

POST CARD

THE ADDRESS TO BE WRITTEN ON THIS SIDE

Dr. and Mrs. K. Polanyi,
49 a, Hornsey Lane, Gardens,
London, N.6.



51, Eltisley Avenue,
Cambridge,
Jan. 13th, 1945.

Many thanks for the article which I am glad
to have. I have asked the printer to supply 85 re-
prints. Should there be any delay, will you please
get in touch with him direct (The Cambrian News,
Terrace Road, Aberystwyth, Cards.)

With best regards,
Yours sincerely,

M.

Curtis Brown Ltd.

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6, HENRIETTA STREET,
COVENT GARDEN,
LONDON, W.C.2

January 4th
1945

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49, Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London.
N.6.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

As you know, we wrote to Farrar & Rinehart asking them to give us authority to pay monies due to you under the Gollancz agreement direct to you. In reply to this letter Miss Sherer writes as follows:

"Our Accounting Department tells me that all monies from Gollancz should be paid to us, not to Mr. Polanyi. He has an unearned balance in his account with us, and until such time as his royalty from sales within the United States overtake this unearned balance, all monies should be sent to us, to be applied against his account".

We must of course comply with Farrar's instructions but I have written to them again asking them to let me know when the unearned balance has been wiped out, so that after that date we may pay you direct.

Yours sincerely,

Lucien O'Brien

OH/UD

While every reasonable care is taken of MS. while in our possession we can accept no responsibility for any loss or damage thereto.

Telephone:
MOUNTVIEW 2748

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

16th January, 1945.

Sir,

A peculiar position has arisen in respect to the new régime in liberated Hungary. ^{Free and independent} Hungarian groups abroad are unanimous in ~~their support~~ ^{recognising the authority} of the Provisional National Assembly, while non-Hungarian opinion shows a ^{lack of comprehension} ~~rather unusual~~ unusual even in the affairs of the liberated countries of Eastern Europe. ~~On the one hand~~ Count Michael ^{Hungarian} Karolyi's Council in London as well as his American followers under ~~the Liberal~~ Professor Rusztem Vambery also ~~the Social Democratic Leader in Stockholm~~ ^{is socialist group in Stockholm, recognize} Vilmos Böhm, ~~accord full support to~~ ^{as the legal representation of the country,} the Provisional National Assembly, but so do the adherents of the former Korthy régime outside Hungary such as the dissident Hungarian diplomats whose Committee is sitting in Basel, ^{and} the Free Hungarian Committee in Sophia, or, for that matter, Lady Lostowel in London. ~~On the other hand~~ ^{In the British press however,} the Provisional Government is being ^{treated as if it} criticised in England by Liberal and Left organs ^{were a ~~not to be~~ more crushing gov} ~~ment, only this time of Russian ~~brand~~ make,~~ and the Provisional National Assembly is being discounted (except by the 'Daily Herald') as ^{no} not much better than a fake. Hungarian emigrée and British opinion could not be further apart. As a former Hungarian citizen, I feel I might contribute towards a clarification.

First: ~~No~~ defeated people is as much in danger of national extinction as ~~are~~ the small and racially isolated Hungarian people. They are a highly political race. Naturally, they tend

9th Second:

to unite to ^{rescue} ~~save~~ the remnants of national existence. The Russians have greatly helped ^{to this end} by providing an elastic framework for national unity. In so doing, they seemed to have ~~been trying to~~ combined swift action ^{as} demanded by the military situation with a cautious approach to the constitutional issue. In effect, they have given the widest scope to the free exertion of national effort against the Germans while ^{not} prejudging ^{matters} ~~nothing~~ unnecessarily.

~~Secondly~~ ^{Third}: Neither the inclusion of former Horthy generals into the Cabinet, nor the fact that the Provisional Assembly claims to be the source of sovereign power, is to be taken as implying a decision on the constitutional point. The official text of the proclamation issued by the Provisional National Assembly on the 21st December 1944 ~~merely~~ claimed a vacatio legis that is, a break in the continuity of legal order, due to entirely exceptional circumstances. The Provisional National Assembly stepped into ^{the} ~~legal~~ vacuum. It will be the task of the Constituante to be elected by universal suffrage and the ballot to define the constitutional position.

~~Thirdly~~ ^{Last}: Hungary, like Germany and her other vassals, was faced with the demand for unconditional surrender. She has lost the war and no armistice has as yet been accorded to her. Under such conditions the ~~unprecedented~~ ^{national} measure of ~~political and economic independence~~ granted to her people by the Russian occupation armies appears ~~as~~ ~~most~~ remarkable. Here, more than anywhere else, ^I believe, lies the key for the ~~unanimous~~ unanimity with which Hungarians abroad stand to the extemporized National Assembly and the Provisional Government which it ^{thought} right & necessary to appoint.

LETTER ADDRESSED TO:
KAROLYI MIHÁLY
6. CHURCH ROW
LONDON, ENGLAND. N.W.3.

FROM: A. KOLNAI
45. AVENUE GÉNERIEV, QUÉBEC CITY - QUE. CANADA

49 A. Lorusz Lane Gardens, London N.6. England

17. January 1945

Most Respected and Loved Mr. President,

I would like to tell you openly my feelings, as the situation is requesting it:

Kolanyi and myself agreeing, that would be a disaster for Hungary, if yourself won't be involved in the new arrangements of the country, that you involved plenty before for the people of Hungary, and to avoid you as your friends a catastrophic situation on the end for a final retirement. -

If you, not involving in the future of the great decisions, then you are better of staying away from the progress of the Hungarian destiny, as to day, then as to late... As happened in the history, with many great-man, you would be forgotten, as the rest of them... Your hopes, as to free the Hungarian peasantry, to leave in harmony with the Slavic's groups, will come to reality under the Russian leadership. - But your name, as on the list of enemies, would stay "he was not great enough, to fight through for his believes: not the "KAPOLNA" but the "KELLERHAN", memories connected to your name... Not everybody is a great patriot,

as dying in the war... The problems, which are created by the Russian-dictature, are solvable... are strictly political, and discussable, as proved by the relations between the Czech-Russian negotiations. Mr. Benes followed the way, and history naming him as a great statesman.

If your cooperations with the communists are would pull you under their wills, won't bring any benefits for you, but an agreement on the fields of politics, to secure your freedom, and to give to them to rule according to the new obligations, as work, as order, as public-relations... in two conditions as follows:

1. To acknowledge your position, and your mission, above the Government, with your right of vetoing it in the general movements.

2. Your support for the temporary national-goverment as you stated in your speech at the New-Year, to follow the described obligations. — Guaranteed by Lohanyi. could be down, if the will's existing for it. — Without the above's agreements, you are not overable to avoid a catastrophe-confrontation, sooner or later...

Even to-day, as Moscow knowing about the Communist of Hungary, you are holding the key-card in the politics of

Hungary, and the possibilities the poverty stricken dreams of the Hungarians for the return of their idol: "GEORGE DOZSA" in victory to his castle. -

Only the two thinks: patient and to be realistic. History is always made in wars in the fighting front-lines, not in the lines of literature... Can not hurt or hit, the army of Russia from the side of the left - and not necessary at all any way!! Look at the case of Gen. De Gaulle: his fame based on the French forces. - Do'nt the same, then to instigate a revolution. In Hungary Your personality is the largest army, standing behind faithfully... and for ever...

We are very much disappointed and very sad, that a group of advisers, with full of hatred revesges, trying to isolate and gnawing You falsely, tearing You away from the steps of the victory of Your principals, who always represented one of our greatest statements, with all of our admirations, and dreams, and loves. -

Regarding my feelings, I am hoping that You are finding Your solution in the way of negotiating, not in a fight from the side of the "Left" to look for a horrible confrontation!! In case, that our delegation would leave the "COMITEE" I am following it - without agreeing or disagreeing, without giving up any points of standings!

1945. január 17.

Mélyen tisztelt és szeretett Elnök Ur,

Mert talán nehezen tudtam volna ura maradni a szomorúságnak és a fölindulásomnak ha elmegyek Church Row-ba talán jobb ha leírom a mondanivalómat olyan nyíltan ahogy azt a helyzet megkívánja.

Ugy Polanyi mint én mélyen átérezzük hogy nagyobb kár Magyarországra alig szakadhatna mintha Ön az ottani fejlődésből kimaradna, és az ország Ön nélkül lenne kénytelen új elhelyezkedését megtalálni. Magyarországra nézve ez rendkívül súlyos volna. Am az Ön számára, aki úgy vonulhat vissza a magyar színről mint aki már eleget tett a magyar nép érdekében, hogy annak örök hálaját kiérdemelje, ez távolról sem kell hogy katasztrófát jelentessen. A veszély másban van, és ettől a veszélytől kell hogy Önt barátai megovni igyekezzenek: hogy ne túl későn vegye észre hogy vissza kell vonulnia, olyankor amikor az már igenis csak katasztrófa árán lesz lehetséges.

Ennek a veszélye ma még van. Ha Ön most nem a történelem által megszabott egyedül lehetséges úton kapcsolódik be az elkövetkező nagy döntésekbe akkor jobb ha ma válik ki a magyar fejlődésből mint amikor már késő. Mint annyi nagy ember emlékéből aki az utolsó fordulatot eltevesztette, az Ön emlékéből sem maradna meg akkor semmi. Az Ön eszméi, a paraszt nép felezabadulása és a szláv világgal való testvéresülés eszméi Magyarországon orosz égisz alatt meg fognak valósulni. De az Ön neve mint az orosz

szabadsághozók ellenségének a neve állana ott, mint az olyan emberé, aki nem volt elég nagy ahhoz hogy végig szolgálja a saját eszméinek a győzelmét. Nem a kápolnai tett emléke, hanem a Kellermani gangster-modszerekéé fűződnek majd a nevéhez. Nem mindenki hős aki a haroban pusztul el; a hamis sírból nincs fel-támadás.

Az orosz diktatura által teremtett probléma nem megoldhatatlan. Ez a probléma máma nem erkölcsi hanem tisztán politikai probléma, amely politikai megoldást enged meg. Allitolag a cseh-orosz viszony is megoldhatatlan volt; hogyan dolgozhatnak együtt a kis Csehszlovakia államférfiai a kommunista szovjetdiktatúrával belső szabadságuk feladása nélkül? Benesék, bármilyen nehéz volt, mégis megtalálták rá az utat és Benest mint nagy államférfit fogja az utókor elismerni.

Ha a kommunistákkal való együttműködés az On alávetését jelentené az ő politikai akaratuknak, az valóban erkölcsi lehetetlenség volna az On számára. Abbol semmi jó nem származhatnék és nincs igaz államférfi aki ilyen alapra építene. De távolról sem erről van itt szó, hanem egy politikai megállapodásról, amely az On szabadságát és integritását-garantálja és nekik megengedi ami szükséges és kötelesség; az új magyar rezsim érdekében való munkát és propagandát. Ehez kettő kell:

1. a kommunisták ismerjék el az On kormányon felüli misszióját és annak megfelelő vétőjogát ~~minden~~ az összmozgalomban.
2. On álljon az újévi beszédéhez és az abbol folyó kötelezettségekhez az Ideiglenes Nemzetgyűlés támogatására.

E két célt - erről Polányi kezekedik - könnyen össze lehet

egyeztetni, ha a szándék meg van rá. Ilyen helyzetben valamiféle józan politikai megállapodás nélkül a katasztrófa csak ideig-örökre kerülhető el.

Még ma is amikor már a moszkvai körök az itteni kommunistákról nyilvánosan tuionást vettek, az On kezében van minden ütőkártya a magyarországi politika frontján. Még mindig valora válhatik a magyar nincstelen álma, hogy Dózsa György győzelmesen megtér a Várba.

Ehez csak kettő kell: egy kis türelem, és rettenthetetlen realizmus. A történelem nem az irodalmi rovatban történik, hanem a harctereken. A Vörös Hadsereget "balról" támadni se nem lehet, se nem kell. De Gaulle-t nem a profil tette, hanem az, hogy francia hadiarókre támaszkodhatott. Ez nem ugyanaz mint népgelkelést propagálni. Magyarországon a hadsereg, a világ legnagyobb hadserege, nem az On személye, hanem a szerény, leejnált vacsoraklub mögött áll.

Kimondhatatlan keserőséggel tölt el bennünket hogy On akit bámulattal és hű szeretettel szeretünk most izoláltan, félrevezetve, egy boszuvágytól fűtött "tanácsadó" hobortjainak áldozata-képpen vesszen el a győzelem küszöbén.

U.i. Ami engem illet még mindig nem tört meg ábrányem, hogy On
ilyen értelemben fogja a megoldást keresni, nem pedig a kommunis-
tákat "balról" támadó harcban, aminek csak egy kimenetele lehet.
A szervezeti fegyverekhez azonban tartom magamat és ha a delegá-
ciónk a Tanácsból kivonulna, vele távoznék, akár helyesebb e
lépést, akár nem, természetesen a nélkül hogy ezzel a politikai
állásfoglalás jogát e tárgyban feladnám. Sajnálom hogy az értekez-
let nevében a mozgalom választmányában történetekre utaltam. De
bevallom, nem hiszem hogy az ilyen komolyan fel lehetne róni,
addig amíg a választmányi összvélemény oly könnyűbe vétetik.

Karolyi Mihály,
6, Church Row,
London, N.W.3.

1945 január 18

Polanyi Karolyne Duczynska Ilona
asszonynak.

Tisztelt Asszonyom,

Január 17-rol kelt, es Dr Polanyi Karoly által
ellenjegyzett levelet, megkaptam.

A level politikai reszere nem kivanok reszletesen
kiterni, mert-kulonosen ezen level utan- nincs szandekomban Onnel po-
litikai cselekedeteimet megvitatni. Ezert fokeppen a level szemelyi
vonatkozasaival kivanok foglalkozni.

On a sorok kozott azt igyekszik kifejezesre juttat-
ni, hogy en most azert jatszom el politikai multamat es azert kerulok
"veszelybe", mert egy "gangsztter modszerekkel" dolgozo ember tanacsaira
hallgatok. Szeretnem leszogezni, hogy nem tanacsadokkal, hanem munkatarsak-
kal dolgozom es nem sugallatokra hallgatok, hanem magyar politikat csina-
lok. Ha azonban On-amint latom- ezt nem hajlando elhinni es azt gondolja,
hogy "gangsztterek bosszuvagytol futott tanacsai" alapjan cselekszem, ezzel
bizonyos fokig azonosit engem az allitolagos "gangsztterrel", azaz Keller-
mannal, akit valoszinuleg azert belyegez meg ezzel a jelzovel, mert Vorost
atallasa ellenere sem tartja tizenhatprobas demokratának es fasisztafalo-
nak. /Egyebkent a leghatarozottabban tiltakozom az ellen, hogy barmelyik
munkatarsamat ilyen jelzokkal illessek. / Ezzel kapcsolatban meg kell
jegyezni, hogy amikor Kellermann az ertekezlet heveben nepfelkeles meg-
szervezeset ajánlotta, maganvelemenyenek adott kifejezést, amelyet en
semmikeppen sem osztok s amirol elozetesen említést sem tett.

Hangsulyozni kivanom, hogy Kellermann se mmikeppen
sem képviselte mozgalmunkat nagyobb jogkorrel, mint On, hiszen mindketten
az Uj Demokratikus Magyarorszagert Indított Mozgalom képviseloiként je-
lentek meg az ertekezleten. Ezt azert huzom ala, mert On leveleiben ugy
tunteti fel a helyzetet, mintha csak Kellermann képviselte volna a mozgal-
mat.

Mindent osszevetve, minthogy On igy iteli meg a helyze-
tet es engem "gangsztter modszerekkel" azonosit, nem képviselheti tovább a
vezetesem alatt allo mozgalmat. Nem lehet a felelosseget "tanacsadokra"
harítani, mert akar tetszik, akar nem tetszik, a Mozgalom es a Tanacs po-
litikajat elsosorban en szabom meg. Kerem tehat, hogy vonja le a kovet-
kezteteseket es mondjon le a New Democratic Hungary Movement-ben betol-
tott valasztmanyi tagsagarol es egyben mondjon le arrol, hogy a mozgal-
mat a Tanacsban képviselje.

Nem tudom mit ertett azalatt, hogy "a tortenelem nem
az irodalmi rovatban tortenik, de akarmire celzott is vele, sulyosan
tevedett. Petofi "Talpra Magyar"-atol kezdve Adyig a magyar tortenelem
igenis az "irodalmi rovatban" keszult. A kulfoldon pedig se szeri se szama
a sok peldanak. Rousseau es Voltaire nelkul elkepzeltetlana

francia történelem; Victor Hugo nélkül nem lehet III. Napóleon korát megérteni; Beecher Stowe "Uncle's Tome Cabin"-ja forradalmat csinált; Dickens regényei nélkül nincs reformpolitika; Lamartine, Herder, Ernst Toller, Malraux stb mind fontos szerepet játszottak és játszanak a politikában.

Végül nekem változatlanul az a véleményem, hogy a magyarországi események az én politikámat igazolják és a legnagyobb mértékben örülök annak, hogy a Vörös Hadsereg felszabadító hadjárata folyton olyan helyzet teremtődött, amely lehetővé teszi a magyar progresszív irány kifejlődését és a szlav orientáció megvalósítását. Legyen nyugodt, minden hisztériás közvetítés nélkül meg fogom találni a módot, hogy közös platformra jussak a kommunistákkal. Ennek tulajdonképpen nincs lényeges akadály, mert hiszen csupán arról van szó, hogy támogassuk az oroszokat abban az erőfeszítésükben, hogy Magyarországon a progresszív elgondolás mellett közhangulatot teremtsenek. Ezt azonban Listowelle módszereivel nem lehet elérni.

Még csak annyit, hogy nem tartottam korrektnek a mozgalom belső ügyeinek az értekezleten való kitergetését. Ami pedig a választmány "összvéleményét" illeti, legyen szabad figyelmeztetnem arra, hogy a választmány hét tagja közül csak harman tértek el a véleményemtől és így On és társai voltak kisebbségben.

Tisztelettel

Ravohini

1945, Januar ho 20 ikan.

Melyen tisztelt Elnök Ur!

A pillantaban vettem feleségemhez intézett levelet , amelyet az ő felhatalmazásával felbontottam.

Elnök Ur helyesnek látta, hogy engem ignoráljon egy olyan ügyben , amelyben feleségemmel együtt jártam el. Ezt nem a New Democratic Hungary mozgalomra értem , amelynek tagja nem vagyok , hanem azon nagy fontosságú politikai kérdésekre , amelyekben Elnök Ur majd nem találkozásunk óta bizalmával megtisztelt. Kszel a bizalommal, mint Elnök Ur tudja , én soha vissza nem álltam ; amiket Elnök Ur velem bizalmasan közölt azt még a feleségemnek sem adtam tovább.

Ami Kellermann módszerét illeti azok sajnós tények és azokról nekem az Elnökne maga ismételtén panszkodott, míg ő maga azkoat tavolrol sem tagadja , hanem ellenkezőleg meggyőződéssel védelmezi. Nem első eset hogy egy elvű fanatikus megendhetetlen eszközöket választ. Hogy Elnök Urnak is vannak tanácsadói , az csak magától értetődik.

Persze egyet sajnálattal elismerek. Maga az a tény, hogy Elnök Ur sértve érezte magát levelem egy fordulata által , bizonyítja, hogy hiba történt. Ezt melyen fájdalom , de azért hivatkozhatom arra, hogy amikor a legmagasabb közös érdekek védelméről van szó , akkor inkább hibázni az igazság durva kimondása , mint a gyáva eltussolás irányában. Slegyet szenvedtünk mindannyian ricinus olajas édeskessegektől.

A dolog érdemére térve, személyeknek ahhoz persze semmi közük. Elnök Ur politikai vonaláról van szó , amelyről ismételtén behatóan beszéltünk. Remélem hogy e tekintetben áldozatos intervencióm nem volt egészen hiába való . Az a lépés odaadó barátság kifolyása is volt , amely , hiszem és remélem , túl fogja élni ez incidenst. Politikai intervencióra , persze, ezekután magamat feljogosítva nem érzem és ilyennel alkalmatlankodni nem fogok.

Egyre kérem Elnök Urat. Akár mennyire úgy érezné is, hogy tévesen ítélem meg a politikai helyzetet , egy perorig se kételkedjek bennem. Ön huszonöt év óta az első ember akinek csatlakoztam . Ezen en mar nem igen fogok változtatni.

Mély tisztelettel és hű barátsággal

Planje 1945

20. I. 1945

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49 A Hornsey Lane Dr.

N. 6.

Dear John, -

20th January, 1945.

Thank you for your wise words about my book and its last three chapters. Peter agrees with you on this point, although more for formal reasons than on the merit of the matter. He rightly feels that they are not sufficiently clear & consequently do not seem to take the argument further. You really disagree with their meaning - the kind of resignation they imply. In effect, I believe that it will take another 10 or twenty years to appreciate my "solutions", and that in Europe. As to the States, it is a long up. Whether they will ever mean anything at all to people or whether they will, on the contrary,

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

1945 jan. 21.

Mélyen tisztelt Elnök Ur!

Szomoruan vettem a levelét. Ha határtalan őszinteséggel - amit, úgy gondoltam, egy rendkívüli helyzet magkivánt - csak keserűséget és bántódást okoztam Onnek akkor jobb lett volna ha hallgatok. Ezt, úgy éreztem, nem tehetem ama bizalom elárulása nélkül, amelyet Elnök Ur ismételten kritikus helyzetekben tanúsított irányomban. Egy pillanatig sem habozok mondani, hogy levelem minden olyan sorát és kitételét visszavonom, amellyel Elnök Ur úgy érzi hogy személyében bántottam meg. Kellermannn politikai integritását soha kétségbe nem vontam és mindig igazat adtam neki abban amit nekünk ismételten mondott, hogy közel van az időpont amikor nem azonosíthatja magát többé az Elnök Ur politikájával, mer ő attól balra kell hogy elterjen. Ami Elnök Ur levelének tárgyi vonatkozásait illeti, mindenben hozzájárulok ahhoz amit férjem távollétében jan. 20iki levelében már a saját levelében megírt.

XX Elnök Ur levelébe egy félreértés csuszott be az "összvélemény kitétel körül. Az utolsó választmányi ülésen kialakult összvéleményt az Elnök Ur maga nagyjából úgy fogalmazta meg, hogy "a választmányban különböző nézetek hangozván el, az Elnök a Tanáccsal kapcsolatban keressen modus vivendi-t az ügyek továbbvitelére". En Elnök ur ezen kijelentésére céloztam levelemben, amely éppen ezért nem többségi, hanem összvéleményt említ.

Nagy sajnálatomra Elnök Urnak azon felszólítását hogy delegátusi jogaimról lemondjak részemről "személyes ügynek" nem tekinthetem, annak eleget nem tehetek, és kénytelen vagyok státusomhoz ragaszkodni mindaddig amíg abban szervezeti úton változás nem történt. Az alkotmányos eljárás megkívánja hogy a Tanácsból való visszavonásom kérdése a Mozgalom választmánya elé kerüljön amelynek a képviselőletében a Tanácsban helyet foglalok. Ez nem csak a demokraciának, hanem a jogszerűségnek is követelménye.

Ami pedig az irodalomtörténeti példákat illeti, sajnos a legjobb költők a leggyatrább politikusok voltak - Petőfitől Tollerig.

Végül is kérem Elnök Urat hogy az őszinte meggyőződésből fűzött politikai eljárásomat tekintse igazoltnak, akkor is ha rosszul választottam meg a szavaimat, amiért tiszta szívből kérem az elnézését.

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

1945 jan. 23.

Károlyi Mihálynak,
az Angliai Magyar Tanács Elnökének,
6, Church Row, N.W.3.

Mélyen tisztelt Elnök Ur,

A mai napon vettem a csehszlovák
külgügyminisztérium Ripka Hubert által aláír-
t levélét, amelyben az egy tanulmány kidol-
gozásával biz meg engem. Farkas a regio-
nalizmus politikai és gazdasági problémái.
Tanulmány Középkelet-európa kérdéseiről.

Mondanom sem kell hogy megbízatásom
feltételei olyanok, hogy azok mindkét része-
en bármiféle politikai természetű rögzí-
tést kizárnak. Kérem Elnök Urat hogy e le-
velem tartalmát tudomás végső a Tanácsnak
bejelenteni szíveskedjék.

Maradok,

mély tisztelettel,

Bennington, January 24, 1945

Dear Karl:

I haven't heard from you ~~xxxxxxx~~ for a long time and hope that both of you are well. In a general way I can say the same for us, although some especially bad cold bug got all of us down temporarily. It made Ralph have the first cold of his life, got into both of my ears, and right now it put Friede to bed. But all this will be over soon, I hope.

This is winter period now. I am working with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, on a project of foreign trade coordination, i.e. the problems and attempts in the field of coordinating the divergent tendencies in U.S. exports, imports, and credit policies. I am working with John H. Williams there. At the college, last term, I completed my basic course Economy and Society, in which I made much use of your book. On the whole, I think that the course was successful. We started out with the Pawnee catastrophe and the fall of France, shifted to the enclosure movements in England and a pretty intensive study of 1750-1850 England, from there ~~xxxxxx~~ to the American Revolution and Constitution, and then to contemporary America (corporations, labor, politics). I will give it again next spring and hope to improve it, particularly the later parts of it.

The Hayek book (Road to Serfdom) is creating some sort of a stir over here. The Right praises it to heaven. I would like to know what sort of a reception it got in England, and I am no less interested in hearing how your book was received in the 2nd "home country". Please write about these 2 things! As for Hayek, I am planning a lecture at the college about something like "The Road to the Windmills", where I want to take the gent apart. Regarding the reception of the great Transformation over here, I haven't yet seen very much. Fortune had an assinine review, and concluded that they liked Hayek better. Stuart Chase discusses it very favorably in his recent booklet Democracy under Pressure (20thCent.Fund), not in the form of a review, but in connection with his examination of pressure groups. (He uses the counter-movement thesis to show that monopolies and unions aren't all bad, that policy toward them must be discriminating. Well, that isn't much of a discovery. Anyhow, in the process he dispenses a good deal of praise for the book.) Of course, you saw Chamberlain's review in Harpers, where he is puzzled about the meaning of "society"-- something for an American to be puzzled with!-- well, he is one of our great Hayek mouthpieces over here.

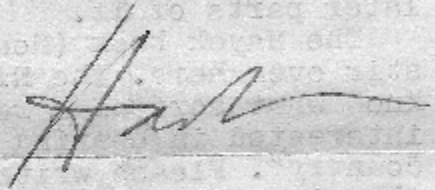
We are planning a general meetings series on Answer to Fascism. Tom and I are the meetings committee. We got Reinhold Niebuhr, J.B.S. Hardman (who is starting a new periodical "Labor and Nation"), are looking for a good man on German prisoners of war, another one on massproduction. Kenneth Burke may talk on some semantic angle. (He is a very stimulating fellow.) Last term we had a big election campaign with party organizations on campus and tremendous student enthusiasm (posters, articles, meetings, panels). The political atmosphere of the place has picked up somewhat under the impact of national events (CIO-PAC), Roosevelt victory, and the national picture is not downright bad. One thing that the US is conspicuously failing in is the development of effective programs for domestic development, and worldwide. She is falling down on her considerable possibilities of world leadership; but she has not lost her ability

of adaptation. Thus I think there is much trouble ahead, especially domestic; but I trust that we won't venture into another Great Depression, nor do I expect the big three to come to blows with each other. Short of that anything is possible. I still have high hopes for Southeastern and Eastern Europe. What about Hungary?

About the children, I want to report that Ralph is a strong little fellow, of the sweetest disposition, smiling and jumping around to our hearts' content. Phil, now 3 1/2, is quite a talkative and intelligent youngster, handy with tools and busily engaged in gramophone playing, electric train, airplanes, painting, and sledding. In the fall, he accompanied me on a little deerhunting expedition (one shot -- no deer). Friede is beginning to have more time for things other than baby care. We have more music around the house, Friede enlarging her accordeon repertoire. I took up the clarinet and enjoy it very much.

Now, please, break your silence and let us have some news of you and Ilona. And don't forget Hayek, etc. I still have hopes of getting to Europe on some gov't. mission. At one point, I almost went; but it didn't come off. Incidentally, we are now almost Am. citizens. It only lacks the final swearing in.

Cordial greetings,



Karolyi Mihaly,
6, Church Row,
N.W.3.
Telephone: HAMpstead 2490

1945 januar 25-en.

Tisztelt Asszonyom,

Folyo ho ~~XX~~ 21-i levelere valaszolva, mindenek-
elott le szeretnem szogezni, hogy nem személyes okok vagy megsértettseg
miatt határoztam el magamat arra, hogy Ont az Új Demokratikus Magyarorszag-
ert Indított Mozgalom tanácskepviseleterol valo lemondásra szolitsam fel.
Ebben az elhatározasomban kizarolag politikai tényezok befolyasoltak. Az
On utobbi idoben tanusított nyílt magatartasa es alla sfoglalasa, valamint
januar 17-i levele meggyoztek arról, hogy On nem bizik a politikamban. A
személyes tamadasok kikapcsolasaval is vilagosan megallapíthato, hogy On nem
tud velem együtt haladni es ennek kovetkezteben en nem tudok Onnel együtt
dolgozni. Onnek is be kell latnia, hogy olyan munkatarsakkal, akik nem biznak
sem a judiciumban, sem a politikai vonalamban, nem dolgozhatom együtt.
Van azonban ennek egy melyebb politikai jelentosege is. Nekem nagyon vi-
gyaznom kell arra, hogy mozgalmam ne tekintehessek az ugynevezett fellow
travellerrek talalkozohelyenek vagy plane egy fiok kommunista partnak. Eppen
erosen oroszbarat politikam es a kommunistakkal valo egyuttmukodes erdeke-
ben rendkivul fontos, hogy mind személyem, mind az általam vezetett mozgalom
olyan jelleggel birjon, hogy a nemzeti összefogas gondolatát ne kersztesse,
illetve ne valjek felesleges kerekke. Ugyanakkor vigyaznom kell arra is, hogy
a progressziv politikát ne kompromittaljam felesleges kompromiszumokkal.

On januar 21-i leveleiben keresemet azzal utasítja
vissza, hogy az On ugyenek elintezese a mozgalom valasztmánya ele tartozik
es a demokracia nevében arra ker, hogy a valasztmany tárgyalja le a New
Democratic Hungary tanacs delegaciojabol valo visszavonását, illetve azt a-
karja kiereszakolni, hogy a valasztmany előtt ajandekozzam meg bizalammal,
azzal a bizalommal, amelyet On tolem megvont. Ezzel kapcsolatban legyen sza-
bad megjegyezni, hogy en a valasztmany es a mozgalom tagjait személyes hi-
veimnek tekintem s ha ezek kozul valaki nem ertegyenek egyet a politikammal,
termeszetesnek tartom, ha kilep a mozgalomból. A koztem es a valasztmany,
plane a tanacs delegáltak kozotti viszonyt sokkal inkább ugy tekintem, mint
a miniszterelnok viszonyat a kormányhoz, mint a miniszterelnoket a parla-
mentehez, mert hiszen nemcsak a New Democratic Movementet, de az egész ang-
liai magyar koloniat olyan kicsinynek ~~tekintem~~ tartom, hogy hipokri-
zis volna a részemből, ha burokratikusán alkalmaznam a demokracia torvenyeit.
Ha egy miniszterelnok nem tud egyuttmukodni a kabinet egyik tagjaval, nem
viszi az ugyet a parlament ele, ha csak nem egy mas part tagjarol van szo.
A tobbi londoni szervezettel szemben-bar annak a delegaltjait sem valasz-
tottak- természetesen az alapszabalyok az irányadok, de a saját delegacio-
mat megiscsak en valasztom meg. Ha a valasztmanyom es koztem konfliktus ta-
mad es engem leszavaznak-bar ebben az esetben errol nincs szo- akkor a
dolog természetnel fogva nem en mondok le, hanem a valasztmany cserelodik ki.
Ezt On is be fogja latni.

Mindentől eltekintve azonban én a választmányi ülés herce-hurcaját az Ön érdekében szeretném elkerülni, mert nem szeretném, ha ennek a kínos ügynek minden részletet kiterjedne. Személyes jelleget adna az egész ügynek, holott a dolgok mélyen politikai okok húzódnak meg. Én Önt nem akarom megbántani, de a mostani nehéz helyzetben olyan delegáltakra van szükségem, akik feltétlenül biznak bennem. Most, amikor a jövő politikájának irányát szabom meg és tisztázom a viszonyomat a különböző partokkal szemben, nem engedhetem meg magamnak azt a luxust, hogy egy másik elgondoláshoz, vagy legalábbis másik taktikához közelebb álló személy képviseljen a Tanácsban. Hangsúlyozom, ez a többi partokkal való jóviszony érdekében is fontos.

Semmi kifogásom nem volna az ellen, hogy Ön, mint ferje, Polanyi Karoly, mint kóptalt tag résztvegyen a Tanács munkájában, ha ez ellen a Tanács sem emel kifogást. Én nagyon örülök annak, ha Polanyi Karoly vagy más támogatója a politikámat vagy híveink szegődik, de az ilyen általános megjelölés meg nem elegendő ahhoz, hogy mint az én delegáltam vegyen részt a munkában. Ehhez erős kölcsönös bizalom és fegyelem szükséges. Ön mindig azt hangoztatta, hogy ferje és Ön, annak ellenére, hogy hazastársak, különböző politikát jelentenek, de most levelváltásunkból meggyőződtem arról, hogy ez nem áll es Önök mindenben egy véleményen vannak.

Ön sem politikailag, sem szervezeten nem tanúsított fegyelmet és bizalmat. Különösen nehézmenyézem, hogy a Tanács ertekezleten elmondotta, hogy a választmányi ülésen ki milyen véleményt képviselt. Ezzel egy belső ügyet vitt egy olyan fórum elé, ahol a mozgalom egységet kellett volna kihangsúlyoznia. A Tanácsot alkotó más szervezetekkel is előfordultak véleményeltérések, sőt az is előfordult, hogy ugyanannak a szervezetnek tagjai kisebb ügyekben egymás ellen szavaztak, de meg soha nem fordult elő, hogy ellentéteiket és a választmányi üléseiken elhangzottakat a Tanács elé hozták volna. Nehezményezem azt is, hogy amikor előzetesen személyi megbeszélesre hívtam meg, ezt elutasította. Ön megfélemedezik arról, hogy én nemcsak a New Democratic Hungary movement elnöke vagyok, de a külföldi magyar-ság nagy részének a vezére is és így azoknak is felelős vagyok tetteimért, akik nincsenek Londonban, de megemlékezésükkel bizalmat nyilvánítottak velem szemben. Ez feljogosít arra, hogy én valasszam ki és valasszam meg, hogy who is the right man on the right place, különösen, ha arról a Tanácsról van szó, amely politikai szempontból a dolgok előterében van. Természetesen mindenkör meghallgatom munkatársaim véleményét és, mind a legutóbbi esetben is, figyelembe veszem a szempontjaikat, de ez is csak akkor történhet meg, ha a bizalom és a fegyelem teljes.

Miután január 17-i levelének személyes vonatkozásait visszavonta, én is visszavonom azt a keresetet, hogy a New Democratic Hungary Movement-ból is lépjen ki. Ez a kereset valóban a személyes támadások következménye volt. Én az egész ügyet a legtéljesebb diszkrecióval kezeltem és csak azokkal közöltem, akik az ügyben pro és contra involvalva voltak, tehát Kellermannnal és Hava ssal. Ezzel módot akartam nyújtani Önnek arra, hogy úgy vonulhasson vissza, ahogy ez Önnek legjobban megfelel. Olyan indokokkal támaszthatja alá lemondását, amelyeknek semmi köze nincs a történetekhez.

Égül szeretném, ha erre a levelre nem válaszolna és személyesen jönne el, hogy barátián ~~rendezze~~ oldhassuk meg a problémát. A kapcsolatunkban beállt zökkenő tisztán politikai-tervezetű és nagyon ~~személyes~~ szeretném, ha ennek nem volna kihatása személyes barátságunkra.

Szíves udvozzlettel.

Caroline

From

REV. W. T. HINSLEY

TEL : REIGATE 2274.

BURY'S COURT,

LEIGH,

NR. REIGATE,

SURREY.

Jan 29th 45.

Dear Dr Polanyi,

Some eight or ten years ago I spent a long & enjoyable evening with you in the house of Roy Frogenza at Wallasey. I remember so well your insistence upon the coming clash

between Fascist & Communism. A recent Brains Trust reminded me of that evening & a recent reading of Needhams criticism of your idea of the holy ^{sp} prompted me to type this note. I hope things are well with you & that if ever you have a night to spare while in London I should be most happy to see you & put you up. I am just half an hour from Victoria..

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely, W. T. Hinsley

CLAUDE LEIGH (MANAGEMENT) LTD

DIRECTORS
CLAUDE LEIGH, (MANAGER)
CHARLES S. LUSH
JOHN B. ROTHER.

CHP/DP

K. Polanyi Esq.,
49a, Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N. 6.

16, HANOVER SQUARE,
LONDON, W.1.

TELEPHONE: MAYFAIR 5454 (10 LINES)
TELEGRAMS: MAYFAIR 5454 (10 LINES)

6th February 1945.

Dear Sir,

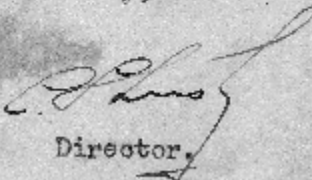
re: 49a, Hornsey Lane Gardens.

We thank you for your letter of the 3rd instant and note the arrangements you have made for the repairs, including the ceiling in the flat below.

As regards the burst pipes in the roof, we agree it would only be fair to limit your liability to half the cost and if you will kindly send us the receipt and particulars for this particular work, we will arrange to credit you with the appropriate amount.

With reference to the stoppage in the waste pipe from the sink, may we suggest that you should ask the plumber when he is at the property to deal with this as well, as a message from this office might mean a special journey.

Yours faithfully,


Director.

6 Feb 45
Magdalen College
Oxford.

Dear Iona,

I am very sorry to
have delayed so long, but
since I was in London I've been
so deeply engaged in trying
to find out what Kant says
about space & time & what
Keynes, Kaldor, Hicks, Robertson,
Haberler & Marshall mean by the
rate of interest that my mind
has been a blank on all other
subjects.

Misi asked me to tell you
that he was very much in
agreement with your article &
thought it was a very good
presentation of the facts.

On the whole a certain

"reapprochement" seems to be possible,
on these matters between Bourgeois

Liberals & Marx Socialists - at
least one can agree that, as you say,
1945 must not be confused
with 1917. In other words there
are various issues which have
ceased to be issues in the
present context & to go on
arguing about them is to conduct
a sort of shadow-fight.

To see the thing in terms
of the French revolution as
interpreted - not - by Marx - but
by the Russians myself, seems to be
about the ~~best~~ best answer.

Why the Russians have adopted
this particular line & to what
extent they're sincere in it (

is another matter.

Personally I think that the change has come about because Stalin is ~~an~~ extreme only in his "realism". Having tried doctrinaire extremism (Universal + immediate Collectivism etc.) & found it unworkable - or at

least unprofitable from the point of view of agricultural yields - he turned to "socialist realism". The resurrection of Bourgeois values & methods may be merely formal in some respects, but form is bound to grow into reality since the distinction between "a useful or viable expedient based on no particular doctrine" and "the new doctrine, that this type of (Bourgeois) expedient generally does work best" will soon break down.

It is here the ~~is~~ honesty of Russian culture & the underlying spirit of the Revolution comes to their aid. The Russians do believe in "believing in things" i.e. having ideas,

not in the form of a Weltanschauung,
which one can waste with
a certain amount of Anstrengung
and mental dishonesty, but in
the form of a nice vague underlying
belief in some sort of progress
and "liberation" from all sorts of
evils.

They seem to feel about
liberty much as they do about
music. For some undefinable
reason it is good & valuable.
It should be encouraged & fostered
where possible. On the other hand if
one wants to build a road one must
pull down the opera house & if one
& needs labourers one may have
to conscript musicians. In the same
way there are (sometimes drastic) limits
to freedom; not for any doctrinaire
or a priori reason (on the contrary, freed -

is a "good thing") but simply because there are overriding necessities (real or imagined) which make it necessary to apply the rifle butt, the concentration camp, or merely a vigorous slander campaign.

I think that the prominent position which the land reformers & especially the "Hungarian hereditists" have achieved in Hungary is an excellent example of the genuineness of Russian respect for free development.

From what little I remember to have heard of these people I believe they are unlikely to hesitate in criticizing any sort of authority whether Russian-sponsored or not. They were certainly the bravest & most constructive element in the opposition to Horthy. Someone told me about their investigations

into village life (via the
schoolteachers etc) They asked typical
little boys what they wanted to
be when they grow up. Practically
the whole class wanted to be
food retailers of some sort &
could give extensive reasons why an
extra piece of meat per week
would be the most important thing
in life.

All this sounds like
Max Levin & Co trying to improve
the lot of their four hundred "souls"
& playing about with their "sensitives" etc.

It seems that the
nineteenth century has broken out
again in Central Europe - with a
difference.

I wish one could really contact the
Russians & discuss these peasant questions

in terms of Tolstoi & so on. (?)
I'm even think of starting (sometime)
an Anglo-Russian students' or
Academic society which will
seek to interpret Western democracy
to the Russians & neo-Stalinist
espionage to the British. There ought
to be joint summer camps in
Hungary, Rumania etc to help
with the harvest & discover the
soul of the people.

One of the things I've been having
Russian lessons. In Germany
recently I had a good teacher -
he was an officer in Vlassov's
army, an old regular Colonel
who had served the Tsar well....
He showed me his record of service with
all his wounds & stars of St Catherine
etc & all battles & promotions listed..
"It would have counted for something
by now" he said. Instead of counting"

he was half-~~to~~ starved, & spent
his time teaching Russian to stupid
Germans & nearly died of gratitude
whenever I offered him a British
cigarette. He was appalled to hear
that I had a friend who was
an officer in the Red Army.
He thought they were all brutes
who didn't know how to handle
a knife and fork.

Perhaps one day all the
various "camps" will get together
& they will re-discover not only
the "Russian soul" but all sorts
of other "souls" as well.

You see that Rumanian
dreams your article has aroused.
It's certainly made me homesick
for Mittel-Europa.

Yours

George P.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

NORTH STAFFS. DISTRICT

Joint District Secretaries—
Miss G. MALBON, M.A.
Mrs. M. STRINGER
Phone—Stoke-on-Trent 2107

ELMS."

W HILL, HANLEY
E-ON-TRENT

12th February, 1945.

Dr. K. Polanyi,
49a, Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N.6.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

I was pleased to hear from you and suggest that you should come to us on the last week-end in May. I am putting it this way as I hope by then we shall have some beds in Barlaston Hall. Also perhaps you would be prepared to give a One Day School in the Potteries on the Saturday.

I am interested to know you are going to speak to the Youth Leaders. This seems to be an excellent idea as there is great need for developing discussion group work amongst the young people and only a minority of the leaders realised this. There is a tendency for some of them to think that young people can only "take" social and physical recreation, and experience here has proved the case to be quite otherwise. However, may be we can talk more about this when you come, and if by chance you are able to come over to the Monday I will arrange for you to meet our Youth leaders.

P.T.O.

I hope that you manage to meet Mr. Flanders.
He is visiting us in a fortnight's time and
I am looking forward to meeting him myself.

I shall look forward to hearing
more about the book, and shall also look
forward to seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

Stacy Nelson

With very best wishes

TEL. PARK 8213.

A. B. LEVY DR. JUR.
4, DUKES LODGE,
80, HOLLAND PARK,
W. II.

45 II. 16.

Beauvo Polanyi doktor!

A múlt iles elöt' rovi tettem a free
Hungariarok elöt' k. nye kevalasati.
sokat ispit, de mindedig nem kaptam
valaszt. Meg fogom rugdalni.

Sajnos a kardzi gópné kedv.
vitt telefonon és sajnósnak jelent a
lemondást. Arra l'evelt, hogy a
Museumtrach be kell jelenteni
a vitoráit.

Val ugyan nem tartom szan
sajnosnak, de isz lisszem, nem
vannak helyes a lemondó kuclet el-
halasztani.

A lemondás meg Polanyi által.
leg, mint mondottam ma egy hete
elbuzattak az a formulát, hogy k.

nyze vrod mond le met avr' este
sils l'uz a jomeat 'i ziki f'vtekeakta
tett nyilathonata ellentelthen elott
i. Movement allaspontyaval.

Regyon le volner kide leve, ha
k. nye viraet kesese utun etoritani
ellatrasasavol. ady talan nyetudom
a ked gyulel allaspontyit.

nyoz idovalikel

nyoz

nyoz

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKPRIARS, E.C.4.

26th February 1945

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

Thank you for your letter and for kindly sending me a copy of the reprint of your article "Universal Capitalism or Regional Planning". I have a good deal of sympathy with your general point of view.

I am quite sure that the social-revolutionary element is the main feature of the situation in South Eastern Europe, but I should not like to prophesy what particular aspect it will take, as this would really depend on relations between Russia and the West.

Personally I place faith more on practical and social cooperation, on a regional basis, on the lines worked out in the volume "Economic Development in S.E. Europe", published by P E P.

Yours sincerely,

L. Hutchings

Dr. Karl Polanyi,
49a, Hornsey Lane
Gardens,
London N. 6.

THIRTY THREE LIBERTY STREET

NEW YORK

Monday, 5, 1945

Dear Max:

It was very good to hear from you after so long a time. Probably, you got a letter from me in the meantime. I hope that as a response to it you will write something about yourself, your lives. I am very eager to know what you are doing.

Your article gave me a picture of things you are driving at. I think it is a very good piece, although I feel that it is not so easy to translate its message into terms understandable to Americans. Read by American eyes, it is too anti-American, pro-Russian. I'm sure you realize fully how difficult it is for people here to accept a regionalist viewpoint of their own and to get away from an isolationist-universalist position that finds strong support in tradition and certain present circumstances. On the other hand, the tone of your article is too pessimistic with respect to the possibilities that the US will tolerate, at least not fight determinedly and wholeheartedly, the transformation abroad. For purposes of American publication it would be advisable to prove the political, security advantages of American cooperation with foreign regional planning, the superficiality & hopelessness of enforcing the liberal utopia, and to point out hopeful beginnings in US foreign economic policy. In this way, the argument might gain some leverage here. On the essentials, by the way, American progressives have to be belabored just about as much as Americans by business. In fact, as regard universalism,

the former are often more "behind the moon" than the latter with their varied experiences.

I am working on precisely this subject at the present moment, writing up the study I have been making at the Federal Reserve Bank. Chapter I: "Why export and import; Economics" showing that economically speaking, free trade is indispensable for a progressive America. Chapter II: "Why trade and lead; Politics" showing that trade under long-range commitments of the permanent participation type, with specific countries for specific purposes is a political necessity for the U.S. Chapter III: "Thoughts and Deeds", showing how the peace + prosperity ideal of America cuts straight across the debate about business vs. government, free trade vs. protection and is obscured by the debate. Chapter IV: "Responsible gov. ec. policy", trying to integrate + present potentialities of certain current trends in business and government. - I'm now writing (drafting) Ch. 2. Tho' I go on, the thing becomes booklike. At first I thought of it as just a memo. to John H. Williams. I want it to be very challenging, yet positive.

Perhaps you see how well a good article by you along your line of thought would fit together with this scheme. I hope you write it, for the Nation.

Did you see my piece on Germany in the February 17 Nation?
Love to Ilana + yourself, Jan Friedl, who read letter + article with interest + approval, and Horst.

From March 24 on, I'll be back in Beverly Hills.
Keep, Father last summer.
Reclaim a portion of the

248

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Please reply to
BRIMPTON
BERKSHIRE

19th March 1945

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49a Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London, N.6.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

ORIGINS OF OUR TIME

When you send me the corrected proof would you at the same time please let me have one of the corrected American books? The indexer will need one to use as the basis for the index.

The enclosed leaflet was left out, by mistake, from the parcel sent you this afternoon.

Yours sincerely,

Dorothy Hornby
Director

★ All manuscripts and other documents submitted to the firm, whether at the request of the firm or otherwise, are submitted entirely at the author's risk; and, while every possible care is taken, in the event of loss or damage to manuscripts etc, the company cannot hold itself in any way responsible. ★

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19th March 1945

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49a Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London, N.6.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

ORIGINS OF OUR TIME

The second copy of your corrected book arrived too late, I'm afraid, because the printer had already finished the 'setting'. I am returning it herewith in case you need it while correcting the proof (which is now in your hands).

I hope very much that you will be so kind as to keep your corrections down to the very minimum, and let me have the corrected proof as soon as you are able. The labour shortage in the printing trade at the moment is shocking and I like, as far as possible, to get corrected proofs in the queue for correcting and reading and then into the queue for machining at the very earliest possible moment. The fewer the corrections the shorter the time taken, of course, at the correcting and reading stages.

As the proof is in page form the question of over-running also arises, and in this

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connection I enclosed a little leaflet of the
subject for your kind attention.

Finally, may I beg you, please, to
send your corrected proof to me in Brighton.
I got the printer to send it straight to you
in order to save a couple of days if she
but there is a job I have to do of all
corrected proofs, so would you please
send it straight to the printer?

Question of Nationalisation
Yours sincerely

Dorothy Horsman

Director

Woolly Bridges

Winter

Green

pressures

Laurel boat

"Foot" 5000



no index.

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W. + C. +

Austria -
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"Körzeg"

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debate

Grigg

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6, HENRIETTA STREET,

COVENT GARDEN,

LONDON, W.C.2

ON/TE

20th March, 1945.

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
43, Bedford Lane Gardens,
LONDON, E.C.4.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

Thank you very much for sending me
the December and January issues of Fortune.
I read with greatest interest the two
articles by John Davenport and I am sure
that Mr. Hollanox will be most interested
to see them. I am sending him the two
copies of Fortune, telling him that they
are only borrowed and asking him to return
them direct to you when he has read the
articles.

Yours sincerely,

Lucius E. Brown

M.A. while in our possession we can accept no
responsibility for damage thereto.

Cdn Intelligence Coy.
#1 CCRU, Cdn Army Overseas
21. 3. 45

Dear Karl Polanyi,

I am looking forward to meeting you and Captain MacKenzie at the weekend. Perhaps, you will leave a message for me at MAYfair 1841, suggesting what time would be most convenient for you.

Re: UNIVERSAL CAPITALISM OR REGIONAL PLANNING, here are a few jottings of my own, plus the reactions of a young Canadian friend of mine, who read the paper:

Russian Policy

In general I am entirely in agreement with your main position. I don't want to embark on a detailed analysis; it is easier to pick on a few points about which I am either not clear or in disagreement. Though I prefer your analysis of Russia's policy in Europe (your paper, Pt.II) to that of the Tribune (articles on "Zoning", "Revolution from Above" etc.) with its Trotskyist flavouring, how do you reconcile the social and political complexion of some of the governments sponsored by the Russians in liberated territories (in Hungary, for example), about which the Tribune is so suspicious, with the statement that "they (the Russians) may achieve a democratic socialist transformation more effectively than anything world-revolutionary socialists ever attempted"? Though I am sure that solidarity is much more likely to be achieved between the working classes of neighbouring territories than between those of the Argentine and of England, for instance, or at least much more quickly, is it the working classes who are being given the opportunity to co-operate? Do you have information about the personnel of the governments of, say, Hungary and Rumania, and about their re-organization of the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, which justifies your optimism about the outcome in terms of "a democratic socialist transformation"?

There is another point in part 2 of your paper about which I am also not quite clear: you speak of political and economic "goods", and indicate a priority of the political over the economic. If such phrases as "planned trading" give me the right clue to what you mean by political, then I understand and agree with the statement that "the people may decide with alacrity for socialist measures which deliver the political goods"; but I should like to be clear about this, because on the face of it - such a statement would suggest that political goods are somehow more important than economic, in fact a good in themselves, instead of being the means to the end of economic security.

British Policy

In Pt. III of your paper you said several provocative things, which I enjoyed reading, but found a little startling - at least as they stand, without any detailed explanation. For instance, the following: "she (GE) has been interfering at home with private enterprise in every conceivable manner; she is entirely capable of organizing the whole of her external economy on a controlled basis - whoever is eventually put in charge of the controls; and all this has happened without any infringement of vital liberties or of the freedom to shape public opinion. Indeed, public opinion has never been more supreme over government." "Great Britain has become more healthily united with every year that has passed . . ." I hope this is true; it is certainly unorthodox; and I should like to ask a couple of questions - just to make sure I am not being taken in! (1) Though it is clear that during the war private enterprise has been interfered with, though perhaps not in every conceivable manner, at least was it being fundamentally interfered with, and will it be interfered with any more

perhaps
considerably,
the war,
after

the war, "whoever is eventually put in charge of the controls"? Would not such groups as these represented by the FBI, the ICI, or the coal owners "hold on to social privilege at the expense of financial loss"? Would they not be most likely to be "less swayed by economic considerations than by the advantages of birth and education"? Furthermore, is the kind of control that such groups would exercise in organizing our external economy likely to benefit the nation as a whole, or only a small part of it, and that for only a short time? (2) Is GB "healthily united"? Is not this unity more an appearance under the exigencies of the international crisis than genuinely reflective of popular opinion? (3) Is public opinion "supreme over government"? Churchill can hamstring the Italian Government, and sustain Fascists in powerful positions in Italy, and continue to dictate the policy of the BBC on Greece, though I doubt whether it is the popular wish that the Government should do so, any more than it is the popular wish that such a man as Bruce Gardner should be made responsible for the industrial re-organization of Great Britain after the war. ←

As to US policy, I am pessimistic. I am inclined to accept the view that national groups, like individuals, only learn by bitter experience (and not always then), for the reason that nations, ruling classes, working classes, human beings in general are all more interested in immediate than in remote gains. For this reason it will be many more years of waste of human lives and of natural resources before the US ~~can~~ be forced to change her policy. It might conceivably be to the US' advantage in the long run if they were to undergo severer rationing in the interest of Europe. I doubt very much whether they are capable of taking such a long-term view. I have the same misgivings about the British ruling class. The conflict here lies in the nature of man, between his interest in immediate rewards and his capacity for abstraction. Up till now the scales have usually been weighted in favour of immediate rewards. Do you see any signs of a shift in the balance?

I'm afraid I have to go to bed; but perhaps we can continue this at the weekend, or some time soon.

With best wishes to you both,

Yours sincerely,

John Graham White

JOHN GRAHAM WHITE

CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



"FURSECROFT"
GEORGE STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

29th March, 1945.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

I am very sorry that, owing to the extremely busy time we have had in connection with the departure of President Beneš and of part of the Government staff, the cheque for March was not forwarded to you sooner.

I am sending you today cheque for £60 to cover the March and April instalments.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'I. Ducháček'.

I. Ducháček.

Encl.

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London, N.6.

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

1945, április 20.

Karolyi Mihálynak, mint az
Angliai Magyar Tanács Elnökének,
London, N.W.3.

Milyen tisztelt Elnök Ur,

Folyó év január hó 23án volt szerencsem Elnök
Urnak közölni, hogy Ripka Hubert csehszlovák állam-
miniszter ur megbízott egy tanulmány kidolgozásával,
amelynek tárgya a regionalizmus kérdése volt, és amely
az év végével volt befejezendő.

A tárgyban közölni kívánom hogy Ripka Hubert
államminiszter ur f.h. 32en a csehszlovák kormány
ujjazervezése és a csehszlovák kormánynak Londonból
való távozása alkalmából arra kért hogy megállapodás-
unkat megszüntess tekintünk. ~~És az beleegyezésemet követően~~
adtam. Abban állapodtunk meg hogy a csehszlovák kor-
mány engem eddigi munkáimért a kötelezett tiszteletdíj ~~újsza~~
felel fog kártalanítani és egyúttal engem minden kö-
telezettségtől felment.

Kérem Elnök Urat hogy levelemet az Angliai Magyar
Tanácsnak tudomására hozni sziveskedjek.

Maradók,

mely tisztelettel,

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23rd April 1945

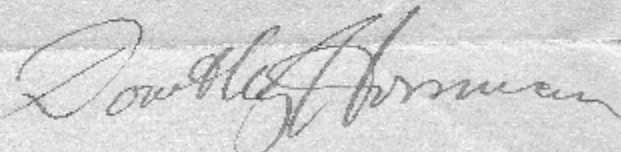
Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49a Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London, N.C.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

ORIGINS OF OUR TIME

I had hoped to have received your corrected proof some time last week but it hasn't reached me yet. Can you not let me have it please? I should very much like to get it into the queue for machining at the printers - getting books printed and bound takes such a long time nowadays.

Yours sincerely,



Director

★ All manuscripts and other documents submitted to the firm, whether at the request of the firm or otherwise, are submitted entirely at the author's risk; and, while every possible care is taken, in the event of loss or damage to manuscripts etc, the company cannot hold itself in any way responsible. ★

49A, Mornsey Lane Gardens, London N.6.

7th May. 1945.

Curtis Brown, Ltd,
6, Henrietta Street,
W.C.2.

Sr.

I beg to enclose a letter from Dr. Fritz
Levi on behalf of Pan-Verlag, Zürich, to-
gether with my answer in German.

May I also enclose some publicity
material a copy of which I have also for-
warded to Dr. Levi.

I shall be glad to be advised by you
on this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Karl Polanyi

Cherry Bartha
Penygarra
Pontypool, Mon
20th May, 1945

Dear Karl o'Koun,

I am, I repeat to me, a specially bad correspondent as far as you are concerned. The reason I think, must be that I wish to present you with a more complete document than the ordinary letter can be and that I lack the ingenuity if not ~~time~~ the time for such a document. The other night I dreamt having a talk with you. The dream was so strong that I woke up amazed to find myself in bed and far away from you. In that dream I had produced some arguments which have at once, without a second's hesitation pronounced "to be wrong for 12 reasons". I remember that I marvelled how he could have counted until 12 in so short a time quite apart from his points -

The day in Pontypool will be memorable to me for its bonfires on the hills and the radiantly happy soldiers in trench & lanes. The civilian was far less directly elated. There is much to be said in saying that he belongs to a victorious army. The general national experience is already in direct. The miner, the steel worker, the railway man go back to their old jobs that have not changed, the soldier allows himself the carefree ease after the completion of a great task. But, of course, these towns & valleys have not suffered from

blitzes. The elation of London must have been wonderful. —

But when all that has been given it due one must say that the shape of things to come is casting a ghastly shadow. I was deeply disturbed after hearing the P.H.'s speech on Sunday. No reference to the Yugoslav Pact, over-emphasis of Anglo-American friendship, threats against the Soviet Union — "a fire thing indeed." While the extreme self-righteousness of the British Foreign Office on the questions of Poland & Yugoslavia is solidly backed by the British public it is not easy to say. The Greek intervention racket, I have done my best to bring to the knowledge of people the recent leader in the Times describing the present Italian Govt as a Government of the "extreme right" — Doveski's co-operative anti-Soviet party is arousing deep — and justified — suspicions — and the Indian deadlock cannot be conjured away together with the admission of the Argentina whenever the "moral boys" are saying their number.

You prove right to the hilt. Lippman has noticed it too. He is supposed to have said that San Francisco is developing into an attempt to police the Soviet Union. He has also put his nib into that Home Blue balloon of offended virtue which is flying side by side with its red sister-balloons on the Polish issue. Meanwhile the U.S.S.R. is on the way (so I gather from my Moscow agents) to appoint only dumb & deaf persons to its diplomatic missions abroad. — The Right is deliberate, the Left is muddled, fear of the Soviet Union breeds warlike

~~These~~ speeches (if not actions also) against her warlike
speeches in U.S.A. & the U.K. put fresh steam into
the Soviet "steam roller" - the Soviet witnessing a
mounting world coalition against them in statu
rescendi are taking up war positions themselves
- whereas they are always expected by friend and foe
to perform miracle of self denial & child like trust.

I have pointed out to some audience during the last fortnight
how doubtful the future of party government is in countries
where party democracy has had a long run. The tasks
of Government may have become too responsible for
the old game to continue. How can countries in the East,
devastated or plundered by the enemy, ever hope for
reform on any count & without the tradition of rather
successful party politics be expected to fall back on
that old tool in times of crisis & probable re-birth.
The ^{Western} democratic way of life for all nations in the Leninist or
spirit is on the war path, only the working class - close
to the realities of hard life than the rest - can restrain
it. But the working class is not politically vocal. Its
representatives are too removed. None of them has
taken up "Britain's Chance". — Meanwhile the
U.S.S.R. is starting to take a new interest in India
maybe - but I have not seen the signs yet - in China.
The moderate line does not work. So we may see her
"run amok" after all. But why did you call it run
amok. If we see her forced to rush forward we
should do the same, and meet her too "some where in
in a common struggle

Germany.

Much love from Eva and myself.

Henry
Gib

Ilona's article and Tolstoy's book have "come to hand". I am reading them both^x and you will soon hear about them from me. I think I give up the hope of "the accomplished document" for my most accomplished friends and pour out to them henceforth whatever may occur to my mind.

^x in the case of Ilona's essay I mean re-reading of course.

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON
VERMONT

May 31, 1945

Dear Polanyi,

this letter has been on the fire for a long time. The reason for the delay was not only your long silence but also my disinclination against writing you a short note; it is difficult enough to try to keep up with Karl's epistolary style ~~xxxxxxxx~~ if one has the time, but hopeless if one is pressed. And I have been under tremendous pressure. I have been working on a big job - details below. The college is taking far more of my time than it should - partly because I enjoy the work, partly because I don't (You will know what I mean, knowing the place). In addition even the father of three small children in a maid-less household has a lot of minor duties though nothing compared to the load Doris is carrying. Finally - I am a poor correspondent particularly with people whose conversation I enjoy as much - and miss as much - as I do yours.

But the sending of your two articles - for which many thanks - has finally roused me. I have deserted my garden though it needs all my time and energy as, after an extremely hot March - temperature in the nineties in Bennington! - we have had an extremely cold, rainy, snowy, hailstormy, nasty April and the rainiest May on record; only now is it possible to work outside - even so we have a thunderstorm every day, usually twice a day. The children are in bed. All my mid-term reports - due day after tomorrow - are done, forty-five student papers are read. And while I should prepare a commencement speech I have to give in - of all places - Memphis, Tennessee in ten days, I know that I'll postpone this unpleasant job till I sit in the train, if not till I arrive in Memphis. Hence I have settled down to a long evening's chat with you.

Let me say as the starting point that I was very deeply impressed by your articles - very deeply indeed. They are beautiful, original, courageous, everything. That does not mean that I agree with them - ~~xxxxxxxx~~ at least not with Karl's; and I propose to devote this evening to a discussion of these articles (hoping to get Karl's interjections, interruptions, clarifications and insults by the next mail). But I think both are beautiful pieces.

Before I go off into a discussion of Karl's paper may I say that your piece, Ilona, is a masterpiece and a jewel of political analysis. Is there any chance that it will be reprinted in this country? It is not only the best but the only good piece on the problem I have seen. I have some reservations on the way you apply your findings to the concrete German situation, but none on the findings and even less on the method and the beautiful and clear structure - except that you bring in Karl's theory of the end of nationalism as a result of economic planning which (a) I dislike (see below), (b) which has very little to do, it seems to me, with your thesis, and which (c)

-2-

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VERMONT

does not, however matter to your argument. But otherwise I find your general concept of an underground movement a real contribution to politics.

Less so - do you mind my being frank - your application to the German situation. In the first place it seems to me that the logical conclusion from your argument would have been that the two aims: centralised government and full employment, must be reached for all of Western and West-Central Europe if we want to prevent the emergence of a fascist underground, not to Germany alone. Or maybe to Germany least of all - for Germany has been beaten; and in Germany any resistance will be more likely to accept the creeds of the victors, in this case a national bolshevism, than that of the defeated. But in the rest of Europe, particularly in France, a fascist ultra-nationalism could only be prevented or fought if there would be (a) a European or Western European Federation (or confederacy), which is (b) also the only means to full employment in countries incapable of self-sufficiency except on a war-economy basis. In the absence of such a solution which attains ~~the~~ actualiter the ends Nazism only promised, a fascist mentality must come to prevail; what ~~is~~ will be rejected will be the incidental: Fascism as a vehicle of German imperialism. But Fascism both as a vehicle of full employment and as an imperialist creed will be accepted. The old story that what was wrong with Hitler was not what he did but that he did it instead of "us". We ought to know this from the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime (which was saved only by Austria's impotence and Schuschnigg's incompetence from going fascist outright); I have little doubt that De Gaulle is a clerico-fascist - and not because he does not string along with the French Communists but because he clearly is going to achieve both, national unity and full employment through an out and out imperialism which can end only in disaster for France and for Europe. (By the way did you see a piece of mine on The Great Powers and Europe written for Harpers last August and re-printed - I think in November or December - in an English magazine, called "World Review"; I discussed the French problem in it and got plenty of brickbats. Incidentally who and what is World Review? They buy all my stuff - even the poorest - and pay exceedingly well for an English magazine. I'd judge them to be "Young Tory" - but am I right? And what is their standing?)

As to Germany I would say that the danger is not that there be a successful Nazi underground as that this underground will succeed, in the absence of a unified Europe, to attach itself to one of the non-European Great Powers (non-European in center rather than in actuality) which today can only mean Russia. I am afraid of this not because I fear Russian influence on the Rhine - we'll have that anyhow and very much against Russia's will, I am sure. But this would draw Russia into the vortex of Western Europe which, in the absence of unity and full employment will be affecting Russian stability badly, and will make very difficult the Russian foreign policy on which so much depends.

This, however, gets me over into Karl's piece. By way of introduction let me tell you about the very curious atmosphere that prevailed in this country on V-E day. Doubtlessly you will have read in your

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papers about the "wild excitement" and the "hurrah-mood" that prevailed on Broadway; and, knowing this country, you will - or may - have believed it. The funny thing is that, while quite true, this spirit was confined to Broadway. In the rest of the country - beginning on Sixth Avenue - the mood was radically different and might be described as one of "elated depression". Thankfulness that the European war is over - yes. Happiness that it was over so soon - Yes. But wild enthusiasm and great showering of shredded telephone books etc. - no, nowhere. People spent the day at home, very quietly, very restrainedly. After they had listened to Truman in the morning - some 36 millions or ~~so~~ topping all of Roosevelt's figures except for the Pearl Harbor broadcast - they did not, it seems, listen to the radio even. Now that is, of course, as it should be; but it is not a typically American reaction. There are several reasons. One is that the actual surrender came as an anti-climax - three weeks of rumors, capped by the absurd confusion over the "leak" and the official postponement of an official confirmation for an officially announced fact. Another is that the news brought home very closely the sense of personal loss which Roosevelt's death has been to most, if not to all the people in this country. It was not that it was unexpected; I think most everyone who had seen his Yalta pictures knew that the President was dying or suspected it - the official announcements of his "excellent health" notwithstanding. It was not even that people felt that he died just when his real job was to begin - the more or less official attitude. For rightly or wrongly most people in this country had come to feel that with the end of the war - and from the point of view of planning even the war against Japan is in a purely military phase now - the President would have lost his moral authority. All his energies were focussed on this one point. He really had no post-war policy and no post-war ^{program} people; and he knew it as well as the American people. No, most people felt that death had been kind to Roosevelt. But they also felt that his death marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. His death was not so much the loss of a leader as the loss of the one certain landmark in a raging storm. And somehow the news of unconditional surrender brought out the shock that had been cushioned by a certain numbness - and by the interest in the last round of the German war - for a few weeks.

But above all - and that is most important - the curious atmosphere on V-E day was the result of a half-understood, half-felt awareness that Germany's surrender was not the end but the beginning of the job - a job which had to be done and which could not be unloaded on the shoulders of an automatic international organization be it the International ~~Market~~, a new League or any other universalist organization. You'd be more than surprised to see how little universalism there is left in this country - partly as a result of the very outspoken and very noticeably anti-universalist and anti-utopian attitude of the boys in the Army. Your first premise, Karl, is absolutely incorrect: this country is radically anti-universalist. San Francisco occupies the front page but not the popular attention which is focussed on problems of foreign affairs such as the relations with Russia and Great Britain or on full employment but not - definitely not - on international organization whether economic or political.

San Francisco
imperialism

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You can see that even in our delegation at San Francisco which talks universalism but is actually interested - and very properly so - in Great-Power relations and in a regional American security scheme.

I would go so far as to say that the opposite of your assumption is correct; far from thinking of extending laissez-faire capitalism and the international market, this country has definitely made up its mind to have "capitalism in one country". This necessarily means a sharp shift to the right - just as the decision for "socialism in one country" led immediately to the rapid collectivization of the Russian farm as the basis for the Russian industrialization without which "socialism in one country" would have been impossible. But far from marking a return to the pre-1914 concepts this country fully accept - and even wants - a regional concept. It is not only that this is the only country which never accepted the 19th century concept of the international market - the country of high tariffs, high subsidies and - going back to Hamilton and Jackson - a state banking policy. It is also that it is clear to everybody that the future of American foreign policy must lie in a determined national capitalism - I say "must" because no other line would be acceptable to the people; and while you may have international socialism these days - I doubt it - it is clear that capitalism has ceased to be an export product. The criticism against Bretton Woods, for instance, does not really come from the international bankers in New York; though they make the loudest noise nobody in Congress pays any attention to them - rightly so. The criticism that's telling comes from the boys from Missouri who see in Bretton Woods - or in any international monetary scheme a sell-out to the international bankers. Don't be misled by Foreign Policy pamphlets etc.; you know the country too well to be taken in by them. Take it as a fact: this country will either succeed in basing international collaboration on the concept of "capitalism in one country" i.e. on a regional basis of cooperation with other blocs, or it will go isolationist; but it is not a Wilsonian country any more - if it ever really was.

My conclusion - and my criticism of your piece - is that this country with its new concept - or rather with its old concept re-newed - fits in perfectly with your scheme. At least as far as as Europe is concerned, all this country demands are stable, peaceful governments giving a minimum of political and economic security, i.e. demanding a minimum of American interference and intervention. Anything that will lead to this will be supported, though very often perhaps amid loud noises ~~xxxx~~ from the New Republic or from PM. This means that as far as Europe is concerned this country has no necessary conflicts with Russia who too can - and apparently will - act within a regional zone. These two countries are potentially capable of stability. The dangers are: in the case of Russia, the uncertainty of the succession to Stalin - the basic problem of a dictatorship; in the case of this country, unemployment - the basic danger of an industrialized country (and, believe me, not only a capitalist one; Stalin too got full employment only through building up armaments industries on which basis we have no trouble

Wendell
Army
in

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
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either in creating a labor shortage). Both are real dangers; and either may wreck the international system completely. But they are potential dangers only. As long as they do not become actual or if as long as we can overcome them, either country can function within its own frame, peaceably (if it wants to), stably, in balance.

This does of course not mean that I ~~xxxxx~~ am optimistic, nor that I fail to see the difficulties of the Pacific where entirely different principles prevail, and where entirely different problems have to be tackled - both problems of power and problems of organization. But as far as the Atlantic system is concerned there is the possibility that the two peripheral powers can keep themselves and each other in balance. In other words I accept your analysis that this is a period comparable to the 17th century - as you know I have been saying that for a long time. I believe it possible for this country to emulate what England did - the conservative solution; I believe it possible for Russia to do what Richelieu did in France - only more so. And - contrary to 17th-century experience - I believe that these two systems need not clash as ~~xxxx~~ long as they do not have to juggle. (Incidentally: a better comparison that Richelieu would be Prussia, except that that switches centuries; but the Russian concept is a great deal closer to that of the "Grosse Kurfuers" than to that of Richelieu). If Russia and America do not have to meet they would have no difficulties; and they will only have to meet if there is no Europe such as today.

Europe
In other words while both this country and Russia can live and prosper according to your regional formula, can Great Britain? It seems to me that - for geographic (robot bombs) and for economic reasons - Great Britain can live in a regional world only if she ~~has~~ is the center of a region. Such a region might be the Empire; economically that would suffice, strategically and military it would not - and politically the Dominions have, I think, turned down sharply Mr. Churchill's attempt to forge such a region at the recent Empire Premier Conference. The other -really the only- solution would be a British region embracing Western and West-Central Europe - whatever the actual political form.

Without such a region Britain would not only not be ~~xxxx~~ able to be a Great Power. She would not be able to do the job she has to do: to develop a mixed, centrally organized economy on the basis of civil liberties which alone will give her the moral prestige necessary for political and economic survival. Without such a region Great Britain must be forced into the very advocacy of a return to 1913 which you so justly fear; for how else could she survive?

I foresee therefore that Britain will be the real problem in post-war politics and economics; this is not an indictment for I believe that being a problem might be the most constructive as well as the most destructive task, depending on how one works out the problem. I think it is no accident that the clashes with ~~xxxxxx~~ Russia have arisen out of English policy: in the Meditterreanean, in

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Poland etc. (again no attack - on the contrary, the British position has been both logical and courageous). But I also think that Britain is in a very tough spot. A solution of her difficulties is only possible on the basis of some sort of Atlantic federation (meaning one comprising the European countries bordering on Atlantic Ocean and, subsidiary to them, those bordering on the Western Mediterranean). Such a federation would (a) have to include the best part of Germany - at least up to the ~~line~~ Elbe-line, actually probably up to the line Ruegen-Prague-Vienna-Trieste, (b) would have to be achieved without upsetting Russia. The difficulty of (a) is obvious - today one simply cannot talk about including Germany in a system in which she could only be included as a partner. The difficulty of (b) is just as obvious. In fact all British policy these last few years has been based on the decision not to run up against Russia over this issue - though Eden apparently doubts the wisdom of this policy and has been trying to get a system going with Norway, Sweden Belgium and Holland which explains the sharp attacks on him in the Russian press. * Difficulty (a) also explains why the Russians attack so sharply Anglo-American measures - such as the use of Doenitz - which are so strikingly similar to their use of high German officers; it must be so obvious to them that Britain - for these attacks are directed against Britain - must be thinking in the direction of a Western-European bloc, that they cannot realize that public opinion in England (and the collapse of morale and morality in Germany) make any thoughts of such a bloc impossible. It also explains why, according to all accounts, Roosevelt conceived of his role as one of intermediary between England and Russia - contrary to the public impression in this country and in England which, erroneously, had Churchill arbitrate between USA and USSR.

My conclusion from your premises is that it is England who must be opposed to the regional approach unless she can build a Western-European region of her own which at present is out of the question - because of the German situation, because of the Russian opposition, and because England is the victim of her own policy in regard to the exiled governments and to DeGaulle. I believe that Eden would want to try all these difficulties notwithstanding - though I fail to see how he could get anywhere with DeGaulle in Paris. But if such a system cannot be obtained there are only two possibilities for England: attempt to restore as much as possible of the 19th century system of international economics (though not necessarily in the same institutional forms) or try to join the American orbit as she has been trying to do at San Francisco. The Labor Party way: a planned economy in one country - a country without the economic resources or military security necessary to self-sufficiency - can only lead to real disaster and will not - I am pretty sure - be attempted.

May I say one more thing: you base your optimism on one major premise: that a planned economy will abolish nationalism (which seems to say that there will be a Western European bloc automatically on the basis of economic planning). This premise of yours derives from your conviction that the national economy is only a means to protect society against the ravages of the market system. I think (a) that

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this premise is far too general, and (b) that your conclusion does not follow from it. You seem to me to fall into a fundamental error: to believe that because economic gain is the one way in which the human drive for power and pride is channelled in our society (or was supposedly channelled in 19th century society; you can abolish the drive by abolishing the channel. I would say that you have a good point - a very good point - in your thesis that the protectionist devices and policies are the reaction to the market system (I question your conclusions therefrom in your book, incidentally. I would maintain (a) that you tend to overrate the importance of economic factors whereas the collapse of the 19th century was due fully as much to the non-economic critique of the economic factors as to the effects of the economic factors themselves; and (b) that your premise that a society must collapse if it functions at less than 100% efficiency can not be maintained; it will collapse only if its efficiency of performance of its basic promises sinks so low - perhaps below 10% - as to make the whole society irrational which point you do not prove) But I seriously question your identification of nation with protectionist devices or with national currency. To say: in economics ~~is~~ it is the national currency which is the symbol of nationhood, is one thing; to say that nation equals self-protectionist devices is quite another and - historically and politically ~~is~~ impermissible statement. Actually, a planned economy can be fully as nationalist as a non-planned one. What it will be depends on the stresses and strains under which it operates, and on the decisions and beliefs of the people who operate it. A planned economy on something less than a regional basis must be ultra-nationalist as it can maintain full employment only on the basis of an acceptance of scarcity i.e. on the basis of a war-economy. To say that a planned economy will do away with nationalism is no more justified than the belief of the orthodox economists that free trade will; actually you are basically a Ricardian "mit umgekehrtem Vorzeichen". But that's a dangerous thing to be these days as any forecast which uses economic factors any other way than as an indication of one possible or probable set of limitations on ~~economic~~ ^{political} action, is bound to be misleading.

II

By now you must be panting with eagerness to put me in my place. I only hope that you will give way to this ignoble impulse of revenge and hurry to your typewriter to pour out a long letter on everything. But don't forget to write also about your personal life; do you realize that you have not mentioned how you are and what you are doing with one word since you left? And how is Kary????

To set an example I'll tell you all about us. The enclosed pictures will tell you most of the story anyhow. They are not very good, but the best we have. Vincent is just now charming - a terrible Lausbub but gay, happy, interested and full of beans. Kathleen - who is prettier than the not very good picture - is very much the young lady, very "refined" and very much interested in clothes and movies.

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She is just finishing first grade; and since she reads and writes like a grown-up (the result of her antipathy against housework which made her teach herself to read in order to escape dish washing) she will "jump" to third grade. She is just now in the uncontrolled-reading stage where she spends every spare moment with a printed page. She wanted to see what you wrote, so I gave her your book. I am glad to report that she gave up after two pages though she said that "Karl writes just the way he talks; too fast". But for the present she prefers "Heidi" and she has just begun to read "Treasure Island".

Cecily - the baby - is really the nicest of the three. And not only because she is the prettiest of our three children (she looks very much like Kathleen only much prettier than Kathleen was at that age); she is the gayest, most abandoned little rascal, always laughing, singing or grinning. She cries almost never - ten minutes a day before she falls asleep at night - eats like a horse and loves Vincent who adores her.

Doris is still learning Physics - this is ^{her} last undergraduate term after which she will either spend one year on higher mathematics (we are getting a good mathematician next year, Mrs. Dewing leaving finally, thank God) or will commute to Rensselaer Polytechnic for graduate work - one day a week which means that she'll take three years to get her MA. She enjoys it very much though Jordan is a horrible teacher and takes no interest at all. Incidentally Rosalie Holtsberg of whom Ilona though so highly, is back here, majoring in Physics this year; she is the other advanced student with whom Doris has her course. I am very happy that Doris does the work even though it is almost too much for her what with the house and children; but though it means extra work it gives her an outside interest and something to concentrate on. Doris plans to come to England within a year to visit her mother - my hunch is it will take quite a while longer before travel is that free and easy.

I have been working the last eighteen months on a study of "capitalism in one country" i.e. on a study of industrial management, administration and policies. The thing grew out of an assignment by General Motors (you know the people who make Chevrolet, Buick, Pontiac, Oldsmobile and Cadillac) to study their principles of organization, management etc. Since G.M. is not only the largest American industrial corporation - war time employment 500,000 - but also the one that has been giving a great deal of thought to management policies it was a lovely assignment. I spent the winter 1943/4 and last winter travelling through their plants etc. Gradually the project increased and grew into a general study of the problems of industrial organisation and management in modern industry, in which G.M. is being used as an illustration only. They were most amenable. And while the study may not be published - it would have to be released by a war agency in addition to General Motors - it has been growing into something pretty big for me, and pretty fundamental. I have not done a good job on the whole (so I am not very keen on

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publication) but I have had a most interesting time and have learned loads. The job is practically finished - the first draft was completed on March 1st, now I rewrite and rearrange. It should all be over by September 1st.

After that I intend to write four articles I have been wanting to do a long time: one on Calhoun and the principle of pluralism in American politics, one - do you remember? - on psychology in politics (I have two good drafts of this one, but not yet a really good one); one on Isolationism and Internationalism (showing (a) that both are fundamentally the same thing and spring from the same desire not to have to bother with foreign policy, and (b) that both arise from the fundamental American refusal to accept the nation-state with its primacy of foreign affairs as moral and tenable); and finally one tentatively entitled "In praise of Aristocracy" - ~~one~~ carrying out the ideas of the Prussian Army piece which you both liked so much. Also I may go over to Europe next winter - either for the government or for a magazine; it is still very uncertain and most confidential, but I hope to go over next year in any case though it may be later than the winter (and I am looking forward to seeing you very much). Also I have still hopes that the Army may accept me though the Army has so far succeeded in ducking; now that there is a good case for letting the men go home who have been in all along, the Army may take more kindly to accepting such an antique wreck as I am.

Now its your turn to give us your news. We want to know what the Polanyis do and how they are. Don't disappoint us.

With love from all of us

Yours

Peter

Set of the raised problems
the pencils has finished
making his corrections
together with just finished work.

5th June, 1945.

Dear Polanyi,

I have been reading Part III of Koestler's "The Yogi and the Commissar" which I see is dedicated to you. It is, I think, the most depressing book I ever read; indeed, if his facts and his interpretation of them are correct, the possibilities of any peaceful development of the world in the next generation or two seem almost impossible.

I have been much perturbed about Russia for the last few years: the trials, the utter secrecy which they have preserved, and recently their behaviour over Poland and the Balkans. But I have not thought seriously about it and I have continued to hope that there were some real ideals of human welfare and that in the long run this immense experiment in socialism might be of benefit to the country and the world.

If Koestler's facts are right, this is all nonsense. (follows familiar description of Russian conditions a la Koestler) The prospect of a world dominated by an imperialistic group with such powers and such utter ruthlessness is so unpleasant that one does not like to believe it.

I presume you know Koestler? The book is written with moderation; he constantly quotes the relevant ~~facts~~ laws. It is difficult not to believe that the facts are true. His interpretation is interesting but much less important. I should be most grateful if you would let me know whether you regard him as a really reliable witness.

...If you have any progress to report about your Journal of Political Philosophy I shall be very glad if you will let me know.
Yours sincerely, (signed) E.D. Simon.

12th June 1945.

Dear Simon,

I have delayed answering your letter partly because I could not quite make up my mind about my reply. I do not think there is any important inaccuracy in the facts of Koestler and I believe we have to take his account of conditions in Soviet Russia very seriously. In many points I believe the picture of the corruption spread by the Soviet Government is still incomplete. The conspiracy of concealment by those who know about Russian affairs - due partly to the desire not to do harm to friends still in Russia and partly to reluctance to join the anti-Soviet camp - is still very widespread, and it represents itself a fact which to me is most depressing. There is much to be said about that which Koestler has not yet revealed.

Yet I hesitate how to answer your despairing exclamations about the prospects of a world dominated by such powers. Russia is a country of profound originality, with great aspirations nourished by a century of thought, expressed by their poets, novelists, and philosophers of unrivalled force and profundity. It is to be expected that, feeling themselves master of their destiny, they will restart their development on some lines linking up with their own past and that thereby they will once more become part of European or Western civilization. It is for us to do all we can to stimulate this reversion, but I agree that it is an immense problem of which we in our times can only solve more than the ~~small~~ fraction.

I hope to have a ~~part~~
for a Journal
of the Literary
the 4th July

The Bungalow, Lode, Camba, June 17, 1945

Dear Drkolanyi,

There are no difficulties in answering your question as, in writing Soviet Legal Theories, I had to concern myself with the mentioned decree. Koestler's argument is one of many applications of his characteristic device of mentioning undeniable facts without reference to their origin and function, but full emphasis on some theoretically conceivable, but most unlikely implication, which is used for an ideological appeal against the USSR.

The decree of April 7, 1935, is directed against adults making use of the fact that, under the former legislation, juvenile criminality up to 16 was kept outside the courts (there were no Courts for Juvenile Delinquency, but only institutions of the People's Commissariat for Education) and that, if more than a mere admission should follow, transference to a Public Educational Home, carried like any other public school, offered ample opportunities for the offenders to escape and to return to the 'underworld'. In the criminal world of the Big Cities (the sociological relevance of the decree is its belonging to a set of measures that take notice of the existence of a 'criminal world', as distinct from original Soviet legislation that knew only individual offenders easily reeducable under fitting surroundings) it had become most usual to have a crime planned by the adult members of the gang (who took also the less dangerous functions, like watching the police, selling the booty, etc) whilst the actual theft, housebreaking or murder was committed by Juveniles between 12 and 16. Therefore, the decree enacts:

- a) extremely heavy (like for murder under aggravating circumstances) for any adult who induces Juveniles to any crime (not only those for which they themselves are responsible) or to prostitution,
- b) criminal responsibility for theft and crimes committed by violence for persons over 12, under the general Criminal Code. Special Chambers for Juvenile Crime were established at the ordinary courts, and special Educational Homes under the P.C. of Interior (no more of Education) established for Juveniles committed to Prison - which you, thus, may compare with Borstal, if due allowance is made for the difference between Soviet and British principles of dealing with offenders during detention, and after.

The 'firing squad' comes hardly in, as there is no capital punishment even for murder. Its only opportunity would be in case of 'robbery, committed by armed gangs', if the Court would find aggravating circumstances, which it is most unlikely to do against the juvenile members of the gang. Maybe, that the general attitude of the decree - with its severity against adults misusing them - might induce the Court to render them orphans, by finding aggravating circumstances against the adult members of the gang (which could be also done under the former legislation). Little harm would be done to them or the community by such procedure.

The whole emphasis in the public discussion following the decree was laid upon the need to establish well-working Courts for Juvenile Delinquency and Educational Homes that combine the purpose of re-education of the offenders with that of protecting society against new offenses by the committed Juveniles, with some scorn on the approach of the former 'welfare-aunt' who had good advice, but no actual possibilities of re-educating criminal youth. Anyone who has read any Russian publication on the decree must know all this, because it was the only argument made in

F. K. K.

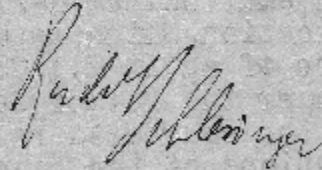
Find publicity then against criminal surroundings

P.T.D. 1/

the Soviet press. Koestler simply prefers to use abroad anti-Stalinist propaganda pamphlets as his source. I feel it not worth while to have an argument with his like.

Kindest regards to both of you

Yours sincerely



39 Hillway,

N.6

20 June 1945

Dear Chomdovsky,

I am sorry to have held up the very interesting letter from Miss G. for so long. Her admissions, and Burge's (whom I know), are very ~~interesting~~ revealing. They call, however, for the following comments.

1. It is true that, as a result of two things - the employers' group refusing to accept the Soviet employer's delegate as a full and effective member of their group in the 1937 ^{Conference} meeting 'unofficially', without him, and then held formal meetings with him (lasting 5 minutes), and the action of the majority of the workers' group in 1938 opposing the

admission of the Soviet Union² (had pressed to come to the ILO) into IFTU - the Soviet Union sent no representatives to the ILO ^{from early in and in} 1938 ~~and in~~

But this was a passing political question, and only those bent on mischief could interpret this as wish to withdraw. In point of fact, in December, 1939, the ILO ~~was~~ received - for the first time for many months - an elaborate reply to one of its questionnaires from Moscow.

2. Whether technically she was expelled or not, the officials who dealt with the press at the time made no mystery about how the decision was to be interpreted. The Times on 6/2/40 published a message from its League

correspondent at Geneva saying: "The Governing Body of the ILO... decided today that, just as the USSR had become automatically a member of the ILO when it entered the League in September, 1934, so, by its expulsion from the League in December, it ceased to be a member of the ILO". On the same day the "Daily Herald" item from its Geneva correspondent was headed: "The Soviet is expelled from ILO". The message began: "Soviet Russia ceased to be a member of the ILO tonight. The decision was taken by the Governing Body...". Keating's "Contemporary Archives" for February 10-17, 1940 (compiled from the press of several countries, and used internationally as a standard reference) said

in its report of the meeting: "The Governing
Body, meeting in secret session on February
5, expelled the Soviet Union from membership
of the ILO". No correction to any of
these statements was ever issued; and
the version of expulsion passed into
such reputable, important and
documented histories as Professor AB
Keith's "Causes of the War" (1940, p. 453) and
Prof. F. L. Schuman's "Night over Europe"
(1941, pp. 413-4).

All best wishes.

Yours always

Andrew Rothstein.

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EMC/SB.

20th June, 1945.

Dr. Karl Polanyi,
49a, Hornsey Lane Gardens,
Highgate, N.6.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

Thank you for your letter of June 14th.

Koestler's assertion regarding Russia's participation in the work of the I.L.O. fits in well with his general anti-Soviet hysteria. Although I have not gone into the matter closely I seem to remember that Soviet representatives took part in the deliberations of the I.L.O. certainly as late as 1938 or so. The publications of the I.L.O. too ~~included~~ regular information about labour conditions in the Soviet Union.

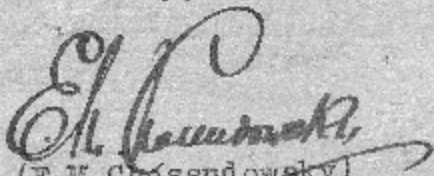
High officials of the I.L.O. visited Russia on several occasions and published the results of their investigations *in the International Labour Review*.

Naturally the socialist set-up of the Soviet economy and the fundamentally different relationships which exist in that country between workers and the management were difficult to fit into the general framework of the I.L.O., which is based on the assumption of the existence in each country of employers and employees.

To say, however, that this implied a fear on Russia's part to have her labour conditions exposed to public scrutiny appears to me to be completely absurd. It is simply a species of the usual anti-Soviet slander dished up in a new disguise.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(E.M. Chossudovsky)
Adult Education Officer.

The Bungalow, Lode, Cambs, June 21, 1945

K. Lipster
The Legation
Library
Cambridge

Dear ~~Kazak~~ Polanyi,

Here is Koestler back. I should not dwell too much on details of his quotation (in that case): the essentials, as described in my letter, are given by him (the form, in the decree, is, of course, different, as paragraphs of the Criminal Code are quoted. But he may explain this as legitimate popularisation for non-knowers of the Soviet Criminal Code). I should not dwell very much on the question whether or not a juvenile has been actually shot under the decree, or (may conceivably) be shot: had the ~~sta~~ legislator not desired that hypothetical possibility being discussed in the criminals' caves, he could easily have added a paragraph excluding the highest measure of social protection for people minus n years, and the traditions of the past period of Soviet Criminal law were strong enough that this cannot have been omitted by mere neglect. Myself, I do not know what I should do, as a Soviet judge, in any conceivable case (say, if the worst type of crime committed by juveniles about which I heard were committed by the worst type of juvenile criminal of whom I learned under the most serious imaginable circumstances - say in a town where women frequently are raped by juvenile gangsters. They would have to act in bands and to inflict upon the victim, apart from the rape, mutilations - out if they did so, I could get them before the squad without overscrewing the principle of analogy). But these are side-issues, extreme cases as arise in any country unless the law prevents the Judge from doing what he should like to do; as it does no more in the U.S.S.R. If one regards the statement that no human being minus - say - 20 should be shot except by the enemy in war as an essential element of socialism, the U.S.S.R. ~~has~~ as a by-product of looking for protesting ~~immature~~ youth against misuse by their criminal parents or elder co-gangsters, betrayed socialism. This is a fantastic way of thought (though not uncommon in Bloomsbury) on which we should not move any step. The essential with K. is a) that he brought the fact in a wrong connection (Bezprisornis, instead of professional criminality in the "adult-underworld of the ~~maxhata~~ cities).

Further specific points

b) that he explained a hypothetical by-product of the decree as its essence, which clearly was replacing public-schools under the P.D. of Education by approved schools under the P.C. of Interior and friendly advice by an educational officer (by sentence by a court (of course fitted to its special tasks) and, in executing the re-educational measures, replacing ~~the~~ organisational changes (special chambers at the Courts, and a larger number of 'Borstal schools' under F.C.o.I. - some of them, like the renowned Bolshevo, were of much longer standing) were made in immediate connection with the enactment of the decree, and were reported in the Soviet press as the measures for putting it into effect (So completely alien to the Soviet attitude was the explanation by K. and other anti-Bolshevik slanderers that, apart from the shooting, the decree was intended to put children into an ordinary prison!!)

These two failures of K. to apply the hated-dialectics amount to an objective falsification of facts - epistemologically much more interesting than the more common ones he committed at other occasions (see below).
c) that he ~~describes~~ a change in the character of the educational institutions as a dropping the principle that the criminal should be re-educated, and
d) that he regards that principle as an essence of socialism, without which nationalised economics cease to be socialist.

The two last-mentioned statements are the essence of 'Bloomsbury', especially Gollancz.

More crude-~~xxx~~ and therefore more inviting for you if you like to put K's search for Trotskyites truth of the pranger-are the falsifications upon which I came when I went on reading.

P. 174. The anti-abortion decree (which, besides, contains quite a code of ~~family~~ other legislation on divorce, protecting mothers and children, grants for large families, etc etc) is of June (not December) 27 (the -presumably Trotskyist-source of information seems to make unclear-roman ~~xxx~~ 'VI' which are mistaken by Koestler for 'XII'. But in any case, the mistake is helpful, for, I was at the time in the U.S.S.R. -living, not as a mere visitor-of course interested in the issue, participated in some meetings (my wife in others) and spoke with high officials on the issue. Of course, I read the press, and have re-read it recently when preparing my Family-volume for Mannheim. No plebiscite was promised, and test-votes were not taken (unless one regards as ~~xxx~~ such the attempt of some opponents of the decree to have their amendments backed by a vote of their factory, in which they frequently succeeded). There was no statistical comparison of the strength of the two trends in public opinion, though I am myself inclined to the opinion that the opponents-in the abortion point-were more numerous, at least amongst those groups able to form an articulate opinion. No plebiscite could be called off, as no one had been prepared, and the decree was promulgated, with some minor concessions to criticism uttered in the discussion (especially in the old struggle between men and women on alimony). What criticism I heard from my friends most of whom were against the prohibition of abortion was that ~~xx~~ those concessions had not been made in the main point-of the plebiscite I heard first yesterday, when I read the passage in K. The 'dangerous counterrevolutionary experiment... etc etc' was repeated a few months later in such unimportant an issue as the text of the new Constitution, as everyone can easily see if reading Stalin's speech on the Constitution, which deals at length with the amendments proposed in the press, factory-meetings, etc. K. was spared this difficulty by his changing an 'VI' into a 'XII'.

P. 175. According to art. 27 of the decree of July 8, 1944 (Soviet War News, July 12, 1944 - again a source which Koestler could easily check), the fee of 500-2000 roubles, according to circumstances, is charged by the Court' after ~~xx~~ divorce after having finally been granted. ~~This is to~~ Lawyer's services can be obtained gratis. In consequence, 2000 roubles are the ~~maximum~~ that can be charged to a party in the highest-income group, after the case having gone to the Supreme Court, and if the JUDGE desires to discriminate against him as strongly as possible - and not '2000 roubles a modest estimate for a case decided at the lowest level'. All-following conclusions are, of course, typical Trotskyite 'truths' - the average worker would actually have to pay 500 roubles, i.e. about two monthly incomes. This is a serious burden, and I do not like it - but it is not prohibitive. 'Chief engineers, directors and higher bureaucracy' would be probably less impressed by the 2000 roubles but by the public announcement in the press (which cannot ~~do~~ name to the average worker). In consequence, they are rather discriminated against - however this may fit ~~with~~ Burghamian theories (actually, it is a measure of disciplining and consolidating the leading stratum).

P. 177 Home passport system, existing since 1932. I lived in the USSR

from 1935 to 1937, as a foreigner-certainly not freer in my movements than a Soviet citizen-but, like any ~~unemployed~~ foreigner employed in the U.S.S.R., not with my foreign passport but a 'Permit to live in the U.S.S.R. ~~xxxxxx~~ for a Foreigner', issued by the P.C.I., passport dept. I have made many nice travels, and planned with friends more-the conditions of which we explored, before making our choice. No bigger industrial town or its surrounding area has been found banned, with the exception of the naval base of Sevastopol, and the fine glaciers in the Pamir along the Afghan and Chinese border (in the former case, railway and autostrada were reconstructed in order to prevent the tourist-traffic to the Crimea from passing through Sevastopol, and for the Pamir-~~xxxxxx~~ possibly the whole of Tadshikistan, but not for Bokhara, Samarkand, etc-a special permission would have been needed, to apply for which for mere holiday pleasure we found unnecessary-instead we went to the Caucasus, were we travelled through the most remote regions). Our Permit-in the case of Soviet citizens the passport-had to be produced in hotels and club-huts, where it may be explained as a guarantee against travelling youth stealing public property; not when we stayed with friends, nor to the village Soviet when we stayed with peasants. ~~xxxxxx~~ We thought in our case (with a Moscow hotel room as normal domicile, ~~xxxxxx~~ and club huts or tourist bases as our main night-quarters) the G.P.U. certainly could easily check our movements-but if there had been a rule applying to the average citizen we should certainly have learned of it. Apart from when entering and leaving the U.S.S.R. we have never given the Police any notice about our movements, nor heard of anyone asked being asked to do so. I speak here not of cases of political banishment, which consists in applying the rule described by K. as normal for the citizen). As the Soviet passport-just as the British Identity card-has a rubric 'permanent domicile' I assume that, in the case of changing the latter, the Soviet citizen would have to report to the police-but only in that case, as the British now does also.

CPG & P.H.

Further P. 177. How can reluctance from admitting foreigners to the U.S.S.R. be a reason for handing over them to Hitlerite Germany? And why should the-admitted-specialist who brings to Russia knowledge of the standard of life of the best-situated strata of western society be less dangerous than the ~~xx~~ working-class refugee?

P. 179. First seven paras. Changes in the structure of the delegates to the party-congresses of course merely reflect changes in policies of promotion; of granting special honour to available 'old Bolsheviks' at the expense of younger people who now stand in the-foreground of the actual work. This is an obvious and generally known fact. But the last para is falsification, by ~~xxxxxx~~ confusing 1917 with 1918. Amongst the 250-270 000 members in 1918 at least three quarters had joint in last year-which meant, for the bulk of Russia, the very year when Soviet power was actually established and ~~new~~ party organisations created where the underground party had had none. The party in 1917 cannot have had more than 70 000 members-more exposed than others to the risks of the following civil war. If you replace the 'nine-tenths' of K. by, say, 'three fifths', it ~~xxxxxx~~ still be an important problem of-the relation of generations would remain-but less place for calumny.

Therewith I had enough of K.-I think it is sufficient to kill him. But I was interested to see what kind of human being he may be, as he

1-4; 4
earlier has written an interesting, though hostile, novel on the trials (honestly, I assume now that he must have had another source who was more careful not to intermingle VI and XII). His personal interest seems to lie in the psychology of revolutionary movements - from his books it appears that about 1932-3 he must have been near to the K.P.D. Now p. 14 he ascribes the phrase 'we are dead men on furlough' to Lenin instead of Levin, at his trial after the defeat of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. There was hardly any intellectual in the K.P.D. not conscious of the deep significance of that statement in connection with the psychology of the Spartacus period (I could never imagine Lenin saying something of this kind) - if K. was ~~interested~~ even as a mere sympathiser - was interested in his problem, he could hardly hear the statement without being ^{100%} the connection. His story of the intellectual leaders of the C.P. on p. 78 is full of falsehood: Levi, after his expulsion from the CP, became a leader of left-wing Social Democracy and committed suicide, 8 years after his expulsion, ^{from the CP} when he saw the impossibility of preventing the reactionary development of ~~the CP~~ Social Democracy. Toller and Muensam have never been Communists. Hoelz was a bandit - unhappily not only with Mr. Churchill - who could not find the way to a normal party (besides, during his activities as an hero of romantic ~~the CP~~, which made him renown as a 'protector of the poor and revengeer', he was ~~not~~ a member of the semi-anarchist K.A.P.D. He joined the KP only in prison, after a brave speech in court had made him a symbol of resistance to German Justice) whatever may be said of him, he was not an intellectual. Neumann has never seen a university - for the simple reason that already as a secondary schoolboy he was drawn (certainly to his detriment) into the leading circles of the C.P. and had never any opportunity to learn anything.

K. is, indeed, a scandalous example of the new generation that has grown up in the aftermath of the great revolutionary period, does not know anything, but writes about everything, regards the past of the revolutionary movement not as something that deserves study and criticism, but simply as an occasion for increasing his - also so not too small - larder of invectives against its present forms. They complain of Soviet attorneys making some drastic black-white pictures when defending their state against old Bolsheviks who could not understand its present needs - but without any threat of war (or should the last chapter of his book be explained as propaganda for a new war) above them, and no mere illiterate peasants ^{than} to be found in Bloomsbury before them they ~~had~~ the utopian phase of the revolution ~~as a~~ to a mythical, but splendid background, in order to show the baseness of reality (but with some proviso - that reality could be improved by the advance of Anglo-American civilisation). Burnham and Borkenau are their surrogates for Marx and Engels.

You ~~are~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~honest~~ ~~you~~ ~~know~~ ~~this~~ ~~rather~~ ~~long~~ ~~letter~~ ~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~to~~ ~~a~~ ~~general~~ ~~preparedness~~ ~~of~~ ~~mine~~ ~~to~~ ~~devote~~ ~~much~~ ~~time~~ ~~to~~ ~~K.~~ ~~to~~ ~~my~~ ~~feeling~~ ~~that~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~characteristic~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~certain~~ ~~way~~ ~~of~~ ~~thought~~ ~~(besides,~~ ~~also~~ ~~of~~ ~~life,~~ ~~as~~ ~~you~~ ~~can~~ ~~easily~~ ~~check~~ ~~whenever~~ ~~he~~ ~~touches~~ ~~questions~~ ~~of~~ ~~women,~~ ~~the~~ ~~horrors~~ ~~of~~ ~~having~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~in~~ ~~1970,~~ ~~etc~~ ~~etc~~). If your letter should succeed ~~in~~ an open, energetic argument, I were prepared to enter the scene - provided that the Golancists, as I fear, masters of those scenes where you can operate, would allow me (unhappily, I found the whole Koestler - minus the ~~direct~~ falsifications - in G's random glosses to a top of mine) P. 1.0.

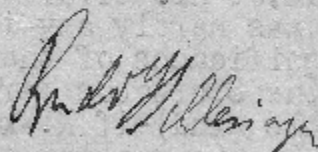
1-4; 4

article of mine

probably they are now a little angry about their pet's development; but in favour of the 'Commissar'-to speak more concretely, of Comrade Visninsky - it must be stated that ~~these~~ his statements about the objective implications of certain attitudes are never disproved by the Koestlers.

In attacking him, concentrate on the direct falsifications, and secondarily on the implications of the way of approach-not on hypothetical discussions whether a juvenile has been actually shot.

Yours sincerely,



49A Hornsey Lane Gardens.
N.6.

25th June, 1946.

Dear Schlesinger,

Please let me have your full comments on the enclosed draft.

It is important that the ensuing discussion should not be able to invalidate any point made by me.

The technical terms must be made to be ~~indefinite~~ accurate without pedantry or academic cumber-
some-ness.

I felt vague about the following matters:

1. Did the ~~Rescription~~ ^{Horny} period come to a definite end before this new phase of the juvenile ~~problem~~ criminality problem emerged? Could this be substantiated?
2. How is the new Code to be applied to the juvenile (a) ~~by~~ the court? (b) ~~by~~ the authorities responsible for the carrying out of the sentence? E.g. indefinite period of Freiheitstrafe or probation? or definite period with recommendations as to the commutation of the sentence etc etc?
3. Is the maintenance of the principle of re-education explicit in the new legislation? or only implicit? Is this to be described as an aim or as a principle, in your view?
4. Have there been any allegations that any number of juveniles were executed under the new law?
5. Can it be said that upto 1935 only Russia kept juvenile criminality entirely out of the courts? And did she?
6. Is robbery by gangs, the only case of the death penalty under the criminal code?
7. Is penal system the right term in line 9 from above?
8. Is advanced principles a term applicable to the present ideas as embodied in the 1935 decree? (Incidentally, are they akin to the Italian school? What is ~~the~~ ^{the} correct description in scholarly language?) You will realise that I need the correct description of the legal ideas governing these reforms, preferably in their reference to modern ideas in criminology and ~~penal~~ ^{penal} ~~system~~. This is not a question of 'socialist' ~~ideas~~ ^{ideas} i.e. up-to-date ideas.

comes in
Thank you for your long letter which may ~~be~~ very handy
at a later stage. I am now restricting myself to the Shooting
affair. We have noticed many other inaccuracies ourselves, some of
them quite impermissible (quoting Stalin for the 'Sovietized vous'
slogan, and so on!) The reference to the I.L.O. is entirely untrue;
so is the absurd comparison of Soviet ~~army~~ ^{and officers} pay with that in
countries with professional armies, like the U.K. who have to give
a salary to their men instead of pocket money or rather a nominal fee.
It was excellent to have your answer so promptly.

I do not know, of course, where I will have a chance to have my letter
published (if at all) . However I am thinking of the N.S. & N.

The Bungalow, Lode, Cambs, June 27, 1945

Dear Polanyi,

Here your letter back. First your points:

1) the problem of children in trouble does never come to a definite end in a semi-agricultural country undergoing a quick process of industrialisation, with some interludes of war and civil war. There is only a curve, with up and downs. The original besprizornyy-i.e. those from the Civil War and the Volga famine were of course absorbed, so or so, before 1935; but in 1927-the last time I was in the U.S.S.R. before the Five Year Plans-there was still a little trouble with them. It should be astonishing if no new wave should have been produced by the difficulties during Five Year Plan No. 1. In 1935 this was again ebbing down-but with restoration of a normal market, money-circulation etc there ~~was~~ was some rise in general criminality that had been kept down by the impossibility of getting anything except on cards, enthusiasm, and also severity of repression. The discussed decree belongs to the measures taken to restore normality-in this case, by depriving the underworld of juvenile 'help'. I should wonder if World War No. 2 should not have produced some problems of that type again.

2) There is no 'new Code' but, as ~~the~~ you can see from the text reproduced by K, a ruling that the general code should be applied to Juveniles from 12 onwards in the case of certain crimes. This is to say, they will be sentenced, according to the merits of the case, to a certain term of imprisonment, and the term will be served in an approved school under P.C.I.A. It is quite current even with adult criminals in the U.S.S.R. that early reprieve (in the case of good behaviour after half the sentence being served) is granted by the P.C.I.A. agencies directing the camps of imprisonment (for example the building organisations for water-ways), though in many cases in the way that the status of the prisoner is changed into that of a free worker but still with restrictions as regards domicile and working place. So, of course, it may be expected that many convicted juveniles before having served their term will be transferred to other public educational institutions or, after having learned a profession, to normal industrial or agricultural employment of their choice. But this is irrelevant for the problem, see ⁱⁿ

3) There is in the mentioned law no explicit declaration that the fundamental principles of Soviet policies in the penal field are to be maintained. It is also not necessary, as the Soviet laws are written for the use of Soviet judges etc, and not of anti-bolshevist pamphleteers. It is indeed a pity that my Soviet Legal Theories are not yet out (if you see Mannheim, ask him when they will come-he told me that the publisher likes to surprise his authors with the publication). If a proof of the maintenance of those principles in the described case is desired, it is provided by the fact that the whole argument in the U.S.S.R. about the decree centred about organising special chambers for Juveniles at the Courts in the larger cities, and organising the approved schools. It belongs to the demagogy of K. -and is generally characteristic-that they simply dwell upon the fact of establishing criminal jurisdiction, and 'forget' that criminal jurisdiction in the U.S.S.R. in general follows those principles that in most other countries are accepted as mere special rules for dealing with criminal youth.

4) I do not know of any case of executions, nor of allegations in that sense—the Trotskyites have never forwarded more than the text of the decree. I should think it conceivable, that in liquidating the banditism left by the Germans in some regions occasional applications of that extreme implications should have occurred—but I do not know.

5) Depends on the age-limit. Many countries kept children up to 14 out of court—Russia did up to 16, and had also further for people up to 18 far-going modifications of the normal procedure that brought it near to the procedure now applied for the younger.

6) Robbery by gangs (besides, this is no technical term, but ~~my~~ explanation, the term is 'banditism') is only one of a score ~~for~~ of crimes for which capital punishment is provided, but the only amongst those for which juveniles may be made responsible under the new law (the others deal with treason, sabotage, espionage, embezzlement in office, etc etc). Accordingly you must correct line 6 on p. 2 of your letter, say so: 'Of all the crimes, for which juveniles may conceivably have to respond under the law of 1935, robbery... ~~xxx~~...gangs is the only threatened by capital punishment, if the Court...' etc. Do not use inverted commas for the description of the crime, as it is an explanation, no technical term.

7) I should say (rather 'dealing with crime' than 'penal system'. By regards the latter, many people would understand 'penalties', and long arguments would follow on the respective merits of a purely educational approach to murder, but the squad for industrial sabotage.

8) See my book (above under 3). Certainly you can say 'advanced ideas' unless you regard the Italian school (which is now anathema in the USSR as the main representative of such. Uptodate has little meaning unless you ~~xx~~ mean the last current fashion in the West—but I assume, by advance is to be understood a re-educational approach as distinct from mere repression, ius talionis, the cat, etc etc.

Further remarks to your letter. 2nd para p. 1. You must change the order. The phrase on 'Special courts' ~~which~~ (which have been established not by the decree, but by the administrative measures taken for its execution) belongs not before, but after your reproduction of the decree (i.e. before Juveniles, 4th line from below).

5th line from below. You could even say 'equals that for the graver forms of murder'. In either case penalty is 5-10 years with ~~stroke~~ isolation. It ought to be kept in mind that, f.e., murder for jealousy is already 'grave murder' according to Soviet law. If you take what English readers will understand by the gravest forms of murder (i.e. those that ^{actually} will be hung in this country, and get 8-10 years in the U.S.S.R.) it is true that the penalty for adults misusing youth only may equal, though I know no Soviet judge who would not use the maximum powers he has say in order to get rid of parents who drive their children into prostitution. For this crime already before 1935 the general penalty ~~was~~ independent applicable also if the victim was an adult girl, was 5-10 years, like grave murder). (and the criminal had no personal responsibility for her)

In general, I think the letter is all right—and I think you have chances of getting it in the present atmosphere in N.S. & N. If a discussion should start, I shall open my box and kill him—as I think, the other instances are much stronger than this one (though, it is true, misrepresentation is more characteristic of a certain ideology than direct falsification.

Cordially

K. W. J. J. J.

George

Botwin

16, Rue de la Harpe
Paris 15.

...I do not know of any case of...
 ...the doctrine...
 ...I have left by the Germans in...
 ...last extreme...
 ...out of court...
 ...is...
 ...near to the...
 ...action, the term is...
 ...for which...
 ...for which...
 ...deal with...
 ...under the law of...
 ...by capital...
 ...for the...
 ...I would say...
 ...regard the...
 ...you are...
 ...is to be...
 ...Further...
 ...order...
 ...not by...
 ...I...
 ...forms of...
 ...already...
 ...will be...
 ...I...
 ...in order...
 ...applicable...
 ...in general...
 ...and I...
 ...and I...
 ...and I...

7 Wild Hatch.
London N.W.11.

July 26th 1945.

Dear Dr Polanyi,

I enclose one or two papers which may be
some help.

When I came to look at it, I found that
Millner's pamphlet is very sketchy as far as documentary
evidence is concerned, so I don't think it will be much
use. Perhaps you would be good enough to send it back
to me some time - no hurry.

I went to Soviet News. They couldn't find
the reference for the Education Decree but are now looking
it up again and will send me the appropriate issue of the
paper when they find it. In the meantime, this one about
Soviet students in higher educational institutes is quite
interesting. The I.L.O. article is the one I mentioned
to you.

The book has been reviewed in "Our Time" by
Sykes-Davies. What he says is interesting while he does not
deal much with the part on "Soviet Myth and Reality". (You
can usually get Our Time on Railway bookstalls if you haven't
a copy).

With good wishes

Yours Sincerely

Reginald Freeman

The Bungalow, Lode, Cambs, Aug. 15, 1945

Dear Polanyi,

Of course I follow the correspondence, and am attempting to share
it, as I promised you, in 'Time and Tide', where some General
has drawn the very natural implication from Koestler, that appease-
ment of such unhuman a regime is just as bad as that of the Nazis,
by opening part of my Pandora-box, and in the Statesman by answer-
ing your Baker with a principled letter on principles. I heard
from left-wingers (or refugees, who believe in any case to belong
to that category), that K. has made some impression on them, and that
though my Pandora-box (which I have, promised to open privately,
promised to the Editor of the Statesman, if the Time & Tide-people ^{should}
fail to print it) may be helpful to some authority who not
only knows no Russian, but even misrepresents documents available
in English) their fundamental doubts are not removed if the gross
misrepresentations are unveiled. The U.S.S.R. is actually not the
realisation of the ~~ideal~~ blue-prints of a Western left-winger (not
even of such a cautious one like myself): what matters, against the
atomic bomb, is to show that the basic humanitarian concepts are
identical, however different the approach to realisation. I per-
sonally dislike the Russian ~~the~~ legislation on divorce-as regards
which I can correct misstatements by K., but not the basic content-
-much more than the idea that one of the worst types of Bezpri-
sorny of which I heard should have actually been shot as a by-pro-
duct of a more successful drive to save tens of thousands of them
from a criminal career, than the atomic bomb and the claim of the
countries who apply it at the end of a ~~more~~ successful war (not
in an hour of gravest national danger) to represent a higher
civilisation, etc etc, and K. is its war-ranger.

Your factual questions are easily answered by the fact that
~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~juvenile~~ ~~law~~ for children 12-16 charged with crimes other
than those mentioned by the Law of 1935 the old, medico-educational
procedure enacted by the Code of 1922 is still in force, and ¹ ~~evi-~~
dently Russia today which does not like to speak of the 1935 law
~~is~~ to use which for anti-Soviet purposes K. was not the first
(besides, I think they are foolish-one cannot be silent on such
points, but has to explain them) reported such cases-amongst which
may be some ~~very~~ serious ones. There are actually 'no Juvenile
Courts like those which exist in England' for the simple reason
that a) for Juveniles 16-18 and for ~~the~~ those offences of 12-16
people as mentioned by the law of 1935, the general courts are
competent, and the formation of special chambers ~~of~~ those courts
better qualified to deal with juvenile delinquents-which can
easily be proved from ~~the~~ Soviet periodicals-is a mere organisat-
ional expedient, just like for example the formation of special
chambers for criminal and private law cases (which, in theory, also
belong to the one and united judicial competence), and b) for other
offences committed by 12-16 people there are no courts at all,
as emphasised by ~~the~~ Russia today. The distinction between 12-6
and 16-8 is so old as the revolutionary legislation-it was only
partially broken down in 1935. K. has correctly quoted ~~the~~ the law of
1935, though he misinterpreted its meaning and normal implications

and emphasized a hypothetical and in no case important by-product, about the purely hypothetical character of which we may accept the Central European Observer's authority-the more, that if the Koestlerites had a counter-instance, it would have been brought forwards years ago (the dispute is as old as the law). But I should not juxtapose statements in 'Russia today' to the fact of the law of 1935; if the latter would have been repealed at some later date (which, of course, I could have missed) the Russians would not have failed to give publicity to that reform, the propagandist implications of which they were bound to know be conscious of.

Yes, from some viewpoint my bungalow is situated 'across the road'; as the other one is not situated at any road whatever, and as your postman's question presupposes that the holder of the Bungalow must have been in the public view and a subject of discussion amongst local people, it is obviously well on a road.

I think I shall come to London in September.

Kindest regards

Reddy
Thompson

①

49 A Hornsey Lane J.G.S.
28. VIII. 1945 N.6.

My dear Vera,

Your article on the
Reconstruction of Hungary
in "Hass" (I. III. 45) appears
to me as the culmination
of your political career. For
many years to come it
will bear those lives that
Hungarians wish to
interpret their tasks, & they
are going to fulfil this mission.
I am sending a copy to
John Watson (see below),
he was my sponsor in member-
ship of the Royal Inst. of Int.
Affairs, & I have been
elected, although publication
of his fact must be postponed).

(2)

... my advice to our opinion
 on Hungary without any
 reservations. I would you please
 inform the Secretary of State
 of the facts, and I would
 like to know your opinion on
 the matter. I have been
 very busy lately, but I
 will try to get it done
 as soon as possible. I
 have been very busy lately,
 but I will try to get it
 done as soon as possible.
 I have been very busy lately,
 but I will try to get it
 done as soon as possible.

(3)

stable by the very framework
of the character which enabled
him to endure. In the
mean time the world had
changed not beyond the
range of his mental grasp
but of his emotional and
grip. My admiration and
affection for the 'old man'
is great. In spite of his per-
nicious role, I have a high
respect for his integrity. He
& Krol's have retired into
private life, in expectation of
transportation facilities to
Hungary.

My advice to Karol was
considered by this: Restrict your
self to your international
task: the re-integration of the
coming new Hungary into
its entirely new surroundings.
(On main orientation, cooperation
with democratic neighbors,
racial unity, issues,
federal solution, "Western mind")

(4)

As to domestic policy, restrict
yourself to the demand of
(1) Republic (2) radical
Agrarian reform (3) popular
democracy. There are also
prerequisites of your foreign
policy. You don't regard
yourself primarily as the
personification of the Hungarian
revolution or socialist line.
We've got to be internal force
of the country, and the home
guard. It's a bit late, Károlyi
realized too late the soundness
of your advice. Since December 1944
he ceased to listen to us and
started out on ~~an~~ "opposition
from the left" to the Hungarian
regime. (He was convinced that
the Russians are bringing both
back, and that Ustafsky was
their choice for a London Minister).
When, after Yalta, this ^{was proposed} was
a mistake, but he had lost
much of the confidence of the
actual revolution in Hungary, in
which he had not believed. It
was in this that he failed.

Whether your presence here
 we have changed matters is
 now a moot point. The irony
 of the situation was that you
 assumed the humans were
 working for the Soviets in
 Hungary and that Karofi was
 too much devoted to their
 line, while actually the Russians
 were experimenting with com-
 munist régime to which
 Karofi objected. (Incidentally,

I remember my explaining
 to Helati for all I was worth
 that the "red faulciter" phrase
 might prove very inadequate,
 and in effect misleading,
 since the Russians might
 well start on a new type
 of popular democracy of
 an unconventional kind
 which he thought illusionistic).

My book is at last
 coming out here. Unfortunately
 I was not in the position to
 let my friends have copies.
 Copies (except for my sister,

(6)
none were sent out). I hope
mausi mentioned to you how
sorry I was not to be able
to present my book even to my
closest friends.

I feel deeply grateful
for the chance of offering
my book to the replacement of 1945.
Nothing more gratifying could
have happened. After all it was
in line with a new foundation
of the orthodox of democratic
socialism. The English edition
is unchanged, except for
the last chapter - on freedom -
which was elliptical and which
was expanded into a fairly
broad foundation of
personal freedom under a
planned economy. The idea
of the new bill of rights is taken
up, and concretized.

In love's friendship
Kar. K. is back at the Durban.
L.S.E. Ma is now a research physicist.
Our love to Rod & Leda -

Sir,

Arthur Koestler stunned the world by a disclosure about Soviet-Russia second only to that of the 'communalisation of women' -- the story of firing squads for children of twelve. In spite of my reasoned argument to the contrary, it has been naively endorsed by Dr. John R. Baker.

I had now an occasion to consult the ^{official} text of the Criminal Code together with ^{the} official annex of 'Legislative and administrative ~~decisions~~ ^{provisions regarding the} which bear on the application of some sections of the Code'. The text in question carries the imprint 'As amended upto 15th October 1935'. It contains ^{the} ~~the~~ references quoted by Koestler, and is, in effect, the source relevant to the discussion. Having perused the text, partly with the help of an interpreter, I can state with assurance that Koestler's 'firing squads for children of twelve' are a pure invention. *(complete authentic)*

The Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. contains in its ~~General Part~~ ^{Part} two Articles dealing with the death penalty: Art. 21 invokes that penalty as an exceptional and transitional measure of defense of the State to be applied in the case of specified crimes against the foundations of the Soviet Power. Art. 22 declares the death sentence inapplicable to persons ~~who were~~ ^{who were} under the age of eighteen at the time ~~when they committed~~ the offense, as well as to women during ~~their~~ pregnancy.

This Article was never amended, neither explicitly, nor by implication. This fact governs the legal position and makes nonsense of Koestler's allegations. *(never changed, altered or amended)*

~~The~~ ^{his} firing squad (which by the way was never alleged to have shot anybody) was developed out of a distortion of the scope of some measures referring to juveniles ^{he} and taken in spring 1935. The age group twelve to ~~sixteen~~ ^{sixteen} was ~~now~~ ^{not brought} brought under criminal responsibility in specified cases (Decree of 7th April, 1935) while expressly maintaining the rule according to which they are otherwise exempt from criminal responsibility (Directives of the Supreme Court, of 27th July, 1935, Art. 1.) ^{dealing with} ~~and~~ this in no way impinged on Art. 22 of the Criminal Code, ^{on} the inapplicability of the capital punishment to persons under the age of 18. Incidentally, this should have been obvious even to the superficial reader of the official text of the Code by the absence, against this Article, of the asterisk indicative of change or amendment.

So much for Koestler's firing squads for children of twelve.

Highgate.

(sign) Karl Polanyi

Not for publication
Karl Polanyi
30th August 1945.

Daily Telegr.



Copy 87-91 of the Criminal Code

1

COPY
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The Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. contains in its General Part two Articles dealing with the death penalty: Art. 21 invokes that penalty as an exceptional and transitional measure of defense of the State to be applied in the case of specified crimes against the foundations of the Soviet Power. Art. 22 declares the death sentence inapplicable to persons who were under the age of eighteen at the time when they committed the offense, as well as to women during their pregnancy.

This Article was never ^{not} amended, neither explicitly, nor by implication. This fact governs the legal position and makes nonsense of Koestler's allegations.

The myth of the firing squad (which by the way was never alleged to have shot anybody) was developed out of a distortion of the scope of some measures referring to juveniles and taken in spring 1935. The age group twelve to ~~sixteen~~ ^{seventeen} was now brought under criminal responsibility in specified cases (Decree of 7th April, 1935) while expressly maintaining the rule according to which they are otherwise exempt from criminal responsibility (Directives of the Supreme Court, of 7th July, 1935, Art. 1.) All this in no way impinged on Art. 22 of the Criminal Code, on the inapplicability of the capital punishment to persons under the age of 18. Incidentally, this should have been obvious even to the superficial reader of the official text of the Code by the absence, against this Article, of the asterisk indicative of change or amendment.

So much for Koestler's firing squads for children of twelve.

Highgate.

(signed) Karl Polanyi

not for publication
Karl Polanyi
30th August, 1945

The Bungalow, Lode, Cambs, August 30, 1943

Dear Polanyi, ...

Things are extremely simple, and Pritt has actually disposed of the shooting-issue, which seemed to him-as, apparently, also to you-the only important. There were three barriers between a child and the shooting execution squad, apart from the general structure of the Soviet Criminal Code, which reserves capital punishment nearly exclusively for crimes which a child cannot commit, for being obviously incapable of conceiving political-implications of his actions-and those crimes were also not included among those for which criminal responsibility was introduced by the law of 1935, namely (I quote in terms of the Code of 1922/3, the only I can find here in Cambridge, but you can easily transfer the quotations into those of the still valid Code of 1926, of which there is an official English translation-by the Foreign Office-in the British Museum, so you need not even a Russian friend, except for checking the text of the April 1935 decree which will be found in the S.C.R. in 'ravnol' or Izvestija).

- 1) § 18, fixing criminal responsibility at 14, respectively 16 years-dependent on the decisions of the medico-paedagogic commission.
- 2) § 25, youth being described as an attenuating circumstance,
- 3) Remark 1 to § 33, prohibiting the application of capital punishment to people under 18.

So far I remember, the law of 1935 does not contain explicit repeal of general provisions of the Criminal Code, so it is obvious that only safeguard 1) has fallen by implication, for those crimes as mentioned in the law. We have dealt with in all our correspondence only with the general structure of the Code, and with the obvious safeguard 2), without noticing 3) (I for the simple reason that I was not interested in the special slogan of anti-Soviet pre-columination as regards an in any case hypothetical case, but in the real issue of the decree what methods are the most suitable for re-educating juvenile law-breakers, which involves an actually serious problem for socialist ideology, and also touches the relations of Russian and Western socialist ideology.) If you feel that you need a special extenuating circumstance for not having gone through the Code, you may quite rightly shift the responsibility to the Russians, who have not troubled hitherto to mention the point, though the columination is so old as the decree (I remember its having started in German emigre Social Democrat publications already in 1936!). The reason why the Russians did not touch the issue is probably their being conscious of the irrelevancy of that hypothetical implications connected with shyness to enter a general argument about children of 12 years being dealt with, by even by special chambers of the general courts, and being possibly sent to prison, even if this means the model-institution of Bolshero. I think they are wrong in being shy (only abroad, not at home)-in any case we, as Western Socialists, have to discuss the issue.

Even if it was left to Pritt to kill Koestler in this special point, you have deserved well by your initiative, and even by our joint 'mistake' in arguing before the English public the general Soviet-approach to crime, the structure of the Code etc, which would never have come to the foreground if you had simply anticipated

F. Pritt: B.S. 44/62

Pritt. I know the kind of people to whom K. appeals; they would simply have said: 'Well, children are not shot in the U.S.S.R. - but they are sent to penal servitude'. You will see to-morrow, or next Friday, that our atomic bomb against K. has gone off.

I am coming to London next week, from Tuesday to Friday, but this Friday I leave already in the afternoon. Please ~~write~~ ^{give} me by return-post ~~an~~ ^{an} evening for meeting you, with a reserve-date if I should have another appointment, and give me also your telephone-number again, so that I can wring you up. Unless I write or phone, the evening first-mentioned by you is recorded as agreed.

Kindest regards



Handwritten notes on the right margin, possibly including a date like '11/22/41'.

Extremely faint, mostly illegible text covering the lower two-thirds of the page, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.

49A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N.6.

1st Sept., 1945.

Dear Kingsely Martin,

Karl Polanyi
The contents of your editorial note in to-morrow's issue of the N.St. & N. with which you close the correspondence on 'Yogi and the Commissar' must encourage all those who wish to regard it as an open question whether or not children of twelve*) can in law be executed in the U.S.S.R.

From the Russian point of view, the affront of such a monstrous charge is comparable only to that of the 'socialisation of women' levelled against the Bolsheviks by White propaganda some quarter of a century ago.

I protested on Thursday morning against your intention of closing the correspondence and handed over a short statement on the legal position which left no loophole.

I am much troubled about this matter. I happen personally to be strongly opposed to the C.P. (all brands), to fellowtravellerdom, etc. On the other hand, I feel we have no right to deny Russia the honours of fair and full discussion on an issue of prime importance.

I feel strongly that the matter must not be left at that, and that in this case some re-*) or, for that matter, sixteen

Since it answers
the question
of the precise exact
of the relevance

49 A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N.6.

1st September 1945.

~~reference~~ of the the decree of 7th April.

The Editor,
New Statesman and Nation,

Sir,

Arthur Koestler stunned the world by a disclosure about Soviet Russia second only to that of the 'socialisation of women' -- the story of firing squads for children of twelve. In spite of my reasoned ~~objection~~ to the contrary, it has been naively endorsed by Dr. John R. Haver.

warning

I had now ~~an~~ occasion to consult the official text of the Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. with its annex of 'Legislative and administrative provisions regarding the application of some sections of the Code'. The volume ~~is~~ bears on ~~its~~ cover the imprint 'As amended upto 15th October, 1935'. It contains ~~the~~ the text, ~~quoted~~ by Koestler, and is, in effect, the ~~complete~~ and authentic ~~source~~ relevant to the discussion. Having perused the text, partly with the help of an interpreter, I can state with assurance that Koestler's firing squads are a pure invention.

of the decree

The position is, briefly, this:

The ~~Criminal~~ Code ~~of the R.S.F.S.R.~~ contains two articles dealing with the death penalty: Art. 21 invokes that penalty as an exceptional and transitory measure of defense of the State to be applied in the case of specified crimes against the foundations of the Soviet Power. Art. 22 declares the death sentences inapplicable to persons under the age of eighteen at the time of the commission of the offense as well as to women during pregnancy.

~~Document~~

Article 22 ~~has not been~~ ~~revised, restricted or otherwise~~ amended, either explicitly or implicitly. This fact governs the legal position and makes nonsense of Koestler's allegations.

of

The mythical firing squads (which by the way were ~~not~~ alleged to have shot anybody) were developed out of ~~distortion~~ distortion of the scope of a series of measures referring to juveniles and taken in Spring 1935 (pp. 87-91 of the Criminal Code). The age group ~~was~~ twelve to sixteen was ~~now~~ for the first time brought under criminal responsibility in specified cases (Decree of 7th April, amending Art. 12 of the Code) while expressly maintaining the rule ~~to which they are~~ otherwise exempt from criminal responsibility. Directives of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. of 21st July 1935, Art. 1.) ~~is~~ this in no way impinged on Art. 22 of the Code dealing with the inapplicability of the capital punishment to persons under the age of 18. ~~Consequently~~ this should have been obvious even to the ~~unintelligent~~ reader by the absence, against ~~the~~ of the Code, of the asterisk indicative of change ~~in~~ ~~the~~ Code, under ~~the heading~~ 'Juveniles', the Index ~~of~~ the Code ~~the~~ the plain reference ~~to~~ applicability ~~of~~ Art. 22.

according

list

So much for Koestler

49 A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N.6.

1st September 1945.

The Editor,
New Statesman and Nation,

Sir,

Arthur Koestler stunned the world by a disclosure about Soviet Russia second only to that of the 'socialisation of women' -- the story of firing squads for children of twelve. In spite of my reasoned ~~argument to the contrary~~, it has been naively endorsed by Dr. John R. Baker.

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The position is, briefly, this:

The Criminal Code of the R.S.F.S.R. contains two Articles dealing with the death penalty: Art. 21 invokes that penalty as an exceptional and transitory measure of defense of the State to be applied in the case of specified crimes against the foundations of the Soviet Power. Art. 22 declares the death sentence inapplicable to persons under the age of eighteen at the time of the commission of the offense as well as to women during pregnancy.

Article 22 was never ~~changed~~, altered, or amended, either explicitly or implicitly. This fact governs the legal position and makes nonsense of Koestler's allegations.

The ~~prohibited~~ firing squads (which ~~by the way~~ were ~~never~~ alleged to have shot anybody) were developed out of an audacious distortion of the scope of a series of measures referring to juveniles and taken in Spring 1935 (pp. 87-91 of the Criminal Code). The age group ~~namely~~ twelve to sixteen was now--for the first time--brought under criminal responsibility in specified cases (Decree of 7th April, amending Art. 12 of the Code) while expressly maintaining the rule ~~according to which it was~~ otherwise exempt from criminal responsibility (Directives of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., of 21st July 1935, Art. 1.) All this in no way impinged on Art. 22 of the Code dealing with the inapplicability of the capital punishment to persons under the age of 18. ~~Incidentally~~, this should have been obvious even to the ~~superficial~~ reader by the absence, against this Article of the Code, of the asterisk indicative of change ~~added~~ or amendment. Moreover, under ~~the heading~~ 'Juveniles' the Index of the Criminal Code carries the plain reference 'Inapplicability of the death penalty: Art. 22.'

So much for Koestler's firing squads.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

September 13, 1945

Dr. Karl Polanyi
49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens
London, N. 6
England

Dear Dr. Polanyi:

Your letter of last June came at a time when the Institute was having its summer vacation and so there has been a delay in responding to it. Immediately upon its receipt, however, I sent a copy of it to the officers in the Rockefeller Foundation who pass upon such matters. I know they have had it under consideration and you may by this time have heard from them. In consequence of the interruption caused by the war, the Foundation is not as well organized for dealing with such matters in England as it was formerly, so it is possible that there may be some lapse of time before you hear.

I felt that your book "The Great Transformation" received favorable reviews in this country and I know that a considerable number of readers have been impressed with its insight and understanding. I read it myself with great interest. Somehow both in thought and action we must overcome the separation between politics and economics which now characterizes both our theories and our policies. In this field I feel that your book and your projected study are contributions.

When you visited us in Princeton some years ago you left with me several reprints, which I am now returning to you under separate cover. It is possible that you have other copies, but I know how likely it is that one's supply runs short after a period of time.

Sincerely,

Walter W. Stewart
Walter W. Stewart

September 29, 1945

Dear Karli;

Thank you for your good letter. I am happy to know that you are well and that your work is increasingly recognized in England. The appearance of an English edition of your book will surely strengthen further your position.

I am very glad that you agree with my conclusions concerning Hungarian policy of the future. Of course, I have no objection against the publication of my article provided it will be presented in a decent translation.

I am still much concerned about the developments in the old country. The paradox of the situation is that the Bolsheviki are carrying out our old policy, however without the conviction and the passion of our October revolution. I am afraid of their deep designs.

I am also greatly grieved by the future of K. I am afraid that he will not be able to master the situation or at least to mitigate the dictatorial tendencies without a nucleus of honest and strong men, which I cannot see. The manifest tendency of the Bolsheviki is to collaborate with anyone whom they can use as instruments. Even reactionaries and scoundrels are admitted but they are afraid of men with strong convictions and independent personalities.

I am deeply sorry that I cannot help K. in his task, but I am unwilling to renounce my American citizenship. Furthermore, I am, more than any other, a persona non grata at home.

This is my second year at Clark as a visiting professor. Unfortunately, Recha and her mother are not with me, due to the fact that we were unable to find a family apartment in this overcrowded city. Yet I preferred to remain here because the daily work and routine gives me a kind of "moral corset" that to bare the almost daily horrors of these Godless times.

In the hope that you and your family are well and able to maintain a minimum of optimism in this dark age, I remain in old friendship

Affectionately

Oscar

MAISON MONTCALM, QUÉBEC

The Maison Montcalm is the oldest house in Québec City and dates back to 1674. This house served as headquarters for Marquis Montcalm during the defence of Québec, culminating with the battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. Montcalm, fatally wounded in the battle, was brought back to this house where he died.

MAISON MONTCALM

La Maison Montcalm est la plus vieille maison de la ville de Québec; elle date de 1674. Cette maison a servi de quartier-général au Marquis de Montcalm lors du siège de Québec, et est spécialement reliée à la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham. Montcalm après avoir été blessé mortellement y aurait été conduit, où il est mort.

From
A. Kolnai
45 Avenue St-Jean
Québec (PQ), Canada



SAVE
-USE AIR

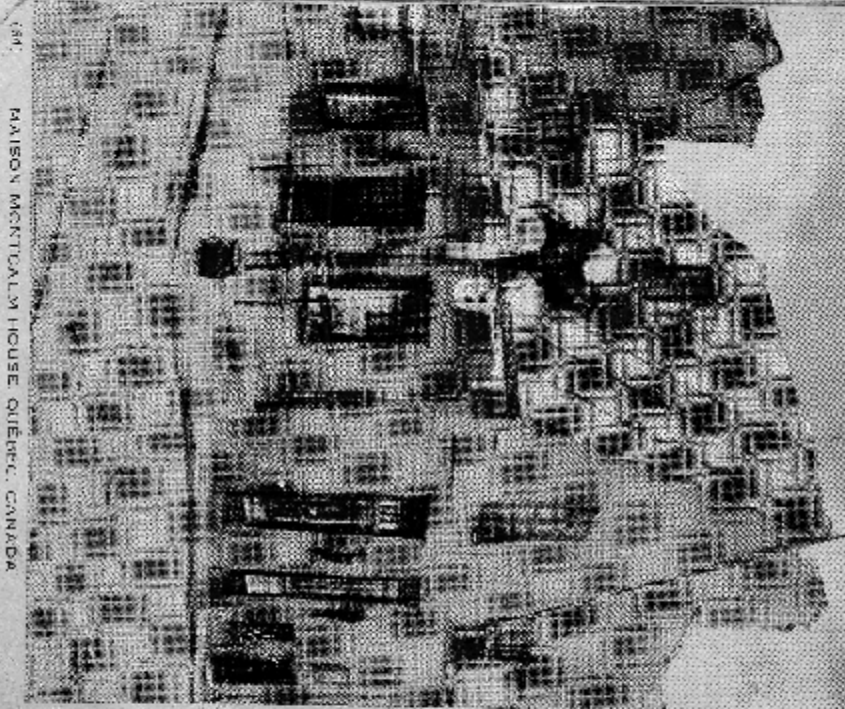
ADDRESS CRAMMEZ
UTILISEZ LAI
Messagerie



Dr. Karl Polanyi
49 A, Hornsey Lane Gardens
London N. 6.

England

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MAISON MONTCALM HOUSE QUÉBEC, CANADA

KIS QUÉBEC-I DALOK.

Utasi Kolnai Aurél

Mindszentek, 1945

45 Avenue Ste-Généviève

Ha hamarosan elpusztul, kár nem lesz a világnak;

De tudja a jó szolgál,

Hogy ez nem az ő dolga.

Dolgozunk, verejtékezzünk:

- Dühöt, keservet fékezünk,

Nem tankadunk, nem ernyedünk -

De működünk, de görnyedünk

Istenért, a Királyságért, a Polgárosultságért.

Az Egyházért, a Pápáért, a Trónért és a Honért:

Az örök Rend érvényéért,

A dolgok való lényéért,

Az egy igaz hit fényéért,

Az ember való lényéért

És legitim igényéért;

A Szociális Békéért,

Az értékkadó Tökéért,

Az Anyanyelvért és a Magántulajdonért.

A forradalmi pestis alapos kiöléséért

Is mellesleg

Mi felesleg

Erbünket feszítjük:

E sötét korban

Is csak másod sorban -

S épi e helyes rendből merítjük

A rendkíthetetlen reményt,

Hogy eltörjünk a sötéti Kémet,

S nem dolgozunk hiába

A Felkegyelmű, kába

Bábok s minden Rőt Rovarok kiküszöböléséért.

Nem haszonért, nem hívságért, nem rothasztó álságért:

Az Alkotmányos létért, az alkotó Kiváltságért,

A szent Szubstanciáért,

A Hierarchiáért

Csüggedetlenül dolgozunk,

És áll a Jó, mit okozunk:

E nemes Provinciáta!

Nem dolgozunk mi hiába

Istenért, a Királyságért, a Polgárosultságért.

F. B. BRENNAN

AGO HCL. O 1267016

Radio Luxembourg Detachment

APO 757

ESPET (IGP)
11/9/45

Dear Ilona, Dear Karl,

many weeks ago, in fact very shortly after my arrival at Lux, I wrote to you at length, only to find out later that my letter had been incorrectly addressed. I wrote to Hilch, asking him to let you know, but he replied you were away on holidays. I must now assume the letter never reached you.

There is little enough to tell, or a lot, it depends on the method of telling.

Luxemburg is an extremely boring little place, with the mentality of a provincial town second empire, but without the good French. The work is what a press agency work can be. Fortunately library facilities - for people knowing French and German - are much better than was reported. Out of office hours, one can do a lot of useful reading. Needless to say, food and accommodation are good, and so is pay, with a hope at the back of my mind to save enough to have a year afterwards free to write something serious. The latter hope has diminished with the end of the war - everything is wound up so much more quickly than previously expected as a result of this swift end, and the job won't last for ever. There is little intellectual stimulus but what ~~one~~ one can produce by one's reading - but you will be interested to hear that Mende, who is working in the same building at the radio station, is providing some of the little there is and is, indeed, doing exceedingly well and forging what looks like a career for himself. The boy is almost visibly growing and developing.

Despite the anodyne character of my present life, I confess I am very much fascinated by the continent. Much of it, a very great deal indeed, on expected lines. Luxembourg - via "rauche Bifel" - is a horrible bad weather spot, but the atmospheric pressure is not as bad as in England and when the sun shines it shines. The country is pretty but uninteresting - but there are no hedges, little ribbon-building and you can roam in the countryside. The

Luxemburgers are an ugly race - but the waiter smiles when serving you and the shopkeeper shows no happy pride when telling you he is out of supplies. And they dance authentic Viennese waltzes and drink authentic Koselle! The churchbells too, are authentic, they thunder instead of whimpering (The American army cars, unfortunately, also thunder throughout the night).

There is more, though. The two days at Paris on the way up were a great experience. First the architectural beauty - only then I realised how dreadfully hungry my eyes had grown - but even more so the feeling of intensity in the town which is no longer a town of shopkeepers and retailers. The occupation and the inflation have done a bad and a good job with France. She is still more corrupt than before, though this, to people knowing France well, must seem impossible, but she is much less frightened, much less over-aged, much less stagnant. There is a background in life of the undoubted literary renaissance. Of course, I all took it in at a glance

only, longing to see more of it. I have not yet been to Germany, where, however, every traveller speaks of courageous efforts at reconstruction. I expect I shall have ample opportunity to see Germany later.

So far I have no clear idea about the next step, when my present job comes to an end. So much depends on circumstance. At any rate, I want to have my immigration visa to America and to go there. It seems easier now, with the State Department no longer dealing with every case individually and things returned to the consuls as a routine matter. Apparently, the main requirement is again a financially satisfactory Affidavit. The good conduct certificate is no problem in my case - I have now more than a year OWI service. In view of all this Bruckers reply is now even more important to me than before, and also, it seems to me, a simpler matter, as a financial guarantee would be all that is needed. I want urgently to see clear in this matter. Have you heard from him or, if not so, could you take it up with him again on the basis of the new regulations?

There is no reason now not to write political letters. I should very much like to get your impressions of the elections and of the present situation. The Labour honeymoon, as little predicted, seems to be short indeed. But where it will lead is a riddle to me. So much did I feel that in order to understand one ought to have the local atmosphere at first hand, which I can't. So tell me all you can, also about Karls literary plans and your life in general. Even if quiet I am sure it is a good deal more exciting than mine.

All the best

yours

Franz

EUGEN PRAGER, PUBLISHER

TELEPHONE
TERMINUS 6500

41, CLARE COURT,
JUDD STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.

1945. nov. 12.

Kedves Polanyi Elvtárs!

E hó 7-en érkezett levelet szívesen nyugtazom és tiltakozásukat tudomásul veszem annal is inkább, miután meggyőződtem, hogy Karolyi igazi hívei velem egy véleményen vannak. Ami Jaszi Oszkar, Vambery Rusztem, Böhm Vilmos, Faludi György véleményét illeti e kérdésben - én már ismerem - remelem, hogy Önöknek is módjukban lesz megismerni. Apennyiben az ellen is tiltakozni fognak, arra majd ők lesznek illetékesek válaszolni.

K. Feleseget szívelyesen üdvözlöm s maradtam

elvtársi üdvözlettel

Prager E.

The Editor,
New Statesman and Nation,
10, Gt. Turnstile,
W.C.1.

Sir,

Mr. John R. Baker, in his answer, simply repeats in so many words Arthur Koestler's assertion, that persons aged 12 are subject to the death penalty in the U.S.S.R. and merely adds "if found guilty of banditry". I had explained in some detail why Koestler's reference to the 1935 decree, the text of which he quoted, was, in my belief, a mystification. My conclusions were deliberately stated with a moderation, which, as many of us feel, is so conspicuously absent in some of the fashionable revelations concerning Soviet Russia. Though the paucity of official information made available by that country is, ^{getting more and more unbearable} ~~most~~ ^{an extremely} regrettable, it ~~ought not to be~~ must not serve as an excuse for making unwarranted statements. Mr. Baker's blank re-iteration of Koestler's original charge proves that my attempt at a more responsible form of discussion of Russian affairs was quite unavailing, if it was not actually misunderstood. So let me say plainly, that Koestler's firing-squads for children of 12 are bogus. The evidence which he adduces is either incomplete or irrelevant. A recent Czechoslovak government publication appearing in London, (which I quoted) summed up the position, saying, that under Russian law juveniles can not be faced by a capital charge. The information, I understand, was based on a British source of unimpeachable authenticity. ^{indubitably}

Highgate,

Karl Polanyi.

7 Oct ruling

Vegetable

~~resolutions of~~ ~~Provision~~
~~Legislative & departmental rulings~~
~~administrative~~

Legislative
jurisdiction

in respect to the application
of the 68 of his Code.

~~provisions~~

"All measures of the Government
approved those committees."

generally correct.

at the time
"James Miller 18 case"

§ 22

§ 5 in exact form measure of
reference of the Indian state.

with case number 64 in the 21

make it consistent by the CSC

WBR

of the first time

§ 21

Char