

DISCUSSIONS

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"Whenever we were victorious it was more because of the superiority of our spiritual strength than our physical power".

/František Palacký, 1798-1876,
Prominent Czech Historian/

Crisis and Anticipation in the World of to-day

The life of man and the life of society with all its wealth of social, economic, political, moral and power relations is in a continuous process of change, of evolvement or of decline. Stagnation is the signal of incipient decadency and of decay. It is the prerogative and the task of every citizen to painstakingly follow these changes, grasp their interdependence and their significance and to evaluate them. Also, he ought to endeavour to assess the various prospects of future developments and, on the basis of such considerations, come to firm political conclusions with a view to political action.

General Causes of Crises

Owing to the incompetence and the selfishness of the politicians as well as the selfishness and indifference of the citizens, the group of political problems sometimes heaps up to a stage in which all factors working towards the delay of a solution have been completely eroded and such a situation can well result in the explosion of a violent revolution. If a good solution is not reached in time then a bad solution must inevitably ensue, because the tension in the social relations have then become unserviceable and their effects disintegrative, hence incapable of a non-explosive continuation.

The culpable contributors towards violent revolutions are usually not only the propagandists of bad ideologies and the tyrants of revolutionary trends, but often also those citizens, who have failed to contribute towards a good solution. Therefore, selfish and indifferent citizens who in their political blindness are merely intent upon the preservation of a "status quo" - which is often simply tantamount to the maintenance of the privileges of a socio-economic élite - are equally as much responsible for the national tragedies of bloody revolutions as are the revolutionaries, propagandists and disseminators of disintegrative ideas. The human mind cannot cope in a void and if in the drama of the formation of social crises a timely good solution is not offered to the citizens, then many of them take the will-o'-the-wisp path of the ideologies of destruction and of dictatorship bereft of humanitarian considerations, operating though from behind the smiling masks of "humanitarian reforms" and of "progress".

The French Revolution, the Constitutional Movement in 1848, the Russian and

the Chinese Communist Revolutions afford us repeated opportunities to learn from history and to become aware that the sclerotic evil of " traditional " privileges and of social structures devoid of social justice are often dislodged by a new evil, which inevitably proves to be even more inhuman than the uprooted one. In other words: the healthy endeavours for overdue reforms have been parasited by those who, whilst clad in the garb of the redeemers, are bent on chaos, demoralization, destruction and eventual enslavement.

The Problems of our Day

We stand on the threshold of a new historic era. Looking over the shoulder we distinguish the remnants of the constituent parts of the era we have just passed and looking ahead we recognize the outlines of a new epoch, radically different. Contemporary events, becoming contemporary history, have again heaped up in a way which will tolerate no further postponement and we are fast approaching the cross-roads of either of two paths: the evil road of violence or the good path of an industrious search for and implementation of urgent solutions of urgent problems. We must, though, not imagine, that the said good path will lead us into an Utopian valley of permanent sunshine, or a paradise on earth in which all of the looming problems have completely and permanently been solved. But the good path does lead away from blood bath and from a vicious conflict and from ruthless despotism, to preempting of the social problems by way of suitable reforms, and by the relegation of the political impostors to the limbo whence they came and where they belong.

These days an observer can perceive of crisis situations of such an intensity that a non-violent solution requires to have the characteristics of a complete transformation of the present basic social structural features.

The population explosion accumulates the problems of our day in a way rendering untenable the hitherto ruling social order afflicted with all of the remnants of the 19th century. The building of a new social order has become for humanity a question of life and death. In the year 1800 this planet was inhabited by about 0.9 billion people, in 1900 there was 1.6 billion of us, in 1974 we multiplied to about 3.9 billion, and in the year 2000 it is expected that we will add up to about 6.5 billion. All these people will want to eat, have a healthy place to live in, be decently dressed, have a suitable gainful occupation and cultural environment, be assured of medical care and social security in the event of a sickness, of invalidity and of old age.

The differences twixt the standard of living in the developed countries and the countries yet developing, are increasing, as are increasing those of a small group of privileged owners of means of production and of those citizens who are dependent upon a weekly wage. Large manufacturing and trading concerns are a necessity as they regulate the price levels through a rationalization of the manufacturing and merchandising processes. However, if such large concerns are owned by a small group of individuals, who thereby acquire a great deal of power into the bargain, so to speak, then social tension increases and the very foundations of the democratic order are threatened. An entire phalanx of multi-national corporations have reached budget levels exceeding in size those of the smaller and even of the medium-sized European industrialized countries. Such private capital is administered by a bureau-

tic apparatus headed by manipulation experts whose power has risen to a point which enables them not only to influence many Governments, but to submit some to significant pressures. With these techniques, democracy is endangered, for democracy is meant to be the exercise of Government of the people by the people.

The level of education of the broad strata of people is rising rapidly and so do the numbers of highly qualified workers with a narrow specialization, most of whom are in employment. These people are less and less contented with a placid acceptance of a system in which they serve as mere instruments for the achieving of capital gains, be it private ones, be it those of the State, for in either they represent mere cogs in the dehumanized churning process of trade results and production results.

Automation continues in all the sectors of enterprise and the problem of the proprietorship of these automated enterprises characterized by the flow of the profits into the coffers of a small group of owners, or of one owner, the State, will increasingly and inevitably bring tension upon the society.

The proprietors of the means of production are in a position in which they can fully take advantage of the modern inventions and technological innovations, and whilst such are not the results of their work and skill, they nevertheless largely serve as a means of increasing return on capital. As a consequence, the technological advancement, which is the result of the entire socio-economic process and of the diligent work of inventors, does not, as it ought to, serve the interests and the welfare of the public, but chiefly a mere fraction-sector of it. A significantly small part of the people partakes of the fruit of the technological and civilizational process, and the benefits of this process are, in point of fact, monopolized by an economic minority which utilizes them for their own ends. However, if a remedy against the lack of social responsibility of strongly concentrated private capital is sought by the measure of State collectivization of the means of production, then the excesses of the representatives of the private capitalists are merely subplanted with even greater excesses of an economic State Monopoly, and such inevitably leads to absolutism and to an increasing exploitation of the employees.

Fast procuration of information and rapid means of transport of individuals and of goods do on the one hand intensify the social contact between individuals, ethnic units and nations, but they also increase the tension which arises out of the now generally manifest, stark differences in the domain of political power and economic means. The whole world is now aware of the great misery of the many and the luxuries of the few, and this knowledge influences the thinking and the actions of the people.

Cultural and ideological influences now spread virtually across the entire globe and the constructive as well as the destructive systems of thought have now a greater impact upon the shaping of the contemporary world events which promptly recede and fall into perspectives of world history. An economic cri-

sis in some countries has a palpable effect upon the standard of living of other countries and the disputes twixt two States can seriously endanger world peace. The present depth and intensity of the multilateral social relations have reached global dimensions and with them also the mutual co-responsibility for the fate of the world and the general duty in terms of the care needed for the achieving of the common good.

Capital progressively acquires a position of ever-increasing strength at the cost of the position of the worker which results in an ever-increasing prominence of the profit-motive and in the regression of human values and humanitarian considerations; this unfortunate process results in a class struggle between the beneficiaries reaping the profits, as outlined, on the one hand, and the hired hands on the other which, axiomatically and irretrievably leads to an estrangement between man and man as well as between man and the social order of which he is meant to be a constructive particle.

In our times which brought with them the necessity of expensive research, big-scale capitalization and big staffs of highly and narrowly specialized experts, the small countries are unable to compete with the big States and are shifting into the positions of units incapable of an independent existence and of mere tools of big-power politics. Therefore, the federations and confederations of such countries must of necessity become a matter of compelling urgency, and if the national leaders of small national units, the relics of yesteryear, will persist in their allergy to sharing, they will lead their countries into national catastrophies. The large federated units must of course be internally thoroughly decentralized.

If internal peace in such a federation can reasonably be expected, then it will be necessary to gradually eliminate any stark differences in the standards of living, of existing educational levels and opportunities, and of technological advancement and the individual benefits therefrom flowing. The deepening interdependence of all the countries will intensify the demands for the existence of effective global organizations, with a role not limited to counselling, but equipped with powers of co-ordination hence powers of decision and continued world peace devoid of the universal rule of genuine ethical principles will recede more into the realm of the impracticable.

Democracy is the only acceptable system for civilized countries, but it passes at the present time through a serious crisis. In order that the people and its elected representatives be enabled to make decisions, which benefit all of the people, i.e. decisions promoting the common good and not thereby serving the selfish interests of the few, a higher level of ethics of the people themselves and their representatives is required. The point of departure out of the crisis in which democracy presently lingers, must therefore be looked for in the domain of morals and ethics and not in illegitimate alternative models such as right-wing or left-wing dictatorship, as these postpone the genuine solution by pretending that they have devised one.

Democracy and the Communist and Non-Communist Dictatorships

Communism and Nazism are dictatorial régimes which both have cast away natu-

ral ethics and have degraded politics to chiefly a proposition of power; these, in other words, are inhuman propositions. Communists now enslave a large part of the world and the infiltration of the free countries is facilitated by the people's moral decadency and by the social injustice prevailing in these countries.

There are basically three theories as to how to solve the problem of Communism: The Submergence Theory; the solution by Symbiosis alias Progressive Convergence; and the Transformation Theory.

a/ The Submergence Theory proclaims that the problem of Communism can only be solved by the conduct of a war in which one side would annihilate/submerge/ the other. This concept of the solution of the problem, which by the way has its representatives in both the Communist and the Anti-Communist camp, is quite superficial and ill-considered, because Communism and Capitalism are both taken for phenomena of political power and not more and the concept does not take into account that such a war would in all probability be an atomic war accompanied by all of the horrors of the killing and mutilation of millions of people and probably the annihilation of entire nations. Out of such a global conflict, no victors would emerge.

We must, of course, not overlook the peril of Communist aggression and a strong military defense preparedness of the non-Communist countries is therefore reasonable as well as necessary.

b/ The Convergence Theory is the expression of a belief, that Communism is gradually moving towards democracy and humanization and that Capitalism is gravitating towards socialization/ i.e. a socialist order of things/ and that thereby the differences between them are diminishing in size and importance. This theory ignores the fact, that the Communist dictatorial bureaucracy will disallow and actively counteract the process of democratization and humanization for fear that its own power positions would be put in jeopardy if these pressures were granted a genuine response. It will therefore allow certain adjustments to come about - mainly merely tactical and always only temporary in nature - in order to render Communism more capable of an infiltration of the free countries and in order to confuse the people with its mask of a humanitarian smile.

Anyhow, the outcome of such convergence tendencies would likely be only a system which could be likened to a melting pot containing a witch-brew of the mistakes and basic misconceptions of both sides and the administration of which would not be apt to bring about a social sanitation. Such will manifestly require a New Order; if the old systems were to fuse and cross-breed we would likely again face the ~~the~~ progression of further social pressure for further revolutions.

Since in these confused times we ought not to add to the confusion already prevailing, but obviously must show the way by the presentation of an inambi-

guous programme, our exile movements cannot espouse the policies of détente, of co-existence and convergency as its own. We should therefore not publicise concepts such as "the positive content of the policies of détente", but we should clearly define and formulate a programme of ideological competition and of an ideological offensive. The policy of détente is wrought with perils, chiefly because it has a hypnotic effect upon non-Communists and unhealthily isolates vigilant Anti-Communists; it contributes untowards the feebleness nay sterility of the Free World and evokes unrealistic reliances, hopes and expectations. Détente solves just precisely nothing, it merely defers the solution by inaction and thereby-though perhaps unintentionally-assists Communist infiltration. A release of international tension is unthinkable without a détente within the Soviet Union, and this the dictators in the Kremlin will never allow to genuinely come about.

c/The Theory of Transformation does not build illusory constructs on illusory grounds but it departs from the recognition of the fact that, whereas dictatorial régimes such as the one in the Kremlin, are not worth a second look when in search of a suitable model, the existing Western systems, too, show serious shortcomings; that in fact the status quo is untenable and that consequently a model of a new social order need be debated, agreed upon, prepared and promoted, a social order which indeed would respond to the requirements of a full development and blossoming-out of the personalities of all the citizens, to the needs brought about by the population explosion, and the conditions attendant to technological progress. Therefore, a thorough transformation is sorely needed on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Only the idea of a new social order can release the energies of a dissatisfied and disillusioned young generation in the West, to creative work, and can inspire people in the Communist countries-particularly in Russia-to contribute towards the removal of the usurpatory and devitalized Communist social structures, since Communism is manifestly incapable of genuine reform. When this Soviet generation, having been inspired by this body of transformational thought, will advance to a position of power, an intramural revolution in Russia will shift into the realm of possibilities. The stagnation of co-existence is our greatest enemy and the dynamics of the New Order leads us to a genuine solution. We thereby have in mind not the old forms of a cold war on the diplomatic level, but an ideological offensive on the people's level. In such a competition of ideas it is not enough, of course, to criticize Communism and the Communists but a better solution and a better socio-political model need be offered. Consequently, our programme contains as a key concept, positive and constructive Anti-Communism.

Our exile organizations and editorial boards and circles should co-operate between themselves and with the exile groups of other nations. It is possible to utilize the potentialities of the tourist trade and of broadcasting about the development of an ideological offensive in all the Communist countries and thereby contribute towards the maintenance of the moral of the people

engaged there, and towards their careful and cautious preparations for the decisive historic moment of a change of régime and the tasks immediately following that change.

This ideological campaign is necessary i.e. because there is a real danger that after the fall of Communism other right-wing or left-wing extremist dictatorship carefully wearing a mask of democracy, will muscle in and usurp power, and that the unborn infant of democracy will die during gestation. In other words, if the design of these potential tyrant groups were to come into being, then all of the suffering past and future, of the people in the Communist countries would have been borne to no avail. People who are confused by co-existence, and who had no opportunity to reach a workable degree of political maturity because no sound alternatives were offered to them, can easily become the victims of demagogic dictators.

The Necessity for an Inspiratory Dialogue with the People

We are not intent upon creating the monopoly of one political party and we are in fact not a party-political organization, to the contrary, we believe in the plurality system of several democratically oriented political parties and we take into account the necessity for a sanitation and a modernization of the entire political scene, with a whole scale of competing democratic directions, within the visible part of the political spectrum, i.e. all of them respecting the principles of natural ethics.

We believe in the usefulness of and necessity for a constructive political dialogue, an exile dialogue, an interexile dialogue as well as a dialogue with the democrats and potential democrats in the Communist-dominated countries for which safe and careful forms can undoubtedly be found. On the other hand we repudiate a dialogue with the holders of Communist dictatorial powers, because a discussion with them is equally as fruitless and wasteful as was a discussion with the men in power within the Nazi Party.

We intend to bring you substantive proposals towards a more effective anti-Communist work and towards conditions pre-requisite for the structuring of a new social order. However, as a matter of principle, we do not wish to formulate definite party-political programmes, but merely inspire democrats of all hues, in exile and in the Communist-dominated parts of the world, to creative ideological work which will lead to the transformation of the existing antiquated structures.

Some Subjects and Topics for a Creative Dialogue or Debate

/1/ THAT democracy should respect the principles of natural ethics and the right to a full flowering-out of the personality of all its citizens and

THAT it ought to be a personality-oriented and a plurality-oriented democracy in all areas including the political, social, economic and cultural one;

/2/ THAT the free ideological competition centering on politics and economics, ought to be limited only by ethical principles and by the demand of the

common good.

/3/ THAT private ownership and the labours of man have their individual functions but imply social obligations and

THAT furthermore Nationalization/i.e. appropriation by the State of the means of production/ is permissible only in the events and instances, which the interests of the common good dictate, and when there are no other means of harmonization of private enterprising with the needs of the society as a whole;

AND FINALLY THAT the movement of democratically constituted co-operatives is to be supported.

/4/ THAT a systematic policy of facilitation and the creation of incentives for the spreading of ownership and co-ownership of means of production, transport and commerce, is to be widened to its limits, ultimately encompassing, insofar as viable, all of the citizens, one way or another, is to be viewed as an important goal, and

THAT the so-called class struggle is to be eliminated and replaced by a new socio-economic model of a co-operation of social partners.

/5/ THAT systematic terminal prevention of the creation of monopolies be maintained indefinitely, be they private or public, political, economic, cultural, didactic, or you name it.

/6/ THAT the State is but a highest organ of the political society/the republic/

AND THAT it ought not to usurp functions, which can well be fulfilled by lower, regional and self-governing occupational groups and institutions,

BUT THAT quite to the contrary the State ought to protect all such self-governing institutions and bodies, strengthen and nurture them and harmonize their activities with the view towards the benefit of all.

/7/ THAT a thorough territorial decentralization, distribution of interests, decentralization of politics, of economy and of power itself, defuse the chances of social upheavals, political unrests and economic crises.

/8/ THAT it is a basic principle of political life, to respect human rights and the rights of citizens, more particularly the right to personal freedom, the right of every citizen to participate in the political life, the right of people to freely decide upon their Constitution, the right of citizens to free elections and the right of even votes, the right to freely congregate and to form institutions and organizations, the right of ownership and the right of every person that he be at all times treated as a person and not as a thing, and the right to freedom of religious expression,

THAT, IN SUMMING UP, human rights be limited only by ethical principles and the requirements of the common good.

/9/ THAT the Labour Unions and other sectional interests shall have the right to organize and self-administer with full regard to the implications of Topic No./5/;

AND THAT employees shall have the right of acquiring employee shares,

and of participating in the shaping-up of the business, of which they will have thus been invited to form a part.

/10/THAT all shall have the right to social security in the event of sickness, unemployment, accident, invalidity, and a commensurable income after retirement,

AND THAT all parents with children, be they couples or single parents, shall have adequate means to feed and educate them, and to complement their schooling with a dignified familial background.

/11/THAT we look into the merits of a gradual formation of the Federation of Central Europe and for it in turn to acquire membership in a Pan-European Confederation,

AND THAT the United Nations Organization should undergo a process of democratization and acquire the right of determination in problems the solution of which is dictated by the common good of all races, colours and creeds of man.

12/THAT education should not merely aim at expertise and specialization, that such one-sided specialization would inevitably lead to a dehumanization of society and endanger democracy,

THAT quite to the contrary the democratic order must ensure the inclusion of a full development of the individual, of the affective aspect of education, of ethical and moral maturity, of proper balancing of self-interest and of common interest,

THAT the spiritual energies are to be kindled and encouraged,

AND THAT education of the rising generation, as well as adult education, should aim at a situation, where the citizens be in a position to evaluate, to gain a freedom within himself by way of recognition, wisdom, good will, tolerance and love;

AND FURTHERMORE THAT education as outlined, be specifically charged with the task and equipped to bridge the inner conflict between individual demand and social demands, and to develop to the full extent of the individual capacities, the sense of responsible freedom and the sense of the value of every single individual.

It is hoped that through dialogues and debates on subjects and topics such as those sketched out and outlined above, both sides should learn, find enrichment and inspiration, and a vista of a better tomorrow.

Dr.S.Hofirek

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