURCES INVESTED IN INDONESIA, EGYPT, ALGERIA, LIBYA, AND IRAQ, THE SOVIET UNION HAS REAPED NEITHER POLITICAL NOR ECONOMIC DIVIDENDS.

SOVIET DIPLOMACY COULD NOT PREVENT THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATO MILITARY-POLITICAL BLOC, AND THE CREATION IN BOTH EAST AND WEST OF POTENTIAL CENTERS OF MILITARY AGGRESSION. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD, A SERIES OF STATES SUCH AS THOSE OF JAPAN, CHINA AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, ARE OPENLY MAKING TERRITORIAL CLAIMS ON THE USSR.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IS BASED ON MISTAKEN ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE CAUSES OF TENSION IN THE WORLD (THE ARMS RACE), AND PURSUES FALSE GOALS (UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE

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DISARMAMENT). THE ARMS RACE IS A CONSEQUENCE, NOT A CAUSE, OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION, AND TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS OF UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO SEEK WAYS TO LIQUIDATE THE CENTERS OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION, THE "HOT SPOTS" OF OUR PLANET.

OVER ALMOST 70 YEARS, THE SOCIAL-POLITICAL SYSTEM EXISTING IN THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC SUPERIORITY OVER THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES EITHER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMICS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, OR IN THE WELL-BEING OF ITS PEOPLE; TO GUARANTEE THE INVIOABILITY OF ITS STATE BORDERS AND THE SAFETY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, OR TO SECURE THE INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY APPROPRIATE TO A GREAT POWER.

IN THE PAST 70 YEARS THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET STATE HAVE REPEATEDLY ATTEMPTED TO BOOST AGRICULTURE AND PROVIDE THE POPULATION WITH THE NECESSARY FOOD PRODUCTS, AND INDUSTRY WITH RAW MATERIAL. IT HAS ALSO REPEATEDLY CONTEMPLATED IMPROVING THE WORK OF INDUSTRY AND PROVIDING THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY WITH ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES, AND THE ECONOMY WITH INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS.

BACK AT THE DAWN OF SOVIET POWER LENIN WROTE: "...WE HAVE ACCUMULATED SO MANY RESOLUTIONS THAT NOT ONLY DOES NO ONE READ THEM, BUT NO ONE EVEN INTENDS TO." IN RECENT YEARS, PARTICULARLY AS OF THE 1960'S, THE STREAM OF RESOLUTIONS,

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DECISIONS, AND DECREES NOT BACKED UP BY ORGANIZATIONAL MEASURES AND GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES HAS SWAMPED THE SOVIET STATE AND PARTY MACHINERY.

THUS THE CPSU PROGRAM ADOPTED IN 1961 SAYS THAT IN THE COMING DECADE (1961-1970) THE SOVIET UNION WILL SURPASS THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF PER CAPITA PRODUCTION; ALL WORKING PEOPLE WILL HAVE MATERIAL PROSPERITY; ALL KOLKHOZES AND SOVKHOZES WILL HAVE BECOME HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE AND HIGHLY PROFITABLE FARMS; THE NEED FOR WELL-APPOINTED ACCOMODATIONS WILL HAVE BEEN MET, IN THE MAIN; HEAVY PHYSICAL LABOR WILL HAVE DISAPPEARED; THE USSR WILL HAVE BECOME THE COUNTRY WITH THE SHORTEST WORK DAY. AT THE END OF THE SECOND DECADE (1970-1980) THE MATERIAL-TECHNICAL BASIS FOR COMMUNISM, WHICH WILL PROVIDE AN ABUNDANCE OF MATERIAL AND CULTURAL BENEFITS FOR THE WHOLE POPULATION, WILL HAVE BEEN CREATED; SOVIET SOCIETY WILL HAVE COME VERY CLOSE TO THE REALIZATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO NEED. THUS COMMUNIST SOCIETY WILL HAVE BEEN BUILT IN THE USSR, IN THE MAIN.

"THE PARTY SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS: THE PRESENT GENERATION OF SOVIET PEOPLE WILL LIVE UNDER COMMUNISM "

OVER 30 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREES ON AGRICULTURE AND APPROXIMATELY 20 DECREES ON AN INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS

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AND SO FORTH HAVE BEEN ADOPTED IN THE PAST 15 YEARS ALONE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND A SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY IN RESPECT OF WHICH DECREES BY THE HIGHEST ORGANS OF THE PARTY AND THE EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY ON AN IMPROVEMENT IN WORK HAVE NOT BEEN ADOPTED. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE ALL REMAINED PROMISES. PARTY AND STATE PROCEEDINGS FOR THEIR NONFULLFILLMENT HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED AGAINST NO ONE. THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS NOT REPORTED TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND THE PARTY THE REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF ECONOMIC POLICY ADOPTED BY THE 22ND CPSU CONGRESS FOR A 20-YEAR PERIOD.

THE COUNTRY'S CONTINUING ECONOMIC DETERIORATION, AND PEOPLE'S DETERIORATING LIVING STANDARDS, INDICATE THAT THE MEASURES ADOPTED HAVE NOT REPLACED THE LAWS OF THE EXISTING ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH PUNISHES ALL INITIATIVE, DEPRIVES MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY OF ANY MATERIAL INTEREST IN

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THEIR LABOR, BARS THE PATH TO SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND ENCOURAGES OBSCURANTISM, EXAGGERATED REPORTS, AND THE ISSUE OF LOW QUALITY, AND IN SOME CASES TOTALLY UNNECESSARY, GOODS; THE ARTIFICIAL CREATION OF DEFICITS; HIGH, ECONOMICALLY UNJUSTIFIED PRICE DIFFERENTIALS FOR ESSENTIAL GOODS; AND POOR PRODUCTIVE, LABOR AND EXECUTIVE DISCIPLINE.

THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS WILL ADOPT A "NEW WORDING" OF THE CPSU PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD UP TO THE YEAR 2000, WHICH BY ANY ECONOMIC INDEX IS A HUGE STEP BACKWARDS FROM THE "OLD WORDING". IT PROGRAMS THE SOVIET UNION'S CONTINUING LAG BEHIND THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, LIVING STANDARDS AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY. AS REGARDS THE PRODUCTIVITY OF SOVIET LABOR UNTIL THE YEAR 2000, FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS NECESSARY FOR INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE TO REACH ONLY 50 PER CENT OF US PRODUCTION IN 1984.

THE CRISIS OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS CLOSELY CONNECTED TO THE POLITICAL CRISIS, WHICH CONCERNS SUCH FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST STATE AS THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY, OF PERSONAL IMMUNITY, PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE AND TELEPHONE CALLS, AND THE FREEDOM TO JOIN ORGANIZATIONS.

THE EVER DEEPENING POLITICAL CRISIS AFFECTS THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST STATE, NOT MERELY SEPARATE ASPECTS OF ITS ACTIVITY. IT AFFECTS THE SUBSTRUCTURE OF SOCIALISM, NOT JUST ITS SEPARATE OUTBUILDINGS OR STOREYS. AND HOWEVER OFTEN IT IS DECLARED THAT ALL FLAWS IN SOVIET SOCIETY ARE DUE TO THE LACK OF THE NECESSARY INITIATIVE, RIGOROUSNESS, PRINCIPLES, CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM IN "CERTAIN PEOPLE"; OR TO THE PRESENCE "IN CERTAIN PLACES AND ORGANIZATIONS" OF BUREAUCRATICISM, RED TAPE AND WHITEWASH; OR THE INADEQUACY "IN A NUMBER OF CASES" OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE MECHANISM, THE PRIMITIVENESS OF ECONOMIC METHODS, THE SWELLING ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS, THE

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"EXCESSES" OF CENTRALIZATION OR DECENTRALIZATION (WHICH ARE APPARENTLY UNCONNECTED TO THE FUNCTIONING OF THE MOST ADVANCED SOCIAL-POLITICAL SOCIETY) - DESPITE ALL THIS, NO ONE CAN PROPOSE ANY EVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. MOREOVER, THE TIME FOR ANY POSSIBLE RESOLUTION HAS

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ALREADY PASSED.

IT IS NECESSARY, BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE TO TAKE URGENT MEASURES OF A REVOLUTIONARY NATURE TO REBUILD THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST STRUCTURE, AND TO CARRY OUT THE NECESSARY CHANGES IN ITS SUPERSTRUCTURE WHICH CAN LEAD SOVIET SOCIETY FROM ITS BLIND ALLEY; MAKE THE SOVIET UNION AN EXAMPLE FOR OTHER STATES AS REGARDS PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS AND CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; RESTORE ITS AUTHORITY IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND LABOUR MOVEMENT; AND ALLOW IT TO OCCUPY ITS PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY, AS IS PROPER TO A GREAT POWER.

IT IS THE DEEP CONVICTION OF THE MSR THAT A NUMBER OF FUNDAMENTAL MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE.

POLITICAL MEASURES

1) PRESS FREEDOM: THE "WATERGATE SCANDAL" IN AMERICA, AND PRESIDENT NIXON'S RESIGNATION; THE DISCLOSURES OF THE JOURNAL DER SPIEGEL IN THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC, AND THE RESIGNATION OF DEFENSE MINISTER STRAUSS; THE "LOCKHEED SCANDAL" IN JAPAN, AND THE RESIGNATION AND TRIAL OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER TANAKA; THE BLOWING UP OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IN NEW ZEALAND, AND THE RESIGNATION OF FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER HERNU -- THESE AND MANY OTHER EXAMPLES SHOW THAT A PRESS INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RULING PARTY CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CORRUPTION AND LAW-BREAKING, EVEN IF THESE CRIMES INVOLVE THE HIGHEST POLITICIANS IN THE STATE.

THE CREATION OF A PRESS INDEPENDENT OF PARTY AND STATE WOULD ENCOURAGE A MORE EFFECTIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CRIMES OF INDIVIDUALS; IT WOULD INFORM SOVIET PEOPLE MORE DEEPLY AND COMPREHENSIVELY ABOUT LIFE WITHIN THEIR COUNTRY AND BEYOND ITS BORDERS; IT WOULD HELP TO MAKE SOVIET PEOPLE BETTER INFORMED, AND ALLOW THEM TO MAKE A MORE OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF EVENTS AND STATE AND PARTY OFFICIALS.

IN A DRAFT FOR A RESOLUTION ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, LENIN WROTE: "THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' STATE UNDERSTANDS BY THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS... THE GRANTING TO EVERY GROUP OF CITIZENS OF CERTAIN NUMBER (SAY, 10,000) OF THE USE OF A CORRESPONDING SHARE OF PAPER SUPPLIES AND PRINTING FACILITIES."

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2). TO STOP PERSECUTING PEOPLE FOR THEIR POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, AND TO GUARANTEE THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH: THE EXISTING APPARATUS OF REPRESSION, AND THE MEASURES IT TAKES, LEADS TO HYPOCRISY, BIGOTRY, UNPRINCIPLED BEHAVIOUR AND SERVILITY. SOVIET CITIZENS HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO LEAD A DOUBLE LIFE -- ONE, AMONGST THEIR FAMILY AND FRIENDS, WHERE THEY CAN HAVE THEIR OWN THOUGHTS, IDEAS, DREAMS AND OPINIONS, AND THE OTHER, IN OFFICIAL SITUATIONS AND AT MEETINGS, WHERE THEY HAVE TO BE PUPPETS, PROGRAMMED IN OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY, MADE TO SPEAK AND ACT "CORRECTLY," ACCORDING TO THE ACCEPTED STEREOTYPE, TO REPEAT THE PRONOUNCEMENTS OF HIGHER-RANKING LEADERS, THEIR IDEAS, THEIR OPINIONS ON EVERY ASPECT OF HUMAN ACTIVITY FROM FOREIGN POLICY AND QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY TO THE WIDTH OF A PAIR OF TROUSERS AND THE LENGTH OF A JACKET. THE ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM OF PEOPLE'S "INABILITY" TO SPEAK AT MEETINGS WITHOUT NOTES IS THAT SOVIET PEOPLE ARE FORCED TO REPEAT THE THOUGHTS OF OTHERS.

IN SOME CASES, THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH FORCES PEOPLE TO SET UP ILLEGAL AND SEMI-LEGAL GROUPS OF A POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS NATURE. IN SOME CASES, IT LEADS TO PROMINENT CULTURAL FIGURES -- ARTISTS, WRITERS AND SCIENTISTS -- EMIGRATING ABROAD, WHERE THEY ARE ACTIVE IN ANTI-SOVIET CIRCLES. AND IN SOME CASES, MUCH MORE WORRYING FOR THE STATE, IT LEADS TO THE ORGANISATION OF ARMED PROTESTS WITH POLITICAL AIMS -- AS HAPPENED IN RIGA ON ONE OF THE WARSHIPS OF THE BALTIC FLEET -- OR OF HIGHLY-PLACED KGB OFFICIALS GOING OVER TO THE ENEMY. TO GRANT FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS WOULD MAKE FOR A HEALTHIER POLITICAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY, STRENGTHEN THE MORAL-POLITICAL UNITY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND HELP TO EDUCATE THEM IN THE SPIRIT OF GENUINE PATRIOTISM AND LOVE FOR THEIR COUNTRY. WITHOUT FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS THERE IS NO PROPER PUBLICITY. AND "WITHOUT PUBLICITY," SAID LENIN, "IT IS RIDICULOUS TO TALK OF DEMOCRACY..."

3) TO PROVIDE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONS FOR THE CREATION OF ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS: THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM OPERATING IN THIS COUNTRY WAS CREATED BY LENIN AS THE POLITICAL EXPRESSION OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DESTROYING THE OLD SOCIAL-POLITICAL SYSTEM, SUPPRESSING THE REMNANTS OF THE EXPLOITING CLASSES, AND CONSTRUCTING A NEW SOCIALIST SOCIETY. NOW THAT THE FULL AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IS COMPLETE, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS FULFILLED ITS HISTORIC MISSION, AS REGARDS ITS INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, AND IS NO LONGER NECESSARY.

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THE STATE WHICH AROSE AS A STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, HAS TURNED INTO A SOCIALIST, PUBLIC GOVERNMENT, WHOSE POLITICAL STRUCTURE STILL RETAINS THE ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND EXCLUDES POLITICAL PLURALISM.

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IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY, THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE RULING CLASS IS EXPRESSED THROUGH THE BOURGEOIS STATE MECHANISM OF A POLITICAL PARTY (OR ALLIANCE OF PARTIES), WHICH IN COMPETITION WITH OTHER PARTIES, INCLUDING COMMUNISTS, ADVANCES THE PROGRAM MOST CLOSELY CORRESPONDING TO ITS CLASS INTERESTS AT THAT STAGE OF ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. IT MAY ADVERTISE TO THE PEOPLE ITS PROGRAM'S CORRECTNESS DURING ELECTIONS, AND IF THE WINNING PARTY CANNOT CARRY OUT ITS PROMISES WHEN IN OFFICE, THE RULING CLASS WILL GIVE ITS SUPPORT TO ANOTHER BOURGEOIS PARTY AT THE NEXT ELECTION.

THIS SYSTEM OF REPLACEABILITY, AND THE COMPETITION OF SEVERAL POLITICAL PARTIES FOR THE BEST DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE RULING CLASS AND THE BEST ARRANGEMENT OF ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS, HELPS TO INTRODUCE NEW IDEAS INTO THE RUNNING OF STATE AND PARTIES, AND TO CREATE CONSTITUTIONAL IMMUNITY AGAINST SLUGGISHNESS, INERTIA AND CONSERVATISM, BUREAUCRACY, IRRESPONSIBILITY, UNCONTROLLABILITY, THE ABUSE OF POWER AND THE OTHER CHRONIC DISEASES NATURAL TO A PARTY PERMANENTLY IN POWER.

THE CREATION IN THE USSR OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, ALL WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM OF BUILDING A SOCIALIST SOCIETY; THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THEM FOR THE BEST PROGRAM OF ACTION IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR RULING CLASS -- THE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND INTELLIGENTSIA -- AND FOR THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THEIR INTERESTS IN THE HIGHEST JURIDICAL AND EXECUTIVE ORGANS; THEIR FULL RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE AND CONTROL BY THE PEOPLE (IN ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS) IN PUTTING THIS PROGRAM INTO PRACTICE -- ALL THIS WOULD BE A QUALITATIVELY NEW STEP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY, AND IN THE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL SOVIET CITIZENS IN GENUINE SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"EVERY CITIZEN MUST BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSING THE LAWS OF THE STATE, IN ELECTING HIS REPRESENTATIVES, AND IN PUTTING STATE LAWS INTO

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PRACTICE," SAID LENIN

ECONOMIC MEASURES

1) TO OBSERVE THE OBJECTIVELY EXISTING ECONOMIC LAW: ACCORDING TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST CONCEPTION OF ECONOMIC PROCESSES, THERE EXIST GENERAL ECONOMIC LAWS FOR EVERY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC FORMATION, WHICH OPERATE OBJECTIVELY AND DO NOT DEPEND ON THE CONSCIOUSNESS OR WILL OF PEOPLE. THESE GENERAL ECONOMIC LAWS -- ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, EXCHANGE AND CONSUMPTION -- ARE AS OBJECTIVE FOR EVERY METHOD OF PRODUCTION AS ARE THE LAWS OF MATHEMATICS OR PHYSICS.

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THE RELATIONS OF PROPERTY -- PRIVATE AND PUBLIC -- TO THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION DOES NOT ALTER THE ACTION OF THESE LAWS, AND THEIR INFRINGEMENT LEADS TO SLUMPS AND CRISIS IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM, TO "SKIDS" IN THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM, AND IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, TO A SLOWING OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TO ECONOMIC LAG. THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES OF THE DISREGARD OF THE ECONOMIC LAWS IN THE USSR, AND THEIR REPLACEMENT BY RESOLUTE PRONOUNCEMENTS, WAS THE LIQUIDATION OF THE LENINIST POLICY OF STATE CAPITALISM (THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY), AND THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF THE RURAL ECONOMY. IN RECENT TIMES, ABOUT 80 PER CENT OF ALL COLLECTIVE FARMS ARE UNPROFITABLE AND EXIST AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE (IN 1984 ALONE, ABOUT 50 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN WERE IMPORTED, THAT IS, 25 PER CENT OF THE COUNTRY'S NEEDS). WHILE IN THE SPHERE OF SERVICES AND THE MANUFACTURE OF CONSUMER GOODS, THE USSR COMPARES ONLY WITH THE MOST BACKWARD OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

2) TO EXPAND THE RIGHTS OF ENTERPRISES, ON A FULLY SELF-SUPPORTING BASIS: THERE MUST BE AN EXPANSION OF THE RIGHTS OF PROFITABLY OPERATING ENTERPRISES, ALONG WITH A DECENTRALIZATION OF STATE PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION, AND THE TRANSFER OF POWERS FROM CENTRAL TO LOCAL ORGANS, WHERE THE MATERIAL GOODS ARE ACTUALLY PRODUCED. WHILE GRANTING WIDE INITIATIVES TO LOCAL ENTERPRISES, THEIR MATERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES, TO BOTH CONSUMERS AND NEIGHBOURING ENTERPRISES, MUST BE INCREASED. THE ECONOMIC SIMULATION OF

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PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY, AND THE PAYMENT TO WORKERS AND OFFICIALS FOR THEIR LABOR, MUST BE MADE MORE DEPENDENT ON THEIR OUTPUT.

3) TO OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN THE SPHERE OF SERVICES AND THE PRODUCTION OF CONSUMER GOODS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN THE CREATION BY SEPARATE CITIZENS (OR GROUPS OF CITIZENS) OF SMALL ENTERPRISES FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF CONSUMER GOODS, AND IN THE PUBLIC SERVICES SECTOR, AND IN PUBLIC EATING PLACES, RESULTS, AS IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY, IN SPEEDY AND SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS, WITHOUT STATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT, IN THE PROVISION OF FOODSTUFFS AND ESSENTIAL GOODS; IN A REDUCTION IN STATE EXPENSES AND THE CREATION OF A SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCE OF REVENUE IN TAXATION FROM PRIVATE TRADERS.

AS LENIN SAID IN 1921: "THIS (THE FREEDOM OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT) IS NOT SOMETHING FOR SOCIALISM TO BE AFRAID OF, AS LONG AS TRANSPORTION AND MAJOR INDUSTRY REMAIN THE HANDS OF THE PROLETARIAT."

4) TO ALLOW SOVIET CITIZENS THE RIGHT TO RENT FARM MACHINES AND LAND FOR CULTIVATION, AND TO REPAY THE STATE WITH A PROPORTION OF THEIR CROPS: THE SURPLUSES OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION WILL BE THE PROPERTY OF THE LESSEE, AND CAN BE SOLD IN THE MARKETPLACE. A COMPARISON WITH

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AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE U.S. AND THE USSR DEMONSTRATE THAT LEASE-HOLDERS HAVE HUGE POTENTIAL RESERVES: IN THE U.S., THE AVERAGE CROP-CAPACITY IS MORE THAN DOUBLE THAT IN THE USSR. MOREOVER, SEVEN TIMES MORE LABOUR IS EXPENDED ON HARVESTING 100 KILOS OF WHEAT IN THE USSR THAN IN THE U.S.

THE SYSTEM OF RENTING LAND AND MACHINES IN ORDER TO RAISE CAPACITY AND PRODUCTIVITY AND REDUCE LABOR, AND TO PROMOTE THE PERSONAL INTEREST OF LESSEES IN THE RESULTS OF THEIR LABOR, WILL LEAD TO THE CREATION OF HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE FARMS, AND WILL ULTIMATELY PROVIDE THE COUNTRY WITH ESSENTIAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE. IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT RUSSIA WAS AN EXPORTER OF GRAIN.

5) NOT TO OBSTRUCT THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

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ON COLLECTIVE FARMS, ALLOTMENTS AND DACHA COOPERATIVES, OR THE SALE TO TOWN-DWELLERS OF UNUSED PEASANT HOUSES: THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE PLOTS AND THE SALE OF THEIR PRODUCE IN THE MARKETS CAN SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVE THE SUPPLY OF FOODSTUFFS TO THE TOWNS AND THE PEASANT POPULATION, AND LEAD TO A REDUCTION OF MARKET PRICES.

AT PRESENT, PERSONAL HOLDINGS ACCOUNT FOR ABOUT 2 PERCENT OF ALL LAND UNDER CULTIVATION, AND CONTAIN ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ALL STATE-OWNED PIGS, AND OVER 30 PERCENT OF THE COWS. THESE HOLDINGS THUS YIELD ON AVERAGE 30 PER CENT OF ALL MEAT AND MILK, 35 PER CENT OF ALL VEGETABLES, 40 PERCENT OF ALL EGGS, 60 PER CENT OF ALL POTATOES, AND UP TO 70 PER CENT OF ALL FRUIT AND VEGETABLES. FURTHERMORE, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASISED THAT THE STATE PROVIDES NO FUNDS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE HOLDINGS, AND DOES NOT PAY THEIR OWNERS FOR THEIR LABOR, AND SINCE THERE IS NO ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS (LIKE PARTY OR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES) IN CHARGE OF THE LAND HOLDERS, IT DOES NOT PAY ANY ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.

6) TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE TRADE: IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ENACT MEASURES TO MAKE FULL USE OF THE INITIATIVES AND INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE SOCIALIST STATE WITHOUT MAKING USE OF PRIVATE TRADE, CONDUCTED BY AN ECONOMIC COALITION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISES, LESSEES, SMALLHOLDERS AND CONSUMERS IN THE MARKETPLACE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE TRADE THROUGH THE CREATION OF SMALL TRADING ENTERPRISES IS ECONOMICALLY NECESSARY FOR THE FUNCTIONING, ACCORDING TO LENINIST PRECEPTS, OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM OF STATE CAPITALISM.

"THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS AND THE FREEDOM OF TRADE INEVITABLY MEANS THE APPEARANCE OF CAPITALISTS AND CAPITALIST RELATIONS," SAID LENIN. "THERE IS NO REASON FOR US TO FEAR THIS. THE WORKERS' STATE HAS IN ITS HANDS ENOUGH RESOURCES TO KEEP THESE RELATIONS WITHIN PROPER LIMITS..."

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THE PROPOSED PROGRAM OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IS THE HIGHEST CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHING ON THE STATE, BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE USSR AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

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IN THE POLITICAL REALM, THE PROGRAM DENOUNCES ALL VIOLATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR BY STATE AND PARTY ORGANS, AND OFFERS SOVIET CITIZENS THE REAL OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AS THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS, AND OF POLITICAL, CREATIVE AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY; INDEPENDENCE OF TRIAL, AND THE RECALLABILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANS OF SOVIET POWER.

THE NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE WILL ALLOW THE REALIZATION OF THE LENINIST DEMAND, FUNDAMENTAL FOR A SOCIALIST STATE, ON THE NEED "...TO LIMIT MUCH MORE PRECISELY THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PARTY (AND ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE), AND TO INCREASE THE RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTONOMY OF SOVIET OFFICIALS AND INSTITUTIONS...."

THE NEW POLITICAL RULE OF LAW PRECLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF INCIDENTAL PEOPLE OCCUPYING HIGH POSITIONS IN THE PARTY AND STATE AND A REPETITION OF SUCH ANOMALIES OF SOCIALISM AS PERSONALITY CULT, VOLUNTARISM, WILLFUL AND ARBITRARY DECISIONS, SLUGGISHNESS OF THINKING AND IRRESPONSIBILITY.

IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE THE PROGRAM WOULD PERMIT IN THE NEXT 2-3 YEARS A DOUBLING OF LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IN INDUSTRY AND A TRIPLING IN AGRICULTURE, A CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION IN GRAIN AND FOOD IMPORTS, PROVISION OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY WITH BASIC FOODSTUFFS AND THE RAISING OF TRADE, PUBLIC CATERING AND SERVICES TO THE LEVEL OF CIVILIZED COUNTRIES.

ADOPTION OF THE PROGRAM WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE RELEASE OF THE TREMENDOUS CREATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND WOULD LEAD TO A FURTHER FLOWERING OF SOVIET CULTURE, ART, LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE, A CONSIDERABLE RISE IN THE POPULATION'S WELL-BEING, A GROWTH OF THE SOVIET UNION'S ECONOMIC AND MILITARY MIGHT AND THE COHESION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM.

THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL CALLS ON ALL SOVIET PEOPLE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR AGE, SEX OR NATIONALITY, THEIR SOCIAL POSITION OR PARTY STATUS, TO READ THE PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL CAREFULLY, ACTIVELY DISCUSS IT WITH THEIR FAMILY, FRIENDS, ACQUAINTANCES AND WORK TEAMS, AND TO SEND ANY SUGGESTIONS OR OBSERVATIONS IN LETTERS TO SOVIET PAPERS, JOURNALS, RADIO, AND TELEVISION.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET MASS MEDIA, CHALLENGED TO GRANT PEOPLE THEIR FREEDOM OF SPEECH, WILL DO ITS DUTY BY THEM AND DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ACQUAINT OTHERS WITH THE PROGRAM OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL, AND THAT THE SOVIET LEGAL ORGANS, CHALLENGED TO DEFEND AND GUARANTEE THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE USSR, WILL NOT PERSECUTE THESE CITIZENS FOR THEIR POLITICAL BELIEFS.

SHOULD THIS PROGRAM BE PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET PRESS, THE LEADERS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL ARE PREPARED TO APPEAR ON CENTRAL TELEVISION TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN THEIR PROGRAM.

MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENEWAL, NOVEMBER 21, 1985, LENINGRAD.

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