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Il pensiero sovietico in transizione

di **Karl Polányi**

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Il nuovo programma del Partito Comunista dell'Unione Sovietica è senza dubbio l'avvenimento più importante nella storia del movimento socialista moderno dal giorno della fondazione del Partito Comunista, nel 1919. Esso fa parte della storia generale, che spiega perché esso sia stato elaborato proprio ora, e in qual modo dovrà influenzare il corso della storia stessa. Infine, esso è la manifestazione di un nuovo modo di pensare comunista, degno di esame di per se stesso non meno che per l'interesse rievocato nei socialisti non-comunisti che si trovano anch'essi di fronte a un mondo che si apre in una sorprendente varietà. E questo è quel che ci interessa, in questo nostro studio.

In questa situazione, per caso, quel che rimane di una grande tradizione — quella occidentale — non ha al presente alcun pensiero articolato. Per evitare ogni ambiguità, ciò che qui si intende per Occidente non è il gruppo di potenze di questo nome, secondo la linea lanciata a Fulton (Missouri) da Winston Churchill; bensì, in stridente contrasto con essa, quella entità culturale data dal Rinascimento e dall'Umanesimo, se non dalla classica Atene e da quella ispirazione giudaico-cristiana che ad essa si è fusa. In realtà, nel suo declino, il pensiero occidentale, privato di sostanza e di contenuto, ha accettato lo slogan della polarità Est-Ovest. Tutto ciò ha portato vergognosamente l'Ovest alla disastrosa identificazione della democrazia con il capitalismo, e del progresso con il colonialismo. Nessuna meraviglia, quindi, che gli scrittori e i pensatori occidentali abbiano perso autorità e influenza nei riguardi del cosiddetto mondo sottosviluppato, screditando in questo processo le grandi eredità occidentali di democrazia e di progresso. Il pensiero occidentale, avendo perso il suo significato, è stato incapace di reagire creativamente ai nuovi mondi in gestazione e di ridefinire, *a fortiori*, il suo posto in essi. Oggi non fa che ripetere le massime e gli astratti principi degli affari.

Per molte ragioni, i documenti del mondo sovietico ci hanno tradizionalmente preparati ad accogliere una analoga indottrinazione basata sulla ripetizione. Ma a leggere il nuovo programma si rimane colpiti dalla forza di un nuovo e originale pensiero. Ci sono, naturalmente, delle lacune. L'inizio, che affronta il problema del capitalismo avanzato, potrebbe essere stato scritto 40 anni fa. È assolutamente inapplicabile agli Stati Uniti e al Canada dove è difficile dire ai lavoratori che ci troviamo di fronte a "un incedersi delle loro lotte di classe".

Ma questo indulgere in una anacronistica fraseologia non è affatto l'aspetto caratteristico del documento nel suo insieme. Due massicci sviluppi storici, uno interno e l'altro esterno, hanno congiuntamente influenzato l'essenza del documento: la dimensione del successo materiale dei Soviet in termini di socialismo e i mutamenti, negli stessi termini, nella configurazione del genere umano. Il primo fatto ha naturalmente contribuito ad accrescere l'autorità e la fiducia nei dogmi, il secondo ha invece limitato la loro validità e ha mescolato alla fiducia una ragionevole esitazione. L'economia sovietica splende come un arco di trionfo all'orizzonte della metà del ventesimo secolo. Tuttavia, nella seconda metà del secolo, si apre su un paesaggio che, in termini di teoria politica, è alieno dalle tradizioni del partito comunista: Cina, Cuba e il Congo, che a turno dominano la situazione dei continenti Asia, America latina e Africa.

La promessa cinese di un paradiso socialista al di là della morte nucleare implica una strana escatologia, diametralmente opposta a quella sovietica. Apparentemente è così anche per quello che riguarda l'ideale cinese delle *comuni* auto-sufficienti. Né la breve esperienza rivoluzionaria cubana conferma la rigida dottrina della leadership della classe operaia così come essa è stata distillata dalla negativa esperienza della campagna e delle masse contadine russe, che sono apparse incapaci di sostenere gli sforzi prolungati della rivoluzione. Infine, in gran parte delle società sub-contadine africane, deve ancora essere confermata la validità dell'analisi marxista applicabile alla società europea.

Tuttavia anche problemi di economia interna sono in parte responsabili del nuovo modo di pensare. La preponderanza del problema del kolkhoz, tra i problemi domestici, è nata da una difficoltà non più negata: la incapacità di fornire ade-

guate quantità di viveri alla sempre crescente richiesta interna. Perciò, dopo trent'anni di un trattamento soltanto tecnico e organizzativo dei problemi agricoli, si sta ora portando avanti una visione più audace del ruralismo e accrescendo il prestigio dei contadini. Il nuovo corso può trovare i suoi riscontri nell'anabasi dell'Armata contadina di Mao, e nella leggendaria vittoria della milizia contadina di Castro contro i mercenari cubani asserviti agli interessi dello zucchero americano.

La storia ha esaltato le imprese del lontano Oriente e della ruralità caraibica, che attraverso i segreti sentieri della gloria si sono infiltrate nei fortini di una ideologia urbana basata sulla industria pesante, su una via ben lontana dalla *mytcha* di Lenin. Risposte agli interrogativi dei kolchos non sono cercate più a lungo nella sola tecnologia, ma piuttosto in giganteschi investimenti governativi tesi a creare una società rurale, non basata soltanto — come vedremo — sul concetto della vita contadina.

Il programma trae il suo nutrimento da un ricco fondo intellettuale. Questa apertura di mente è riscontrabile al di là dei confini della Russia, nello spazio e, al di là del presente, nel tempo. E non sono risparmiati gli argomenti filosofici, quando il tema lo richiede. Sono affrontati i postulati del socialismo e del comunismo; i limiti dello stato e le funzioni delle classi sociali, inclusa la classe lavoratrice; il significato del riposo e del lavoro. Né si evitano i criteri del progresso, e non si nega il loro posto ai valori spirituali, al fianco di quelli materiali. Il significato e il peso delle relazioni sociali sono rafforzati contro la mera tecnologia, così che l'avanzata umana verso il socialismo può essere misurabile in termini empirici.

Tutto questo porta a una ridefinizione del socialismo al di là dei semplici termini di proprietà, come una qualità di vita, dove l'economia è saldamente fissata alle relazioni sociali. I bisogni materiali e la loro soddisfazione sono accessori ad un organico tessuto della società, a un intreccio di relazioni sociali che si riferisce a vite vissute in condizioni umane. Statistiche e fatti non sono in alcun modo ignorati. Anzi, si dimostra che più elevate forme di vita possono essere raggiunte solo transcendendo le limitazioni poste dai fatti misurabili.

Significa, tutto questo, che la politica marxista sta ora occupandosi dei problemi filosofici della società e della forma di governo, e anche del regno della vita privata, così come fa

l'esistenzialismo? Un approfondimento e un allargamento del socialismo è indubbiamente riflesso anche nel capitolo che riguarda i problemi della moralità. L'ideale del socialista come persona non è ignorato in questa carta. La necessità di proposizioni e argomenti di questo genere è chiaramente ammessa una volta che la innovazione dominante del nuovo programma si muove verso il suo punto focale, il "sistema del mondo socialista", la esistenza del quale è proclamata come "una nuova relazione politica ed economica tra nazioni". È qualcosa di più di una arricchibile comunità del campo comunista, o anche dei partiti comunisti. Le nazioni, non i partiti, sono i suoi membri. Si tratta di una novità perché si può essere più elastici nel cooperare con le più diverse nazioni che con partiti settari.

Altri concreti elementi della storia ai quali il programma intende fornire risposte sono la rivoluzione contadina in generale, e il rimanente settore capitalista. La rivoluzione cubana non è stata ortodossa, tanto per quanto riguarda i dirigenti, quanto per quel che riguarda i metodi. Una disquisizione sulle rivoluzioni è inserita nel programma. "Le rivoluzioni non si fanno per ordine dall'alto". Non viene mantenuto l'appello alla leadership comunista. E meno che mai vi è insistenza sulla violenza, sulla guerra civile.

La prospettiva di un sistema socialista mondiale non esclude la presenza di un'area capitalista esterna. La coesistenza rimane quindi un valido principio in congiunzione con un sistema socialista mondiale, dal momento che la coesistenza risponde alla domanda operativa: come può essere mantenuta la pace attraverso una trasformazione che può comprendere gran parte della umanità?

Il silenzio del documento sulla Cina, Cuba e il Congo non intende, come è evidente, rimuovere questi problemi dal quadro generale. Il suo pensiero creativo è volutamente diretto a risolvere precisamente tali questioni poste dalla storia.

Le democrazie popolari sono senza dubbio allineate con le zone di conquista socialista, Unione Sovietica e Cina. Ma in verità ~~cominciano dalla Polonia~~, le democrazie popolari, nonostante le loro conquiste economiche, sono politicamente dubbie. Nessuna di esse possiede un governo capace di provvedere ai bisogni della vita nazionale. Questo, naturalmente, non è detto per sottovalutare la obiettiva crescita del livello eco-

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nonico e culturale del popolo lavoratore, ma per sottolineare la non risolta situazione dello stato e del partito. D'altra parte gli attacchi del documento contro il "nazionalismo" e il "revisionismo jugoslavo" non dovrebbero, naturalmente, essere interpretati come una giustificazione del processo Rajk, quell'atto dello stalinismo le cui conseguenze hanno indebolito per un lungo periodo la posizione internazionale del socialismo. Il riferimento a un "sistema socialista mondiale" con la sua giustificata concentrazione su un postulato di "unità", non risolve in sé e per sé il principio vitale della indipendenza, che è riconosciuto come una esigenza imperativa dello sviluppo socialista. Unità e indipendenza non sono incompatibili tra di loro. Ma se non sarà fatto un continuo sforzo e se non saranno create istituzioni per un mutuo accordo tra i due principi, essi verranno inevitabilmente a scontrarsi.

Il principio dell'internazionalismo non è in nessun modo un sostituto per una organizzazione che dovrebbe permettere ai governi nazionali di agire in base a quel principio e nello stesso tempo portare la propria forza nazionale nella difesa della unità. La condanna del nazionalismo può anche accrescere le naturali difficoltà di accordare la pianificazione centrale con le necessità dei membri, e questo sarebbe dannoso al sistema socialista mondiale.

Il programma apre coraggiosamente le porte al futuro. Al di là del socialismo, è anticipata una società comunista. La sua natura e il suo *modus operandi* sono delincati a lunghi tratti. Un passaggio semiprofetico porta a un mutamento di scena. La presentazione parte dalla città alla campagna, dall'industria all'agricoltura. Non però per far rivivere la rustica semplicità, o le arcaiche idee pasciane. L'"impresa comunista" nel kolkos accetta come essenzialmente marxista il principio di una ricompensa economica per soddisfare l'interesse di ciascun individuo che governerà la struttura e il funzionamento della società rurale. Inoltre lo sviluppo individuale è strettamente collegato con relazioni sociali articolate, istituite nella vita di una comunità rurale che esiste a un livello materiale simile a quello delle città in una società industrializzata. Come sostegno dello sforzo economico del kolkos è previsto un acquisto su larga scala dei prodotti da parte dello stato, mentre gli impegni presi dai kolkos per determinate consegne allo stato socialista, sono diventate una "condizione irrevocabile"

di un piano di acquisti di stato a prezzi che facciano aumentare in modo continuativo le entrate dei membri del kolkos stesso. Nello stesso tempo gli acquisti dello stato sono pianificati in modo da aiutare lo sviluppo del piano di produzione del kolkos.

Il pensiero sovietico è in transizione. La preminenza della Cina in Asia è diventata una realtà e ha spinto i Sovieti di nuovo verso le loro origini occidentali. Il programma accetta la democrazia, l'avanzata pacifica, la rivoluzione non violenta, anche le possibilità parlamentari come possibili alternative in condizioni favorevoli. Inoltre i valori morali e spirituali con i quali esso concorda, lo rendono più adatto che mai all'ultima meta di una società socialista e allo scopo di raggiungere il comunismo nel corso della presente generazione. Ignorando il programma, l'Occidente è mancato al suo compito di credere delle speranze dell'umanità. Il programma sovietico è stato esaminato solo dal punto di vista della guerra fredda, la sola misura di esame che l'Occidente conosce. Attualmente l'Occidente manca ai suoi doveri anche quando afferma come sua unica sede l'America e l'Europa, spinto dai suoi pregiudizi vittoriani contro ogni altra forma di organizzazione economica che non sia quella delle forme di mercato. In realtà tanto il capitalismo quanto il socialismo hanno una comune origine occidentale. Il socialismo nel kolkos, come ritorno alla organizzazione economica nei centri rurali e come realizzazione applicabile nello spazio di un ventennio, non è altro che un perfezionamento dei *Villages of Union* di Robert Owen, con una generosa distribuzione di meccanizzazione e di uso di prodotti chimici che in quei *Villages* ancora manca. Anche il capitale — questa fondamentale mancanza dei *Villages of Union* — viene provveduto dai fondi collettivi guadagnati dal kolkos e da enormi iniziali investimenti dello stato. Ma per comprendere le obiettive basi sociologiche di questo socialismo del kolkos noi dobbiamo rivolgerci alle relazioni volontarie che sostengono la rete sempre più densa delle istituzioni locali portate avanti dal kolkos. Quel che colpisce la immaginazione sono la ricchezza e la varietà degli interessi culturali, educativi, artistici, letterari e sportivi che, organicamente collegati con le industrie agricole, producono quella atmosfera di attività intensiva ed estensiva con la quale, così come accadeva nel pensiero del primo socialismo, le nuove forme di

esistenza si sviluppano. (Owen fu l'utopista più grandemente considerato da Carlo Marx).

Il profitto sta alla base dell'aspetto commerciale dell'impresa del kolkos. Sono previste, anche, "imprese unite". "La socializzazione della produzione trascenderà i limiti dei kolkos individuali con lo sviluppo di legami di produzione interkolkos". Saranno incoraggiati impianti elettrici, magazzini e trasporti, industrie per le prime trasformazioni, comuni a più kolkos di stato uniti. Anche associazioni agricole-industriali dovranno crescere gradualmente nei casi in cui l'agricoltura si combini organicamente con il processo industriale di lavorazione dei prodotti. Al di là e al di sopra del profitto, la solidarietà è la forza che guida le istituzioni culturali e sociali destinate a elevare il livello di vita e a migliorare le condizioni di esistenza portandole a livelli fin qui sconosciuti. I suoi vantaggi a lunga portata per la comunità sono un libero dono alla società e di "dare alla proprietà cooperativa del kolkos la natura di una pubblica proprietà".

A questo punto si profila all'orizzonte la speranza di sostituire gradualmente gli attuali uffici governativi con enti organici della stessa società. "La democrazia socialista, attraverso la attiva partecipazione di tutti i cittadini agli organi di potere dello Stato, sarà gradualmente trasformata in organismi di auto-governo". Il comunismo trascende così il mero compito di provvedere alle necessità della vita, e inserisce — sublimandoli — i problemi economici in un flusso vitale, il corso del quale è diretto dagli stessi cittadini in pubblici canali.

Necessariamente, questa non è che una descrizione inadeguata della bozza del nuovo programma comunista, un monumento della lotta dell'uomo con la Natura e della sua inadeguatezza ad avvicinarsi alla sua profonda nozione di perfezione. I nostri compiti sono stati fatti tenendo d'occhio le proporzioni di un edificio di pensiero che merita il rispetto di tutti gli amici del genere umano. Tutto considerato, ci troviamo di fronte al passo ancora esitante di un gigante.

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nomico e culturale del popolo lavoratore, ma per sottolineare la non risolta situazione dello stato e del partito. D'altra parte gli attacchi del documento contro il "nazionalismo" e il "revisionismo jugoslavo" non dovrebbero, naturalmente, essere interpretati come una giustificazione del processo Rajk, quell'atto dello stalinismo le cui conseguenze hanno indebolito per un lungo periodo la posizione internazionale del socialismo. Il riferimento a un "sistema socialista mondiale" con la sua giustificata concentrazione su un postulato di "unità", non risolve in sé e per sé il principio vitale della indipendenza, che è riconosciuto come una esigenza imperativa dello sviluppo socialista. Unità e indipendenza non sono incompatibili tra di loro. Ma se non sarà fatto un continuo sforzo e se non saranno create istituzioni per un mutuo accordo tra i due principi, essi verranno inevitabilmente a scontrarsi.

Il principio dell'internazionalismo non è in nessun modo un sostituto per una organizzazione che dovrebbe permettere ai governi nazionali di agire in base a quel principio e nello stesso tempo portare la propria forza nazionale nella difesa della unità. La condanna del nazionalismo può anche accrescere le naturali difficoltà di accordare la pianificazione centrale con le necessità dei membri, e questo sarebbe dannoso al sistema socialista mondiale.

Il programma apre coraggiosamente le porte al futuro. Al di là del socialismo, è anticipata una società comunista. La sua natura e il suo *modus operandi* sono delineati a lunghi tratti. Un passaggio semiprofetico porta a un mutamento di scena. La presentazione parte dalla città alla campagna, dall'industria all'agricoltura. Non però per far rivivere la rustica semplicità, o le arcaiche idee paesane. L'"impresa comunista" nel kolkos accetta come essenzialmente marxista il principio di una ricompensa economica per soddisfare l'interesse di ciascun individuo che governerà la struttura e il funzionamento della società rurale. Inoltre lo sviluppo individuale è strettamente collegato con relazioni sociali articolate, istituite nella vita di una comunità rurale che esiste a un livello materiale simile a quello delle città in una società industrializzata. Come sostegno dello sforzo economico del kolkos è previsto un acquisto su larga scala dei prodotti da parte dello stato, mentre gli impegni presi dai kolkos per determinate consegne allo stato socialista, sono diventate una "condizione irrevocabile".

di un piano di acquisti di stato a prezzi che facciano aumentare in modo continuativo le entrate dei membri del kolkos stesso. Nello stesso tempo gli acquisti dello stato sono pianificati in modo da aiutare lo sviluppo del piano di produzione del kolkos.

Il pensiero sovietico è in transizione. La preminenza della Cina in Asia è diventata una realtà e ha spinto i Soviet di nuovo verso le loro origini occidentali. Il programma accetta la democrazia, l'avanzata pacifica, la rivoluzione non violenta, anche le possibilità parlamentari come possibili alternative in condizioni favorevoli. Inoltre i valori morali e spirituali con i quali esso concorda, lo rendono più adatto che mai all'ultima meta di una società socialista e allo scopo di raggiungere il comunismo nel corso della presente generazione. Ignorando il programma, l'Occidente è mancato al suo compito di erede delle speranze dell'umanità. Il programma sovietico è stato esaminato solo dal punto di vista della guerra fredda, la sola misura di esame che l'Occidente conosce. Attualmente l'Occidente manca ai suoi doveri anche quando afferma come sua unica sede l'America e l'Europa, spinto dai suoi pregiudizi vittoriani contro ogni altra forma di organizzazione economica che non sia quella delle forme di mercato. In realtà tanto il capitalismo quanto il socialismo hanno una comune origine occidentale. Il socialismo nel kolkos, come ritorno alla organizzazione economica nei centri rurali e come realizzazione applicabile nello spazio di un ventennio, non è altro che un perfezionamento dei *Villages of Union* di Robert Owen, con una generosa distribuzione di meccanizzazione e di uso di prodotti chimici che in quei *Villages* ancora manca. Anche il capitale — questa fondamentale mancanza dei *Villages of Union* — viene provveduto dai fondi collettivi guadagnati dal kolkos e da enormi iniziali investimenti dello stato. Ma per comprendere le obiettive basi sociologiche di questo socialismo del kolkos noi dobbiamo rivolgerci alle relazioni volontarie che sostengono la rete sempre più densa delle istituzioni locali portate avanti dal kolkos. Quel che colpisce la immaginazione sono la ricchezza e la varietà degli interessi culturali, educativi, artistici, letterari e sportivi che, organicamente collegati con le industrie agricole, producono quella atmosfera di attività intensiva ed estensiva con la quale, così come accadeva nel pensiero del primo socialismo, le nuove forme di

esistenza si sviluppano. (Owen fu l'utopista più grandemente considerato da Carlo Marx).

Il profitto sta alla base dell'aspetto commerciale dell'impresa del kolkos. Sono previste, anche, "imprese unite". "La socializzazione della produzione trascenderà i limiti dei kolkos individuali con lo sviluppo di legami di produzione inter-kolkos". Saranno incoraggiati impianti elettrici, magazzini e trasporti, industrie per le prime trasformazioni, comuni a più kolkos di stato uniti. Anche associazioni agricole-industriali dovranno crescere gradualmente nei casi in cui l'agricoltura si combini organicamente con il processo industriale di lavorazione dei prodotti. Al di là e al di sopra del profitto, la solidarietà è la forza che guida le istituzioni culturali e sociali destinate a elevare il livello di vita e a migliorare le condizioni di esistenza portandole a livelli fin qui sconosciuti. I suoi vantaggi a lunga portata per la comunità sono un libero dono alla società e di "dare alla proprietà cooperativa del kolkos la natura di una pubblica proprietà".

A questo punto si profila all'orizzonte la speranza di sostituire gradualmente gli attuali uffici governativi con enti organici della stessa società. "La democrazia socialista, attraverso la attiva partecipazione di tutti i cittadini agli organi di potere dello Stato, sarà gradualmente trasformata in organismi di auto-governo". Il comunismo trascende così il mero compito di provvedere alle necessità della vita, e iscrive — sublimandoli — i problemi economici in un flusso vitale, il corso del quale è diretto dagli stessi cittadini in pubblici consulti.

Necessariamente, questa non è che una descrizione inadeguata della bozza del nuovo programma comunista, un monumento della lotta dell'uomo con la Natura e della sua inadeguatezza ad avvicinarsi alla sua profonda nozione di perfezione. I nostri compiti sono stati fatti tenendo d'occhio le proporzioni di un edificio di pensiero che merita il rispetto di tutti gli amici del genere umano. Tutto considerato, ci troviamo di fronte al passo ancora esitante di un gigante.

Karl Polanyi

W. B. Still

*contains corrected version
of 8-10*

SOVIET THOUGHT IN TRANSITION

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is without doubt the most important event in the history of the modern socialist movement since the foundation of the Communist Party, in 1919. It also ^{forms part of} ~~belongs to~~ general history, which explains why it was produced now, and in what way it is intended to influence its course. Finally, ~~and this is what concerns us here,~~ it is the manifestation of a new world of thought, deserving of scrutiny for its own sake, and no less for the benefit of ^{non-Communist} ~~all~~ socialists, who ^{equally} ~~also~~ find themselves faced by a world opening up in amazing variety. *This is what concerns us here.*

In this situation, incidentally, that remnant of a great tradition, the West, has yet no articulate thought to present. To avoid all ambiguity - ^{what is meant here by the West is} ~~not the political~~ power grouping of that name, ~~immense~~ launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, ~~is meant here,~~ but, in sharp contrast to it, the cultural entity, dating from the Renaissance and Humanism, ^{if} not from classical Athens and the Judaeo-Christian inspiration fused with it. Indeed, in its decline Western thought, bereft of substance and content accepted a sloganized polarity of ~~East~~ West and East. It all ended shamefully ^{on the part of the West,} with a disastrous identification of democracy with capitalism and of progress with colonialism. No wonder that the Western writers and thinkers lost status and standing with the so-called underdeveloped world, discrediting in the process the great ~~Western~~ legacies of democracy and progress. Western thought, having lost

its bearings, was incapable of reacting creatively to the emergent worlds around it and, a fortiori, of re-defining its own place in it. It is ^{to-day} found merely repeating business maxims and abstract principles. For many reasons the documents of the Soviet world have traditionally made us expect a similar ^{by} repetitive indoctrination. But ~~the~~ reading ~~of~~ the Draft brings the surprise of a ~~wealth~~ stunning wealth of new and original thinking. There are, of course, lacunae. The beginning, which deals with advanced capitalism, could have been written 40 years ago. It is emphatically inapplicable to the U.S.A. or Canada, where ~~they~~ workers can hardly be said to show "a sharpening of their class struggles."

Yet nothing could be less characteristic of the document as a whole, than an indulging in anachronistic phraseology. Two massive historic developments, one internal, the other external, jointly forced the Draft into being: the dimensions of the material success of the Soviets in terms of socialist ^a ~~and~~ ^{economy} and changes in the configuration of mankind, in the same terms. The first naturally enhanced the authority ^{of and the confidence in} ~~and~~ ~~confidence~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ traditional tenets, the second rather limited their range and ^{inter-} mixed confidence with reasonable hesitation. The Soviet economy looms like a triumphal arch over the horizon of the mid twentieth century. However, for the second half of that century, it opens upon a landscape which, in terms of political theory, is alien to the traditions of the Communist Party - China, Cuba, and the Congo, which in turn dominate the issues of the continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

China's promise of a socialist heaven beyond nuclear death implies a strange eschatology, diametrically opposed to that of the Soviets. But so is apparently also the Chinese ideal of ~~rural socialist society based on large~~ self-sufficient communes. Neither does Cuba's brief revolutionary career confirm the ^{rigid} doctrine of industrial working class leadership as distilled from the negative agrarian experience of Russia and its peasant masses, ^{which were to all appearances} ~~incapable~~ of/sustained effort of revolution. In most of Africa's sub-peasant societies the validity of an essentially European class analysis is still to be tested.

However, internal economic concerns also were responsible for some of the new thinking. The preponderance of the kolkhos issue ^{among domestic problems} ~~undoubtedly~~ sprang from a no longer denied bottleneck, i.e., failure to provide adequate food supplies for the sharply rising internal demand. Nevertheless, ~~the originality with which~~ after thirty years of a merely technological and organizational treatment of the agricultural issue, a vision of the most daring ruralism and upgrading of peasant prestige is now being put forward ^{an} ~~which~~. ^{The new look} may well be drawing ~~also~~ on the anabasis of Mao's Eighth Route Army ^{of Chinese peasants} and the legendary victory of Castro's peasant militia over the Cuban mercenaries of the American ^S sugar interests. History sponsored the feats of the Far Eastern and Caribbean peasantry which ~~has now been~~ by the secret paths of glory infiltrated the heavy-industry-based forts of a traditionally urban ideology, carrying it along far beyond Lenin's smytchka. Answers to the kolkhos issue are sought no longer in technology alone, but rather

in stupendous governmental investments which are aimed at creating a rural society, ~~that~~ not any more based on a concept of peasant life, ^{as we will see:} ~~conceiving instead of a distinctive rural culture on a material level equalling that of modern urban civilization.~~

The Program draws its nourishment from a rich intellectual fund ~~which makes itself felt even where no explicit reference to it is made.~~ This openness of mind expands readily beyond the boundaries of Russia in space, and beyond the present, in time. There is, then, no avoidance of philosophical argument, where ~~the seriousness of the~~ theme ~~materialism~~ requires it. Taken up are the postulates of Socialism and of Communism; the limits of the state and the ~~functions~~ functions of social classes, including the working class; the meaning of leisure and of work. Criteria of progress are not evaded, and spiritual values, alongside of material ones, are no longer denied their place. Hence the meaning and weight of social relationships as against mere technology ^{is} consistently stressed, so that human advance towards socialism may be ^{meas} ~~meas~~urable in empirical terms. How otherwise could we gauge whether we were nearing our ideal ends, or ~~regress~~, rather receding from ~~them~~ them?

All this adds up to a re-definition of socialism beyond mere property terms, as a quality of life, where the economy is embedded in social relations. ~~Technology takes second place.~~ Material needs and their satisfaction are accessory to an organic tissue of society, a web of social relations, which inheres in lives lived under human conditions. Figures and facts ~~of the economy~~ are by no means ignored. Rather, higher forms of life are shown to be attain-

able only by transcending the material limitations set by measurable facts.

Does this mean that Marxist politics is ^{now} generally allowing for philosophical concerns touching on the society and the polity, or even on the realm of personal life, as the existentialist would put it? Such a deepening and widening of socialism is indeed reflected under the heading "Morality standards." The ideal of the socialist as a person is not missing on the map. The need for propositions and arguments of this kind ^{is} ~~are~~ clearly called for, once the dominant innovation of the new program moves into the center ~~of~~ the world socialist system, the existence of which is proclaimed, ~~admittedly,~~ ~~admittedly,~~ "a new economic and political relationship of countries." It is much more than a friendly community of the Communist camp, or even of Communist parties. Countries, not parties are its members. It is a novelty, primarily meant to adjust to the Chinese conundrum, for it may be more feasible to co-operate with discordant countries than with sectarian parties.

Other concrete features of history to which the program is intended to supply answers, are peasant revolutions in general, and the remaining capitalist sector. The Cuban revolution was unorthodox, both as to its bearers and ~~its~~ methods. A disquisition on revolutions is ^{found} inserted in the program. "Revolutions are not made to order." No claim to Communist leadership is maintained. Even ^{there} less is insistence on violence, on civil war. ~~"Peaceful co-existence"~~

The perspective of the world socialist system does not exclude the presence of a capitalist area outside of it

is to extend to relations within a world socialist system, which does not exclude ~~that~~ capitalist areas ~~may be present~~. Co-existence remains ~~that~~ a valid principle in conjunction with a world socialist system, ~~and~~ since ^{co-existence} answers the operational question, How ~~is~~ should peace be maintained all through a transformation, which may comprise most of mankind?

The document's silence on ~~these problem areas~~ China, Cuba ^{as we see,} and the Congo was, not intended to remove problems from the picture. ~~for~~ Its creative thinking was consciously directed towards resolving precisely ~~these~~ questions ~~that~~ history posed ^{by}

~~New problems may, in fact, inevitably arise. Tensions ~~may~~ ~~be~~ increased by the structuring of socialist countries into a "world system", and co-existence thereby put under strain. The assumption of a "world ~~socialist system~~ capitalist system" along with the socialist one, reduces co-existence to a modus vivendi between ~~distinct~~ opposites, instead of ~~the~~ inter-country relations ^{which} in principle permits countries of ~~different~~ ^{socio-economic - within reasonable limits} features to exist ~~and a variety of communities~~.~~

Peoples' ^{however} ~~Eastern~~ democracies were unquestioningly listed with those positive ^{regions} of socialist achievement: the Soviet Union and China. ^{yet} apart from Poland, the ~~Eastern~~ democracies, in spite of their economic achievements, are political doubtfuls. None of them possesses a government primarily responsive to the needs of national life. This is not to discount the ^{standards} objective rise of the economic and cultural ~~of~~ of the working people, but to underline the unresolved condition of state and party. ~~in this area~~. The ^{all-out} attack

... of the Draft against nationalism and Yugoslav
 revisionism ^{!!} should not, of course, be interpreted as intended to
 justify the Rajk trial, that act of Stalinism, which in its con-
 sequences weakened ^{over} ~~the~~ a long time the international position of
 socialism. The advance to a world socialist system with its justifi-
 fied concentration on the postulate of ^{unity} ~~unity~~ does not in
 itself resolve the vital ^{issue} ~~issue~~ of independence, ~~which~~ which is
 recognized as an imperative requirement of socialist development.
 Unity and independence are in no way incompatible. But unless a
 sustained effort is made and institutions are set up for mutual
 adjustment, they must ~~in practice~~ clash fatefully. The principle
 of internationalism is ^{nowadays a} ~~no~~ substitute for ^{a machinery} ~~an organization~~ which would
 enable national governments to act on that principle and thereby
 bring into play national strength to the full, in the defence of ~~the~~
 unity, ^{A sloganized} ~~as a whole~~ ^{the} bogey of nationalism may even increase the
 natural difficulties of aligning central planning with members'
 needs, and ^{thus imperil} ~~be a peril to~~ the world socialist system.

The Program boldly swings open ^{the} doors to the future. Beyond
 Socialism, a Communist society is anticipated. Its nature and
modus operandi are approximated in thought. A semi-prophetic
 passage brings a change of scene. ^{The presentation} ~~the~~ moves from town to country-
 side, from industry to agriculture. ^{By any means} Not in order to revive rustic
 simplicity, or archaic peasant ideas ~~as the ground on which to~~
 build. ~~The presentation of~~ "Communist enterprise" in the kolkhoz ^{for}
 accept ^{5/} as essentially Marxist the principle of economic reward ~~is~~
 the individual's motivation, which will govern the structure and

functioning of rural society. Yet individual motivation is embedded in articulate social relations, instituted in the life of a rural community which exists on a material level equal to that of the cities in an industrialized society. As a framework of the economic effort of the kolkhoz state-purchasing of its produce on a vast scale is foreseen, while the kolkhozes' "contracted commitments" for deliveries to the state are made an "irrevocable condition" of a planning of state-purchase at prices which raise ~~continuously~~ continuously the kolkhoz members' real incomes. At the same time state purchases are planned so as to advance the economic plans of the kolkhoz in question.

Soviet thought is in transition. China's lead in Asia has become a fact and has turned the Soviets back towards their Western origins. The Draft underlines democracy, peaceful advance, non-violent revolution, even Parliamentary possibilities as feasible alternatives under favourable conditions. Yet the spiritual and moral values to which it adheres commit it more than ever to the ultimate ~~aim~~ aim of a socialist society and that to a point of attaining Communism within the lifetime of the present generation. In its ignoring of the Draft the West has failed its trusteeship of the human legacy. The Soviet Program has been weighed ~~by~~ by it on the Cold War scales of propaganda, the only measure it recognizes. Actually, the West disowned its legacy when it claimed a part of Europe and America as its home, impelled ~~by~~ by its Victorian prejudices against any other than market forms of economic organization. Yet, capitalism and socialism are equally of Western origin.

Socialism in the kolkhoz as a re-embedding of economic organization in rural towns as a practical proposition within a couple of decades, is remindful of Robert Owen's Villages of Union, with the mechanization and chemistry, in which these were still lacking, generously displayed. Also capital - that chief deficiency of the Villages of Union - is here credibly provided from lavish initial state investments and the collective earned funds of the individual kolkhoz itself. But to understand the objective sociological basis leading to kolkhoz socialism, we should turn to the voluntary relations which sustain the ever more densely growing network of local institutions that are carried by the kolkhoz. What catches the imagination is the wealth and variety of cultural, educational, artistic literary and sporting interests which, organically linked with the agricultural industries, are expected to produce that atmosphere of intensive and extensive activity with which as in early socialist thought, the new forms of existence are overflowing. (Owen, incidentally, was the "utopian" who ranked high in the eyes of Karl Marx.)

Profitability is the touchstone of the business aspect of the kolkhoz enterprise. "Joint enterprises" are also envisaged. "The socialization of production will transcend the limits of individual kolkhozes with the development of inter-kolkhoz production ties." State kolkhoz joint power stations and enterprises for the primary processing, storage and transportation of farm products, for various type of buildings, the manufacture of building materials, and so ~~many~~ on" will be encouraged. Also "agrarian industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient and

agriculture will combine organically with the industrial processing of its produce." Alongside of profitability, solidarity is the driving force behind the cultural and welfare institutions, which raise the level and refine the human quality of existence to hitherto unknown levels. Its advantages to the community at large are a free gift to it and impart to kolkhoz co-operative property the nature of public property."

At this juncture the hope of replacing to-day's government offices step by step by organic entities of society itself appears on the horizon. "Socialist democracy, through the active participation of all citizens in the organs of the state power will gradually be transformed into organs of public self-government."

Communism thus transcends by far the free supplying of the necessities of life, it does not stop short of a sublimating of economic rewards into a nourishing fluid the course of which is directed by the citizens themselves into public channels.

Necessarily, this must remain an inadequate picture of the Draft of the Soviet Communist Program, a monument in man's struggle with Nature and his own inadequacy to approach his still dim notion of perfection. Our comments were made, keeping in sight the proportions of a thought-edifice which commands the respect of all friends of mankind. Take all in all, and we have before us a hesitant giant-step.

Dear Petrus,
Here are some corrections,
- mainly omissions - to
my paper 'Social thought in
Transition' (10 pages)
only pp 6 and 7 are
affected

Page 6

- ① Begin by deleting the last 2 words on p. 5 ("Peaceful coexistence".)
- ② Insert at top of p. 6 the following sentence (No 9:): "The perspective of the world socialist system does not exclude the presence of a capitalist area outside."
- ③ Delete the first two lines on top of page 6. Continue: "Coexistence remains a valid principle... (a) most of mankind."
- ④ delete 3 words: "three problem areas"
must 3 words in line 2 of §:
"as we see" after 'Congo was'

⑤ Delete next § (8 lines) ²
from "The problems" (1. line)
to "of communities" (8th line)

⑥ Insert "however" in
1. line of next §. Should
read: "People's democracies,
however, were . . ."

Additional changes

⑦ Insert "A ^{Page 7 line 15} organized" (2 words)
before: bogey of nationalism
Should read "A organized
bogey" instead of "as a
whole the bogey"

⑧ Same page 7 line 10
Delete ~~into~~ from below
"to be a peril" (3 words)
and replace "thus impair" (2 words)
The corrections should
remove the mistaken
impression of a destructive
criticism of the notion of a
"world socialist system" K.P.

functioning of rural society. Yet ~~the~~ individual ~~is~~ motivation is embedded in ~~a veritable forest of~~ articulate social relations, instituted in the life of a rural community, ^{which} existing ^{is} on a material level equal to that of the cities ⁱⁿ of an ~~advanced~~ industrialized society. As a framework of the economic effort ^{of the kolkhozes} state-purchasing ~~on a~~ vast scale is foreseen, while the kolkhozes' "contracted commitments"

for deliveries to the ~~socialist~~ state are made an "irrevocable condition" of a planning of state ^{real} ~~purchasing~~ ^{-purchase at prices which raise the} ~~income~~ ^{of the kolkhozes} members' incomes ^{continuously} ^{at the same time state}

^{purchases are planned so as to advance the economic plans of the kolkhozes} Soviet thought is in transition. China's lead in Asia has become a fact and has ^{turned} ~~thrown back~~ the Soviets ^{back towards} their Western

origins. ~~At many vital points~~ The Draft underlines democracy, peaceful advance, non-violent revolution, even Parliamentary possibilities as feasible alternatives under ~~favorable~~ favourable conditions

Yet ^{the} ~~and~~ spiritual and moral values to which it adheres commit it more than ever to the ultimate aim of a socialist society ^{and that} to the point of attaining Communism within the lifetime of the present generation. ^{In its favouring of the Draft,} ~~the~~ the West ~~that~~ has failed ~~to~~ its

trusteeship of the human legacy. The ~~new~~ Soviet Program has been weighed by it on ^{the} Cold War scales, ^{of propaganda} ~~which is~~ the only measure it recognizes. ^{Actually,} the West disowned its legacy when it ^{a part of} claimed Europe and America as its ^{home} habitat, and severed itself from the ~~geographical~~

~~East,~~ impelled by its ~~own~~ Victorian prejudices against any other than market forms of economic organization. ^{Yes} Capitalism and socialism are equally of Western origin. ^{in the kolkhozes} Socialism, as a re-embedding of economic organization in ~~the~~ rural towns ~~is pictured in the Draft~~

^{as a practical proposition within a couple of decades}

is remindful of Robert Owen's Villages of Union, with the mechanization and chemistry, in which ^{these} they were still lacking, generously displayed. Also capital ^{is here} credibly provided ~~from the manufacturers~~ ^{that chief deficiency of the Villages of Union}

^{and} ~~the~~ ^{individual} collective earned funds of the kolkhoz ^{itself} ~~and~~ ^{lavish} from ~~the enormous~~ initi-

al state investments. ^{leading to kolkhoz socialism,} But to understand the objective sociological basis ~~of this line of vision,~~ ^{voluntary} we should turn to the free and

~~human-social~~ relations which sustain the ever more densely growing network of local institutions that are carried by the kolkhoz.

What catches the imagination is the wealth ^{and variety} of cultural, educational,

artistic, literary and sporting interests which, organically linked

with the agricultural industries, ^{are expected to} produce that atmosphere of in-

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* Also "agrarian industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever

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is the driving force behind the cultural and welfare institutions,

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hitherto unknown levels. Its advantages ^{to the country at large} are a free gift to ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~country~~ and "impart to kolkhoz co-operative property the nature of public property."

At this juncture the hope of ^{replacing today's} transforming government offices step by step ^{by organic} into self-governing entities of society itself appears on the horizon. "Socialist democracy, through the active participation of all citizens in the organs of the state power, will gradually be transformed into organs of public self-government." ^{or thus} Communism transcends by far the free supplying of the necessities of life, it does not stop short of a sublimating of economic rewards into a nourishing fluid the course of which is ^{directed} regulated by the citizens themselves, ~~and directed by their own activity~~ into public channels.

Necessarily, this must remain an inadequate picture of the Draft of the Soviet Communist Program, a monument in man's struggle with Nature and his own inadequacy to approach his still dim notion of perfection. Our comments were made, keeping in sight the proportions of a thought-edifice which commands the respect of all friends of mankind. Take all in all, and we have before us a hesitant giant-step.

Karl Polanyi

Opening up ^(eruptive) ~~of vitality and~~
of new and renewed civilizations.

K. P.'s copy

(Revised)

SOVIET THOUGHT IN TRANSITION

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is without doubt the most important event in the history of the modern socialist movement since the foundation of the Communist Party, in 1919. It also ~~forms part of~~ ^{belongs to} general history, which explains why it was produced now, and in what way it is intended to influence ~~the~~ ^{of history.} ~~the~~ ^{course}. Last not least, ~~and this is what concerns us here,~~ it is the ^{Communist} manifestation of a new world of thought, deserving of scrutiny

for its own sake, and no less for the benefit of ~~socialists,~~ ^{non-Communist} who, ~~also~~ ^{like all equally mankind} find themselves faced by ~~a world opening up in~~ ^{a human world of all shades}

~~vitality and~~ ^{This is what concerns us here,} ~~of vitality and~~ ^{total} ~~of the world opening up in~~ ^{the West,}

For in this ^{total} ~~total~~ ^{of the world opening up in} ~~total~~ ^{the West,} that remnant of a great tradition, ~~the West,~~ has yet no articulate thought to present. To avoid all ambiguity - ^{what is meant here by the West is} not the ~~political~~ power grouping of that name, ~~launched~~ ^{on a fateful day,} launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, ~~but,~~ in sharp contrast to it, the cultural entity,

* dating from the Renaissance and Humanism, ^{merely} ~~is~~ ^{is} not from classical Athens and the Judaeo-Christian inspiration fused with it. Indeed, in its decline Western thought, bereft of substance and content, accepted a sloganized polarity of ~~West and East.~~ ^{for the West in} It ~~and~~ ended shamefully with a disastrous identification of democracy with capitalism and of progress with colonialism. No wonder that the Western writers and thinkers lost status and standing with the so-called underdeveloped world, ~~discrediting~~ ^{at} in the process ~~the great Western~~ ^{their} legacies of democracy and progress. Western thought, having lost

2
I Total situation of mankind.

its bearings, was ^{unable to} ~~incapable of~~ reacting creatively to the emergent ~~worlds~~ ^{continents} around it and, a fortiori, ^{to} ~~of~~ re-defining its own place in ^{the new world. (to be reduced to propounding)} it. It ~~found itself~~ ^{found itself} ~~repeating~~ ^{repeating} business maxims and abstract principles. For many reasons, ~~the~~ ^{the} documents of the Soviet ~~world~~ have ~~traditionally~~ made us expect a similar ^{by} repetitive indoctrination. But ~~reading~~ ~~the~~ Draft brings the surprise of a ~~wealth-stunning~~ ^{wealth} of ~~new~~ original thinking. There are, of course, lacunae. The beginning, which deals with advanced capitalists, ^{lands,} could have been written 40 years ago. It is emphatically inapplicable to the U.S.A. or Canada, where the workers can hardly be said to show "a sharpening of their class struggles."
 No 91 ^{Still, as we said} ~~nothing~~ could be less ^{in tune with} characteristic of the document as a whole, than ~~an~~ indulging in ^{backward} ~~anachronistic~~ phraseology. Two massive historic developments, one internal, the other external, ~~conjointly~~ ^{propagations extend} forced the Draft into being; the ~~dimensions~~ ^{of the material} success of the Soviets in terms of ^a socialism, ~~and~~ ^{at} changes in the ~~shape~~ ^{internal success} configuration of mankind, in the same terms. ~~The first~~ naturally enhanced the authority ~~and~~ ^{of, and the confidence in,} ~~confidence~~ ^{confidence} in ~~the~~ traditional party tenets, ^{transformation outside} ~~the second~~ rather limited their range, and ~~mixed~~ ^{inter} confidence with reasonable hesitation. The Soviet economy looms like a triumphal arch over the horizon of the mid-twentieth century. However, for the second half of that century, it opens upon a landscape which, ~~in terms of political theory,~~ is alien to the traditions of the Communist Party - China, Cuba, and the Congo, which in turn dominate ^{their} the issues of the continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The document's silence on China, Cuba and the Congo was not intended to remove problems from the picture. ~~Many horizons are evoked in the new perspectives~~ China's shrill promise of a socialist heaven beyond universal nuclear death implies a strange eschatology, ~~diametrically opposed~~ ^{foreign} to that of the Soviets. But so is apparently also the Chinese ideal of self-sufficient communes. ~~Nor does~~ Cuba's revolutionary career ^{would not confirm} the rigid doctrine of industrial working-class leadership, as it was distilled from the experience of Russia ^{whose} and its peasant masses, ~~which~~ were to all appearances incapable of the sustained effort of revolution. ~~In most of Africa's~~ ^(the Congo) sub-peasant societies the validity of an essentially European class-analysis ~~is still to be tested, creative thinking was here directed towards resolving these questions posed by history.~~ ^{is still to be tested, creative thinking was here directed towards resolving these questions posed by history.} Many horizons are evoked in the new perspectives, obviously much more positive on Cuba than on China.

~~but no doubt can submit~~ there can be no doubt on this: creative socialist thought is evoking the colonial issue into the axis of the future.

China's ^{lone} promise of a socialist heaven beyond ^{universal} nuclear death implies a strange eschatology, diametrically opposed to that of the Soviets. But so is apparently also the Chinese ideal of ~~a rural socialist society based on large~~ self-sufficient communes. Neither does Cuba's ~~brief~~ revolutionary career confirm the doctrine of industrial working class leadership, as distilled from the ~~negative agrarian~~ experience of Russia and its peasant masses, ^{which were to all appearances} ~~incapable~~ of/sustained effort of revolution. In most of Africa's sub-peasant societies the validity of an essentially European class analysis ^{is} still to be tested.

However, ^{domestic} ~~interest~~ economic concerns also ^{entered into} were responsible for some of the new thinking. The preponderance of the kolkhoz issue ^{in the Draft} ~~undoubtedly~~ sprang from ^{the} no longer denied bottleneck, ~~i.e.~~, ^{rapidly} ~~failure to provide adequate~~ food supplies for the ^{sharply} rising domestic demand. Nevertheless, ~~the originality with which~~ ^{After} thirty years of a merely technological and organizational treatment of the agricultural issue, a vision of the most daring ruralism ^{an} and upgrading of peasant prestige is now being put forward. ~~which~~ ^{The new look} may well be drawing ~~also~~ on the anabasis of Mao's Eighth Route ^{of Chinese peasants} Army and the legendary victory of Castro's peasant militia over the Cuban mercenaries of the American ^{World} Sugar interests. ^{has} History sponsored the feats of the Far Eastern and Caribbean peasantry, which ~~has~~ ^{by} the secret paths of glory infiltrated the heavy-industry-based forts of a traditionally urban ^{Soviet} ideology, carrying it along far beyond Lenin's smytchka. Answers to the kolkhoz ^{future} ~~issue~~ are sought no longer in technology alone, but rather

(3)

handling

The new look
l.c.

in stupendous governmental investments which are aimed ^m at creating a rural society, ~~that~~ not any more based on ~~an~~ ~~absolute~~ concept of peasant life, ~~conceiving instead of a distinctive rural culture on a material~~ ~~material level equalling that of modern urban civilization.~~

The Program draws its nourishment from a rich intellectual fund, ~~which makes itself felt even where no explicit reference to it is made.~~ This openness of mind expands ~~readily~~ beyond the boundaries of Russia in space, and beyond the present, in time. There is, ~~then,~~ no avoidance of philosophical argument, where ~~the seriousness of~~ the theme ~~requires it.~~ ^{Economic organization and the property system} ~~taken up are the postulates of~~ ^{are not any more the sole criteria} Socialism and of Communism; the ~~limits~~ ^{in social development, every role} of the state ~~and the functions~~ ^{itself} of social classes, including the working class; the meaning of leisure and of work. Criteria of progress are not evaded, and spiritual values, alongside of material ones, are no longer denied their place. Hence the ^{human} meaning and weight of social relationships as against mere technology ^{is} ~~are consistently~~ stressed, so that ~~human~~ advance towards socialism may be ^{meas.} ~~measurable~~ ^{human} in ~~empirical~~ terms. How otherwise could we gauge whether we were nearing our ideal ends, or ~~maybe~~ rather receding from ~~them~~ them?

~~At~~ This adds up to a re-definition of socialism beyond mere property terms, as a quality of life, where the economy is embedded ^{non-economic} in social relations. ~~Technology takes second place.~~ Material needs and their satisfaction ^{The technology of production} are ~~accessory to an organic~~ ^(merely) tissue of society, a web of social relations, which inheres in lives lived under ^l human conditions. Figures and facts ~~of the economy~~ are by no means ignored. Rather, higher forms of life are shown to be attain-

able only by transcending the ~~material~~ limitations set by ^{the} measurable facts.

Does this mean that Marxist politics is ^{now} ~~generally~~ allowing for philosophical concerns touching on ~~the~~ society and ~~the~~ polity, ~~and~~ ~~not~~ even on the realm of personal life, as the existentialist would put it? Such a deepening and widening of socialism is ~~indeed~~ reflected under the heading "Morality standards." The ideal of the socialist as a person is not missing on the map. The need for propositions and arguments of this kind ^{is certainly} ~~are clearly~~ called for,

once the ^{notion of a} ~~present~~ innovation of ~~the~~ ³ ~~program~~ moves into the center, ~~this is~~ the world socialist system, ~~the~~ ~~difference~~ ¹ ~~is~~

² ~~which is proclaimed~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~new~~ ~~economic~~ ~~and~~ ~~political~~ ~~relationship~~ ~~of~~ ~~countries~~. ⁴ "It is much more than a friendly community of the Communist camp, or even of Communist parties. Countries, not parties are its members. It is a novelty, ^{presumably} ~~primarily~~ meant to adjust to the Chinese conondrum, for it may be more feasible to co-operate with discordant countries than with sectarian parties.

³ ~~A~~ ~~the~~ ~~theory~~ ~~of~~ ~~revolutions~~ ~~as~~ ~~well~~ ~~as~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ~~concrete~~ ~~features~~ ~~of~~ ~~history~~ ~~to~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~program~~ ~~is~~ ~~intended~~ ~~to~~ ~~supply~~ ~~answers~~, ~~are~~ ~~peasant~~ ~~revolutions~~ ~~in~~ ~~general~~, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~remaining~~ ~~capitalist~~ ~~sector~~. ^{if} ~~The~~ ~~Cuban~~ ~~revolution~~ ~~was~~ ~~un~~ ~~orthodox~~, ~~both~~ ~~as~~ ~~to~~ ~~its~~ ~~bearers~~ ~~and~~ ~~its~~ ~~methods~~. ~~A~~ ~~discussion~~ ~~on~~ ~~revolutions~~ ~~is~~ ~~inserted~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~program~~. "Revolutions are not made to order." No claim to Communist leadership is maintained. Even ^{there} ~~less~~ ~~is~~ ~~insistence~~ ~~on~~ ~~violence~~, ~~on~~ ~~civil~~ ~~war~~. "Peaceful co-existence"

The perspective of the world socialist systems does not exclude the presence of a capitalist area outside of it.

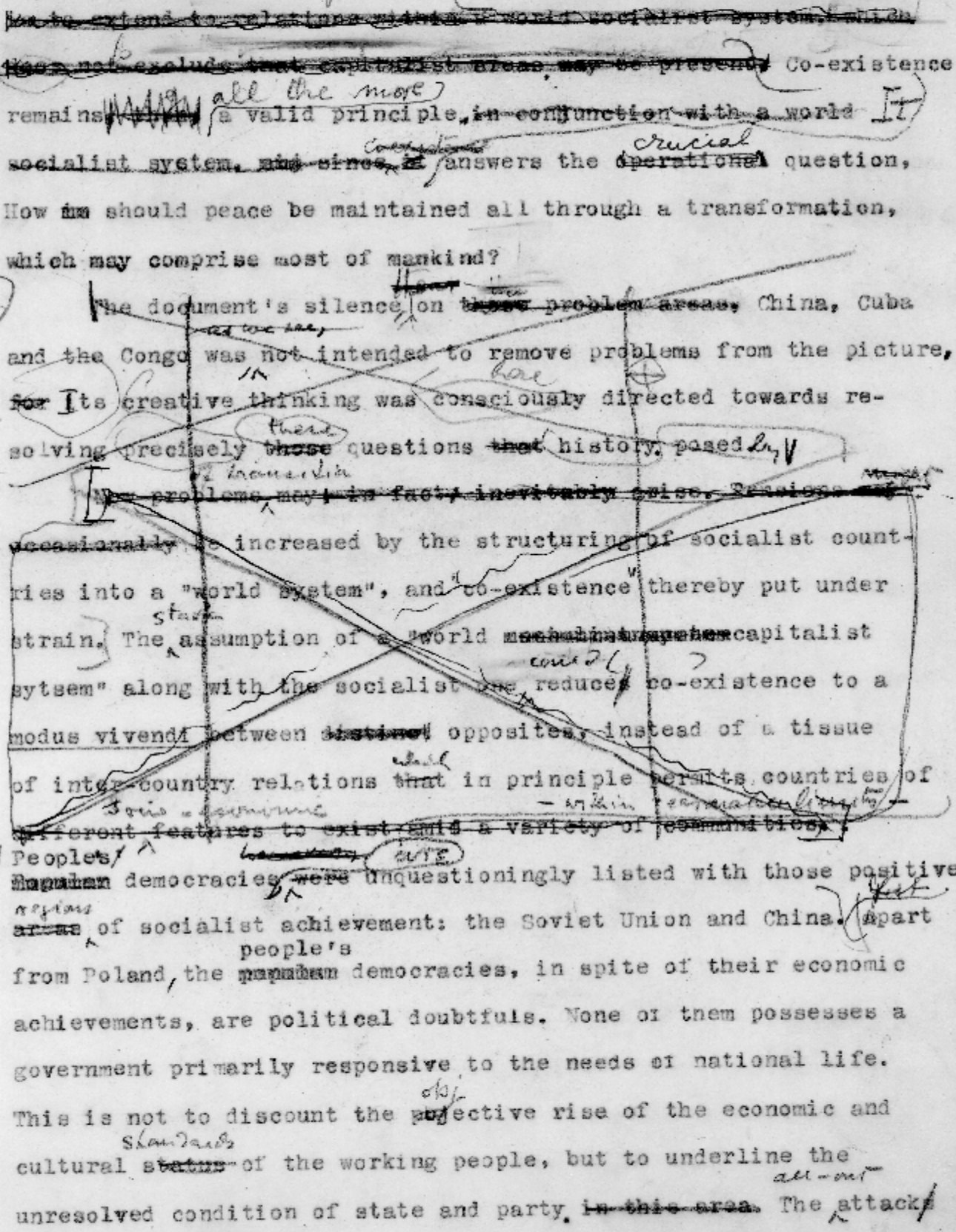
~~It is to extend to relations with a world socialist system. It does not exclude that capitalist areas may be present. Co-existence remains a valid principle, in conjunction with a world socialist system, and since it answers the crucial question, How should peace be maintained all through a transformation, which may comprise most of mankind?~~

The document's silence on these problem areas, China, Cuba and the Congo was not intended to remove problems from the picture, for its creative thinking was consciously directed towards resolving precisely these questions that history posed by these problems may, in fact, inevitably arise.

occasionally to be increased by the structuring of socialist countries into a "world system", and "co-existence" thereby put under strain. The assumption of a "world mechanism" capitalist system" along with the socialist one reduces co-existence to a modus vivendi between distinct opposites, instead of a tissue of inter-country relations that in principle permits countries of different features to exist and a variety of communities.

Peoples' democratic regimes were unquestioningly listed with those positive areas of socialist achievement: the Soviet Union and China, apart from Poland, the people's democratic regimes, in spite of their economic achievements, are political doubtfuls. None of them possesses a government primarily responsive to the needs of national life. This is not to discount the progressive rise of the economic and cultural standards of the working people, but to underline the unresolved condition of state and party in this area. The attack

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~~mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm~~ of the Draft against "nationalism" and "Yugoslav
 revisionism" ^{were} ~~should~~ not, of course, ~~be interpreted~~ ^{in any way} intended to
 justify the ~~Rajkovic~~ ^{Imperialist} acts of Stalinism, which in ~~the~~ ^{their} con-
 sequences weakened ^{over} for a long time the international position of
 socialism. ~~The~~ ^{advance to} a world socialist system ^{is and} with its ~~justi-~~
~~fied~~ ~~concentration on the~~ postulate of ~~unity~~ ["] unity does not in
 itself resolve the vital ^{issue} of independence, ~~which~~ which is
 recognized as an imperative requirement of socialist development.
 Unity and independence are in no way incompatible. But unless a
 sustained effort is made and institutions are set up for mutual
 adjustment, they must ~~in practice~~ ^{in practice} clash ~~intensely~~. The principle
 of internationalism is ~~no~~ ^{no} substitute for ^{the machinery} an organization, which would
 enable national governments to act on that principle and thereby
 bring ^(into play national strength) to the full, in the defence of ~~the~~
 unity. ~~A~~ ^{A sloganized} bogey of nationalism may even ~~increase~~ ^{increase} the
 natural difficulties of aligning central planning with members'
 needs, and ~~thus~~ ^{thus impair} the world socialist system.

The Program boldly swings ^{the} open doors to the future. Beyond
 Socialism, a Communist society is anticipated. Its nature and
 modus operandi are ~~approximated~~ ^{envisaged} in thought. A semi-prophetic
 passage brings a change of scene. ^{The presentation} ~~It~~ moves from town to country-
 side, from industry to agriculture. ~~Not in order to revive rustic~~
~~simplicity, or archaic peasant ideas, so the ground on which to~~
~~build. The prospects of "Communist enterprise" in the kolkhoz~~
 accepts as essentially Marxist the principle of economic reward ^{for}
 the individual's motivation, which will govern the structure and

(Handwritten scribbles and faint markings on the left margin)

(previous corr-
not contained in I. Stalin's corr)

functioning of rural society. Yet individual motivation is embedded in articulate social relations, ^{These are} instituted in the life of a rural community which exists on a material level equal to that of ~~the~~ cities in an industrialized society. As a framework of the ^{Kolkhoz'} economic effort ~~of the kolkhoz~~ ^{the Kolkhoz} state-purchasing of ~~its~~ produce on a vast scale is foreseen. ~~while~~ The kolkhozes' "contracted commitments" for deliveries to the state are made an "irrevocable condition" of a planning of state-purchase at ^{such} prices ^{as will} ~~which~~ raise ~~the kolkhoz members'~~ continuously the kolkhoz members' real incomes. At the same time state purchases are ^{to be} planned so as to advance the economic plans of the kolkhoz in question.

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Soviet thought is in transition. China's lead in Asia has become a fact and has turned the Soviets back towards their Western origins. The Draft underlines democracy, peaceful advance, non-violent revolution, even Parliamentary possibilities as feasible alternatives, under favourable conditions. Yet the spiritual and moral values to which it adheres commit it more than ever to the ultimate ~~main~~ aim of a socialist ^{the} society and that to ~~a~~ point of attaining Communism within the lifetime of the present generation. In its ignoring of ^{Communism} ~~the~~ Draft the West has failed its trusteeship of the human legacy. The Soviet Program has been weighed ^{by} it on the Cold War scales of propaganda, the only measure it recognizes. Actually, the West disowned its legacy when it claimed a part of Europe and America as its home, impelled ~~by~~ by its Victorian prejudices against any other than market forms of economic organization. Yet, capitalism and socialism are equally of Western origin.

Socialism in the kolkhoz as a re-embedding of economic organizationⁱⁿ in rural towns ~~as a practical proposition within a couple of decades~~ is remindful of Robert Owen's Villages of Union, with ^{The} mechanization and chemistry, ~~in which~~ these were still lacking, ^{are to be} generously displayed. Also capital - that chief deficiency of the Villages^{es} of Union - is here credibly provided from lavish initial state investments and the collective earned funds of the individual kolkhoz itself. ~~But~~ ^{To} understand ~~the objective sociological basis~~ leading ~~to~~ kolkhoz socialism, we should turn to the voluntary relations which sustain the ever more densely growing network of local institutions that are ^{borne} ~~carried~~ by the kolkhoz. What catches the imagination is the wealth and variety of cultural, educational, artistic literary and sporting interests which, organically linked with the agricultural industries, are expected to produce that atmosphere of intensive and extensive activity with which, as in early socialist thought, the new forms of existence are overflowing. (Owen, incidentally, was the "utopian" who ranked high in the eyes of Karl Marx)

Profitability is ^{to remain} the touchstone of the business aspect of the kolkhoz enterprise. "Joint enterprises" are also envisaged. "The socialization of production will transcend the limits of individual kolkhozes with the development of inter-kolkhoz production ties. ^{as well as} State-kolkhoz ~~joint~~ power stations ~~and~~ enterprises for the primary processing, storage and transportation of farm products, ^{to} various type of buildings, the manufacture of building materials, and so ~~much~~ on", will be encouraged. Also "agrarian industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient and

agriculture will combine organically with the industrial processing of its produce." Alongside of profitability, solidarity is the driving force behind the cultural and welfare institutions, which raise the level and refine the human quality of existence to hitherto unknown levels. Its advantages to the community at large are a free gift ^{to the citizens} ~~to the state~~ and "impart to kolkhoz co-operative property the nature of public property."

At this juncture the hope of replacing to-day's government offices step by step by organic entities of society itself appears on the horizon. "Socialist democracy, through the active participation of all citizens in the organs of the state power will gradually be transformed into organs of public self-government."

Communism thus transcends by far the free supplying of the necessities of life. It does not stop short of a sublimating of economic rewards into a nourishing fluid the course of which is directed by the citizens themselves into public channels.

Necessarily, this must remain an inadequate picture of the Draft of the Soviet Communist Program, a monument in man's struggle with Nature and his own inadequacy to approach his still dim notion of perfection. Our comments were made, keeping in sight the proportions of a thought-edifice which commands the respect of all friends of mankind. Take all in all, and we have before us a hesitant giant-step.

Strictly confidential

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Karl Polanyi

SOVIET THOUGHT IN TRANSITION

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is without doubt the most important event in the history of the modern socialist movement since the foundation of the Communist Party, in 1919. It also belongs to general history. Last, not least, it is the manifestation of a new Communist world of thought, deserving of scrutiny for its own sake, and no less for the benefit of non-Communists, who, like all mankind, find themselves faced by a human world, ^{the} opening up in ^{and new} eruptive vitality of ~~new and~~ renewed civilizations. *that is*

This is what concerns us here. For in this total situation the West, that remnant of a great tradition, has yet no articulate thought to present. To avoid all ambiguity: - ~~What~~ is meant here by the West is not the power grouping of that name, launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, on a fateful day, but, in sharp contrast to it, the cultural entity dating from the Renaissance and Humanism, if not from classical Athens and the Judeo-Christian inspiration merged with it. Indeed, in its decline, Western thought, bereft of substance and content, accepted a sloganized polarity of West and East. ^{This} ~~It~~ ended ~~shamefully~~ ^{shameful} for the ~~West~~ in the ^{shameful} identification of democracy with capitalism and of progress with colonialism. No wonder that the Western writers and thinkers lost status and standing with the so-called underdeveloped world, discrediting in the process their legacy of democracy and progress. Western thought, having lost its bearings, was unable to react creatively to the emerging continents around it and, a fortiori, to re-define its own place in the new world. It found itself emptied and reduced to propounding business maxims and abstract principles. For many reasons

documents of the Soviet world have made us expect a similarly repetitive indoctrination. But reading the Draft brings the surprise of a wealth of original thinking. There are, of course, lacunae. The beginning, which deals with advanced capitalist lands could have been written 40 years ago. It is emphatically inapplicable to the U.S.A. or Canada, where the workers can hardly be said to show "a sharpening of their class struggles." Still, as we said, nothing could be less in tune with the document as a whole, than the indulging in anachronistic phraseology.

Two massive historic developments, one internal, the other external, forced the Draft into being: ^{First,} the extent of the material success of the Soviets in terms of a socialist economy; ^{second,} ~~and~~ these recent changes in the total situation of mankind. The Soviet economy looms like a triumphal arch over the horizon of the mid-twentieth century. However, for the second half of that century, it opens upon a landscape which, in terms of political theory is alien to the traditions of the Communist Party - China, Cuba and the Congo, which in their turn dominate the issues of the continents of Asia, Latin America and Africa.

The document's silence on China, Cuba and the Congo was not intended to remove problems from the picture. China's shrill promise of a socialist heaven beyond universal nuclear death implies a strange eschatology, foreign to that of the Soviets. But so is apparently also the Chinese ideal of self-sufficient communes. Cuba's revolutionary career would not confirm any rigid doctrine of industrial working-class leadership, as it was distilled from the experience of Russia, whose peasant masses were to all appearances incapable of the sustained effort of revolution. Many horizons are evoked ^{by these} ~~in the~~ new perspectives, obviously much more positive on Cuba than on China. In most of the Congo ^{again,} _{MA}

and Africa's sub-peasant societies, ^{as a whole} the validity of an essentially European class-analysis is still to be tested. But there can be no doubt on this: creative socialist thought is ^{convinced to} erecting the colonial issue into the axis of the future.

However, domestic economic concerns also entered into some of the new thinking. The preponderance in the Draft of the kolkhoz issue sprang from the no longer denied bottleneck of food supplies for the rapidly rising domestic demand. After thirty years of a merely technological and organizational treatment of the agricultural issue, a vision of the most daring ruralism and an upgrading of peasant prestige is now being put forward. The new look may well be drawing on the anabasis of Mao's ~~ninth~~ Eighth Route Army of Chinese peasants and the legendary victory of Castro's peasant militia over the Cuban mercenaries of the American sugar interests. ~~World~~ ^{himself} History has sponsored the feats of the Far Eastern and Caribbean peasantry, which by the secret paths of glory infiltrated the heavy-industry-based forts of a traditionally urban Soviet ideology, carrying it along far beyond Lenin's smytchka. Answers to the kolkhoz future are sought no longer in technology alone, but rather in stupendous governmental investments which are aimed at creating a rural society, not any more based on a concept of peasant life, conceiving instead of a distinctive rural culture on a material level equalling that of modern urban civilization.

The Program draws its nourishment from a rich intellectual fund. This openness of mind expands beyond the boundaries of Russia in space, and beyond the present, in time. There is no avoidance of philosophical argument, where the theme requires it. Economic organization and the property system ~~of Socialism and Communism~~ are not any more the sole criteria of Socialism and of Communism; the role of the state

and of classes/ in social development, even including the working-class itself; the meaning of leisure and of work. Criteria of progress are not evaded, and spiritual values, alongside of material ones, are no longer denied their place. Hence the human meaning and weight of social relationships as against mere technology is stressed, so that advance towards socialism may be measurable in human terms. How otherwise could we gauge whether we were nearing our ideal ends or rather receding from them?

This adds up to a re-definition of socialism beyond mere property terms, as a quality of life, where the economy is embedded in non-economic social relations. Material needs and their satisfaction - the technology of production - are merely accessory to a tissue of society, a web of social relations, which inheres in lives lived under humane conditions. Figures and facts are by no means ignored. Rather, higher forms of life are shown to be attainable only by transcending the limitations set by the measurable facts.

Does this mean that Marxist politics is now allowing for philosophical concerns touching on society and the polity/, and even on the realm of personal life, as the existentialist would put it? Such a deepening and widening of socialism is reflected under the heading "Morality standards." The ideal of the socialist as a person is not missed on the map. The need for propositions and arguments of this kind is certainly called for, once the notion of a "world socialist system" moves into the center. This is indeed the dominant innovation. It is justly described as "a new economic and political relationship of countries." It is much more than a friendly community of the Communist camp, or even of Communist parties. Countries, not parties are its members. It is a novelty, presumably meant to adjust to the Chinese

conondrum, for it may be more feasible to co-operate with discordant countries than with sectarian parties.

A theory of revolutions as well as one of the remaining capitalist ~~system~~ sector are found inserted in the Program. The Cuban revolution was unorthodox, both as to its bearers and methods. "Revolutions are not made to order." No claim to Communist leadership is maintained. Even less is there insistence on violence, on civil war. The perspective of the world socialist system does not exclude the presence of a capitalist area outside of it. Co-existence remains all the more a valid principle. It answers the crucial question, How should peace be maintained all ~~through~~ through a transformation which may comprise most of mankind?

People's democracies are unquestioningly listed with these positive regions of socialist achievement: the Soviet Union and China. Yet apart from Poland, the people's democracies, in spite of their economic achievements, are political doubtfuls. None of them possesses a government primarily responsive to the needs of national life. This is not to discount the objective rise of the economic and cultural standards of the working people, but to underline the unresolved condition of state and party. The all-out attacks of the Draft against "nationalism" and "Yugoslav revisionism" were not, of course, intended in any way to justify the Hungarian acts of Stalinism, which, in their consequences weakened over a long time the international position of socialism. A world socialist system and its postulate of "unity" does not in itself resolve the vital issue of independence, which is recognized as an imperative requirement of socialist development. }

{ Unity and independence are in no way incompatible. But unless a sustained effort is made and institutions are set up for mutual adjustment, they ~~must~~ must clash. The principle of internationalism is no substitute for a machinery, which would enable national } governments

governments to act on that principle and thereby bring national strength into play to the full, in the defence of ^{that} unity. A sloganized bogey of nationalism may even increase the natural difficulties of aligning central planning with members' needs, and thus impair the world socialist system.

The Program boldly swings open the doors of the future. Beyond Socialism, a Communist society is anticipated. Its nature and modus operandi are envisaged. A semi-prophetic passage brings a change of scene. The presentation moves from town to countryside, from industry to agriculture. "Communist enterprise" in the kolkhoz accepts as essentially Marxist the principle of economic reward as the individual's motivation, which will govern the structure and functioning of rural society. Yet ^{the} individual motivation is embedded in articulate social relations. These are instituted in the life of a rural community which exists on a material level equal to that of cities in an industrialized society. As a framework of the kolkhoz' economic effort, state-purchasing of the kolkhoz produce on a vast scale is foreseen. The kolkhozes' "contracted commitments" for deliveries to the state are made an "irrevocable condition" of ^{the central} ~~the~~ planning of ^{the} ~~the~~ state-purchase at such prices as will raise continuously the kolkhoz members' real incomes. At the same time ^{the} state-purchases are to be planned so as to advance the economic plans of the kolkhoz in question.

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society and that to the point of attaining Communism within the lifetime of the present generation.

In its ignoring of the Communist ^{draft} the West has failed its trusteeship of the ^{human} legacy. The Soviet Program has been weighed by it on the Cold War scales of propoganda, the only measure it recognizes. Actually, the West disowned its legacy when it claimed a part of Europe and America as its home, impelled by its Victorian prejudices against any other than market forms of economic organization. Yet, capitalism and socialism are equally of Western origin. Socialism in the kolkhoz as a re-embedding of economic organization in rural towns is remindful of Robert Owen's "Villages of Union". The mechanization and chemistry in which these were still lacking are to be generously displayed. Also capital - that chief deficiency of the Villages of Union - is here credibly provided from lavish initial state investments and the collective earned funds of the individual kolkhoz itself. To understand kolkhoz socialism, we should turn to the voluntary relations which sustain the ever more densely growing network of local institutions that are borne by the kolkhoz. What catches the imagination is the wealth and variety of cultural, educational, artistic, literary and sporting interests ^{evoked.} ~~which~~ Organically linked with the agricultural industries, ^{they} are expected to produce that atmosphere of intensive and extensive activity with which, as in early socialist thought, the new forms of existence are ^{subsumed.} ~~overflowing~~. (Owen, incidentally, was the "utopian" who ranked high in the eyes of Karl Marx.)

Profitability is to remain the touchstone of the business aspect of the kolkhoz enterprise. "Joint enterprises" are also envisaged. "The socialization of production will transcend the limits of individual kolkhozes with the development of inter-kolkhoz production ties..."

State-kolkhoz power stations as well as enterprises for the primary processing, storage and transportation of farm products, for various types of building, the manufacture of building materials, and so on," will be encouraged. Also "agrarian industrial associations" will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient and agriculture will combine organically with the industrial processing of its produce." Alongside of profitability, solidarity is the driving force behind the cultural and welfare institutions, which raise the level and refine the human quality of existence to hitherto unknown levels. Its advantages to the community at large are a free gift to the citizens and "impart to kolkhoz co-operative property the nature of public property."

At this juncture the hope of replacing to-day's government offices step by step by organic entities of society itself appears on the horizon "Socialist democracy, through the active participation of all citizens in the organs of the state power will gradually be transformed into organs of public self-government."

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This must necessarily remain an inadequate picture of the Draft of the Soviet Communist Program, a monument in man's struggle with Nature and his own inadequacy to approach his still dim notion of perfection. Our comments were made, keeping in sight the proportions of a thought-edifice which commands the respect of all friends of mankind. Take all in all, and we have before us a hesitant giant-step.

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from: Nuova Rivista No. 5, 1952.
(Milano)

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Karl Polanyi

SOVIET THOUGHT IN TRANSITION

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is without doubt the most important event in the history of the modern socialist movement since the foundation of the Communist Party, in 1919. It also belongs to general history. Last, not least, it is the manifestation of a new Communist world of thought, deserving of scrutiny for its own sake, and no less for the benefit of non-Communists, who, like all mankind, find themselves faced by a human world, opening up in eruptive vitality of new and renewed civilizations.

This is what concerns us here. For in this total situation the West, that remnant of a great tradition, has yet no articulate thought to present. To avoid all ambiguity - what is meant here by the West is not the power grouping of that name, launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, on a fateful day, but, in sharp contrast to it, the cultural entity dating from the Renaissance and Humanism, if not from classical Athens and the Judeo-Christian inspiration merged with it. Indeed, in its decline Western thought, bereft of substance and content, accepted a sloganized polarity of West and East. It ended shamefully for the West in the identification of democracy with capitalism, and of progress with colonialism. No wonder that the Western writers and thinkers lost status and standing with the so-called underdeveloped world, discrediting in the process their legacy of democracy and progress. Western thought, having lost its bearings, was unable to react creatively to the emerging continents around it and, a fortiori, to re-define its own place in the new world. It found itself emptied and reduced to propounding business maxims and abstract principles. For many reasons

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People's democracies are unquestioningly listed with these positive regions of socialist achievement: the Soviet Union and China. Yet, apart from Poland, the people's democracies, in spite of their economic achievements, are political doubtfuls. None of them possesses a government primarily responsive to the needs of national life. This is not to discount the objective rise of the economic and cultural standards of the working people, but to underline the unresolved condition of state and party. The all-out attacks of the Draft against "nationalism" and "Yugoslav revisionism" were not, of course, intended in any way to justify the Hungarian acts of Stalinism, which, in their consequences weakened over a long time the international position of socialism. A world socialist system and its postulate of "unity" does not in itself resolve the vital issue of independence, which is recognized as an imperative requirement of socialist development.

Unity and independence are in no way incompatible. But unless a sustained effort is made and institutions are set up for mutual adjustment, they must clash. The principle of internationalism is no substitute for a machinery, which would enable national ^{governments}

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In its ignoring of the Communist Draft the West has failed its trusteeship of the human legacy. The Soviet Program has been weighed by it on the Cold War scales of propaganda, the only measure it recognizes. Actually, the West disowned its legacy when it claimed a part of Europe and America as its home, impelled by its Victorian prejudices against any other than market forms of economic organization. Yet, capitalism and socialism are equally of Western origin. Socialism in the kolkhoz as a re-embedding of economic organization in rural towns is remindful of Robert Owen's "Villages of Union". The mechanization and chemistry, in which these were still lacking, are to be generously displayed. Also capital-- that chief deficiency of the Villages of Union-- is here credibly provided from lavish initial state investments and the collective earned funds of the individual kolkhoz itself. To understand kolkhoz socialism, we should turn to the voluntary relations which sustain the ever more densely growing network of local institutions that are born by the kolkhoz. What catches the imagination is the wealth and variety of cultural, educational, artistic, literary and sporting interests which, organically linked with the agricultural industries, are expected to produce that atmosphere of intensive and extensive activity with which, as in early socialist thought, the new forms of existence are overflowing. (Owen, incidentally, was the "utopian" who ranked high in the eyes of Karl Marx.)

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NUOVA PRESENZA

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Karl Polanyi

SOVIET THOUGHT IN TRANSITION

The new program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is without doubt the most important event in the history of the modern socialist movement since the foundation of the Communist Party, in 1919. It also belongs to general history. Last, not least, it is the manifestation of a new Communist world of thought, deserving of scrutiny for its own sake, and no less for the benefit of non-Communists, who, like all mankind, find themselves faced by a human world, opening up in eruptive vitality of new and renewed civilizations.

This is what concerns us here. For in this total situation the West, that remnant of a great tradition, has yet no articulate thought to present. To avoid all ambiguity - what is meant here by the West is not the power grouping of that name, launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, on a fateful day, but, in sharp contrast to it, the cultural entity dating from the Renaissance and Humanism, if not from classical Athens and the Judeo-Christian inspiration merged with it. Indeed, in its decline Western thought, bereft of substance and content, accepted a sloganized polarity of West and East. It ended shamefully for the West in the identification of democracy with capitalism, and of progress with colonialism. No wonder that the Western writers and thinkers lost status and standing with the so-called underdeveloped world, discrediting in the process their legacy of democracy and progress. Western thought, having lost its bearings, was unable to react creatively to the emerging continents around it and, a fortiori, to re-define its own place in the new world. It found itself emptied and reduced to propounding business maxims and abstract principles. For many reasons

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