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NY Times page 139 a few days before that.

Sept. 23, 1961

NOTES ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE CPSU, 1961

(K. Polanyi)

(I) Two groups of notes: pp. 2 and 3 are an introduction to the positive approach, i.e., the expanding vistas in the draft. It considers the historical continuum in a wider time and space frame than the traditional program, stretching far into the future and spatially expanding to Africa and Latin America (expressly) as well as tacitly to India and Asia (always outside of China, which is demonstratively ignored.) (II) pp 5 ff indicate the historical conditions under which the draft ^{itself} was produced. ^{Such a} ~~that~~ condition was negative and explain the chief weaknesses of the draft. (primarily the existence of an advanced western civilization where socio-economic factors have, prima facie, transcended by far Marxist assumptions of a century before. (Cf. Pt. I, col. 1)

Turning to conditions which acted as a stimulation and compelled the chief theoretical advances contained in the draft were primarily, of course, the technological triumph of the S.U., then China and Cuba as spectacular events patently outside of the conventional assumptions of the old world of thought. Another group of conditions ^{of a mixed effect} were given by the vainly ignored failure of the popular democracies in Europe and the anxious ^{perspective} ~~problem~~ of the partly analogous new states of Africa.

As an introduction let me list in an elliptic and entirely un-systematic sequence some disjointed "first impressions":

The draft is ^{potentially} an enormous advance, ~~and~~ a hesitant giant step in the history of mankind. Its language is "unfrozen"; spiritual values are admitted as such, and introduced on the ground floor; economic science is recognized and the labour theory of value ^{practically} ignored; "socialist realism" in art and ~~literature~~ literature is de-recognized in the final passage on the subject; trade unionism is mildly resuscitated

obviously in order to pass over work-committees and industrial democracy in silence; soviets are restored (in words); but the re-embedding of the economy in society is implied all through although the formulations are underdeveloped; political concessions to democracy are half-heartedly made; "revolutionary" schematism is dropped and replaced by a broad concept of anti-imperialism; imperialism is fairly consistently defined as capitalism in decay. In tone, temperament, gesture and ~~ethos~~ ethos radicalism of the total outlook is NOT diluted, yet the broadening of the scene is theoretically not recognized: populism is still taboo, ^{the fact of} revision is (insincerely) denied. Nevertheless: A THAW.

I. The expanding vistas

In fashionable terms, here is a new "take-off" which makes nonsense of W.W. Rostow's obsolete "take-off". This one starts where ^{Rostow's "socialism"} ~~the first~~ had taken us to. ~~It~~ In it industrialization continues, but simultaneously there is also a further re-absorption of the disembedded economy into society. This reabsorption involves a reversal of the urbanizing process ~~and~~ as well as of the individual's ^{unique} unilateral dedication to production. Most significantly, the rural environment is to be developed ~~again~~ into a complete way of life as a non-identical twin of urban life. A rural type of culture is to be created, not another industrial civilization in the countryside, and yet ^{a full} ~~an~~ existence on the same level of wealth as well as of cultural and political elaboration. Leisure is to be deliberately shaped into the opportunity for the rise of personality to maturity in its intellectual, moral and spiritual aspect. Note the separate treatment of "farming needs" ^{i.e., technology and social relations} (p. 20, col. 7) and "Kolchoz system" (p. 20, col. 8). An all-round

discipline of personal and social existence is set as the ideal of the personality development of the soviet man and woman. This amounts to an incorporation of an existentialist consciousness into the socialist outlook.

Membership in the socialist world system already in being is declared ^{to be} of enormous importance ~~both~~ ^{as} strategically, theoretically, and psychologically in its demonstrative effect on Africa and Latin America. γ

^{rather} The viewpoints here ~~made~~ ^{stressed} are not ^{(in the draft) explicitly} treated systematically but form the ^{mental} background of the treatment of revisionism, nationalism and a new world division of labour. The draft is actually a conscious revision of the traditional program and avoids the term largely for tactical reasons. In regard to nationalism the grave weakness of the draft is that stalinism is furtively maintained insofar as an ambiguous treatment of proletarian internationalism can be shown to obtain right through. This leaves the important concept of a socialist world system ^{up in the air. It remains} vague, indeterminate and ~~indeed~~ seriously ambiguous, since the all important relationships of the parts of the system to one another are slurred over ^{under the heading of} in the name of "unity", the contents of which as well as ^{its} ~~their~~ way of operation remain ~~obscurely~~ obscure. No perspective is offered for (a) security in a socialist world system, (b) ~~as~~ ^{centrally} safeguards of national independence, (c) the limitations of planned economic division of labour under such a system, (d) democratic regimes, (e) the state is retained permanently in the S.U. but no definition of the relationship of state and party is established for the people's democracies, where it represents the central problem.

internationalism is a postulate, (h) ~~negative relation to multi-party system and people's democracy~~, at the same time ^{The} state is also withering away insofar as its activities and functions in regard to the economy are taken over by new complex social entities ^{resulting} from the conscious producing, distributing, checking, controlling and accounting activities of groups and even individuals on all levels of the economic process. The rising standard of life is everywhere to derive from the increasing productivity of the advancing technology and of the rising rate of production per head, reflected in a fall of costs of production. Since distribution is ^{more} and more free ^{of charge}, the funds of the new types of producing entities take on a communistic character and become part of the public wealth. The institutional mechanism of this change is traced in great detail in regard to the organization of the kolkhoz. This part of the draft repays minute study since it illustrates the many-staged and multi-functioned process of a gradual concentration of the communistic ingredients in the society.

China ignored. Many valid reasons made this inevitable. However, ^{impoverishes the picture and} this makes it more difficult for the New West to emerge. ^{concept of a}

While the Old West ^{which is a power group} is set in relief ^{as} capitalism, the ^{actual} multi-centricity of the present world is obscured: S.U. - China - India - Africa - Latin America - ^{the Political West.} ~~USA.~~ ^{and as a part of it} Yet it is within this pattern that ^{the Old (political) West and the emergent} the West ^{maintenance and evolving} splits into Old and New West, The latter being the problem of the spiritual lead of the cultural (as against the political) West (implying the rejection of Americanism).

Cuba's influence on the Draft: (a) liberalization of the "socialist revolution", (b) the Communists were critical ^{of} and against Castro, course of events outside their theories, including land policies, (c) Latin America brought nearer, (d) "ideological" replaced by cul-

* Since Cuba does not fit into the industrial Marxist schema (working class!!) at all, it is THE new phenomenon that is already "liberalizing the old Marxism."

tural and spiritual (except for ideological ^{failors in} class war, ~~minimum~~
e.g., "anti-Communism".)

The people's democracies, ^{the} ~~that are a~~ weakness ^{of the Soc. World System} to the S.U., are still
left without ^{any} guidance as to their relationship to the S.U., ~~the latter~~
in spite of the 1953-56 events in E-Germany, Poland, Hungary.

The fact is suppressed that the justification of these regimes
and the explanation of their obscurities and vagueness lies in one
fact: It is geographical and strategic: these are the neighbours of the
S.U. (whether in Eastern Europe or the Far East: North Korea, N. Vietnam
Outer Mongolia.) In Europe these are the sore spots: (East Germany,
Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary). *But Africa and Asia are only variants
of it. — —*

II. Limitations of the Draft Program of the CPSU, 1961

I. The advanced capitalist countries ^{*)} are regarded only as entities
represented by governments. (a) ^{Western} their working classes are subsumed
under "the working classes of the world", irrespective ^{of the} fact
that this is inapplicable to them, e.g., intensifying class war, ^(?)
etc. (b) the lower middle class are merely "misled", ^{otherwise no problem} (c) no democratic
possibilities are considered except foreign policy influences, but
economic foreign policy is ignored, in spite of importance for world
economic system, esp. ^{for} S.U. trade, etc. (d) the intelligentsia of the
advanced capitalist countries is left without a lead in regard to the
world perspective of peace, democracy and socialism, esp. as here re-
defined, see "social relationships," (e) points a-d are a lacuna on the
plane of "peaceful co-existence" as (S.U. foreign policy v basis) as it is
of (c) above on the world economy sector.

II. The advanced capitalist countries are not entirely (a) without
a lead on world problems: Peace, former colonial peoples, restoration

^{*)} Part One, cols. 1+2 in the 1903 program and UTTERLY inapplicable to the present.

of world economy (especially trade, investments, etc.) positive indications can be found. (b) However these points of orientation are obscured and partly counteracted by the "inadequacy of the general treatment of advanced capitalist countries situation (improvised jargon)

(aa) definition by "state monopoly capitalism"^{*)} is obscure, (reminiscent of "state capitalism" slogan of Trotzkyites; unfair to Roosevelt and his New Deal; irrelevant to the "Welfare state" which is not a society anyway contradicting the broadened "soc. rev." concept.

(bb) particularly confusing to 1. Latin America where^{it} closes an avenue to working-class power, 2. to national revolutions, 3. similarly ^{in Victorian times are} the outbursts against "nationalism"_^ obstructive to emancipation of Africa~~^~~ Latin-America~~^~~ (cf. anti-tribalism; required nationalizations, ~~etc~~ against neo-colonialism (Kalanga) .

*) new horror of muddled semantics

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