

43, Vine Street,
Stoke-on-Trent.

18th January, 1946.

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

Dear Dr.Polanyi,

I am sorry not to have answered your letters earlier but was very glad indeed to have them and also the copies of the Leeds Citizen. I am writing to Kenneth Muir as it sounds to me that he certainly could be very useful indeed to us. You ask for three points made by Flanders in summing up Socialist Education. I think what you mean is (1) The need for the education of a Socialist elite, (2) The need for educating the rank-and-file of the Labour Party, (3) the educational needs of the industrial side of the movement and (4) popular and general forms of less intensive education. At another point in the discussion, he also unannounced the principle that Socialist education should be related to experience ^{about} ~~anti-~~ Socialism and that it should be related to decisions about political action.

I will write more later but for the moment enclose

P.T.O. W

the pamphlets which Wigg promised to us. I shall look forward very much indeed to seeing you again on the 30th March though maybe it will be possible to have a further discussion before then.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Clady

43, Vine St,

Stoke-on-Trent.

25.1.46

Dear D. Polanyi,

I am sending some very rough notes on the meetings we had - mainly factually & leaving out entirely the section which you mainly deal with. Would you like me to write them up from the notes or would you be kind enough to let me have your draft as you have since put it together? I think the main section should be the issues as they are at the moment together with your section but should be glad of your opinion on this.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Glady Nalton

PETER F. DRUCKER
BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

February 6, 1946

My dear Karl and Ilona,

I have been about to write you a long, long letter ever since October when your lovely letters arrived. What has delayed my letter is not only that I wanted to write a long letter which needed time, preparation and concentration, but also that since the end of the war I have been both extremely busy and very depressed. On the one hand I have finished a book and I have been working on a great many articles. I have also spent four weeks recently in the Deep South to gather material for a series of articles. I had fun and the articles may be very interesting as a great many things are happening in the South, especially in agriculture where the mechanical cotton picker promises--or threatens--to liquidate the southern social system that was originated by another machine, Eli Whitney's cotton gin. It is likely, not to say certain, that within the next fifteen years $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tenant and share-cropper families--about 7 million people--are going to be pushed off the land in the Cotton South, the majority of them negroes. The social dislocation is going to be fantastic and the racial problem is hardly going to make adjustment any easier.

My book, "Concept of the Corporation" does not at all satisfy me. In fact, while it has good points, it is a poor book, badly balanced and badly focused. It may very well be a success even though it will not please any party, simply because it tries to come to grips with the concrete--rather than the theoretical-- problems of industrial society, but it does really nothing but show that there are such problems. And its concreteness is a weakness rather than an asset since it lacks the proper theoretical foundation. It will come out, incidentally, in late March or early April; I don't think that there will be an English edition as it deals specifically with concrete American problems and examples. By the way, the proper title would have been "Capitalism in one Country", except that nobody would have understood it.

At least, however, I have learned how to do the job the next time. I know now what the proper theoretical foundation is. And I am thinking of a book--it will take three or four years I hope--which really comes to grips with the political and social problems of an industrial age by showing that an industrial society is necessarily a hierarchical and a feudal one, that is one based on organized corporations rather than on the equal individual of the commercial age. Such a book would require a thorough study of the problems of pluralism, would have to show the twin danger of abandoning the basic unity of society--something to which this country might be very prone--and of imposing an

artificial unity which denies the autonomy of the hierarchical groups. Such a book would also have to show that in the feudal society--feudal used as a normative rather than as a value term--the basis of participation in society must be obligations and responsibilities--a thoroughly reactionary book no doubt but one which you may like a great deal more than you will like the present one with its frankly political purpose.

You may ask why I have been so depressed with all this work going on--and part of it is good work and all of it is interesting work. It is not primarily the atomic bomb though I consider it a horror, not much better or much more justifiable than the extermination camps, and though I have dim hopes of its being controlled or mastered. But to me the atomic bomb, like any other mechanical device, is only a symbol, not a cause. What frightens and depresses me are two things, America's moral failure and Russia's political failure.

I am neither surprised nor depressed by the evidence of American political ineptitude in international affairs. In the first place I expected it. After all, this country has been basing its entire foreign policy on the assertion that everything was all right in the world but for the wickedness of a few men or of a few people. This line was necessary and productive in war time. In fact, without it this country could never have fought this war, let alone won it. But, by the same token, the line condemns American policy to ineffectiveness--incidentally, this line is largely responsible for the impact of Nazi propaganda on the American soldiers in Germany of which we hear a great deal just now; compared with the absurdity of the official line the dangerous half truth of the Nazi propaganda machine must appear very attractive to American soldiers who encounter the reality of Europe for the first time.

But I am also not perturbed by American political ineffectiveness or blundering because political skill never was America's job. Its job was purely moral. And the fact of its overwhelming material superiority made this moral job all the more important. For this should be the one country which shows the possibility of the realization of elementary moral values in a highly materialistic civilization. The real impact of the United States on world affairs should have been--and could have been--its showing by example the compatibility of respect for integral human rights and responsibilities ~~and productive~~ ^{with} capacity. This promise this country so far has not fulfilled; and it shows little signs of fulfilling it. I am not a bit worried over our labor troubles which are just what you would expect after the nervous tension of the last twelve years. But the essential humanism which was so prominent a factor in the early New Deal has disappeared--and it is not just because of the loss of the leader. By this I want neither to belittle nor to

magnify the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt. It is becoming increasingly clear that the New Deal did not settle anything; in fact the two main problems of our domestic post-war policy: the political structure of industry and the collapse of the social structure of the Old South, have been aggravated by the concrete policies of the New Deal. And even if Roosevelt were still alive and in full health, he would no longer be capable of being the Roosevelt of 1933 or 1936; for his power rested very largely on his conscious and determined isolationism which he could not and did not want to maintain. What bothers me is the completely uncharacteristic and un-American deafness and insensibility to the suffering of the world. To be sure there is an enormous amount of relief work going on. We collect clothes and donate cans. We even give money though you would not believe it if you saw the inflationary spending that is going on. But we seem to be incapable of the simple gesture of the British who cut down their food rations in order to make more food available to Europe--I don't know whether in spite of or because of our unheard of and unprecedented abundance of food. To me the best symbol of this lack of moral leadership is the "non-fraternization policy" in Germany. It is not only that we tried to impose a policy which runs counter to every fundamental belief of the American creed; much worse is that we gave it up, not for moral reasons, but because it made difficult the control of venereal diseases among the soldiers. I shudder to think what Abraham a Sancta Clara would have had to say on this subject; but even Reinhold Niebuhr did not get any further than pious platitudes and good intentions in speaking on the subject.

Conversely I would not expect from Russia any moral leadership but I am frightened silly by her political failure. It seems to me that the Russians miscalculated as completely and as stupidly as did Hitler. They expected, apparently, the "popular rebirth" which the more naive among the German refugees were talking about. They, above all others, should have known that a very short dose of totalitarianism destroys the moral energies needed for such a development--and I am not referring to Germany only but to all of Europe. At the same time, the complete failure to understand the secret of their own success in the war: that Communism had ceased to be an ideological creed and had become a ^{Nat}nationality; and finally they did not see that the same re-affirmation of nationalism was the basis on which alone resistance in Nazi Europe could be based--the point which Ilona made so strikingly in her article (what, incidentally, became of the promised sequel to that excellent piece?). Hence the failure to see that Communism in areas actually under Russian domination or influence could not but be an anti-national, alien and therefore hostile force, the attempted imposition of which would solidify all forces in the country in a new resistance, this time both against Communism and against Russia. In countries not directly under Russia's domination this is not clear as yet. In

France, for instance, the strong Communist movement is clearly based on two factors: determination to become an industrial nation, and determination not to be a Great Power and not to bear the burdens of such a position, intolerable as they would be in view of France's real strength and real power. But as soon as it becomes clear that the party which stands for these demands--both of them legitimate and necessary--also stands for the Russian domination of Europe, then the French Communist party will either disappear in 100 splits or go Trotskyite in a big way. As a result of her political stupidity--for Russia could have mobilized the national energies of eastern and central Europe on her side and indeed seemed at one point to be very close to such a policy--Russia is today morally and politically on the defensive, the evidence of Russian strength and aggressiveness to the contrary notwithstanding. In other words Russia's policy may very well force the one development on Europe and on Russia which Russia can least ~~deny~~: the establishment of a rigid boundary line running from Stettin to the Adriatic, east of which a number of weak but dictatorial governments will maintain themselves with true Russian support against their own people, west of which there will be a vacuum until and unless the western powers decide--a decision England is prevented from making now only by the immediate memory of the war and its atrocities--to re-establish a German advance camp and armed base.

I think that of the three powers only Great Britain pursues what could be called a policy. And there is no doubt that Bevin is emerging as a first rate figure in an age of pygmies. The weakness of the British position are three: first, can Britain build up her economic position, and that means primarily her productive efficiency, fast enough to support her political role? I think Stafford Cripps and Bevin see that need very clearly. I also think that nationalization is not necessarily an impediment. But can the English unions cease to be pluralist in the traditional way of unions, that is, opposed to ruthless efficiency and willing to subordinate the interests of their ~~employees~~ ^{members} to a national policy? In war they have been able to do it, but in peace that might be a very difficult problem even though one major reason for their traditional attitude, the reality of unemployment, should be absent for a long time--but the fear may be more real and more potent than the reality. The second problem is clearly the problem of Germany. For English policy to be effective it must be based on a strong western Europe since Mr. Churchill's attempted Empire solution clearly does not work. This means necessarily the integration of a productive Germany into Europe. This is difficult if not impossible not only for good psychological reasons but also because such a Germany might easily become the dominant partner rather than a member of the team; and where is a German government

going to come from and what in the name of all that's holy is it going to look like?

Finally, there is the problem of France which not only will instinctively oppose any reconstruction of Germany but which must be opposed as much to British leadership on the Continent as to German or Russian. Yet France herself is quite incapable of being the foremost European power, for moral reasons as much as for economic reasons. DeGaulle may maintain that it was not France that was defeated in 1940 and not France that collaborated in 1941 and 1942, but a few miserable Frenchmen; to the rest of Europe it was France that fell--and recent developments in France show very clearly that the rest of Europe is right.

I could go on for hours; and I would love nothing more than to sit down with you and Ilona to talk things over in many and long sessions. I had hoped originally to be able to visit you this winter. I had planned to go to Europe during our winter period to write a series of articles on European economic and political developments. I had to postpone this plan, however, not only because it is too early for this trip but because the transportation and visa problems prove almost insuperable--especially the problem of getting back. I now hope to go to Europe next winter.

Is there any chance of your coming here? I gave your message to Horst who may have written you--he promised at least--but I myself wonder whether you want me to do anything and what. Would you be interested in coming here for a lecture tour? And have you written to Duggan? I may be able to do something with another similar organization if you give me the word. I doubt whether I could do anything in the way of a visiting lecturership; but if you want me to, I'll try. Please give me definite instructions.

Doris and the children are fine. The children are so big you would hardly recognize them. Cecily is now in the stage of awakening to life--she is walking and talking--which you used to like so much in Vincent three years ago.

With all our love,

Yours as ever,

Peter

TELEPHONE
HENDON 8384.

FREELAND,
HOLDERS HILL ROAD,
HENDON, N.W.4.

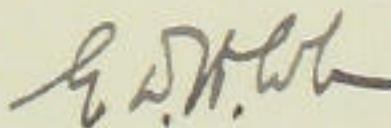
11th February 1946

Dear Polanyi,

Yes, I have read your English edition, including the additional notes. I still think that you immensely over-stress the importance of Speenhamland, with the result that you spoil the latter part of a really excellent book by giving the impression of having a bee in your bonnet.

By all means, let us have a talk. As you know, I am away in Oxford most of the week, but if you gave me a ring on Sunday morning I daresay we could fix something - perhaps tea on Sunday afternoon.

Yours sincerely,



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

Károlyi Mihály,
Berrystede Hotel,
Ascot, Berke,

1946 április 1

Édes Polányi,

Érdekes és értékes cikkét annak idején éppen akkor kaptam meg, amikor a feleségem megbetegedett. Tüdőgyulladászt kapott és át kellett szállítanom egy kórházba. Sebtyiben mindent össze kellett csomagolnom és így a maga cikke is egy koffer mélyére jutott. Csak most jutottam hozzá, hogy elolvashassam.

A cikket minden tekintetben kitűnőnek találom. Világosan rámutat arra, hogy politikai irányvonalam 30 év óta nem változott. A lényeges pontokban sohasem tértem el ~~széles~~ eredeti külpolitikai koncepciómtól. Jó volna, ha ezt a tudatlan magyarok is megértenék. A cikkéből tanulhatnának egy kicsit.

Maga is nagyon jól tudja, hogy világéletemben ellens voltam a kokárda patriotizmusnak. Éppen ezért végtelenül sajnálom, hogy a magyar kommunisták nemzetiszínű kokárdával jelennek meg a parlament ülésén, holott valamelyik többi párt tartózkodik ettől. Ezt nyilván azért teszik, hogy tömegeket hódítsanak. Mondanom sem kell, hogy ezt a primitív és groteszk kisajátítási módszert, az ellenséges nacionalizmusnak ezt a furcsa utánzását nem tartom okosnak, mert egyrészt közönséges bauerfängersei, amelyből kilátszik a lóláb, másrészt akarva-nem akarva igazolja a nacionalizmust. A bauer-t nem lehet megfogni, de a nacionalizmus feléled tőle. Hiába big esztik oda nacionalista jel-szavaik után, hogy "le a sovinizmussal", ennek veszedelmes hatása van, különösen Magyarországon, ahol a nacionalizmus olyan mélyen beleivodott az emberek lelkébe. Ettől eltekintve az ilyen politika megakadályozza a szomszédokkal való megbékélést, hiszen Tito prágai ~~nyilatkozatában~~ nyilatkozatában már utalt a magyarok gyógyitha-

tatlan revizionizmusára. Nem osoda, hogy a reakciók ismét revizionista hangokat ütnek meg, mert ha a kommunistáknak szabad kokárdával járni, miért ne lehetne megpróbálkozni a régi szövegekkel is? Ez egy logikus folyamat.

Nem értem, hogy az oroszok miért engedik szabadjára a nacionalizmust. Már-már azt kell hinnen, hogy ők is a *divide et impera* eszközeivel akarják megszilárdítani a helyzetüket, de ugyanakkor kételkednem kell ebben, mert hiszen nyilvánvaló, hogy ezzel a reakciót erősítik s így a saját érdekeiket veszélyeztetik. Azt viszont nagyon is megértem, hogy az oroszok maguk a háború alatt felélesztettek bizonyos patriotizmust. Ez kellett a háború megnyeréséhez és különben is Oroszországban a kollektív rendszer annyira meg van alapozva, hogy ez ott már nem jelent veszélyt. Sőt, még Jugoszláviában és Franciaországban is megértem ezt az irányt, mert ezekben az országokban az ellenállás folytán a patriotizmus egybeesik a baloldallal. *Ils peuvent se permettre ce luxe.*

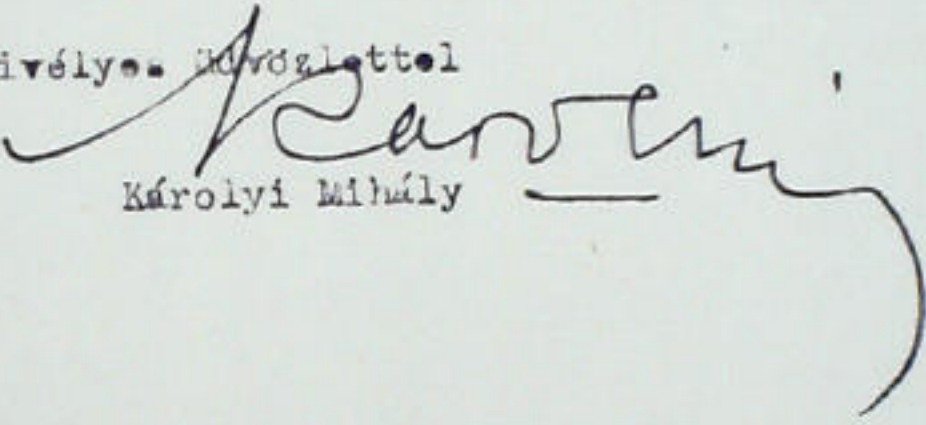
Hogy ennek a patrióta túltengésnek milyen elméleti eltorzulásai vannak, arra nincsen jellemzőbb, mint Andics Erzsébet történésznek, a kommunista párt szóvivőnek beszéde ~~szóvivőjének beszédében~~ a velem kapcsolatos rehabilitációs törvényjavaslat tárgyalásánál. Olyanokat mond, hogy Boockay, Rákóczi, Kossuth mind a szláv orientáció hívei voltak, tekintet nélkül a cárizmusra és az akkori történelmi helyzetre. Különösen súlyos lapszus Kossuth megemlézése, akinek egyrészt a cári Oroszország adta meg a helyeslemezést, másrészt mindig is tudjuk, hogy Kossuth nemzetiség-ellenes politikát folytatott és a szlovákokat, szerbeket rossz politikája miatt ~~magyarországi lakosok számára~~ az ellentáborba kényszerítette.

Ma már világosan látszik, hogy a nacionalista expediens nem sikerült. Kéthly Anna arraól panaszkodott, hogy a reakció a kőgazdapártban napról-napra erősödik s ő, aki biz' Isten nem rajong az oroszokért, csak attól fél, hogy az oroszok kivámulnak, mert akkor ~~sem~~ menti meg őket az ellenforradalomtól. A külső pozíciók nagy része már a kezükben van. Amikor Ignó Pósta megkérdezte a legitimistáktól, hogy miért szavazták meg a köztársaságot, azt felelték, hogy jobb az egyhangú szavazás, mert akkor utólag mindig lehet hivatkozni a terrorra, ami perazé nem létezik.

Az otthoni reakció legfőbb reménye az európai konflagració. Éppen ezért rendkívül súlyos hiba a nacionalizmust táplálni.

En egyébként május elején hazamegyek. Beszédet fogok mondani a nemzetgyűléshez és meg fogom köszönni ~~magam mandátumkibontását~~, hogy az érdemeimet törvénybe iktatták. /Ha ugyan voltak ilyenek/ Azután le fogok mondani a mandátumomról és visszajövök Angliába. Nem volnék képes az otthoni belpolitikába bekapcsolódni. Azok az érmelyítő kompromisszumok már nem nekem valók. Ha a magyarságnak szüksége van külpolitikai segítségre, rendelkezésre állok. Természetesen csak addig, amíg a progresszív köztársaság létezik. Azt hiszem ebben, maga is megegyezik velem.

Szívélyes üdvözléssel


Károlyi Mihály

KURT ANDERSON
LABOR CONSULTANT

1175 PENOBSCOT BUILDING
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

CADILLAC 5933

April 1, 1946

Dear Mr. Polanyi:

I had a most delightful experience yesterday. My wife and I were visiting Ted Newcomb in Ann Arbor and I began telling him about a marvelous book I had just been reading, The Great Transformation. In my opinion, it is a definitive answer to those who blindly worship the theory of free private enterprise and argue for the abolition of all controls. At any rate, I was on the point of telling Ted what a great person you must be, as though he had never heard of you. Whereupon Ted began laughing and told me that he had been staying with you in London and that he had known you in Bennington. All of which, of course, made me feel a great deal closer to you and gave me a feeling of also having known you.

At any rate, I did want to tell you that your book is one of the most prized volumes in my library of some 1600 books. It is always a thrill to read a book which one feels actually makes a real change in one's outlook on life. I had never been a worshipper of the system of free enterprise and did not fall for the theory that all controls should be eliminated. However, in the past, I never felt that I had a grasp on the fundamental material which justified my position. After reading your book, however, I feel that I can justify my position and I can conveniently refer others to one volume which provides the basic material and have done so.

I was also much impressed by your views on banking, to mention

only one field. Banking is a particular interest of mine and I feel that we are not going anywhere, economically speaking, until more people, particularly economists and political leaders get an understanding of this critical subject.

In short, I doubt whether any other person in the world could have written the book you wrote. It took a wide variety of information and a particularly intelligent and critical mind to do it. Your book really thrilled me and I am further thrilled to find out that I know well one person who knew you and that I am actually able to write you with this entree.

I am also enclosing an article of my own recently published. It purports to show that the employees of General Motors represent an investment larger than that of the stockholders. It also contains a few other ideas, particularly on banking, which may indicate to you why your book proved so interesting to me.

I would be very much interested in your comments if you have time and care to make any.

Gratefully and Sincerely,

Kent Corder

P.S. If I can ever be of any service to you in this country, please feel free to call on me.

Ka

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ETUDES ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES

SECRETAIRE GÉNÉRAL :
KAY HECKSCHER
DOCTEUR EN SCIENCES POLITIQUES

BRUXELLES, le April 10th 46

RUE DE LA LOI, 48
TÉLÉPHONE 11.32.70
TÉLÉGRAMMES : DOFIN

OD/KH/EH

Karl Polyani Esq. - c/o:
Messrs Victor Gollancz Ltd,
14, Henrietta Street,
L o n d o n W.C.2.

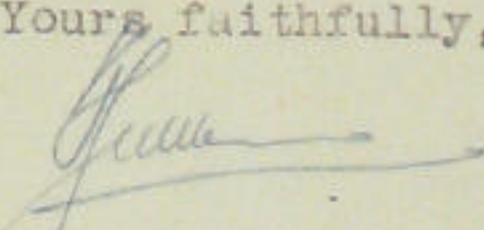
Dear Sir,

We read with interest in "British Book News" of March 1946, about your book "Origins of our Time".

We believe this book might be of interest to our market - the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. If translation-rights into the French and Dutch languages have not already been disposed of, we should be obliged to receive a copy of your book. We shall then submit same to editors in these different countries, and, should they be interested let you know what terms they offer.

Awaiting your reply, we beg to remain,
Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,


Dr Kay Heckscher
secretary general.

1946 április hó 15 iken.

Mélyen tisztelt Elnök Úr!

Nagyon, de nagyon jól esett levele, amellyel hetven éves születési napjaink alkalmából írott méltatásomra rejtőztél. Talán ezért is különösen jól esett, mert, bevallom, nagyonigyekeztem arra, hogy a pillanaton magamat túltéve, a századok mértékével merjem a jelet. A pillanatot--azóta bizonyosan megsajnálta-- Prager Jenő képviselte, aki allitólág Karolyi Mihály hívei nevében feltételeket jelezte be, amelyeknek teljesítése nélkül, Karolyi hazamentelét ok helytelenítének. Ez ellen én Prágernél írásban tiltakoztam, és Elnök úr elől sem titkoltam véleményemet, hogy Prágai lépése se Magyarország, se Karolyi érdekét nem szolgálja. Hozzá tettem hogy semmi okot sem látok arra, hogy Elnök úr hívei, miért ne követelhetnék a Karolyi -per törlését és miért ne alakítassék úgy Magyarországon mint a külföldön ilyen irányu magyar közvélemény (vagy akár nemzetközi közvélemény). De ezt a hazamentel előzetes feltételek szabni meg, a jelen helyzetben annyit tesz, mint Karolyi és a magyar rezsím között mesterségesen az ellentét látszatát kelteni. Ezt olyankor tenni vétek, amikor az országunk Karolyira égető szüksége van, míg az országunk bonyolult nemzetközi függésben lévő helyzete nem enged szabad kezét a kormányzatának, és meg kevésbé a benne képviselt baloldali partoknak. Cikkem a tanuja, hogy külön tudtam választani ephemár nezetelteséseinket, bármily komolyak voltak is, Karolyi történelmi missziójának megítélésétől.

Tény, hogy már több mint egy éve nezeteltes állott fenn közöttünk a magyar fejlődés megítélése és az annak megfelelő magatartás tekintetében. Abból, hogy én angol szemmel néztem a világot soha eltérés nem keletkezhetett, mert egyetértettünk abban hogy angol-rosz együttműködés magyar földön a jelen világhelyzetben mind három népnek érdeke. Az eltérés a magyar belfejlődésre vonatkozott. Sohasem tagadtam hogy el tudod képzelni olyan fejlődést Magyarországon, amely Elnök úrnak nem engedgi meg a bekapcsolódást. Semmi kétség hogy egy ideig az oroszok egy magyar Badoglio rezsím lehetőségével kacérkodtak. Azonban ez eseteben is, azt vitattam, Kelet-europa demokratizálódása csak ideig-óraig lassulna, le. Mind ezt én azon állaspont nyomán fejtettem ki, amelyet még Amerikában, 1942 végen ~~publikáltam~~ írott cikkemben fektettem le (Harpers Magazine, 1943 március) --szóval olyankor, amikor még nem is gondolhattam arra hogy Karolyival érintkezni fogok keresni, és amikor egyes egyedül állottam azzal a nézettel, hogy a Szovjetek Kelet-Europában nem bolsevizmust, hanem demokratikus konszolidációt fognak terjeszteni.

Engedje meg Elnök úr, hogy ez alkalomból megállapítsam, hogy nezeteltes a harmadik személy tárgyilagossággal élvé-mi volt. Kezdetből fogva, azt hangoztattam hogy Karolyi missziója elsősorban külpolitikai, és csak másodsorban belpolitikai. De hogy még ez utóbbi, vonatkozásban is két irányban, hogy a potenciális hasznossága az ország érdekében: Először, mint a magyar baloldali egység szimbóluma; másodsor, mit a radikális földrefrom végrehajtásának a garansa (ugy a kommunistákkal szebe szebben bizalmatlan magyar parasztság mint a progressziv külföld szemében). E két révén döntő megerősödése az új magyar rezsímnek volt

lehetséges. A baloldal így Károlyi révén eleven erőve tehetné volna a két munkas-parton túlmenően, a Nemzeti Párt és a baloldali Kizgazdák egységet--az ország óriási hasznára.

E vonalkeréztülvitele nem ütközött leküzdhetően nehézségekbe. Egy Károlyi által batorított magyar mozgalom, amely az ő hazajövelelet követelése, könnyen célt ért volna. Károlyi odahaza a baloldal javára döntött volna el a kormánykoalíció belüli helyzetet, majd, ilyen körülmények között, a választásokat. Persze ehhez szükséges volt, hogy az ott honiak Károlyi részvételére számithassanak, nehogy végül is nevetésben maradjanak...

Kétségtelenül az ilyen határozott pozitív vonalkomoly kockázatokkal járt, amelyeket azonban elkerülni nem volt lehetséges. E kockázatok nem számíthatom azt a nevetéses vadat, hogy Károlyi a maga saját dobját veri-- sajnos, a habozás 'vonala' sokkal inkább tette ki ennek a látszatnak. A valódi kockázat kettős volt: Egyrészt az orosz megszálló hatalom, másrészt a magyar baloldali pártok felől. (1) Az orosz egzigenci-ait előre tartani nem lehetett, és efelől biztosítékokat keresni sem lehetett megengedett nem volt, a nagyhatalmak együttműködésének ismert imperatívus keretében. Károlyi nem bírta el azt a rizikót, hogy az orosz megszállók vonalavá esetleg nem egyzeve, kénytelen lesz ismét visszavonulni (persze az orosz megszállók elleni esetleges baloldali ellenzék megegyezéséről eleve le kellett volna mondani--szerintem)- a szükséges bizalomelőfeltételeken). Arról viszont hogy Károlyi adjon az oroszoknak pozitív biztosítékokat harmónikus együttműködésre, szó nem volt és nem is lehetett. Ez a Quisling szerep Károlyinak nem volt magán való. Másrészt a múltjában rejlő biztosítékokat őszintén nepies és szűk-barát orientációra töle senki nem kívánt soha sem. (2) A magyar baloldali pártokra kellett bízni Károlyinak, hogy a baloldali egység és a földreform megővésének keretén belül, a progresszív magyar köztársaság fájóját hogyan kormányozzák. Am ha ez amod Károlyinak meg nem felelt, nem volt köteles benne részt venni; ha az külpolitikai misszióját akadályozta, úgy missziójáról lemondhatott; ha meggyőződésének vonalával szögesen ellenkezett, visszavonulhatott. Egy Károlyi kezében ez untig elég biztosíték az integritásának megvédésére; az ellenzék -szervezési alternatíva(egyébként teljesen jogosult és normalis) eszközeiről bátran lemondhatott volna.

Szóval, Károlyi úgy kül -mint belpolitikailag csak magán úgy lehetett hasznos, ha szabad marad. Ennek a kockázatát viszont vállalni kellett. Rendkívüli helyzeteknek a megoldása rendkívüli. Így állott a dolog. Sem az oroszoktól biztosítékokat keresni, sem a magyar baloldali pártokkal szemben De Gaulle-i vetőt nyerni akarni lehetséges nem volt.

Hogy Elnök ur ezt a politikát és annak kockázatát nem vállalta, annak ha, jól értettem, két fő oka volt: Először, hogy magát a helyzetet maskep itellete meg és így a kockázatot is (három tabornok helyett hatot várt rövidesen a kormányban és az egyházi birtokot megmentés, a földosztástól haerre ugyan komolyan kerül a sor..) Másodszor, mert úgy érezte hogy hű lenne valnek baloldali missziójához, ha vállalna. E mögött viszont egy olyan világmegítélés állott, amely lényegében forradalmi helyzetet látott (legalább Európában), nem pedig konzervatív helyzetet.

Régen tettem arról hogy ezzel belsőleg szembeszálljak vagy perlekedjem. Bar hiszem, hogy helyesen ítélt meg a dolgokat több-~~nyire~~ nyire, érzem hogy nincsen jogom arra hogy a második érvvel szembe ~~álljak~~ álljak. Annak szubjektív igazsága megdönthetetlen. Az a szenvedélyes törhetetlen elvűség, amely Karolyit naggyá tette, egyben megakasztotta abban hogy ~~maga~~ magán túlnöjön. Ki vagyok én, hogy ezzel peblekedjem?

Ez a belátás 1945 januárjában meggyőződéssé lett nálam bennem. Ezért tanácsoltam Elnök úrnak Church Row-i beszélgetésünkben, amelyben az utak elváltak, hogy most amíg nem késő vonuljon vissza, ha lelke ~~melé~~ melyen úgy érzi hogy nem lesz képes azonosítani magát az új Magyarországgal, amelynek a képe sokban talán torz lesz. De ha nem így van, amit szívből kívánok, akkor most határozza el, hogy a magyar rezsim mellé áll. Ebből három következtetést vonjon le: 1. Nyilvános kiállást a magyar rezsim (nem szükségképpen a kormány) mellett. 2. Zsirálja a magyar rezsim authenticitását a külföldi haladó közvelemény előtt. 3. Menjen haza amint csak módjában áll. De ha se vissza nem vonul, se a magyar rezsim mellé tettekkel nem áll, akkor akarva nem-akarva, ezzel a magyar baloldalt cserben hagyja élet-halál harcában.

Sajnos, Elnök úr egyiket sem tette. Nem vonult vissza, de a magyar rezsim mellé tettekkel sem állt. A Tanácsban vonakodott a földreform authenticitását elismerni. A magyar 'al-földreformot' leleplező ~~magyar~~ Tribune cikkekre válasz nem jött. A Tanács Bulletin-jének utolsó száma-~~ban~~ pedig Karolyi Mihály földreform programját szegte szemben az otthoni reformmal. Épült a legenda, hogy az oroszok Magyarországon egy bal frázisokkal köntözött Badoglio rezsimet nevelnek. Az angol munkás-part baloldala, amely kiállt az EAM mellé, nem állt ki a magyar munkásság küzdelmei mellé. Miért is tette volna, amikor még Karolyi sem teszi? A közben a kormányban is képviselt 'Tribune' irányzat kiállt a spanyol republikánusok mellett (azok kommunista szövetségesei ellenére), de nem állt ki a ~~magyar~~ feudalizmust megdöntő éhező, és vívó magyar progresszív harcosok mellett. Am miért legyenek papabbak Karolyi Mihálynál? Nemcsoda hogy az angol munkás-part kormánya kispárti többségre dolgozott, Budapesten és ebben semmi ellenzékre sem talált a saját házában. Miért is találat volna, amikor az itt élő Karolyi Mihály sem tett olyan nyilatkozatot, amellyel a hazaiak segítségére sietett volna? A kispárti többségre juttatása előjátéka lett a görög monarchisták nyeregbe ültetésének egy felevvel rá. Ki tudja, az egy Karolyi Mihály talán megfordíthatta volna a Kelet-európai helyzet mérlegét. Kétségtelen, hogy egy erős, sikeres magyar baloldali rezsim óriási ~~magyar~~ konszolidációt jelentett volna ezen a tájon...

A magyar kommunisták tüntető kokárdás ultra-nacionalizmusa, se nem izléses se nem okos. Az orosz politikát nehezebb megítélni. Kétségkívül súlyos nyomás alatt áll és kiürítési ~~területek~~ területek közeledése váltja ki a mindenáron való belső konszolidáció groteszk formáit.

Jászító, tegnap levelet kaptam, amelyben kérde, nem készülök-e én is 'haza' látogatni? Ot csak egészsége tartja most vissza, egyebkent nagyon is készülöben van, úgy látszik.

Változatlan ragaszkodással,

Elnök úr hű hive

Polányi Karoly s.k.

1946, április hó 15én.

Mélyen tisztelt Elnök Ur!

Nagyon, de nagyon jól esett levele, amellyel hetven éves születési napja alkalmából írott méltatásomra reflektál. Talán azért is különösen jól esett, mert, bevallom, nagyon igyekeztem arra hogy a pillanaton magamat túlteve a 'századok meretekeivel merjem a jelent'. A pillanatot - azóta bizonytalansággal megsajnálta - Prager Jenő képviselte, aki allitolag Karolyi Mihály hívei nevében feltételeket jelentett volt be, amelyeknek teljesítése nélkül Karolyi hazameneteletük helytelenitene. Ez ellen én Pragernél írásban tiltakoztam, és Elnök Ur elől sem titkoltam véleményemet, hogy Prager lépése se Magyarország, sem Karolyi érdeket nem szolgálja. Hozzátettem hogy semmi okot sem látok arra, hogy Elnök Ur hívei miért ne követelhetnék a Karolyi-per törlesztését és miért ne alakíttassék úgy Magyarországon mint a külföldön ilyen irányu magyar közvélemény (vagy akár nemzetközi közvélemény). De azt a hazamenetelet előzetes feltételeképpen szabni meg, a jelen helyzetben annyit tesz, mint Karolyi és a magyar rezsim között mester ségesen az ellentét látszatát kelteni. Ezt olyankor tenni vétek, amikor az orszagnak Karolyira égető szüksége van, míg az orszagnak bonyolult nemzetközi függésben levő helyzete nem enged szabad kezét a kormányzatának, és még kevésbé a benne képviselt beloldali partoknak. Cikkem a tanuja hogy külön tudtam választani ephemár nézeteltéréseinket, bármily komolyak voltak is, Karolyi történelmi missziojának megítélésétől.

Tény hogy már több mint egy éve nézeteltérés állott fenn közöttünk, a magyar fejlődés megítélése és az annak megfelelő magatartás tekintetében. Abbol, hogy én angol szemmel néztem a világot soha eltérés nem keletkezhetett, mert egyetértettünk abban, hogy angol-orosz együttműködés magyar földön a jelen világhelyzetben mind három népnek érdeke. Az eltérés a magyar belfejlődésre vonatkozott. Soha sem tagadtam hogy el tudok képzelni olyan fejlődést Magyarországon, amely Elnök Urnak nem engedi meg a bekapcsolódást. Semmi kétség hogy egy ideig az oroszok egy magyar Badoglio rezsim lehetőségével kacérkodtak. Azonban ez esetben is, azt vitattam, Keleteuropa demokratizálódása csak ideig-oraig lassulna le. Mind ezt én azon állaspont nyoman fejtettem ki, amelyet még Amerikában, 1942 végén írott cikkemben fektettem le (Harpers Magazine, 1943 március) -- szóval ~~mindig~~ olyankor, amikor még nem is gondolhattam arra hogy Karolyival érintkezést fogok keresni, és amikor egyes-egyedül állottam azzal a nézettel, hogy a Szovjetek Keleteuropában nem bolsevizmust, hanem demokratikus konszolidációt fognak terjeszteni.

Engedje meg Elnök Ur, hogy ez alkalomból megállapítsam, hogy nézetem - a harmadik személy tárgyilagosságával élve - mi volt. Kezdetből fogva azt hangsúlyoztattam hogy Karolyi misszioja elsősorban külpolitikai, és csak másodsorban belpolitikai. De hogy még az utobbi vonatkozásban is két irányban nagy a potencialis hasznossága az orszag érdekében: Először, mint a magyar baloldali egység szimboluma; másodsor, mint a radikális földreform végrehajtásának a garansa (ugy a kommunistákkal szemben bizalmatlan magyar parasztság mint a progressziv külföld szemében). E két réven döntő megerősödése az új magyar rezsimnek volt lehetséges. A baloldal így Karolyi

révén eleven erővé tehetné volna a két munkaspárton tulmenőleg, a Nemzeti Paraszti Part és a baloldali kisgazdak egységét - az ország oriasi hasznára.

E vonal keresztülvitele nem ütközött leküzdhetetlen nehézségekbe. Egy Karolyi által batorított magyar mozgalom, amely az ő hazajövetelét követeli könnyen célt ért volna. Karolyi odahaza a baloldal javára dönthette volna el a kormánykoalícion belüli helyzetet, majd, ilyen körülmények között, a választásokat. Persze ehhez szükséges volt, hogy az otthoniak Karolyi részvételére számithassanak, nehogy végre is nevetségben maradjanak...

Kétségtelenül az ilyen határozott pozitív vonal komoly kockázatokkal járt, amelyeket azonban elkerülni nem volt lehetséges. E kockázatok közé nem számíthatom azt a nevetséges vadat hogy Karolyi a saját dobját veri - sajnos a habozás 'vonala' sokkal inkább tette ki ennek a látszatnak. A valódi kockázat kettős volt: Egyrészt az orosz megszálló hatalom, másrészt a magyar baloldali partok felől. 1. Az oroszok egzisztenciáit előre latni nem lehetett és efelől biztosítékokat keresni sem lehetséges, sem megengedést nem volt, a nagyhatalmak együttműködésének ismert imperatív keretében. Karolyi nem harithatta el azt a rizikót, hogy az orosz megszállók vonalával esetleg nem egyezve, kénytelen lesz ismét visszavonulni (persze az orosz megszállók elleni esetleges baloldali ellenzék megszervezéséről eleve le kellett volna mondani - szerintem - a szükséges bizalom előfeltétele képpen) Arról viszont, hogy Karolyi adjon az oroszoknak pozitív biztosítékot harmonikus együttműködésre, szó nem volt és nem is lehetett. Ez a Quisling szerep Karolyinak nem volt való. Más mint a multjában rejlő biztosítékokat öszintén népies és szlav-barát orientációra töle senki nem kívánt soha sem. 2. A magyar baloldali partokra kellett biznia Karolyinak, hogy a baloldali egység és a földreform megóvásának keretén belül, a progresszív magyar köztársaság hajóját hogyan kormányozzák. Am ha ez a mód Karolyinak meg nem felel, nem volt köteles benne részt venni; ha az külpolitikai misszióját akadályozta, úgy missziójáról lemondhatott. Egy Karolyi kezében ez untig elég biztosíték integritásának megvédésére; az ellenzékszervezési alternatíva (egyébként teljesen jogosult és normalis) eszközéről batran lemondhatott volna.

Szóval, Karolyi úgy kül- mint belpolitikailag csak úgy lehetett hasznos ha szabad marad. Ennek a kockázatot viszont vállalni kellett. Rendkívüli helyzeteknek a megoldása rendkívüli. Így állott a dolog. Sem az oroszoktól biztosítékokat keresni, sem a magyar baloldali partokkal szemben De Gaulle-i vétót nyerni akarni lehetséges nem volt.

Hogy Elnök Ur ezt a politikát és annak kockázatot nem vállalta, annak ha jól értektem, két fő oka volt: Először, hogy magát a helyzetet másképp ítélte meg és így a kockázatot is (három tabornok helyett hatot vart rövidesen a kormányban és az egyházi birtokok megmentését a földosztástól, ha erre ugyan komolyan rá kerül a sor...) Másodszor, mert úgy érezte hogy hűtlenné valnék baloldali missziójához, ha vállalna. E mögött viszont egy olyan világmegítélés állott, amely lenyegében forradalmi helyzetet látott (legalább Európában) nem pedig konzervatív helyzetet.

Régen letettem arról hogy ezzel belsőleg szembeszálljak avagy perlekedjem. Bar hiszem, hogy helyesen ítéltem meg a dolgokat többnyire, érzem

hogy nincsen jogom arra hogy a második ervvel szembe szálljak. Annak szubjektív igazsága megdönthetetlen. Az a szenvedélyes törhetetlen elv-hűség, amely Karolyit naggya tette, egyben megakasztotta abban hogy ön-magan túlnöjjon. Ki vagyok én, hogy ezzel perlekedjem?

Ez a balatas 1945 januarjaban meggyözödéssé lett bennem. Ezért tanacsoltam Elnök Urnak Church Row-i beszélgetésünkben, amelyben az utak elváltak, hogy most amig nem késő vonuljon vissza, ha lelke mélyén úgy érzi hogy nem lesz képes azonosítani magát az új Magyarországgal, amelynek a kép sokban talan torz lesz. De ha nem így van, amit szívből kívánok, akkor most határozza el hogy a magyar rezsimmé mellé áll. Ebből három következtetést vonjon le: 1. Nyilvános kiállást a magyar rezsimmé (nem szükségkép a kormány) mellett. 2. Zsírálja a magyar rezsimmé authenticitását a külföldi halado közvelemény előtt. 3. Menjen haza, amint csak módjában áll. De ha sem vissza nem vonul, se a magyar rezsimmé tettekkel nem áll, akkor akarva nem akarva, ezzel a magyar baloldalt cserben hagyja élet-halál harcaban.

Sajnos, Elnök Ur egyiket sem tette. Nem vonult vissza, de a magyar rezsimmé tettekkel sem állt. A Tanacsban vonakodott a földreform authenticitását elismerni. A magyar 'al-földreformot' leleplező Tribune cikkekre válasz nem jött. A Tanacs Bulletinjének utolsó száma pedig Karolyi Mihály földreform programját szegte szemben az otthoni reformmal. Épült a legenda, hogy az oroszok Magyarországon egy bal frazisokkal kötött Badoglio rezsimmé nevelnek. Az angol munkaspárt baloldala, amely kiállt az EAM mellé, nem állt ki a magyar munkásság küzdelmei mellé. Miért is tette volna, ha még Karolyi sem teszi? A közben a kormányban is képviselt Tribune irányzat kiállt a spanyol republikánusok mellett (azok kommunista szövetségesei ellenére), de nem állt ki a feudalizmust megdöntő éhező és vívó magyar progresszív harcosok mellett. Am miért legyenek papabbak Karolyi Mihálynál? Nemcsoda hogy az angol munkaspárt kormánya kizsákdapárti többségre dolgozott Budapesten és ebben semmi ellenzékre sem talalt a saját hazaban. Miért is talalt volna, amikor az itt élő Karolyi Mihály sem tett olyan nyilatkozatot amellyel a hazaiak segítségére sietett volna? A kizsákdapárt többségre juttatása előjátéka lett a görög monarchisták nyeregbe ültetésének egy félévvel ra. Ki tudja, az egy Karolyi Mihály talan megfordithatta volna a keleteuropai helyzet mérlegét... Kétségtelen, hogy egy erős, sikeres magyar baloldali rezsimmé oriasi konszolidációt jelentett volna ezen a tajon...

A magyar kommunisták tüntető kokardas ultra-nacionalizmusa se nem izléses, se nem okos. Az orosz politikát nehezebb megítélni. Kétségkívül súlyos nyomás alatt áll és a kiürítési terminusok közeledésénél ki a minden aron való belső konszolidáció groteszk formait.

Jaszitól tegnap levelet kaptam, amelyben kérdi, nem készülök-e én is 'haza' látogatni? Ot csak egészsége tartja most vissza, meggyébként nagyon is készülöben van, úgy latszik.

Valtozatlan ragaszkodással,
Elnök Ur hű hive,
Polanyi Karoly (s.k.)

1946 április hó 15 iken.

Meleyen tisztelt Elnök Ur!

Nagyon, de nagyon jól esett/ levele , amellyel hetven éves születési napjaj/ alkalmából írti megtartásomra reflektál. Talán e azért is különösen jól esett, mert, bevallom, nagyonigyekeztem arra, hogy a pillanaton magamát kelve , a ' századok mértékével merjem a jelen. A pillanatot--azóta bizonyos mértékig megsejnalta-- Prager Jenő képviselte , aki állítólag Karolyi Mihály hívei nevében feltételeket jelentett volt be , amelyeknek teljesítése nélkül Karolyi hazamenésüket ok helytelenítendő. Az ellen én Pragerrel írásban tiltakoztam, és Elnök ur elől sem titkoltam véleményemet , hogy Prager lépése se Magyarország , se Karolyi érdekeit nem szolgálja. Hozza tettem hogy semmi okot sem látok arra , hogy Elnök ur hívei miért ne követeljenek a Karolyi -per törlesztését és miért ne alakítsanak egy Magyarországon mint a külföldön ilyen irányú magyar közvelemény (vagy akár nemzetközi közvelemény). De ezt a hazamentel előzetes feltételek szabni meg , a jelen helyzetben annyit tesz mint Karolyi és a magyar rezsim között mesterségesen az ellentét látszatát kelteni . Ezt olyankor tenni vétek, amikor az országunk Karolyira esendő szűkege van , míg az országunk bonyolult nemzetközi függésben levő helyzete nem enged szabad kezét a kormányszatának , és meg kevesebbe a benne képviselt baloldali partoknak. Cikken a tanuja, hogy külön tudtam választani ephemér vezetelmeseinket, bármily komolyak voltak is , Karolyi történelmi missziójának megítélésétől.

Tény hogy már több mint egy éve vezelmese állott fenn közöttünk a magyar fejlődés megítélésére és az annak megfelelő magatartás tekintetében. Abbol hogy én angol szemmel néztem a világot soha eltérés nem keletkezhetett, mert egyetértettünk abban hogy angol-orosz együttműködés magyar földön a jelen világhelyzetben mind három népnek érdeke. Az eltérés a magyar belfejlődésre vonatkozott . Sohasem tagadtam hogy el tudok képzelni olyan fejlődést Magyarországon , amely Elnök urunka nem engedgi meg a bekapcsolódást . Semmi kétség hogy egy ideig az oroszok egy magyar hadglio rezsim lehetőségeivel kacerkodták. Azonban ez esetében is, azt vitattam , Kelet -európa demokratizálódása csak ideig orag lassulna/ le . Mind ezt én azon álláspont nyomon fejtettem ki, amelyet meg Amerikában , 1942 vegeen párhuzamosan írtó cikkemben fejtettem le (Harper's Magazine, 1943 március) --szóval olyankor , amikor meg nem is gondolhatam arra hogy Karolyival érintkezést fogok keresni , és amikor egyes egyedül állottam azsal a nézetel , hogy a Szovjetek Kelet-Európpában nem bolsevizizmust , hanem demokratikus konzervatívizmust fognak terjesztetni

Engedje meg Elnök ur, hogy ez alkalomból megállapítsam hogy nevezetep- a harmadik személy tárgyilagossággal éve- mi volt. Kezdetből fogva azt hangsúlyoztam hogy Karolyi missziója elsősorban külpolitikai, és csak másodsorban belpolitikai. De hogy meg ez utóbbi/ vonatkozásban is ket irányban nagy a potenciális hasznosága az ország érdekeiben : Először , mint a magyar baloldali egység eziaboluma; másodsor , mit a radikális földrefrom vegrenajtásának a geransa (úgy a kommunistákkal szemben szemben bizalmatlan magyar parasztság mint a progresszív külföld szemében). A ket reven döntő meg erősödése az új magyar rezsimnek volt

Lehetséges. A baloldal így Karolyi révén eleven erővé lehetne volna a két munkás parton túlmenőleg a Nemzeti Pártot Part és a baloldali Kiszgazdak egységet--az ország orvosi házmárá.

A vonalkersztülvittele nem ütközött leküzdhetetlen nehézségekbe. Egy Karolyi által batorított magyar mozgalom, amely az ő hazajövelelet követeléseit, könnyen eslt ért volna. Karolyi odahaza a baloldal javára döntötte volna el a kormánykoalícion belüli helyzetet, majd, ilyen körülmények között, a választásokot. Persze ehhez szükséges volt, hogy az ott honiak Karolyi résztvételére számíthassanak, nehogy végül is nevetésben maradjanak...

Készenlétemül az ilyen határozott pozitív vonalkomoly kockázatokkal járt, amelyeket azonban elkerülni nem volt lehetséges. E kockázatok nem számíthatom azt anevetséges vadat hogy Karolyi a hún saját dobját veri-- sajnos a habozás 'vonala' sokkal inkább tette ki ennek a latszájnak. A valódi kockázat köttös volt: Egyrészt az orosz megszálló hatalom, másrészt a magyar baloldali partok felől. (1) Az ország egzigenciáit előre banni nem lehetett, és efelől biztosítkokat keresni sem lehetséges em megengedett nem volt, a nagyhatalmak együttműködésének ismert imperative keretében. Karolyi nem bírta el azt a rizikót hogy az orosz megszállók vonalavil esetleg nem egyezve, kénytelen lesz ismét visszavonálni (persze az orosz megszállók elleni esetleges baloldali ellenzék megszervezéséről eleve le kellett volna mondani--(szeriatem) - a szükséges bizalomelőfeltételeken). Arról viszont hogy Karolyi adjon az oroszoknak pozitív biztosítkokot harmonikus együttműködésre, szo nem volt és nem is lehetett. Ez a Quisling szerep Karolyinak nem volt hán való. Masmint a múltjában rejltő biztosítkokat bszintén nepies és szlav-barát orientáciora töle senki neukivánt soha sem. (2) A magyar baloldali partokra kellett bízania Karolyinak, hogy a baloldali egység és a földreform megóvasának keretén belül, a progresszív magyar köztársaság jajoját hogyan kormányozzák. Am ha ez amod Karolyinak meg nem felelet, nem volt köteles benne részt venni; hák az külpolitikai misszióját akadalyozta, ugy missziójáról lemondhatott; na meggyőződésének vonalavil szögeseen ellenkezett, visszavonaulhatott. Egy Karolyi kezében ez untig elég biztosíték a integritásának megvédésére; az ellenzék -szervezési alternativa(egyebkent teljesen jogosult és normalis) esaközéről batran lemondhatott volna.

Szóval, Karolyi ugy kül -mint belpolitikailag nán ugy lehetett hasznos, ha szabad marad. Ennek a kockázatot viszont vállalni kellett. Rendszerküli helyzetekenek a megoldása rendszerküli. Így állott a dolog. Sem az oroszoktól biztosítkokat keresni, sem a magyar baloldali partok~~kal~~ szemben De Gaullé-i vetet nyerni akarni lehetséges nem volt.

Hogy Minok ur ezt a politikát és annak kockázatot nem vállalta, annak ha jól értettem, két fő oka volt: Először, hogy magát a helyzetet maskep itelelte meg és így a kockázatot is (három tabornok helyett hatot vart rövidesen a kormányban és az egyhazi birtokot megmenteset a földosztástól haerre ugyan komolyankakerül a sor..) Másodszer, mert ugy érezte hogy hütlenne valnek baloldali missziójához, ha vállalna. E mögött viszont egy olyan világmegítéles állott, amely lenyegében ferradalmi helyzetet látott (legalabb Európában), nem pedig konzervatív helyzetet.

Regen letettem arról hogy ezzel belsőleg szembe szálljak vagy perlekedjem. Bar hiszem hogy helyesen ítélt meg a dolgokat több-
nyire, ezem hogy nincsen jogom arra hogy a második ervvel szembe
~~álljak~~ álljak. Annak szubjektív igazsága megdönthetetlen. Az a szem-
vedelyes törhetetlen elvűség, amely Karolyit naggya tette, egyben meg-
akasztotta abban hogy önmagán túlnőjön. Ki vagyok én, hogy ezzel perle-
kedjem?

Ez a belátás 1945 januárjában meggyőződéssé lett námm bennem. Ez-
ert tanácsoltam Elnök urnak Church Row-i beszélgetésünkben, amelyben az
utak elváltak, hogy most amig nem kezd vonuljon vissza, ha lelke mely
melyen úgy érzi hogy nem lesz képes azonosítani magát az új Magyaror-
szaggal, amelynek a kepe sáskban talán torz lesz. De ha nem így van, amit
szívűből kívánok, akkor most határozza el hogy a magyar rezsim melle
áll. Ebből marom következtetést vonjon le: 1. Nyilvános kiállást a
magyar rezsim (nem szükségképpen a kormány) mellett. 2. Zsiralja a magyar
rezsim authenticitását a külföldi haladó közvélemény előtt. 3. Menjen
haza amint csak módjában áll. De has se vissza nem vonul, se a magyar
rezsim melle tettekkel nem áll, akkor akarva nem-akarva, ezzel a magyar
baloldalt erőben hagyja élet-halál harcában.

Sajnos, Elnök ur egyiket sem tette. Nem vonult vissza, de a magyar
rezsim melle tettekkel sem állt. A tanácsban vonatkozott a földreform
authenticitását elismerni. A magyar 'al-földreformot' leleplező frábn
Tribune cikke válasz nem jött. A tanács Bulletin-jének utolsó száma-
banpedi Karolyi Mihály földreform programját szegte szemben az ottho-
ni reformmal. Spült a legenda hogy az oroszok Magyarországon egy bal fra-
zisokkal kötözött Badoglio rezsimet nevelnek. Az angol munkás part
baloldala, amely kiállt az EAM melle, nem állt ki a magyar munkásság
küzdelméi melle. Miért is tette volna, amikor meg Karolyi sem teszi? A
közben a kormányban is képviselt 'Tribune' irányzat kiállt a spanyol re-
publikánusok mellett (azok kommunista szövetségesei ellenére), de nem
állt ki a szennett feudalizmust megdöntő orosz és vevő magyar progressz-
ív harcosok mellett. Am miért legyenek papabbak Karolyi Mihálynál?
Nemcsoda hogy az angol munkás part kormánya kigazda parti többségre
dolgozott Budapesten és ebben semmi ellenzékre sem talált a saját haza-
ban. Miért is talált volna amikor az itt élő Karolyi Mihály sem tett
olyan nyilatkozatot, amellyel a hazaiak segítségére sietett volna? A
kigazda part többségre juttatása előjateka lett a görög monarchisták
nyeregbe ültetésének egy felevvel rá. Ki tudja, az egy Karolyi Mihály
talán megfordította volna a Kelet-európai helyzetet... Kétségte-
len, hogy egy erős sikeres magyar baloldali rezsim oriasí ann konszolidá-
ciót jelenített volna ezen a tájon...

A magyar kommunisták tüntető kokardás ultra-nacionálizmusa se nem
izléses se nem okos. Az orosz politikát nehezebb megítélni. Kétségkívül
súlyos nyomás alatt áll és kiürítési tervmunkák közeledése váltja ki a
mindenarónvaló belső konszolidáció groteszk formait.

Jászító tegnap levelet kaptam, amelyben kardi, nem készülök -e
én is 'haza' látogatni? Őt csak egészsége tartja most vissza, egyébként
nagyon is készülődésben van, úgy látszik.

Valtozatlan ragaszkodással,
Elnök ur hű híve
Polanyi Karoly s.k.

Sajnos Elnök ur egyiket sem tette. Nem vonult vissza, de a magyar rezsim melle tettekkel sem állt.

cikkere
Károlyi
Épült
Károlyi
Am
ga
körtövény

re~~zsim~~ melle tettekkel sem állt. A Tanácsban vonakodott a földreform-
p~~rogram~~authenticit~~ását~~ el~~mismerni~~. A Tribune ~~kezdte~~ ~~leleplezni~~ ~~magán~~ ~~magán~~, ~~amely~~ a magyar al- földreformot 'leleplezte', ~~föld~~
válasz ~~en~~ nem jött. A Tanács Bulletin ~~ének~~ utolsó száma ~~vele~~
a Karolyi földreform programját szegezze szembe az otthoni reformmal:
a ~~Magyarországon~~ legedat, hogy ~~Magyarországon~~ az oroszok egy bal frázis ~~harcosokkal~~
Magyarországon az oroszok egy bal frázis ~~harcosokkal~~
köntözött Badoglio regimet ~~találtak~~. Az anglo munkas part
baloldala, amely kiállt az EAM mellett, nem állt ki a magyar
munkasság ~~küzdései~~ mellett. Miért is tette volna, amikor Karolyi
sem teszi? A közben kormány ~~irányzat~~ 'Tribune' irányzat ~~meg~~
kiállt a spanil republiknások mellett (dacára kommunista szövet
segeseiknek), de nem állt ki a ~~Magyarországon~~
feudal izmust Magyarországon megdöntő
progressziv harcosok mellett. ~~Kifogásul hivatkozhattak arra hogy~~
miért legyenek papabbak Karolyi Mihálnal? Nemcsoda hogy az
angol munkas part ~~kormány~~ kigazda parti, többségre dolgozott es
ebben semmi ellenzékre sem talált a saját ~~házában~~. Miért is talált
volna, amikor az itt élő Karolyi Mihály ~~sem~~ tett ~~egyetlen~~
nyilatkozatot ~~am~~, amelylyel a hazaiak segissegere sietett volna?
A kigazda part többségre ~~justitása~~ ~~előjateke~~ lett a görög monarch
chistak nyeregbe ültetésének ~~Magyarországon~~ 'demokratikus'
választások ~~után~~. ~~egy felevvel~~ ra. Az egy Karolyi Mihály itt meg-
fordíthatta volna talan a Kelet-eurpai helyzet merleget. Ki
tudja? Egy erős sikeres magyar rezsim, oriasi konszolidációt jelenít
tett volna ~~Magyarországon~~ azon a tajan.

49A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N.6.

2. Mai 1946.

Herrn
Dr. Fritz Levi,
Kapfsteig 3,
ZÜRICH

Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor!

*Substantive über
für einen negativen Kern hat ich Ihnen*

Vielen Dank für Ihr Schreiben vom 25sten April. Ich teile vom Herzen Ihr Empfinden, daß dem Wirtschaftsliberalismus ein für allemal der Garus zu machen ist.

Es ist durchaus wünschenswert, daß eine deutsche Übersetzung dem andersgearteten Leserkreis angepaßt werde. Dies kann durch Hinzufügen entsprechender Fußnoten, aber auch durch fallweise Streichungen und Verdeutlichungen des Wortlautes bewerkstelligt werden. Eine leicht ausführbare Umarbeitung ganz bescheidenen Ausmaßes wäre vielleicht das Gebotene. Hierzu wäre ich umso mehr geneigt als ich auch deutsche Quellen wie Held, Brentano, Hasbach, Staffen, Scholte u.a. herangezogen habe, ein Umstand der dem deutschen Leser die Bezugnahme erleichtern sollte, falls er von ihm Kenntnis hat. Eine deutsche Vorrede wäre wohl angebracht.

noch

Im Übrigen habe ich Ihr wertvolles Schreiben meinem hiesigen Vertreter in Verlagssachen überwiesen, mit dem Auftrag die Sache zu verfolgen. Seine Adresse ist Curtis Brown, 6, Henrietta Street, London W.C, 2.

Dem Kontinent sollte gesagt werden: Angelsächsischer Wirtschaftsliberalismus und kontinentaler Faschismus sind Teile ein und des selben kontinentalen Gesamtschicksals. Ricardo, nicht erst ~~Hann~~ Hegel und Nietzsche waren die Wegbereiter des Totalitarismus. Es war eine starke Genugtuung für mich jüngst zu in John Dewey's Aufsatz in 'Commentary' (Märznummer) diese Deutung meines Buches hervorgehoben zu sehen. Mit seinen 86 Jahren ist dieser Mann noch immer der fortgeschrittenen

de Jure America's

Northampton

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

10th May, 1946

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

Dear Miss Chapter,

Gollancz's promised to let you have three further copies of "Origins of our Time", the price of which they will charge to Farrar and Rinehart, New York.

It might be most advisable, if Dr. Eugene Kerpel would kindly get in touch with my friend Andrew Havas, private secretary to Count Michael Karolyi. Mr. Havas is taking an active interest in the possibilities of a Hungarian edition of my book. His address is c/o Beck O. Fülöpné, Budapest VII, Damjanich ucca 32. As you may see from the jacket, I am IV.2. Hungarian by birth.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Karl Polanyi

49 A Hornsey Lane Gardens
London, N.6.

1946, május 12-ike.

Kedves jó barátom!

Igen jól esel leveled amellyel
Magyarországról rólsó ragyogó cikkeket
megküldted.

Én is nagyon örök mint Te:
fölkeltéssel ellátogatok Magyarországra,
ha módomat adják. Kétszáz talán
hasznosnak bizonyul az ember -

Két év előtt beszéltem
a Károlyi körüli helyzetéről, sajnos,
Cezura után nem elég világosan.
"Londoniakon" én a Kommunistaokat
(Londoni Magyar Klub) értelem. Te pedig,
mint ismerőst kiírtam a brit kormányt
értelem! Nemcsoda, ha levelem zavart:
nak sünt.

Szükség 1943 őszinél
szelőkortán, ő nem volt
Károlyi-val sem szocialdemokratával,

sem nacionalistaival együttműködés. Az
előzőit nem edditem az utóbbi lehetőségek.
A kommunisták, ellenkezőleg, ragaszkod-
tak az utóbbihoz, ami baloldali együtt-
működést lehetővé tenné.

Később megalakult a Tanács,
de sohasem, mi "később" igazán. A
nacionalisták fókusz mentette be
és Károlyi vonalát szabotálták, amire
Károlyi meg a Tanácsot szabotálta.
A kommunisták jó bürokraták,
módjára melegek azzal, ha
papíron léteznek.

Az én vonalaim a Tanács
aktiválása volt a szocialdemokraták
bevonása. Itján (Röhm - Prager). Ezt
a nacionalisták a kommunisták
segítségével megalakították.

A Tanácsnál sokkalta fontosabb
Károlyi saját vonala és akciója volt.
Ez a csatolt levelemátsolat bizonyos.
(1946. április 15.)

mind az ^{nyelvjárás} kezdőtek
 arról ha papíron létezik.
 Az én politikai állás
 alatti állás volt a szovjet,
 demokratikus állásokról írtam
 (Dzshin - Vraszk). Ezt a
 pártvezetőség a kommunizmus
 séftésével, megakadályozta.

A tanácsokat vonatkozó
 fontosabb külföldi sajtó
^{és akció} vonatka volt. E volt a
 csatolt level ^{akció} alapján.
 1944 decemberében külföldi
 jelenségeket figyeltem volt
 politikájában. Azután
 ok keleten minden nemzetli
 és nemzeti kapcsolatot ma-
 gukat izoláltak. Az én
 orosz kapcsolatam külföldi-
 val az 1944 januári JDS
 -tól az 1945 január 2-iki
 beszédig tartott. Ez alatt az
 idő alatt az én Kerpel's
 cikke álláspontom sokban
 érvényesült. A többiről

ahaapintja ~~af~~ ~~epidemi~~
 talpis, tizte sejis Kava,
 sullece tot, aki & nai vanj,
 ast kejuette hog Karotma
 a kommuunlaamal Kellene
 unnie. ~~Luett is Glona~~
~~öfa~~ ~~tanaybot~~ ~~kuuntistais~~
~~if~~ ~~kuunt~~ ~~kuunt~~ ~~kuunt~~
 1945 jänuar
 12000 - 12000 omindas kjeeri
 berede utai - Glona e' ku
 eppitt jastunk el. En ellen-
 jeffertim art a) laselet (1945
 jänuar 17) Karofih or uteret
 unelben fige elene te te te te
 a d'ontes. ekem thole Heurege
 vagg elöt vagg hatra. En ort
 ke 0000 goban mejismetellen
amint lev elene ben elunon ta
Erre karolyi tolen is elwonn
 En eppes eppedut, a tanas
 ömres tagjanial ekemere
 - Glona ekhore kizistak-
felost lokam Karofit, hog
 a fildrefarun teruze mellett

negyvárosban látnak, de
amit aruban ő megtűnt
vonnakodott / arról "hogy
semmi hitélet sem
intézkedés". Mielőtt
elutazott napokig kérték
és igen háls volt az
utolsó napokban az új
nehéztől, a székelyek
(lásd a "Manchester Guardian"
ban 1946 május 7-én,
megjelent, nyilatkozatát,
amelyet én helyettem el
szórvítottam angolra).

E rövid beszámolóval
néhányem tartoztam Neked.
A levelemet őrizd nyugodt
írásaid között. Nem akarom
hogy saját szerepem a
Károlyi tragédiában tisztá-
zatlanul maradjon.

Szívvel és
Károly

Kemelen, megkapta a Slavonic Review
ban megjelent cikkem külföldi nyelvet,
amelyet ő is megismer.

a valódi leírásomat és,
amelyet Károlyinak utóbb,
benyújtásunk előtt küldtem
meg. Szóbelileg vitatott a
következőben: Mindenképpen
az volt az a hibásak, akik
nem voltak hajlandók az
gondolatokba bármilyen
kis mértékben is beavatni.
Ezzel szemben azonban tény,
hogy 1945-re például híken
az ilyenkor az ügyek
hivatta Károlyt és részlet-
keresni, beszélték a
hátrahagyott papírokat,
amelyeket az aramban, egy-
be venni hajlandó nem
volt.

Hona, velem ellentétben,
a Károlyi, országában részt
vett és tolván "falva" állt.
Ellenben ő is, velem együtt,
helytelenül volna, ha
Károlyi a kommunizmus
függetlenségét volna amit
erre különben magunk is
megértjük.) Ebben különbözött

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

1946, majus 15.

Kedves jó Oszkárom,

Igen jól esett leveled, amellyel Magyarországáról szóló ragyogó cikket megküldted.

En is úgy érzek mint Te: föltétlenül ellátogatok Magyarországra, ha módomat adják. Ki tudja, talán hasznosnak bizonyul az ember--

Két év előtt beszámoltam a Károlyi körüli helyzetről, sajnos, a cenzúra miatt, nem elég világosan. "Londoniak"on én a kommunistákat (Londoni Magyar Klub) értettem, te pedig, mint válaszból kitűnt, a brit kormányt értetted! Nem csoda, ha levelem zavarosnak tűnt.

Amikor 1943 őszén Károlyival találkoztam, ő nem volt hajlandó sem szociáldemokratákkal, sem nacionalistákkal együtt működni. Az előbbit nem értettem, az utóbbit helyeselttem. A kommunisták, ellenkezőleg, ragaszkodtak az utóbbihoz, ami baloldali együttműködést lehetetlenné tett.

Később megalakult a Tanács, de soha sem működött igazán. A nacionalisták Hortnyit mentették benne, és Károlyi vonalát szabotálták, amire Károlyi meg a Tanácsot szabotálta. A kommunisták jó bürokrata módjára megelégedtek azzal, ha papíron létezik.

Az én vonalam a Tanács aktiválása volt, a szociáldemokraták bevonása utjan (Bohm-Prager) Ezt a nacionalisták, a kommunisták segítségével megakadályozták.

T (1946. apr. 16. ill. kelt.)

A Tanácsnál sokkalta fontosabb Károlyi saját vonala és akciója volt. Erről a csatolt levél-másolat/ad képet. 1944 decemberéig Károlyi feleségétől független volt politikájában. Azután ők ketten minden szervezeti és személyi kapcsolattól magukat izolálták. Az én szoros kapcsolatom, Károlyival az 1944 januári S.O.S. től az 1945 január 2-iki beszédig tartott. Ez alatt az év alatt az én Harpers cikki állásponthoz sokban érvényesült. A többiről a csatolt levél számol be, amelyet Károlyinak utolsó beszélgetésünk ~~mm~~ előtt küldtem meg. Szóbelileg válaszolt a következőkben: Mindenben az oroszok a hibások akik nem voltak hajlandók öt szándékaikba barmi kis mértékben is beavatni. Ezzel szembe azonban tény, hogy 1945 szeptember 15-ikén az itteni orosz követség hívatta Károlyit és rendelkezésére bocsátották a hazatérési facilitásokat, amelyeket ő azonban igénybe ~~mm~~ venni hejlandó nem volt.

Ilona, velem ellentétben, a Károlyi-mozgalomban részt vett és tolem "balra" állt. Ellenben ő is, velem együtt, helytelenítette volna, ha Károlyi a kommunisták függeléke lett volna (amit ezek különben maguk is megértettek). Ezen különbözött állásponthoz az ~~mm~~ a talpig tisztességes Hayas Endrétől, aki naivan azt képzelte hogy "Károlyinak a kommunistákkal kellene mennie". Ezért is Ilona annak idején a Tanácsba való bevonását ellenerte.

A kritikus 1945 januári időkben - az ő ominózus újévi beszéde után - Ilona és én ~~mm~~ együtt jártunk el. En "ellenjegyeztem" azt a ~~mm~~ Károlyihoz intézett levelét (1945, jan. 17) amelyben figyelmeztettük a döntés elkerülhetetlenségére: vagy előre, vagy hátra. En ezt később szóban is megismételtem, amint csatolt levelemben elmondtam. Erre Károlyi tolem is elvonult. En egyes egyedül, a Tanács

COPY

Office de Documentation,
Etudes économiques et sociales
Secr. Gen.
Kay Heckscher

20th May 1946
Bruxelles,
45, Rue de Pépin,
Réf. aglit.

Karl Polanyi, c/o V.G.

Dear Sir,

We beg to refer to our letter of 10th April, marking our interest in your book "Origins of Our Time".

We should like to know whether you have taken the matter into consideration, as we believe we have suitable markets for this book, and should thus be pleased to handle the rights for the French and Dutch languages.

We should appreciate an early reply, and beg to remain,
Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Ely Heckscher, secretary.

AL: EH: eh

24th May, 1946.

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

re: Polanyi: Origins of Our Time

Dear Miss Chapter,

May I call your attention to the following items, in regard to translations of 'Origins of Our Time':

(1) German (Switzerland)

I have not yet heard from Mr. Fritz Lévi, who approached me on behalf of Pan-Verlag. I gather Mr. Mohrenwitz is taking up the matter, and I should be glad to be advised whether he thinks we should proceed with Pan-Verlag.

(2) Hungarian

Mr. Havas, Budapest, has not yet heard from Mr. Kerpel.

(3) French

The enclosed letter was received from "Office de Documentation! Etudes économiques et sociales, 45, Rue de Pépin, Bruxelles, Their first communication of 10th April, addressed c/o Gollancz, seems to have been lost. I have acknowledged the letter telling them I had advised you.

(4) Dutch

"Office de Documentation" wishes to be entitled to handle the rights for the Dutch language, too.

(5) I feel it might be very useful, if you could have the publicity material typed or multigraphed. In that case it would greatly oblige if you could let me have a copy or two.

(6) You are authorised to make the following statement on my behalf: "Should it be felt that the argument would gain in vigour if chapters IX and X were placed in the Appendix, I would agree to such an arrangement. This need not involve any other than a very slight adaptation."

COPY

From The Master,
Balliol College,
Oxford.

30th May 1946

Dr. Karl Polanyi has been a full-time tutor for our Extra-Mural Delegacy for a considerable number of years. We have a very high opinion of him. He is a first-class scholar. He wrote a remarkable book called "Origins of Our Time: the Great Transformation", which is scholarly, full of knowledge and original in its thought.

Dr. Polanyi is very highly regarded by his classes. He clearly has the power of putting his learning across in the simplest way.

I have no hesitation in saying that he is of the calibre of a Professor. The Delegacy would be very sorry to lose his services, but we should all agree that this position in Hull for which he is a candidate would give him the status and opportunities which he fully deserves.

(signed) Lidsay of Birker

Master of Balliol,
Chairman, Extra-Mural Delegacy.

COPY

From The Master,
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I have no hesitation in saying that he is of the calibre of a Professor. The Delegation would be very sorry to lose his services, but we should all agree that this position in Hall for which he is a candidate would give him the status and opportunities which he fully deserves.

(signed) Lidsay of Birker

Master of Balliol,
Chairman, Extra-Mural Delegation.

*copy for Hall
Polanyi*

12 Victoria Rise,
S.W.4.
6th June 1946.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

I will tell you about my Interview. The day started badly. I slept little at night but overslept in the morning and then had to wait a long time for my bus. I arrived at work at quarter to ten instead of half past eight. "There was a terrible bus delay at Clapham" I said excusing myself. This was partly true and wholly unconvincing. It was received in dead silence so I began to enlarge on the subject saying how disgraceful L.P.T.B. bus delays were in general and this one in particular but my fine indignation came to an end through lack of encouragement.

I was late for the Interview also but the examiners were behind-hand themselves and kept me waiting, so it didn't matter.

When I rang you up I was feeling pleased with a pleasant afternoon's entertainment, so I may have given you a wrong idea about how the interview went off. Now that I consider it from the point of view of getting a scholarship I feel less pleased. I am afraid that the impression I gave was much too true to be helpful, and I am now thinking of all the intelligent replies that I could have made but did not. On one occasion the examiners in chorus painted a horrible picture of the hard and boring work that would have to go into earning Matric and a Degree, and I must have involuntarily expressed a good deal of dismay because one of the examiners said yes a lot of people coming here seem to think working for a degree is mostly pleasure.

It was very clever of Mr. Shearman to deduce escapism from my essay. I think he must dabble in psychology. ~~Such people are dangerous.~~ I deplore psychology. Nowadays one can only maintain a decent reticence by a policy of complete silence.

However, he is quite correct. (Probably by accident). When I met you after your return from USA I had decided to become an honest escapist. A novel-reader. It seemed that I had no roots in the social life of this country and like a foreigner without the right or hope of naturalization I could contribute nothing to its politics.

Still I find that events in Russia move me deeply while I recognize the virtues of my own country coldly. This wrong and perverse and I would change it if I could but I cannot. I distrust my politics.

Let us change the subject.

Friday was a holiday but I volunteered to work because I know there is never much to do at our office during a holiday. I was the only person working in my Department and I found things pleasant and unhurried. When dinner time came I thought it is very nice and peaceful here and this is an excellent typewriter: it is a fine chance for finishing some writing I am busy with. The unfinished work was in my desk at another office not far away so I went to get it.

The place was deserted. I rang the bell for the lift and started to read the New Statesman. When I had finished the New Statesman I rang again and read all the writing on the wall. There was a lot of it but it nearly all said "Died waiting" and a date. I rang a third time without hope and walked up. Right to the top floor and the building is tall.

The office was silent, still, and inhuman, and I liked it very much. I walked around reading things. On a notice board there were some letter from our customers, thanking us for our courtesy, kindness and prompt attention. One letter however struck a discordant note - a lady who complained that she didn't know what to do because we had got her all tangled up with our forms.

As I turned to leave a magnificent black cat sprang up at my feet and I fell over him. He had, apparently, assumed that I was the ghost of a bureaucrat come back to haunt the deserted office, but his expectation that I would walk through him without causing discomfort was violently shattered and this unnerved us both. I got to my feet and apologized. He spat at me and hurried away trembling behind the files of the Dormant Ledger Branch. I returned to my toil at Pontings (which the Gov. has commandeered at part of).

That afternoon I finished my official work and signed off at 4.30. I told you about the Examiner who said that he didn't know ^{what} Harriet Martineau's point was. Well I decided to stay and give her one. At 6 o'clock I said I will go home now, but when I reached the entrance an exceeding strong iron gate prevented me from doing so. "I am locked in ha ha." I said and went to find someone to let me out.

The basement was dark and there was no-one there. I tried each of the four floors in turn and by the time I had reached the roof I was considerably alarmed. I climbed over the roof (it was flat, more or less) and looked down on Kensington High Street where I longed to be. I saw an open door and went through into a shadowy

room filled with huge boilers and twisting pipes and haunted by the white forms of a multitude of sad discarded window-dummies. I came to the kitchen. It was warm and noisy with the sounds of cooking - water bubbling and gas hissing - but there was no-one there. For a few moments I lost myself and I found my way to the roof again with panic and returned the way I had come.

I remembered that there was a space of about 6" at the bottom of the gate which locked me in and I decided to squeeze through it. No doubt the passers by in the busy Kensington Street would think that Civil Servants had very peculiar habits when they observed my painful and undignified exit but I was desperate by this time. However, when I got to the gate I found it was 3" instead of 6" so I didn't try it.

Then I thought of the telephone. I rang up the operator and a kind voice said "Can I help you?" I replied in an unsteady voice "I very much hope so. Otherwise I shall have to stay locked up here all Whitsun and starve." It took me some time to convince the kind voice that I was not pulling its leg, but at last it put me through to the Police. The Police demanded my name and asked what I wanted. I said I was locked in and, if possible, would like to get out. The Police said "That is very funny." and when he had stopped laughing he promised to send someone round to set me free.

I stood in the dark passage behind the locked gate till a man in blue dungarees came and peered through the bars at me. He let me out. He didn't seem to have a very high opinion of Civil Servants. "I don't know what's wrong with you people." he said.

When I return to work I shall have to do some explaining. I shall stop writing now and try to think of some convincing answers to certain bad tempered questions.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours sincerely.

Margery Palmer

(1223 words)

OFFICE DE DOCUMENTATION
ETUDES ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES

SECRETAIRES GÉNÉRAL :
KAY HECKSCHER
DOCTEUR EN SCIENCES POLITIQUES

BRUXELLES, le June 7, 1946
MUSEUM DE LA COLOMBE 12.45.23
TÉLÉPHONE 113227
TÉLÉGRAMMES : DOFIN
Réf: Littéraire.

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

Dear Sir,

To hand your post-card dated June 3rd, for which we thank you.

We have so far had no news from your agents, Messrs Curtis Brown Ltd. We presume this Firm has no immediate interests in the publishing of the book otherwise than through their official agents in Paris.

As we informed you we should be honored to handle the rights of "Federal Government" for the French and Dutch languages.

Should the book be published in French, it would, of course, be launched on the market in France and Belgium - and probably Switzerland and Canada - simultaneously. The same applies for the Dutch edition, in which case the book would appear in Belgium and Holland at the same time.


In the event of Messrs Curtis Brown having already made arrangements for the publishing of the book in France, this would not exclude our negotiating the rights for publication in Belgium, Switzerland and Canada.

We should be delighted to discuss the matter more fully with your goodself as soon as we have had the chance to learn the reactions of publishers on the book. This we cannot do unless we are certain to detain the rights in exclusivity.

Should we fail to get fruitful results in a normal period of time we should return you the book for disposal to your convenience, this without any charge.

We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,


Kay Heckscher.

NOUVELLE ADRESSE - NEW ADDRESS

5, rue du Pépin

EH:eh

COPY

Office de Documentation
Etudes économiques et sociales

Secrétaire General:
Kay Heckscher,
Docteur en sciences politiques

Bruxelles, le June 7th, 1946
45, Rue du Papin,
Telephone: 12.45.23
Telegrammes: Dofin
Ref.: Littéraire.

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

Dear Sir,

To hand your post-card dated June 3rd, for which we thank you. We have, so far, had no news from your agents, Messrs Curtis Brown, Ltd. We presume this firm has no immediate interests in the publishing of the book otherwise than through their official agents in Paris.

As we informed you we should be honoured to handle the rights of "Origins of our Time" for the French and Dutch languages.

Should the book be published in French, it would, of course, be launched on the market in France and Belgium - and probably Switzerland and Canada - simultaneously. The same applies for the Dutch edition, in which case the book would appear in Belgium and Holland at the same time.

In the event of Messrs Curtis Brown having already made arrangements for the publishing of the book in France, this would not exclude our negotiating the rights for publication in Belgium, Switzerland and Canada.

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Should we fail to get fruitful results in a normal period of time, we would return you the book for disposal to your convenience, this without any charge.

We remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(signed) Kay Heckscher.

EH:eh

PHONE :
PARK 8569.

L. MOHRENWITZ,
LITERARY AGENCY.

1, AIRLIE GARDENS,
LONDON, W.8.

11th June, 1946.
LM/EM

Professor Karl Polanyi,
49a Hornsey Lane Gardens,
N. 6.

Dear Professor Polanyi,

I am sorry to say that Verlag A. Francke A.G., Berne, have declined "ORIGINS OF OUR TIME". They write that they would have liked to include it in their series "Mensch und Gesellschaft", but that for the time being their programme has been fully booked.

I shall try and offer it elsewhere.

Herewith enclosed I return the typewritten synopsis to you as requested.

Yours sincerely,

L. Mohrenwitz

OFFICE DE DOCUMENTATION
45 rue du Pépin
Bruxelles.

VOTRE NOM ET VOTRE
ADRESSE AU VERSO DE VOS LETTRES
ZET UW NAAM EN ADRES
OP DE KEERZIJDE VAN UW BRIEF



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

Brussels, July 2nd, 1946.

PAR 8569

Dear Sir,

re: Origins of our Time:

We beg to refer to former correspondence regarding our handling the rights for the French, Dutch and, eventually, Scandinavian languages for this book.

We should very much appreciate an early reply as we believe we may find a ready interest for your work.

Yours faithfully,

E. H. Heck
~~E. H. Heck~~
E. H. Heck, Jr.,
secretary.

EH:ej

25 Pyramke Corner
N. 12.
6th July, '96.

Dear Dickel,
I want to
tell you how important
I think it is that you
should feel quite free
to go ahead without let
or hindrance on your
present programme of
political journalism &
authorship. I feel
strongly that it would
be a tragedy if you
were in any way
encumbered at the present
time by unnecessarily

overburdening your time with teaching, or having to undertake unimportant journalism.

I therefore put to you seriously a suggestion which has been in my mind for the past year, & which I have vaguely discussed with you on one or more occasions. I suggest that I pay into your account two hundred pounds, or a smaller sum if you think it adequate. This sum you could use to fill the gap until

3.

you begin to collect
an increased income,
the result of your
growing programme
of writing.

If you do accept
this offer, Dickler, please
regard it as a "Jolly"
Research Foundation
Grant, not to be
repaid under any
circumstances. Why
should Rockefeller &
Carnegie have all
the fun.

Believe me I
can think of no
better way of using

4
my 'war profits'
than in helping to
make it possible
that your immediate
contribution should
be maximal.

affectionately

Doug

From:

DR. DOUGLAS TOLLY.

The Fortnightly

THE
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LTD.

DIRECTORS:
LORD ABERDARE.
JOHN ARMITAGE.
S. COHEN.
K. R. GEERING.
W. R. GEERING.

4, 5 & 6, Soho Square,
London, W.1.

TELEPHONE
GERRARD 8302

17th July, 1946.

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

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your note. If Tuesday, July 23rd at 11 o'clock would be a suitable time for you to call here I should be very pleased to see you. If not, will you give me a ring and arrange another time.

Yours faithfully,

John Armitage

Editor.

Arrolyi Mária,
3, Church Ave,
London, N. 10

1946 július 23

Kedves Polinyina,

Nagy elfoglaltságon miatt csak most keszben meg kedves sorait és roham irt cikket. Bizem, hogy lelkeben velunk volt, amikor annyi ev utan hazatertunk. Természetesen az orom, amelyet éreztunk, sok keseruseggel vegyult. Magyarorszag ma ketsegtelenul Europának legszegényebb orszaga. Minden politikai megnyilvánulásra rányomja a helyet a szornyu gazdasági helyzet. Amig ezt nem orvosolják, konstruktív munkáról szó sem lehet.

Egyelőre kaotikus állapotok uralkodnak ott, amit, sikertelenül, kemis demokráciával igyekeznek rendezni. A progresszív káder alanya lépten-nyomon érezhető. Mindenütt régi berendezések és nyitások vannak a hivatalokban. A partok veresége a vox populi Magyarorszárt;

Egymást tüllentik a nacion huzusban...
ebben a kommunisták elöljárnak. Mindenáron
jók akarai Kun Béla emleket és ezért van
ils sont plus catholique que le pape. Hífel
dogy nálunk a nacion huzus volt aragi rend
ele szetesege s így akarva-nem akarva így
a régi integritásosok k. A Vörös hadsereg,
nagyon fegyelméletlenül viselkedett. Ez volt
Szovjetunió legrosszabb propagandistái.

Magyarországon ma a lakosság 80 %
ország. Még a parasztek is azok, nem ok na
vetik a földet. Ezen csak lassan lehet segí
Elsősorban a gazdasági helyzet megjavítását

Mindazok ellenére nem vagyunk se
eni szükség
De amoz, hogy segítsünk, látni kell a helye

Mielott elkezdenek, szeretnék fegyelm
szelni. Ut is, Míg is

szövegében

L. János

OFFICE de DOCUMENTATION

45, RUE DU PÉPIN
BRUXELLES

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SECRETÉIRE GÉNÉRAL :
KAY HECKSCHER
DOCTEUR EN SCIENCES POLITIQUES

July 20th 1946.

LE

NOTRE RÉF. : Départ. Littéraire.
VOTRE RÉF. : - - -
ANNEXES : - - -

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
49a Hornsey Lane Gardens,
L o n d o n N.6.

*not yet
answered
21st July 1946
K. Polanyi*

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

We beg to refer to your letter of May 24th and to further correspondence.

We regret having to inform you that, so far, we have had no news whatsoever from Messrs Curtis Brown, your agents.

We have, however, received communication from the Publishing Agencies Limited, 33 Baker Street, London W1, advising us that they are handling the Dutch rights for your work THE ORIGINS OF OUR TIME.

We were, of course, surprised to learn this, keeping in mind the contents of your letter of May 24th, the gist of which we have now communicated to them.

We should like to hear your point of view in this matter, and be given a definite answer, together with one sample-copy, should you still be inclined to confirm the statements contained in your aforesaid letter.

It is much to be deplored that such a narrow view is taken by your agents, and we cannot but repeat that we have found interest in your book personally, and hope to make it share by a publisher of good standing, for the benefit of all concerned.

Yours very truly,

Ely Heckscher
Ely Heckscher,
secretary.

EH:ej

Cold Spring, N.Y. 46. Julius 22

Kedves Karlin,

Ez egy nagyon megkésésett válasz majus 15. szives leveledre.

Ugy a levelet. mint a Kárelyihez intézett mellékletét meg fogom őrizni irataim között. Valószínűleg a harvardi ekmánytárba fog^{na}kerülni, melyben emigrációs iratekat gyűjtenek s a magyar degekban az én közreműködésemet is kérték.

Bevallem, hogy még most sem vagyok képes rekonstruálni a helyzetet, melyből ezek a levelek eredtek s nem vagyok képes megérteni, hogy miért lattad Magyarországot helyzetét veszélyeztetve ezek által a kontreverziák által. Ugy érzem, hogy ezek tipikus esetei voltak a szópreblémáknak, melyeket a Történelem közben áthuzott és eldöntött. Hasenlőkép a történelem áthuzta azokat a reményeinket, hogy a Szovjetek demokráciát akarnak Középeurópában. Ők annak tovább dialektikájuk örületébenés le fognak tiperni minden igazán demokratikus törekvést. Félek, hogy Magyarországot nemsekára a " felszabadított Lengyelország" sorsára jut. Szinte minden nap Foreign Affairs-beli cikkem óta ezt a tendenciát mutatja.

Ennek dacára, vagy annál is inkább, fentartom dunai uti tervemet, pedig tudom, hogy kemely hatást nem gyakorolhatnák a dolgok kialakulására. De viszent szeretném látni fiatal küzdőmeim szinterét és ^{vágyom}kezet szeritani azokkal a barátaimmal, kik hívek maradtak a demokrácia igazi koncepciójához, mielőtt elhagynom a földi siket. Amde egyelőre nem mehetek. Dr Helló nem enged a tavasz előtt és politikai és financiális nehézségeim is vannak. Nem értem, hogy Kárelyi miért nem ír, mióta Magyarországot elhagyta. Fontos volna, hogy igazi benyomásait és ítéleteit megismerjem.

Jelenleg kényszerű semmittevésemben az Andris fiam nyári lakásában vagyok a Hudson partján. Ugyan a hőség olykor nedves és nehezen elviselhető a fiatalok jósága és szeretete a legjobb kura. Tegnap előtt Gyuri és Helen

is megálltak itt en route a tengerpart felé. Mili is ide rándult, úgy hogy a család
sek év után újra együtt velt két napon át.

Augustus legelején újra Oberlinben leszek a régi otthonban.

Recha már nagyon készíti elő hazatérésemet. Jövő terveim bizonytalanok.

Csak egyben nem habozom, hogy tanítást többet nem vállalak. Érzem a szükségét a
koncentrációnak a magam problémáiban. És ha az ember a 72 felé halad, a
akadémiai munka parafernáliáit nehezen állja.

Abban a reményben, hogy Te is, Ilona is és Karla is jól vagytok
és jól türiitek ezeket a "heretikus" és vidáman gyilkoló időköt és legest tudtok
látni az örületben, régi szeretettel ülel

Öreg barátod,

Állás

(Misi)
Mili őri látogatásait
nagyon várjuk.
Kép K. címeidet élveztem

Telephone Nos.:
DUBLIN 6866-7.

Telex DUBLIN 40017

In reply please quote—

Reference No. JH/IMcL

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND.

20 RENFREW STREET.

GLASGOW, C.2.



(Postage must be prepaid).

30th July, 1946.

Dear Sir,

I have been much interested in your book on the "Origins of Our Time" which emphasises completely the importance of cultural disintegration as the essential pathology of a socially sick society. Working from purely medical data I had arrived at a similar conclusion and your book which has only reached me recently has accordingly been a considerable stimulus to my own way of developing this theme. I enclose two short reprints which will indicate the trend of my thoughts of some years ago.

Why I am specifically writing you is to obtain further information about the statement near the top of page 163 to the effect that natural rates of increase of population may be an index either of cultural vitality or degradation. So far as my researches go any material available to me indicates that a fall in the fertility rate is one of the indices of disintegration/

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
c/o Messrs. Victor Gollancz,
Publishers,
London.

disintegration but I have not found an example of an untoward increase representing this also. Of course, improvements in physical environment may well accompany advancing social disintegration so that with the fall of the death rate the population may continue increasing for many years despite a falling birth rate.

I hope I have made my difficulty clear and I should very much welcome and esteem your comments.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. Halliday

P.S. The diagram on p. 244
of the 2nd. Returns indicates a
step with progress of my work.

49A Hornsey Lane Garden
N.6.

21st August, 1946.

Curtis Brown Ltd.,
Henrietta Street,
W.C.2. re 'Origins of Our Time'
by Karl Polanyi

Dear Miss Chapter,

Excuse my belated answer to
your good letter of 25th July .

I am returning Mr. Harben's
letter to your office.

I also enclose a copy of my
letter to 'Office de Documentations'
to which they refer in their letter
to Mr. Harben , on 20 July . It is
dated 24 thMay, and does NOT con-
tain my assent to their handling th
French, Scandinavian and Dutch right
for me. Instead , I informed them
that I am advising you to get in
touch with them , which I did. To
this attitude I adhered. Their own
reference to my letter to them is in-
comprehensible to me.

I should be glad if you would
return my own enclosed letter copy
later on.

Yours sincerely,

Karl Polanyi.

Editor, Tutors' Bulletin
From the ~~Honorary Secretary~~

ASSOCIATION OF TUTORS IN ADULT EDUCATION

~~Telephone~~
~~Leeds 20251~~

~~ECONOMICS HOUSE~~
~~THE UNIVERSITY~~
~~LEEDS 2~~

Black Hill,
High Lea Rd.,
New Mills,
nr. Stockport.

August 23rd, 1946.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

About a month ago Hodgkin
sent me your article on Adult Education
& Working Class Outlook. I read this
with very great interest and am grateful for
the opportunity you have given us to include
it in the Tutors' Bulletin. It will appear
in the next issue which should come out in
October. When it arrived an issue was just
leaving the hands of the printer, hence the
long time which will have elapsed between
receipt and publication.

I ought to apologise for
taking so long to acknowledge the article.
When it arrived I was just about to leave
here for our Summer School.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. Styler

HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE.

46, EATON PLACE,
S.W.1.

1317/1946

SLOANE 4048.

1946. augusztus 24.

Polányi Károlyné urnának
49/a Hornsay Lane Gardens N.6.

Nagyságos Asszonyom!

F. évi augusztus hó 21-én kelt nagybecsü so-
rait köszönettel vettem és az abban foglaltakat
illetékes intézkedés végett a Külügyminiszté-
riumnak Budapestre felterjesztettem.

Legyen szabad szives figyelmét felhivnom
arra, hogy az ügy érdekében ajánlatosnak tar-
tanám, hogy Nagyságos Asszonyom ez ügyben köz-
vetlenül is fordulna a Magyar Külügyminiszté-
riumhoz.

Szívélyesen üdvözli
kész híve

Azede Hübner

12 Victoria Rise,
S.W.4.
26th August 1946.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

It is so nice to be able to type my letters again. I hate writing with pen and ink. I feel that my handwriting does not do me sufficient credit.

I have heard from Mr. Shearman. He returned an essay I had to write for him, and his comments on it suggest that the rapid decline of my prestige which began when he made my acquaintance at the Summer School has been arrested. He said "It is a good piece of work and shows that you can tackle a complicated historical subject" "A good opening but...." "Well arrange, crisply and clearly written, though marred by....." Of course these kind remarks might be due to the aimable dishonesty of a person who would not hurt the tenderest feelings even of the very worst of writers. However, this criticism is a decided advance on those applied to my two previous essays - in the first of which he dealt exclusively, exhaustively and decidedly unsympathetically with my style of spelling and the second in which he looked with a jaundiced eye at my "highly coloured style of writing".

I think I did something towards redeeming my reputation on the last day of the Summer School, when I gave an excellent imitation of an earnest and conscientious student by stopping up till 1.30 a.m. writing the wretched essay Mr. Shearman had insisted on. However I must admit that the real reason for this exemplary behaviour was the fact that a party was being held in my bedroom and I found it more peaceful sitting in the Common Room alone and scribbling.

It was really a very nice Common Room - very spacious, light and clean. It was panelled in a light honey coloured wood ornately carved. Above the panelling the walls were papered in bright cream and curved towards the ceiling finely carved in a brilliant pattern of dark brown and gold. The room was lighted by large windows in the roof as well as the windows looking out onto the garden. Between every panel and in each corner of the room was the head of a very attractive cherub carved in the light golden coloured wood. 18 cherubs in all. I remember reading a book by Zola ("Work" I think it was called) in which he constantly introduced innumerable children every one of whom was plump, rosy cheeked, and invariably laughing merry laughter. These false, trite, mass produced children so irritated me that I didn't finish the book. But the cherubs in the Common Room bore no relation to Zola's dull soulless brats. They were definitely cherubs of character. Each represented the head of a pleasant little boy of about 6 years old with graceful untidy hair falling over his forehead and his lips just beginning to smile. I spent

quite a lot of time watching these charming brothers. We held all our seminars in this room.

When I had finished my essay I returned to my own room to find the party still in progress and I laughed to see how exhausted the revellers were with their enjoyment, more so than I was with my work. They sprawled around in such dispirited attitudes that I began to fear they would never summon up enough energy to crawl back to their respective dormitories.

The occupants of my room were all more or less young and ~~all~~ very keen on the Social Side of the Summer School. This Friday Night Party was the crown and culmination of the Social Side. In order to make it a success they or some friends of theirs had toured the neighbourhood by car and had collected a very credible supply of cider in several of the large jugs generally accustomed to holding water to wash with. When the guests had assembled they inevitably and dolefully started community singing. Have you ever listened to English community singing? In my experience it is a curiously spiritless, self-conscious and unnatural ~~technical~~ affair. But it seems to be the only way of filling up the time on such occasions. Talk, conversation, amongst 50 or so people was of course impossible, besides for some reason or other Summer School students never know how to make conversation. When the community singing began I understood why it had been considered so important to buy a lot of cider. So far as I could see the crowd never achieved any sense-of community spirit. As a substitute for this most of guests had taken the precaution of pairing themselves off to avoid isolation, and indeed the chief pleasure of the evening seemed to lie in this.

Apparently the criterion of the success of the party is the endurance of the guests. Last year the party was very successful indeed since it lasted till 4 o'clock in the morning. Fortunately this time both Friday Night parties finished about 2 o'clock, and were not considered a great success.

After the guests had gone the conversation in our room turned to the subject that in Jane Austin's books is called "Beaux".⁽⁵⁾ The name "Jimmy" came up very frequently in these dormitory conversation, but it was not till the end of the week that I actually discovered who Jimmy was. As a matter of fact he was - But this letter is growing much too long so I won't tell you about Jimmy.

Our dormitory seemed to be divided between those who pursued the Social Side with almost rapacious energy and outsiders who did not. These two groups formed almost different species, and possibly the same difference divided the whole school.

It is perhaps very encouraging that these young people with a normal desire for a good time and social activities should wish to attend Summer Schools where intellectual work is compulsory. It is good that the Schools should attract normal people, rather than

I remember that some years ago when you invited your Morely College class to tea one day we met Mr. Dye at your house. I know he is an admirer of Russia and I like people who like Russia, so I would have been pleased to meet him again while he was at Oxford, but although I saw him around several times I did not have an opportunity of speaking to him till the very last day when he sat at my table for dinner. After a long silence I ventured to say that I had met him some years previously at your house in Kent. He said this seemed unlikely because he had never been there and his name was Jones not Dye. I was very disconcerted because I had looked on this man as your friend Mr. Dye all the week.

Do you remember the Bay Tree near the corner of the bowling green at Balliol? I have never in my life seen a Bay Tree, but the description The Green Bay Tree suits this tree so well that it cannot be anything else. The leaves were so startlingly, so gloriously green and fresh that it put all the other trees to shame. It is one of the things I liked best in Oxford.

I have not told you about the Westonbirt Grounds. The Head Mistress, (it is a boarding school for rich young ladies most of the year) a Miss Grubb by name and a naturalist by inclination gave us a talk about the place. The original owners had been very keen on trees. Not only had they taken immense pains to grow exotic trees which were watched with envy from Kew Gardens, but they had planted them with an artist's eye for beauty. And the gardens were very beautiful indeed. There were magnificent cypress trees that looked like living green flames in the sun and cliffs of green coral in the shadow. And huge trees with massive silver trunks whose graceful leaves made giant caves of brilliant green. The massive strength, stillness and quietness of the ancient seemingly immortal trunks contrasted with the extreme delicacy of the vivid leaves trembling and glittering in the sun. There was every variety of colour, of shape and form, brightness and shadows. When I first saw them lit up magically by the sun I thought it would give me too much pain to leave them at the end of the fortnight. It is much easier to see the beauty of old trees than the beauty of ancient colleges.

When I was riding by bus passed Kensington Gardens I noticed that most of the trees looked very dowdy indeed. They could, in fact, only be called green at all in a spirit of obsequious flattery.. I think that the controllers of Kensington Gardens could show more imagination in their planting policy and plant for colour as well as for size and dignity. There are some trees, apparently of foreign origin (such as the Green Bay Tree at Oxford and some of the great trees at Westonbirt) that keep their beautiful, fresh, vivid green colour all through the summer. They should be able to defy the London air even better than such natives as the oak and chestnut, and would bring new life to a place where most colour is killed by the smoke and the soot. Perhaps you could mention this to Mrs. Polanyi. Surely she will meet some of the Keepers of Kensington Gardens when she works in Exhibition Road. I am positive they live round about there and I am certain they would welcome our advice in this matter.

I liked Westonbirt so much that on the last day instead of busing to Tetbury like everybody else I decided (after arranging for some kind person to look after my luggage) to walk there for it was a bright pleasant day. But it was a disappointing walk. The road was lined with hedges so high that they completely hid the countryside from me. I saw nothing but hedges and road and motor cars. And my shoes blistered my feet. When I arrived at the station I had great difficulty in walking without limping and in maintaining a smile which showed how much I had enjoyed the walk. My dignity as a pedestrian demanded, of course, that I should not limp. There is nothing that gives motor riders greater cause for complacency than to see a pedestrian wishing he was a motorist.

One curious thing about Gloucestershire is the extraordinary number of flies it produces. It was impossible to leave the house without acquiring a monstrous halo of noisy indefigable flies. But to their credit it must be said that they invariable took their leave as soon as one entered the house. Which was very fortunate.

At the Summer School (London) I saw for the first time a USA magazine called Science and Society. The title is misleading I think, for far from being narrow and it dealt with a wide variety of subjects at a high cultural and intellectual level. Or so it seemed to me. Possibly my judgment is false and it is a bad magazine but I found two articles very interesting. One called the Slave Owners Conspiracy showing how the arguments put forward by the Slave Owners of the Southern States to justify their society could equally well be applied against the white workers of the North. And the other article was a review of

Marlow's Dr. Faustus placing the play in the political and intellectual setting of the times, when the growth of individualism was breaking up the unity of society.

By the way. In connection with the Leed's Citizen's campaign on education, do you ever listen to the B.B.C. programme for schools? I would be interested to hear if you thought that this programme was playing a proper part in the education of children.

Do you remember I mentioned Dr. Lewis in not altogether favourable terms when I last wrote? This was partly due to the fact that when I first met him, Mr. Adams said that Miss Palmer had just come from the Oxford Summer School and Dr. Lewis' immediate reaction was to say "How greedy". But later I changed my opinion. He laughed when I made a joke which shows what a nice person he is.

This letter is shamefully long and all about nothing very much. Please forgive me. It might be a very long time before I feel inclined to write any more letters so I wanted to say most of what I had to say. But I always find that I bore myself ~~towards the end of writing~~ when I spend a long time writing a letter. So I will stop now.

Yours sincerely,

Margery Palmer.

P.S. In Mondays Herald W.N. Ewer explains that all the world's present troubles are due to Russia's unscrupulous desire to expand her sphere of influence. And that in this expansionism she is encouraging fascist states like Albania and Rumania. In your class on Int.Relations couldn't you set your students to analyse and criticism the Daily Herald treatment of Foreign Affairs as an Essay Subject? And then post them all to the Editor.

PPS Please regard spelling with tolerance.

24 Grange Gardens,
London N.E. 25
3. September 1946.

Dear Doctor Polanyi,

I hope you won't be too disappointed with the enclosed essay, which is a very poor recast of all I learnt in your seminars, and from your very fine lecture.

Everything seemed very clear at the weekend + I composed a brilliant thesis - in my mind! However when I attempted to write yesterday it seemed to disappear.

Thank you for a very interesting and stimulating week.

Yours sincerely
Mary. K. O'Leary.

11, Clayton Road,
Lymington.

3. 9. '46.

Dear Dr. Kolaniyi,
Thank-you for your letter of the
30th. August, I am pleased to say I reached
home safely & full of good memories of
the summer school.

After reflection, I am glad
to say the lectures & discussions were
of great benefit to me, as I am sure,
they were to my fellow students. In these
days of international difficulties it is
precious to have some idea of the
problems that confront peoples of all

2.

many nations. Therefore I think I can
justly claim that my scholarship at
Oxford last week has given me a
wealth of information which cannot
but subsequently help me to understand
more fully the meaning of International
Politics in the light as outlined
by yourself.

I am looking forward to the
arrival of the snap. shots & promise you
as soon as they do arrive I'll send
you a copy.

It was a very great pleasure
meeting you Dr. Blangi & I shall always
remember the part you played to make
my week at Oxford so successful.

Yours very sincerely,
Guy C. Rogers.

99, Kathleen Rd,
S. Yardley,

B'ham, 25.

3/9/46

Dear Pt. P. Mungy,

Thank you for
your letter concerning the Summer
School held at Ruskin College,
Oxford.

It was with some trepidation
that I attended the school as
I thought I might find that
as a comparative "freshman" I
should be out of my depth, my
fears were groundless, not once did
I find myself floundering. On the
contrary, I found the discussions
and lectures easy to follow,
extremely interesting and most stimulating.
I now feel that having heard
so many other people putting

their thoughts, ideas and theories
into words I shall not experience
so much difficulty in that direction
myself in the future.

I attended my first Summer
School at Southampton last year,
and was most favorably impressed,
but my recent experience at Puckin
College has done far more than
that, I intend to follow up
my studies of International Affairs
and with the help of the
books recommended by you to
concentrate on the United Nations
Organization and on Russia.

I feel that by concentrating
quite a large part of our studies
on one subject as we did I
really learnt something about

U. N. O., and gained a footing
as far as studying that subject
is concerned, and that now the
initial steps are taken I can
really begin to study and
understand the subject.

Apart from the actual work
done at Purdie College last
week I think we all gained a
broader view of life since we
came into contact with such a
mixed gathering of people, truly a
democratic gathering for not one
did snobby "wear its' ugly head,"
on the contrary everyone seemed to
mix very well. The community life
is also very stimulating to those
that are not accustomed to it,
it gives one a greater chance,

a better understanding of others and
teaches one to consider other people,
a lesson which I think has
been neglected but cannot be
over-emphasized.

I hope that I shall be
able to attend other Summer
Schools and gain as much from
them as I did from Pontiac.

I hope that the above views
and of the nature of experience
required, any advice you may be
able to offer in connection with
International Affairs will be
gratefully accepted,

Yours sincerely,

Beryl A. Bennett

(Miss)

97, College Place,
N.W.1.

4th September, 1946.

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

17 SEP 1946

Dear Doctor,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th August and in reply I would like to say how much I appreciated my week at the Summer School.

My impression of the School, as a whole, was very stimulating and encouraging from the point that there are so many people to be had who are interested in the well-being of their fellow workers.

With regards to our own particular group of study "International Affairs", I am afraid we did not make much headway, for we did not see to come to any definite line as to what could be done insofar as bringing the great problem of agreement between the two Powers on the subject of Germany's future. We were all agreed that this problem was the problem in the settlement of the affairs in Europe.

I have been wondering whether we are not labouring under the ~~fact~~ premises that the German nation are to blame for the terrible state of affairs that have been allowed to exist in Europe during the past fifteen years.

I believe there is a case to be made where we should really review the whole position of principle of National Socialism. As I had already expressed that we have never appeared to have given the National Socialist Government which came into power in 1933 a real and fair chance to show what it could do. You will remember that immediately they came into power practically the whole world opposed them with the result that whatever they did, whether good or bad, was totally misinterpreted, with the consequences that led up to the September 1st 1939.

I am afraid this viewpoint of mine may appear a little unpopular, but it is my sincerest opinion.

I need hardly add that I was very interested and appreciated very much your help in the seminars and I could understand many of your points put forward. Nevertheless we seem to have made little progress insofar as filling the 'vacuum' in Europe today.

I, too, enjoyed our work together at the School. It was a great pleasure to me and I look forward to having the pleasure of meeting you again at some future occasion.

Yours very sincerely,

Konrad J. Kohl

37 Connaught Avenue,
Mutley, Plymouth,
S. Devon.

September 5th, 1946.

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

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

Thank you for your letter of August 30th. and its request for an account of "what I got out of the School", but before I plunge into a description of its effect on me, let me take this opportunity of thanking you, not only for the way in which you managed to put over so vast a subject as U.N.O., but also for the very friendly and helpful manner in which it was done.

It would be foolish of me to suggest that others could not have coached us so well, since my experience of this type of thing prior to the Summer School was exactly nil. But I am sure that it would be difficult to have done it better.

I think my impressions of the school can be definitely divided into two categories, firstly the personal contact with other trade union enthusiasts, all thirsting for knowledge and secondly, the introduction to a policy of clear thinking in international problems which in turn stimulated an interest in current political affairs, an interest I hope I shall not easily lose.

The effect of personal contact cannot be too strongly emphasised. I had previously mixed almost exclusively with my own Civil Service Clerical Association colleagues and even then merely in a rather dry routine way. But the intercourse, the exchange of views, the arguments and above all the obviously genuine purposefulness of those I met at Ruskin was a revelation. I think if I had learned nothing in my study group and picked up nothing from the lectures, it would have been worth while if only to gain that unexpected glimpse of a common search after knowledge, education, call it what you will. I had not believed it to exist, but I was very happy to find myself mistaken.

I have always been of an enquiring turn of mind and I suppose I have, over a period of years, imbibed a good deal of knowledge of one sort or another, much of it, really, of very little value. But last week's course of constructive thinking under authoritative tuition has awakened an interest in international affairs which I must confess is as much due to an intellectual enjoyment of the subject as to the more practical benefits resulting from that world co-operation which we were discussing. This is not to say that I overlook or under-estimate the latter, for obviously the more sedulously we pursue this quest for international understanding, the quicker we shall all eventually achieve it. But, frankly, this is the "long term" policy and to me the more immediate result has been a kindling of intellectual activity. Whether I can sustain it for long is difficult to say at present, but you have definitely started me off and I am very grateful to you for it.

I have not mentioned our socials and "conducted tours" which were so conducive to pleasant relaxation and cheerful companionship, nor my wanderings around Oxford's venerable seats of learning, which very definitely have an atmosphere all their own. These I might easily have obtained whilst merely on holiday. But that unexpected glimpse of intellectual endeavour amongst so many apparently ordinary folk and the mental resurgence which I felt myself - these are the two outstanding results of my Summer School at Ruskin, due in general to the activities of the W.E.A. and in particular to my good fortune in joining the discussion group on International Affairs.

Once again, thank you for all you have done.

Yours very sincerely,

Alfred S. McComish

H. W. Pearson
Bennington College
Bennington, VT



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Prof. Karl Polanyi

R.R. # 3

Pickering, Ontario
Canada

Meeting of Interdisciplinary
Project:

Time: Mon, Sept. 9, 10:30 AM

Place: Apt. 76, 423 W. 120th, NY

Subjects for discussion:

1. Money Uses and Patterns
of Integration

C. M. Frensborg

2. F. R. Steiner's, "Toward
a classification of Labor"

W. C. Neale

Paul Bohannon

Terence Hopkins

3. "Our Daily Bread," Lukellis

Daniel E. Gershenson

4. The ~~proposed~~ ^{Proposed} Symposium
on money

H. W. Pearson

HWP

30 Gwar-y. cream
Fort Talbot.
5 Sept 1956

Dear Dr Polanyi, I feel that I should be doing less than my duty if I did not write and thank you for making my week at Ruskin College such a pleasant & a profitable one, pleasant because of the spirit of friendliness and comradeship that prevailed, and profitable for the experience and knowledge gained. Indeed one cannot but realize after listening to your talks, that the greatest problem we have to face in the world today, is the problem of overcoming universal ignorance.

We as students were representative of the Trade Union movement, and in a position to be of service, yet we found that our knowledge of international affairs was practically nil. This made your task a very difficult one, yet I feel that the end of the week must have brought you some satisfaction, for in the group in which I sat, a very lively interest had been aroused, & one felt that one week on such a subject was hopelessly inadequate. Short though the time may have been, it was long enough to convince the group that it

was a subject that merited their earnest attention.
I am sure we will be in a better position to
discuss these problems if we should have
the opportunity of meeting again.

I would like to thank you
for your kindness and understanding, my
emotionalism oftentimes runs away with me, yet
I would like you to believe that it is founded
on a very real desire to live in harmony
with our neighbours. I have resolved that
the ideals for which I live, can best be
realized by obtaining a fuller understanding
and knowledge of the world and its peoples.

Yours is a great and noble task
I hope that you will be long spared to
serve humanity in the way in which you are
now doing

Yours very sincerely,
Gwyn Lewis

the paper man
we have in the
group KP

2, Inverce Gardens,
Central Park,
Plymouth.

5.9.46.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

Many thanks
for your letter of the 30th Aug.

I am very happy
to know you enjoyed working
with our group so much - we
felt the same in having you
as our tutor.

I enclose a statement
of my impressions of the
Summer School, it is rather longer
than you asked for so I hope
you don't mind. I started on
it last night and finished
it at 1.30 a.m. I enjoyed doing
it.

With best wishes,
Yours faithfully,
Fredley.

1
My Impression of The National
Summer School, Ruskin College, Oxford.

24.8.46 - 31.8.46.

No words of mine can express how
much I enjoyed my stay at the
above school. To me it was an
experience I enjoyed to the full, and
it has helped me in this respect. I
feel it has considerably broadened
my mind, thereby opening up new
fields of study to find further
education on matters which are of
paramount importance today in
a world of swiftly changing
conditions.

A spirit of fraternity existed
throughout the school, this was
made easy on the first day owing
to all the students wearing fraternity
badges with their names on, and it

was not long before we were calling each other by our Christian names - a good start I thought.

On Sunday morning we all met in the main assembly hall of the college and were given instructions by the Director of Studies: Mr. J. S. Roper, B. Litt, and given the programme for the week.

Monday morning the opening lecture was given by Mr. Roper on the "Trade Union Movement, its Privileges and Responsibilities". It was a most interesting lecture, giving us a good idea as to the valuable part the trade unions will play in the new social order. Mr. Roper had some interesting things to say about the early struggles of trade unionism and remarked that their success was due to their

declared goal of "social justice. He further remarked that today trade unionism had a greater chance of success owing to the Government's full employment policy.

On Tuesday morning we listened to a lecture by Mrs. S. Rose, B.A. on Post War Industrial & Social Legislation. She referred to the election manifesto of the Labour Party and declared that up to now the party was adhering to its declared policy of nationalisation of basic industries and of a new social order. It was pointed out that millions of pounds had been spent on advertising by private enterprise, this would be saved under nationalisation and the hope was expressed that the money would

2

would be diverted to the more
useful field of industrial research.

Wednesday morning a most interesting
lecture was given by Dr. K. Polanyi,
(Dr. Jur.) on "International Affairs -
Britain and the World Outside". He
described how wars are caused
by unorganised territories having
no power and tending to cause a
political vacuum into which the
interests of great powers are
inevitably drawn. He referred to
Germany and the greater part of
Europe being one vast political
vacuum, over which, the three
big powers, Russia, U.S.A. and Britain
could not come to any satisfactory
agreement, thereby holding up the
function of U.N.O. It was pointed
out that U.N.O. could do a

4

The final lecture of the week was given by Mr. E. Green, M.A. J.P. on Friday evening dealing with the Education Act, 1944. He compared the Act with previous acts and remarked that it was a big advance in the right direction in equipping our children with more knowledge. He pointed out however, that the new act would not come into force until April 1947, thus leaving a gap in which thousands of children would miss the benefits of the Act. To help fill in the gap he stressed the importance of adult education of which grown up members of the community should avail themselves and fit themselves for active citizenship. Education he said

wonderful service to the World,
but could only begin to function
effectively when the 3 great powers
guarantee the independence of
smaller nations and give them
a roof of organised power. In this
direction, Dr. Tolanyi felt that
Britain could play an important
part by becoming a strong
moral influence on the continent
just like liberalism was in the
19th century. Tens of millions of
people were looking to Britain
for strong leadership, and no
time should be lost in giving
them that leadership.

Thursday morning we listened
to an interesting lecture given by
Mr. S. Hoos on "The Individual
Within a Controlled Economy"

Controls he said, had been the
 subject of fierce attacks by the
 opponents of the Government. It
 was pointed out that formerly
 we have always been subjected
 to a certain amount of controls
 in order that the functions of
 State would work properly. The
 difference now was, that under
 a controlled economy, individuals
 would play a more important
 part in that they would be
 doing a job most suited to their
 particular talents. Mr. Hoos
 strongly stressed that it was
 the duty of every trade unionist
 to do all in their power to help
 the State in seeing that democracy
 worked even better under a system
 of controlled economy.

was of paramount importance
in making our country strong.

To encourage adult education
L. E. A. S. should provide education
in more attractive surroundings
such as attractive rooms and
furniture, satisfactory lighting
and heating. It would then be
found that more people would
join classes than would be
the case, as is now, in which
people have to in many instances,
sit in cold cramped rooms.

So ends my survey of the
lectures, there is too much more I
could have added about them
but time does not permit me
to do so.

Apart from the lectures we
all took part in discussion groups.

My particular group was on "International Co-operation & understanding" and I must say that I enjoyed the discussions on the subject immensely, and I feel that the members of our group derived great help from Dr. Blaupe in getting to understand the problems of the World today in trying to establish a lasting peace.

A word about my fellow students: to me they were a grand set of people. To hear their various opinions on the lectures and on trade unionism was of further education to me and I was sorry when the time came when we all had to say goodbye.

In conclusion I must pay
tribute to Mr. Harry Stull
the Resident Summer School
Secretary he did everything
to make our stay a happy
one by organising road tours,
boat trips and visits to
the various colleges in Oxford

The domestic staff are
worthy of praise too, nothing
was a trouble to them, and the
food they served up was
very good indeed.

Such are my impressions
of the National Summer School
and I say well done! N.E.A.!!

James Pedley,
2, Norrow Gardens,
Central Park,
Plymouth.

34 Mount St.,
Rochdale.

6 Sept 46.

Dear Dr. Polanyi

Thank you so much for your letter of the 30 Aug 46. I had a very comfortable journey home and arrived here at 6 pm - just in time for tea. Yes, that is the time we have tea up in the North.

I did intend writing an essay on our subject but owing to the limited number of the recommended books I was unable to read them. Consequently I have only my own crude notes and my memory of the discussions to guide me. It would necessitate some hard thinking in order to compose an elementary effort. I could not hope to put out a worthy manuscript in so short a time as you request.

In view of this I trust that this epistle will be acceptable.

I am enclosing a stamped addressed envelope and I would greatly appreciate it if you

would kindly let me have your remarks and advice on my efforts.

I realise that your time is fully occupied and that this is a big favour to ask. However, your remarks and advice are of great value to me, and your reply, no matter how long in coming, will still be appreciated.

In conclusion may I take this opportunity of thanking you once again for a stimulating and enjoyable week.

Yours sincerely

H. Worswick.

International Co-operation.

A Power Vacuum is created when a country is over-run and decisively defeated in battle. This power vacuum consists of the area of disintegration which lies between the victorious powers. Such

disintegration cannot be maintained indefinitely.

If left to themselves the peoples within the area will inevitably re-organise themselves and are liable to become a danger to the peace.

This danger lies not so much in the reorganisation of the people as in the determination of the ruling capitalists to maintain their stranglehold on the means of production.

Working class Governments are suppressed because they represent a great danger to the capitalist. And so a government is set up which will act in accordance with the desires of the conquerors. Such states are known as Buffer States.

They act as a Buffer between the Great Powers.

The fact that the Powers distrust each other sufficiently to require these buffers makes them a hot bed of intrigue. While the buffer itself tends to develop into a future menace.

The Buffer State is a short-

term method of maintaining peace.

The next best method of maintaining peace is through UNO. But here again the intrigue inherent in capitalism makes UNO almost still born.

The League of Nations failed because of these elements and because it was used as an instrument to further the ends of capitalism.

It is true that UNO differs in some vital respects from the League but the capitalists have already shown that even so they will not allow it to stand in the way of their idea of progress.

The only solution to these problems is a world state under world socialism. So long as we have capitalism in our midst we shall have war.

42 Warren Farm Rd,
Kingsstanding,

Bham 22C.

6.9.46

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

Thank you very much for
your letter.

I certainly benefited greatly from
Ruskin College Summer School. Before
that week, although I was, of course,
very interested in the problem of UNO
& International affairs, I did not know
how to approach so vast a subject.
Our seminars & discussions and your
reading suggestions have started me
on the right footing to a better (or
should I say - slight?) understanding of
UNO and its problems.

It was my first experience of
summer schools but I am determined

not to make it my last! At the end of the week, after listening to all the discussions and arguments of older and more experienced members of the school, I began to feel a little more confident of expressing my own views, and beliefs and should have greatly valued a further week on the subject.

Personally, I feel that UNO, as a World Federation, is essential and should be the definite aim of everyone. After all, small state federations function quite satisfactorily so why shouldn't a large World Federation do so? The Atom Bomb should be the property of that Federation as a whole, not a

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closely guarded secret of a few
major countries.

That, I think, sums up my
rather mixed feelings after leaving
the Summer School.

Yours Sincerely

Marion W. Ainge.

374
N

43. Lywell Rd
B. Ham 22c
8-9-46

Dear Karl Polanyi,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 30th August, but, I very much regret, that owing to pressure of business, I have been unable to reply sooner.

Nevertheless, about the school I must say, that my general knowledge on such matters as U.N.O. has been increased substantially, & that in hearing other people's view-points in the Discussion Group it has helped me to formulate & substantiate my own views on this particular subject.

With regard to the school itself by mixing with the people who took part, it has given me information on a certain vocations, about which, I was really rather ignorant.

One circle of friends, was also increased, & will, no doubt, be renewed at subsequent summer schools.

The school's situation in Oxford, was really ideal, for there was easy access to the colleges, & other places of interest.

The social side of courses, should not be neglected, for here, if one is sufficiently interested, one can learn a good deal, & which could be put to good use, in one's own

by Youth Group, is @ Home
Tell Karl, I'm afraid that
about all I can say on the
subject at the moment, & I
hope it meets your requirements.

One last point, I'm afraid
that @ the end of the school, ~~and~~
did have time to say goodbye to
everyone, & I in the turmoil, you
seemed to disappear completely &
I should, therefore, like to thank
you here & now for the way
you controlled the Discussion
Group, for you made it very
~~interesting~~ interesting indeed.

My only regret is, that
we ~~could~~ didn't commence
the two "commission" earlier
in the week, for I found these

much more interesting, than
endeavouring to read thro' a
few rather dry books.

In these commissions, I
found that people loosened their
shoes up quite a lot, & were not
afraid to speak their ~~own~~ mind
as, I am afraid, they were so
inclined, in the main Discussion
Group.

Yours sincerely,

Clive A. Blakemore

49th Housley Lane Sals
N.B.

16th Sept, '46

Dear Mr. Hart,

I enclose some
of the the students' letters.
And a receipt. Yours,

To us

K. B. Langzi

49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N.6.

26th September, 1946

The Secretary,
International Department,
Transport House,
Smith Square,
S.W.1.

Dear Denis Healey,

A few days ago two official invitations reached me from Budapest, with considerable delay. One, in Hungarian, was from the rector magnificus of the University of Budapest, the other, in English, from the Dean of the Faculty of Law and Political Science. I enclose a translation of the first and a copy of the second. The latter, as you will see, emphasises the intention to foster contact between Hungary and Britain in the field of science. The Rector's invitation is for a solemn address in the aula of the University. I understand that this is the first gesture directed towards cultural co-operation that has yet reached us from Hungary. The University is, of course, an autonomous body and no change in its status has occurred, I gather.

Personally, it was most gratifying to me to receive such an invitation from my university, which I was made to leave as a socialist student - more than forty years ago - after having engaged in anti-clerical demonstrations. Also, I am pleased that my work as a scholar is appreciated in my country of origin. But, what excites me most, at this juncture, is the chance of responding to the call for cultural contact. Time, however, is very short if I am to reach Budapest by 15th October. I am determined to try in any case and am applying to-morrow for a clearance for Hungary and the necessary priority for a flight to Prag (I possess a British Passport with which I visited America during the war). I wonder whether you could be helpful to me in this matter? I suggest that I see you at your office as soon as I hear from you. Since the matter is urgent, could you please ring me either to-morrow, Friday night between 9 p.m. and 11.30 p.m. or on Saturday morning? (MOU:ntview 274B)

Yours fraternally,

P.S. My status is that of a Senior Lecturer for the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford. - I was Lecturer

1943, September 15

1943, September 15

for Social Sciences at Bennington College, Bennington, Vt, U.S.A. (1940-43). - Since 1934 I have been working under the W.E.A. - This summer I was Lecturer for International Affairs at the National Summer School of the W.E.A. for Trade Unionists, at Ruskin College. I enclose a blurb for your further information.

Very truly yours,

A few days ago I received a letter from you asking me to write a blurb for your book on the history of the W.E.A. I am pleased to hear that you are interested in the history of the W.E.A. and I am sure that your book will be a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the W.E.A. I have been working under the W.E.A. since 1934 and I have had a great deal of experience in the W.E.A. I have been working under the W.E.A. since 1934 and I have had a great deal of experience in the W.E.A. I have been working under the W.E.A. since 1934 and I have had a great deal of experience in the W.E.A.

Personally, it was very interesting to me to receive such an invitation from my university, which I was sure to leave as a result of my student - more than forty years ago - when having regarded it as a historical document. I am pleased that you are interested in the history of the W.E.A. and I am sure that your book will be a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the W.E.A. I have been working under the W.E.A. since 1934 and I have had a great deal of experience in the W.E.A. I have been working under the W.E.A. since 1934 and I have had a great deal of experience in the W.E.A.

I suggest that I see you at your office as soon as I hear from you. I am sure that you will be glad to see me. I am sure that you will be glad to see me. I am sure that you will be glad to see me.

Very truly yours,

I am sure that you will be glad to see me. I am sure that you will be glad to see me. I am sure that you will be glad to see me.

1.10.46

67. Oxline
Stonpende
Herts

Dear old Paul,

It was very good of you to come over, see us, & have
the enjoyment of your mind. I had been now
typed out the précis of my ideas. These include
an attempt to express what I can grasp of your
thought about freedom, & the necessity of realising
that man can only build real freedom on the
acceptance of truth that ^{at first} comes to him as
a severe shock - like the fact of death, which
is imposed on man as a result of his being
a physical organism - similarly, ^{it is the nature of} society
to 'embody' itself in ~~institutions~~ institutions;
as man is a social animal this
ineradicable habit of man's social nature
imposes on man as a social creature a
similar necessity to accept society - &
not the mere fact of society, but the actual
concrete historical developments in which
society expresses itself for ^{today} the state, the
industrial structure of modern society etc.
I have tried to put down ~~the~~ what I have
been able to understand of this, attempting
to clarify it in the light of an discussion.
I'm sending the notes along because I don't

how critically important it is - that, in fact,
~~understand~~ it is there is no moral or total
obligation imposed on us by an situation
today. But I don't see very far & my
grasp of it is, I fear, very naive. So
I want you to criticise my notes on it,
if you can find time.

The fact is that my mind is ve-
stupid, at least in the sense that it
works very slowly. I can only express
this mystery in the form of the Platonic
myth. When the Demiourgos, (as described
in the Timaeus), got busy making this world
of ours, he originally designed me to be
one of those remnants that chew the cud -
a cow probably; but, as you'll remember,
he took a holiday every now & then, things
got a bit mixed up during the vacation
& I ~~ended~~ instead of being a cow as intended
I turned into a man; the result was
that the chewing the cud business, instead
of getting into the stomach (as it should have
done) went to my head, & has 'stayed put'
ever since. I used to find this leisurely
'unhurriable' (if I may so put it) habit

of mental assimilation & production in me
extremely exasperating; but experience has
taught me that the mind would be hurried
in its essential processes any more than
the stomach of the ruminant; in fact
this basic rhythm of the mind's functioning
is one of those harsh necessities (so
shocking at first) on which out of the recognition
of which alone true freedom can emerge.

^{So this}
~~has~~ slowness of the digestive & productive
activities of the mind amid the vast
field of appetizing tempting knowledge,
however disappointing it may be & however
much envy of better & quicker digestions
it may sometimes rouse in one, is a
fact that must be accepted with the
natural piety with which a sensible man
accepts the nature of his ^{physical} digestion.

It is as futile to try to bully the one as
the other. Plato himself, in the form of
my Socratic voice (which as you know
never deceives a man), has taught me
this ^{personal application} ~~interpretation~~ of the myth of Timaeus.

It has enabled me to find a new freedom
in the understanding + acceptance of
what cannot be altered. But I have to explain
it to my friends every now + then so that
they too may understand + not expect
one's mind to be different from what it
is made like. I mean, I didn't do it;
it was Them-Above. (I have never been rash
enough to boast that I was a self-made
man - I will say that for myself.)
~~Therefore~~ The Tortoise found it a great relief
when his friends knew he couldn't be a
hare + accepted him as a Tortoise.
I am sure you will become the same kindness.

Well, to return. I should be very grateful
for your help + advice sometimes.
I feel quite sure that your insight into
the objective concrete processes of history at
his work in an structure of society in the time
of the time, is of decisive importance, that
you can interpret it for us today better than
anyone else. So get your mind secreting its
"medicinal gum" in the form of a book
as soon as possible. Love + good wishes from
from us both. P.P.

Your letter enclosing my ramblings
just received. Thanks ever so much for
returning them.

BP

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HN/MES.WEA.

4.10.46.

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

Dear Polanyi,

NATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TRADE UNION STUDENTS
HELD AT RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD - AUG. 21st-31st
che

I have now had an opportunity of reading through various letters and essays which you so kindly forwarded to me. I found these extremely interesting and I certainly think that they testify to the diligence with which the students in question applied themselves to the work of the School.

I am returning the letters and essays herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Harry Nute

NATIONAL ORGANISING SECRETARY.

Please return

Kerületi Népdal Kiadó sajtólőnök, nagy tisztelt, aki
Erdélyi, aki jól ismeri, külön engedélyt kér az
engedély megadására.

1946 október 9

Kedves Karlikás,

El sem mondhatom, hogy milyen boldog vagyok a sürgönyöddel.
De most nem a boldogságról van szó, hanem a beutazási engedélyről.
Remélem, hogy időközben kezében van a kultuszminisztérium sürgönye, amely hirdeti,
hogy az engedély iránti kérelmet a minisztérium meleg ajánlásával benyújtották a
Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottsághoz. Beszéltem Belgár Elek külügyminisztériumi állam-
titkárral, aki szintén azes lesz, hogy az engedélyt minél hamarabb megkapjad. Mihelyt
valami biztosat tudok, értesítelek. Persze nem szabad túlságosan optimistának lenned,
mert az aligha lesz még 15-ig és esetleg a hónap végéig is elhúzódhat.

Nem tessék említést Ilonáról. Ő nem jön? Pedig de jó volna,
ha jönné. Rengeteg beszélőnivaló van és sok-sok emberrel kell megbeszélgetni a
munkáidat. Általában itt minden érdekes és olykor szép is, de ehhez akarni kell
azzá tenni.

Karli könyvének óriási hatása van annál a pár emberrel, aki olvasta.
Béthy Ottó a parlamenti könyvtár titkára oda van érte. Kér is rá, hogy hozza belőle
legalább kettőt. Különböző könyvekre volna sürgős szükségük:

- The World Today komplett a jour / az utolsó két évfolyam /
- Hugh Seaton Watson: Eastern Europe between the Wars két példány
- Francis Deák: Hungary at the Paris Conference / Oxford / két példány
- Gellanos Handbook of Marxism, 1935
- Pelányi Mihály: Full Employment and Free Trade / Cambridge /
- Balegh: Economics of Full Employment
- Barna: Hungary / Pilot Press /
- T. Barna: Redistribution of Incomes / Oxford /
- " : Profits during and after the war.
- W. Sellner: Treatise of War Inflation / Cambridge /

Ugy gondolják, hogy ez a könyvvásárlás nem fog nehézséget okozni és neked itt
a rendes árfolyamon forintban kifizetik. Hivatalos könyvtárról van szó.
Most már csak jönni kell. Márta is nagyon boldog. Nem tudom segíthetek-e a
lakás kérdés megoldásában, de megpróbálok valahol lakást is szerezni.
Magamról most már nem írek, mindent személyesen. Pedig éppen készültem
egy hosszú levelet írni. Közben Karli egyik tanulmányát leadattam az "Új Magyarországnak".
Káldor Gyuri író is hozzá egy kis előssét. Nagy feltűnést keltett.

Mindkettőtököt és lányotokat sok szeretettel ölel

Márta és Gábor nevében is

Karlikám, nagy szeretettel írom.
Gábor avosa azt mondja, hogy nagy a sárslack járvány
is fontos volna beoltani, de itt nem lehet oltani, mert
Magyarországon, hogy bizonyos mennyiségű Magyarországon
Magyarországon, hogy bizonyos mennyiségű Magyarországon

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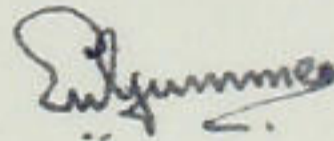
10th October, 1946.

Dear Dr. Polanyi,

It is with great regret that I have to inform you that the British Council is unable to help you with the necessary funds for your journey to Hungary, in order to lecture at Budapest University. Most regretably, the monetary allocation we command for this purpose is particularly small, and that part attributable to work in Hungary is already almost exhausted. This is indeed most unfortunate, and I sincerely hope that the inability of the Council to help will not mean that your visit has to be cancelled.

Will you let me know how your arrangements proceed? I should like to inform our Representative in Budapest if you finally decide to make the journey.

Yours sincerely,



E.N. GUMMER
Regional Officer
for the Balkans

Dr. K.P. Polanyi,
49a Hornsey Lane Gdns.,
LONDON, N.6.

October 11th, 1946

My dear Doctor Duggan,

Your brief leaders in the Bulletin make one feel vitally in touch with the Institute and its outlook. In those crystal clear articles you always manage to find a nail which is pointed and strong, to direct it towards the recalcitrant core of the matter, and then to hit it on the head. I can almost hear the merciless taps with which the argument is driven home. Often one marvels which is more in evidence: the realism or the idealism of the performance? Either way, I can not help feeling that it contains in nuce the moral and intellectual secret of what stands out as an internationally effective educational institution. I will be always proud to have been associated with one of its early ventures.

I am writing in view of a visit to the States which I am planning for Fall 1947. I still gratefully remember your offer to put my name forward for a post with the Graduate Faculty of Bryn Mawr in spring 1943. I felt, however, that I should return to England during the War, and, most reluctantly relinquished the opportunity. Well, I did not quite miss the war over here, but I am now beginning to miss America. I do not think, though, that I should undertake a lecture tour. The time has come for me to do residential academic work combined with research. The emphasis is on the latter, since the theo

ries which I hope to have established in my book ('The Great Transformation' or, in the English edition 'Origins of Our Time') seem to me to demand application (especially to American development).

I would greatly appreciate the chance of a Visiting Professorship, preferably with a Graduate Faculty, for a one year's, or a two year's term. Should such an opening offer, my application would, if necessary, be supported from this country by Lord Lindsay, R.H. Tawney, Karl Mannheim, and others. As American references I may mention John Dewey, R.M. MacIver, Lewis Mumford, Malteism W. Stewart, and Oscar Jaszi. At present I am Lecturer for the Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford (with Senior status). Quite recently I received an invitation from the University of Budapest, Faculty of Law and Political Science, to deliver a series of lectures in my field. The Rector Magnificus moreover asked me to give a formal address in the aula of my Alma Mater. The date is, alternatively, November 1946, or May, 1947. I am still waiting for the Russian permit of entry. The invitation is, I understand, mainly due to the increasing appreciation of my above mentioned work.

I always endeavoured to refrain from over-specialization, and should prefer a post where I would be expected to help students to achieve the integrated view of society which is peculiar to my approach. However, should I have to narrow my field, I might take either Political Theory, or International Relations. I have recently

3.

been elected full Member of the Royal
Institute of International Affairs. I am
59.

I am confident that you will not feel
that I am presuming if I turn to you in
this matter. Frankly, I feel a nostalgia
for the States, from which I somewhat violent-
ly wrenched myself after my residence at
Bennington, whence not only my friend
Robert D. Leigh, but also most of my colleagues
colleagues have long since departed in the
turmoil of the war. It is high time that
I again stretch my mind where there is room
to do so. There is still good work to do
for our generation, which has, as I firmly
believe, not yet spent itself.

With warm good wishes and cordial
remembrance,

Sincerely yours,

Karl Pokanyi.

Please remember me to Dr. Fisher,
with my kind regards.

F

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49A, Hornsey Lane Gardens, N. 6.

12th October, 1946

Dear Mr. Gummer,

Thank you for your letter of 10th October.

Sean Eckhart's wire of 1st October had a pathetic ring. It ran: "Having received your telegram are awaiting you with great joy. But to our great regret owing to war-time and misery we can not afford any expenses". This sounded almost like an appeal to this side. However, since public funds are, as you indicate, not forthcoming, I suppose I will have to carry expenses myself. Should the lecture series not start in October, I might try to use the cheaper route by way of Austria, in which case I might again turn to you for the Council's help in speeding up travelling formalities.

I will let you know as soon as I hear from Budapest, so that the Office there can be advised.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. I just had a wire from the Hungarian Ministry of Public Education concerning permit of entry and expecting an early arrival.

Very truly yours,
John Gummer

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at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope

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

October 12, 1946

My dear Professor MacIver,

The Foreword which you were kind enough to write to 'The Great Transformation', at its first appearance, in 1944, opened, if I may say so, a new chapter in my life. In spite of deficiencies of presentation - war conditions forced me to rush it to conclusion - the book has not been overlooked and the possibilities offered by its methods have been, I believe, sufficiently realized to warrant the hope of its application by others. John Dewey recently mentioned my book when referring to the spontaneous character of 19th century social protectionism as pointed out there. You will understand if I can not easily forget what the appreciation of my work owes to you.

In 1943 I left the States, after having been suggested for a post on the Graduate Faculty of Bryn Mawr; however, at that time I felt I should return to England, and relinquished the opportunity. I intend to visit the States in Fall 1947, and I am looking round for a Visiting Professorship of one or two years' term. This would allow me to continue the work begun with 'The Great Transformation'. I am hoping for a chance to help graduate students of the Social Sciences to achieve an integrated view of society. I am also regarded as qualified

to take International Relations or English Economic History. My application would, if desired, be supported by Lord Lindsay, R.A. Tawney, Karl Mannheim, and others over here. In the States I think I would be able to refer to Walter W. Stewart, Lewis Mumford, and Oscar Jaszi, as well as, in regard to International Affairs, Stephen Duggan.

My present position is that of Lecturer for the Delegacy of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford (with Senior rank). A few weeks ago I have been invited to deliver a series of lectures at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the University of Budapest. I am also asked to give a formal address in the aula of my Alma Mater. The date is fixed for November 1946 or May 1947, alternatively. May I say that in the States I have been in close touch, for many years with Dr. Stephen Duggan, under whom I did much of my work and who is always ready to be helpful. I also spent several years at Bennington College, Vermont, but most of my colleagues, like President Robert B. Leigh himself, who had invited me to Bennington, had drifted away during the war.

These are my hopes and plans. Should you be able and willing to assist me in their fulfillment, I would feel most grateful for your kind help.

Yours sincerely,

Karl Polanyi.

14th Oct, 1946

CNL Eckhart DEKAN

university
Budapest

Confirming wires from you and
Subsequently education ministry
stop please inform British
Council representative of
entry permit when available

25

Polanyi

CNL Ministry of public education
Budapest

Confirming wire concerning
entry visa and early ~~arrival~~
date stop assuming hospitality
provided stop ~~admission~~
would university to inform
British Council stop please
confirm receipt

POLANYI KAROLY

by Octave

Harpenden

Herts

21. 10. 46

Dear old Karli,

I started off some days ago to write
tell you (a) do come when you can + have
a good talk; I can't move more than 100yds
yet + glad just wants to know when she can
get things ready for you. We both want to
see you very badly; so just ring up or send
a card; (b) I want to know if there's anything
you think I ought to read to give ballast
to my theories which are rather like a spider's
web at present: anything of an economic
or political theory or development that is
essential to an ignoramus; we since
reading your book I have been immensely
scited by the belief that the splendid
massive foursquare bed-rock buildings
you are constantly do chime in with
the sadly tenuous + scraggy architectural
plans of man this world that are
emerging out of my experience + thinking -
this would be enormously encouraging to me.
To clear the pounds I set out to try and explain,
meaning to summarise in a page or two.

But I've a very bad cold of fever, & pain in the
foot, & my pen just runs away with
me at present. So forgive the prolixity
& repetition of the enclosed. My conviction
is that one simply must:

- a. Live at the point of creative advance
- b. Know the mind as a creative energy
which can make the creative advance.
- c. Grasp the significance of harmony as
the clue to the activities of the mind or
reject it as a fallacy.
- d. Do all this in the realization of that
the personal mind is not real at all except
as a member of the human ^{common-}wealth of
minds, enriching & cooperating with
one another.

You are staying just where I am most weak.
I want to go back to India to work for this
again in the new opportunities there with
more conviction & understanding.

Further I want to go with the conviction that
your work is being created in books that
will soon enlighten all of us & our
children, not just your ^{personal} contacts overseas
or in USA. It's terribly important.
Love P.S.

49 Atkinson, Lae Falls
N.B.

22 Oct 1976.

Dear Pip

just had the bad
news about your tooth.
Well, I propose that
we turn it into a
blessing in disguise,
and do a real piece
of work as long as
the plaster keeps you
from speeding away.
I'll try to come fairly
regularly, (unless I go

to Hungary which from
his angle would be
very bad) and discuss,
maybe, should it suit
you, some joint effort
which we would publish
in common. Of course,
you must feel entirely
I am completely free to
turn the suggestion down
- it may be a bad one -
without impairing & in
the least the usefulness
of our cooperation, as
it is already shaping
out at present.

All love and
An revoir Kal

Rinehart

G COMPANY INCORPORATED

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232 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 16 • N. Y.

October 23, 1946.

Karl Polanyi, Esq.,
c/o Curtis Brown, Ltd.,
6 Henrietta Street,
Covent Garden,
London, W. C. 2, England.

Dear Mr. Polanyi:

We have pleasure in sending you herewith royalty statement on *THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION* for the period ended June 30, 1946.

As you know, a reciprocal agreement was recently signed by the United States and the United Kingdom under which it is no longer necessary to withhold tax on income originating in the United States from residents of the United Kingdom who are subject to United Kingdom tax. However, in order to enable us to waive tax withholding, it is necessary to meet certain conditions. We enclose herewith blank exemption certificate in duplicate. Will you please fill in and sign same in duplicate and return both to us? According to the regulations, twenty days after receipt by us of these papers we are authorized to make payment without tax withholding.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
RINEHART & COMPANY, Inc.

Alicia Brosch

Accounting Department.

AB

49A Mornsey Lane Gardens
London N.6.

25th October, 1946.

Kezves Bankám,

Pesti utamat illetően a jelen helyzet az, hogy a beutazási engedély meg nem jött meg, de azzal számítok hogy egy két hét múlva itt lesz. Ügyemet úgy rendeztem, hogy bármikor kezen allok indulni; helyettestről mindenütt gondoskodtam.

Am meghívásom eredetileg is választásom szerint vagy okt.15-nov.15. vagy jövő év majusára szolt. En a korábbi indőpontot választottam első-sorban, majust másodikroban, de amikor kitűnt hogy a beutazási engedélyt Pesten kell kerni, akkor az egyetemi hatóságokra bíztam hogy mikorra tűzik ki az előadások datumát. A dekan azt ajánlotta, hogy halasszam tavaszra jövetelemet, minthogy a engedély megszerzése kesedelemet okozhat. Ezután jött közvetleneül a közoktatás ügyi minisztérium sürgőnye, amely biztató volt, .Am után a Te leveled, amely mindenben megerősíteni látszot a fent vázolt helyzet képet. (A közoktatás ügyi minisztériumtól a sürgönyválszomban kért megerősítő tavrát nem jött).

Tegnap előtt a pro-rektortól igen meleghangú level érkezett, okt. 15-iki kelettel, amelyben az ünnepi előadásnak részemről október második felére történt elfogadást örömmel süngőnyűn megerősítik. Azután hozzáteszi: 'Tekintettel azonban a már most beállt hűvös időjárásra s arra hogy fűtesünk nincs, megfontolando volna, hogy nem volna-e meg celszerűbb az előadást tavaszra -majusra- halasztani. Mi mindenben nagybecsű öhajtasához fogunk alkalmazkodni'.

Mindent egybevetve, a te vaszi datum fele hajlom. Mielőtt véglegesen határoznek, szeretnem ha alkalman volna esetleg erősen ellenkező nézeteket megtudni. Válaszomat azonban nem kívánom kelletnél tovább halasztani. Lehetőleg azonnal értesíts legi postával, vagy, ha mód van rá, sürgönyűleg.

Tegnap a MKP politikai akademiájának sorozatából olvastam néhány füzetet, többel között Lukacs két előadását, Revai, Rakosi, Kallai előadásait es hozzájuk fűződő vitát. Ez a marxizmus nagyobb haladást mutat a Nyugat egészezes eszmeinek a recepcioja fele, mint az úgy nevesett Nyugat a marxizmus egészezes eszmeinek a megertese es gyümölcsöztetese irányában. Az Akadémia igen jelentékeny intellektualis teljesítményt, amelyet elsősorban a kérdsek kezelési módjában látok, meg meghaladjja az erkölcsi teljesítménye. Kiváló példák erre, Revai, es Kovacs beszedei, valamint Erdének a nepies irodalom kettős hatteréről adott analízis. Bar part-, agrar- gazdaság, ipar-, hitel- sőt irodalompolitikán is szerepelnek, feltűnő a szorosabb értelemben vett tarsadalompolitika hiánya, ami kevesbbe feltűnőve teszi talán a tarsadalomtudományi, törtenelemből cseletit, sőt meg a szűkebb értelemben vett politikai elméleti anyag hiányát. Ezt nagyreszt indokolni látszik a sorozat praktikus

irányzata, amelyben ereje (es érdeme) rejlik. De ez csak a tárgyvalasztás magyarázza meg, nem a kezelési modot is. Ez utóbbi tekintetben feltűnő ellentmondás ma áll fenn, az alapfogalmak aránylagos fejletlensége és a gyarkorlati analízis magas színvonala és frappans ereje között. A magyarázat persze abban rejlik, hogy az analízis csak látszólag függ össze az alapfogalmakkal, amelyek inkább ceremonialis bevezetés szerepét játszik. Vess össze Lukács kitűnő irodalompolitikai fejtegetéseit (nem is szóva esztetikai analíziseiről) azoknak állítólagos visszavezetésével az okori társadalomnak 'ember' és 'polgár' fogalmára. Ezért nem torzítja el az eredményt a hiányos alap, amely csupán/úgyis hivatkozással ebben a vonatkozásban. De nem ez a lényeg. A (a megértést neheztelő) fontos dolog az máh amit Magyarországon ma produkál a lehető legnéhezőbb viszonyok között egy világosan látó, önfeladldozó és szíves népi demokrácia. A MKP politikai akadémiaja e nagy vállalkozás eszme fejlesztésében nyilván életfontos szerepet tölt be.

Mindenkit szeretettel üdvözlök és Tegeđ ölel

BUDAPESTI KIRÁLYI MAGYAR
PÁZMÁNY PÉTER TUDOMÁNYEGYETEM
JOG- ÉS ÁLLAMTUDOMÁNYI KARA

Charles Polányi

49a Hornsey Lane Gardens

London N 6

Téviratilag közölt kívánságának megfelelően el-
jártunk a British Council vezetőjénél, aki a mellékelt választ adta.
Így sains el kell halasztanunk a tervbevett
előadást mindaddig, míg a beutazási lehetőségek terén a viszonyok meg nem
változnak.

Budapest, 1946. október 25-én



Polányi
a jog- és államtudományi kar
e.i. dékánja

49 A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London N.6.

26th September, 1946

Dear Pip,

I have been reading and rereading your letters. These are perhaps the first utterances since I have been in this country, which have advanced my thinking in a creative way, as far as I am concerned.

(1) What emerges most clearly is your own thinking - its method, trend, unity and purport. These are the outlines of a complete philosophy. Stated more fully, they amount to a systematic philosophy of the mind, of a new and original kind.

(2) You assume, I know, that it is not original. In effect you ascribe it to Collingwood. I wonder. He is not a Christian, you, in my view, are.

(3) Lastly, you regard my own work as being somehow in the line of succession - an application to history, maybe. And demand its enlargement to the neighboring fields of human and social interest.

Of these, the first group, it appears to me, is in the most advanced and the most satisfactory stage.

The second - the connection with and the derivation from Collingwood - is less clear.

The third group of questions interests me (I cannot help it) most. Yet this is elliptic and leaves me full of burning questions.

Nothing would help me more at this juncture, than a brief statement what in your opinion my book contains. A personal precis of Origins of our Time. Whether you care to emphasize what in your opinion connects it with Collingwood, or whether you don't, I leave to you. Maybe it's only a sentence or two that needs saying. This will immensely advance our work when we meet. It is absolutely vital that we should.

Primarily I see the need for an emphatic assertion of the importance of your thought. The manner in which you link Greek and Hebrew, the manner in which you combine Collingwood and Bergson, and so on.

Secondly, I am very keen on seeing the position of the Origin more clearly related to the rest of my own thought.

26th November, 1946. Communication to Gummer.

~~Some time ago~~ I discovered that the entry permit had never been asked for. There had been a mixup. You remember we had arranged that I should advise the University to inform the British Council Office in Budapest as soon as the permit was ~~announced~~ available. ~~I was careful to do so.~~ So I did. But they understood this to mean that I was ~~asking them~~ ^{advising them} to ~~ask them~~ ^{ask them} for the support of the British Council in Budapest. This, of course, I had not done. especially since I was not ~~I understood~~ - an official visitor of the British Council. ~~At the time~~ ^{made mistake} ~~McNair also~~ ^{read discovered the mistake} ~~the vice~~ ^{the vice should have standing}

Now the British Council, for local and temporary reasons, could not ~~act at the time~~ ^{act at the time}. This made it impossible for me to act at the time. and informed the University to this effect. ~~make my visit at the first date as arranged~~ ^{make my visit at the first date as arranged}. I wrote to Lindsay to say so and asked for his permission to use his message later on.

Now the matter is put off to Spring and I will explain to the University that they should not bother the Council there.

I have made no mention of this to the Deputy Prime Minister, when he was visiting me.

Gummer: he will advise the Budapest Office.

FROM THE MASTER,
BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
26th October, 1946.

Dear Polanyi,

7m
I see that I did not read your letter properly, but I should be glad if you would say that we in the English Universities are looking with interest to the revival of learning in the Universities of Europe, and that I ask him to send greetings to the University of Budapest.

Yours sincerely,

Lindsay G. Birkbeck

Dr. Karl Polanyi.

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October 28, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Polanyi:

Dr. Duggan was delighted to read your letter of October 11th as I was and he has asked me to reply.

We are interested that you are planning to come to the United States again in the Fall of 1947 and that you would like a visiting professorship for one or two years on a graduate faculty.

We are writing a number of letters on your behalf and shall be glad to inform you later of the results.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar J. Fisher
Assistant Director

MEA:RL

W

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B or C

~~Oct 1946~~
November 5, 1946.

Dear Polanyi,

Many thanks for your letter of Nov 3.

I'm much interested in hearing
of your proposed voyage to the USA.
Academic posts here, I'm afraid, are
abundant there than here, where
university education is still far from
being on the scale which it should be.
I do not know Professor MacQueen of
Columbia, but Columbia occupies
a central position among American
universities, and is certainly a good
base from which to start.

As to the postal at the
School of Economics: - this is a
head, and the post, as you say, is
to be done by a junior one. I will
make a few inquiries, but I
shall doubt if it was worth your
trouble to take it, though it
certainly would be considered.

2

With all good wishes,

Yours truly,

Att. Tawley

Columbia University
in the City of New York

[NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 13, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Polanyi:

I have just received yours of November 8th. From my inquiries at Columbia I think your best chance would be through the Department of Economics and I suggest that you follow up my conversations by writing to Carter Goodrich on the subject. It would certainly be desirable that you mention the matter of the Institute of International Education.

With much regards.

Sincerely yours,

R. M. MacIver

R. M. MacIver

RMM: sr

COPY
Y.

THE SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE BRITISH
COMMONWEALTH AND THE U.S.S.R.

98 Gower Street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.1.

November 20, 1946.

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

20th Nov. 1946.

Dr. Carter L. Goodrich,
Professor of Economics,
Executive Officer, Department of Economics,
Columbia University,
New York 25, N.Y.

My dear Professor Goodrich,

I am writing at the suggestion of
Professor R.M. MacIver, whom I approached
on the subject of my proposed visit to the
States.

I should welcome an opportunity of
doing work as a visiting professor for a
year or two on a graduate faculty in the
United States. In these last years my inter-
est centered on studies relating to the
place occupied by the economic system in
human society. This involves, among others,
Primitive Economics, the institutional as-
pect of Market-economy, as well as the In-
ternational system, both political and eco-
nomic. In the past my studies were directed
at intervals, towards various fields of ins-
titutional economics. In 1923 I published a
study on Socialist Accountancy; in 1926 on
industrial organization; in 1933 on the world
trade depression; in 1935 on fascist corpo-
rativism; in 1937 a booklet on European po-
litics; in 1944 a book on the institutional
transformation characteristic of our period.
I feel that much remains to be done on the

lines suggested by this book, especially as regards the American scene. I would be delighted if you were found to be interested. The Institute of International Education, which is advised of my intentions, informed me of their readiness to co-operate. My present plans would take me to the States by Fall 1947, if not sooner.

Sincerely Yours,

Karl Polanyi.

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

20th November, 19
1946.

Dr. Edgar J. Fisher,
Assistant Director,
Institute of International Education,
2 W 45 Street,
New York City, N.Y.
U.S.A.

My dear Doctor Fisher,

Thank you very much for your good
letter of October 28th.

I was delighted with the friendly
reception accorded to my suggestions
by Dr. Duggan and yourself, and with the
promptness with which you followed it
up by action.

I had several letters from Prof-
essor MacIver, whom I approached on the
matter, and who welcomed my idea. He had
conversations with Professor Carter L.
Goodrich, Executive Officer, Department
of Economics, Columbia University, on the
subject and suggests that I write
to him, mentioning the interest you
were taking in my plans. I enclose a
copy of my letter to Professor Good-
rich for your information.

47A, RUMFORD LANE, LONDON, E.C. 4, ENGLAND.

21 November 1951

As to my subjects, I should like to say that I would, on the whole, prefer a professorship in International Relations or in Political Science, and believe that this should be my primary assignment. However, graduate work in institutional Economics as described in my letter to Professor Goodrich would suit me equally.

With all best wishes and kind regards,

Cordially yours,

Karl Polanyi.

Enclosure.

49A Hornsey Lane Gardens,
London N.6.

26th Nov 1946

Dear Mannheim,

Let me just add this to our telephone conversation of this morning.

As I said, I must assume that no entry permit for me had been asked for by the Budapest University authorities. This was most probably due to a misunderstanding which arose in Budapest.

In agreement with the British Council in London, I wired to Dean Eckhart, on 14th October as follows: 'Confirm wires from you and subsequently Education Ministry stop please inform British Council representative of entry permit when available'. This was in response to the latest communication to reach me on this matter from Budapest, namely from the Ministry of Education, on 12th October. It ran: 'Steps necessary for entry visa taken stop expecting arrival soon'.

Unfortunately, Dean Eckhart (as I see it) took this to mean that I advised him to consult the British Council representative, who, however, for local and transitory reasons, was not in the position to be helpful. He wrote to Dean Eckhart to this effect, who thereupon informed me that in view of the 'present position in regard to the facilities of entry', my visit would have to be put off.

I made no mention of these facts to Szakasics, Kethly Anna and Horvat, when interviewed by them about my prospective

visit to Hungary, which as I told them was now postponed to Spring. Later, I informed Kaldor György of the fact there must have been some quid pro quo in regard to the underlined passage in my wire. To stop rumours from queering the pitch, I should like to ask you to inform Minister Riesz of the contents of this letter. Of course, I have kept the British Council in London informed about developments.

On account of the extreme shortness of time, there were, as you know, minor last minute developments in regard to my application at the L.S.E. Applications had to be in by 8th November. I asked first Lindsay, the Carr, then you to be reference. By the time my application was ready, their answers were just in. I gathered you were ill, and now wrote to Ginsberg also, but in view of the shortness of time, and in order not to appear to put him under pressure I mentioned the fact that I had written simultaneously to the Secretary of the L.S.E. to be excused for an eventual delay in naming one of my references. But before the evening of the 7th, your permission came to hand, together with Ginsberg's. So I sent in both. Thanks again. I begin to have a conscience about keeping you too long on the 'phone, and so I prefer to bother you in writing about these details.

Do let me know how you have decided about your Hungarian trip. I continue to be impressed by the genuine stirring of the minds. Have you seen 'Valosag'? the new monthly of the Young Hungary? It is a fair sample of this new and honest spirit.

Mike

John
K. I. B. H.

49 Hoxbury Lane Gales
London N. 6.

25th Nov. 1946

My dear Professor MacDowall,

Thank you very much
indeed for your good letter
of November 13th.

I have written to
Professor Goudred, whose
"Frontiers of Control" was one
of the early influences which
have me lean towards
institutional studies.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,
Karl P. Olafson.



UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

DELEGACY FOR EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

REWLEY HOUSE, WELLINGTON SQUARE, OXFORD

Telegrams: EXTRAMURAL, OXFORD. Telephone: 2524

Secretary: T. L. HODGKIN, M.A. Bursar: E. H. BIRCHALL

TLH/EMB

28th November, 1946

Dear Polanyi,

Many thanks for your letter of 22nd. November.
I sent a line to the Master about the point you
raise in your second paragraph regarding the message
to Peter Pasmay University.

Yours,

Thomas Hodgkin

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

I

NLT GOODRICH COLUMBUNI

CABLE RECEIVED STOP NNNNN DELIGHTED WITH OFFER OF APPOINTMENT AND DETAILS OF ASSIGNMENT STOP CONFIDENTLY EXPECTING TO BE ABLE TO CABLE DEFINITE ACCEPTANCE ON SATURDAY 30 TH NOVEMBER

[1946]

KARL POLANYI
TELEPHONE MOUNTVIEW 2748.

Sent: 30th November 12.p.m.

II

DLT GOODRICH COLUMUNI

ACCEPT
CORDIALLY

Karl Polanyi

FROM THE MASTER,
BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
5th December, 1946.

Dear Polanyi,

I am most excited to hear that you are going
to Columbia.

Yours sincerely,

Lindsay R. Bishop

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

65 H.Q., HERFORD, B.A.O.R.

7th December 1946.

Dr. Karl Mannheim,
5, The Park,
London, N.W.11.

Dear Dr. Mannheim,

I have just finished reading "Diagnosis of our Time" and felt that I would like to write and say how absorbing I found it.

Unfortunately I am not a sociologist, but I have for many years been extremely interested in education, and the study of education must of necessity involve a study of human society.

For some time past I have been thinking on general terms about the problem of "How large should an organisation be?", and your book has made me realise that this might be an important question in future planning. Attached are a few sketchy ideas upon this problem, which I feel has not received in the past the attention that it should.

I should be very interested, if you could spare the time, to know what your own views upon this problem are.

When Mr. Trevelyan, my Director, heard that I was writing, he asked me to convey his regards to you.

Yours faithfully,

CHG/MF.

FIRST NOTES UPON THE OPTIMUM SIZE OF AN ORGANISATION.

' Diagnosis of our Time' (Karl Mannheim) makes an incontrovertible case for viewing the society of the future as a planned organisation. It is immediately apparent that the optimum size for efficiency of an organisation should receive careful consideration. Too small an organisation may be inefficient in that it may have too much administration, or in that all possible resources are not completely utilised, while too large an organisation will fail because of the natural limitations to the powers of apprehension of human beings. The more complex a piece of machinery the greater the skill necessary to ensure that it works efficiently.

I do not know of any modern statement on this problem. The only relevant observations which I can recall are those in the "Republic" of Plato, referring to the best size for a self-governing town. I am unable to verify Plato's figures, but I believe he put this down as 5,000 freemen and 30,000 slaves.

Examples of small organisations which have grown into larger ones. (i) The large number of relatively small railway companies which amalgamated into the larger companies and eventually became the "Big Five" as we know them today. (ii) The amalgamation of small private banks into a few large organisations is another case in point. (iii) The present-day tendency to research laboratories to be large affairs, rather than the individual and "backroom" kind typified by Cavendish or Dalton, would indicate that it has been found more efficient to do scientific research upon team lines.

Examples of organisations which have been found too large to work efficiently. (i) Ministry of Supply during the present war. This was divided into what were virtually watertight compartments, dealing with various aspects of the war supply problem.

(ii) The tendency with present-day large organisations to regard modern Management-theory as "from-the-bottom-up" rather than "from-the-top-down". See the article in the "Harvard Business Review", Summer, 1946, "Freedom within Management" by W. B. Given. This pleads for de-centralisation of very large businesses. He quotes a case of a large company of 9 departments in which the financial procedure formerly was to assign so much money to each department. Today each of the 9 managers budgets for his own department and the President of the organisation acts almost wholly in a co-ordinating function. Managers of departments are given to understand "that what they do not spend may be just as prejudicial to their future as what they over-spend". Each manager is a creator of policy, rather than an administrator of policy which is dictated from above.

(iii) The Ministry of Education adheres to the policy of advising only on educational matters and not attempting to dictate to Local Education Authorities (usually a county). Is it possible that this is due to a feeling that the county is the optimum administrative unit for educational matters?

If this problem is capable of solution, it seems obvious that the solution would differ for each organisation which is under consideration. No general answer can be given, and in any case empirical solutions must be found.

I doubt very much whether the data necessary for an answer exists, except in the case of a few specialised organisations.

I do feel, however, that an explicit statement of the problem and some co-ordinating research into what has already been discovered would be of real value. What is needed is rather the correlation of existing data, than theoretical discussion of the problem. There can be little scope for predetermined experiment. Any experiment to be of value will need a nation-wide set-up. One is tempted to speculate upon whether the nationalisation of the mines and the proposed nationalisation of transport will appear to future historians as large-scale experiments upon this problem.

Possible sources of data: Russia must possess invaluable data bearing upon this question. Part of the solution might come from "Big-Business" which has devoted quite a fair amount of attention to this problem in recent years. Government experiments such as the T.V.A. or the Boulder Dam work in America.

Do some of the troubles of the Potsdam Agreement arise from the fact that the problems involved by Potsdam are too large completely to be apprehended by those who are supposed to solve them?

A pertinent quotation :-

"Not that I condemn intelligent planning, but at the moment we are wallowing in the interlude between laissez-faire and a kind of statistical tyranny. The new age is being ushered in by a new type of young man, secretly envious, superficially clever, afraid of constructive ability, but obtaining a sense of power from energetic interference. They call it planning. At present it seems to me to resemble a vast paper factory. They do not understand life in the raw - man in the raw. They function through Acts of Parliament and bye-laws which no normal man understands.

That's the trouble with most administrators. They come to think of nothing but administration until there is nothing left to administrate, or they have fussed you into a strike".

From a recent article. Unfortunately the source has got lost, and I cannot trace the quotation which I found in a notebook I had kept during 1945.

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

December 18, 1946

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that
Dr. Karl Polanyi was guest lecturer
at Bennington College during the period
from July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1943.
He performed his duties to our complete
satisfaction.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis Webster Jones

Lewis Webster Jones
President

COPY

Subscribed and sworn to
before me this 18th
day of December, 1946.

Lois L. Lyon
Notary Public

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 7686 (7 LINES).
TELEGRAMS: "POLECONICS, ESTRAND," LONDON.

HOUGHTON STREET.
ALDWYCH.
LONDON, W.C.2.

AHJ/MBW

20th December, 1946.

Dear Sir,

I write to explain the delay which has occurred in filling the post of Lecturer in International Relations. Owing to the pressure of other important work, it has not been possible to determine the list of candidates who will be invited for interview by the Selection Committee. Your name, however, is being actively considered, and you will be informed soon after Christmas as to whether you have been placed upon the short list.

Yours truly,

A. H. Selous

Assistant to
the Secretary.

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

Charges to pay
s. d.

POST OFFICE

No. _____

RECEIVED

OFFICE STAMP

49 A N O P
GRAM

Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

87

24 DEC 1946
N.B.

From

C NU 1151 NGU NEWYORK 26 20 504 P

= DR KARL POLYANI 49 A HORNSEY LANE GARDENS LDN

N 6 =

ACTING PRESIDENT SENT LETTER APPOINTMENT AIR MAIL
HE IS REQUESTING SECRETARY OF STATE TO
FACILITATE VISA = GOODRICH + +

D&Co. 51-6631

For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form B or C
at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form, and, if possible, the envelope

UNIVERSITY  OF OXFORD

DELEGACY FOR EXTRA-MURAL STUDIES

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Telegrams: EXTRAMURAL, OXFORD. Telephone: 2524

Secretary: T. L. HODGKIN, M.A. Bursar: E. H. BIRCHALL

Sir,

31.12.46

I have pleasure in supporting the application of Dr. KARL POLANYI for a Professor's Visa for entry into the United States of America.

Dr. Polanyi has practised his profession as an academic Tutor since 1936, under the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford. During that period he has been an approved Lecturer for University Tutorial Classes and, as such, is fully qualified professionally for entitlement to a visa for admission to the U.S.A. on a non-quota basis.

Yours truly,

Lindsay & Birken

Master of Balliol.
Chairman to the Delegacy.

U.S. Consul,
1, Grosvenor Square,
London, W.1.

TRANSLATION

Royal Hungarian Peter Pazmany University,
Budapest.

8897/1945-46

To Karoly Polanyi, Esq.,

The Senate of the Peter Pazmany University, Budapest, in its 19th regular meeting, held on the 20th day of July, 1946, resolved to invite Mr. Karl Polanyi, the eminent cultivator of the science of sociology, to deliver a formal address in the Aula of the Peter Pazmany University. The address could be delivered in the Autumn, in the month of September or October, or, alternatively, next Spring, after April.

I submit that you accept this invitation and inform the Senate of this University of the proposed date of your address.

Budapest, this 22nd day of August, 1946.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

L.S.
(Royal Hungarian
Peter Pazmany
University - The
Rector.)

(signed) Moor Gyula,
Rector.

Handwritten: E. M. T.
Sept 27

Eckhart Tencer
dekan
universit,
Szeged
Budapest

reference my
forthcoming
lecture series
please approach
authorities for
my permit of
entry stop please

Caroline
Karoly Polanyi
45 Alton Street London W6

ELT

Eckhart Ferencz
Dean Law faculty
University

Budap est

greatly honoured by invitation
of AMMA Mater stop
informed Lord Lindsay
of Oxford delegacy also
university authorities London
stop mailed formal
acceptance stop proceeding
arrangements for air
via Prague stop
please confirm receipt
and instructions concerning
expenses

KAROLY POLANYI

49 = Horsey Lane
London N.6.

ENL Eckhart Green dékan
for University
Budapest

reference my forthcoming
lecture series please approach
authorities for my
permit for entry stop
please confirm

Karoly Polanyi
49 Portney Lane Gardens
N. 6.

28

30th September 1986

Saw: 79 30th. 12 Aedok

phones morning: 1:30 - Pamp Qric
9 and British Council 2 - Ambler, Perumb
11 L.C.R.
12³⁰ L.C. I. memo from 3:30 - 4:00 British Council
12³⁰ Paper - Kropf 7:30 pm into E.F.

W

Received at the
Central Telegraph Office
London, E.C.1.

From



POST OFFICE OVERSEAS TELEGRAM



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To _____

1168/1 BUDAPEST 8540 36 1 1500

CHARLES POLANYI 49 A HORNSEY LANE GARDENS

LONDON N 6

HAVING RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM ARE WAITING YOU
WITH GREAT JOY BUT TO OUR GREAT REGRET OWING
TO OUR WARTIME AND MISERY WE CANNOT AFFORD ANY
EXPENSES = ECKHART DEAN

81-6673

This form and, if possible, the envelope should accompany any written enquiry

ENL HAYAS ~~ENL~~ DAMJANICH UTCA \$2

BUDPEST VII.

coming to ~~budapest~~ middle october at invitation of university

stop please help expedite entry permit ~~stop confirm~~

now confirmed by wire
karoly polanyi

today

76

257

3
5, Michigan Way,
Efford,
Plymouth
Devon
H9 46.

Dear Dr Adanyi,

Thank you very
much for your letter which I
appreciated very much.

I can assure
you that the Summer School at
Larkin will be one period in
my life that I shall
never forget, and I hope to have
the opportunity to attend more like

it in the ²future.

To me one of the most remarkable features of the school, was the comradeship between tutors and students, and was something totally different what I expected.

Our seminars were naturally of particular interest to me, as although I have attended lectures previous I have never felt so much a part of the assembly as I did then. I felt that although I actually knew so little of

3

international affairs, that by
listening to the various discussions
the subjects taken, that I was
gaining a knowledge which
would stand me in good stead
the future.

The two groups
into which we were divided,
Plymouth and Birmingham. I
consider was a very satisfactory
way of working, as it gave each
individual in their group the
feeling that they had some goal
towards which to work, and I
personally felt much more keen

with this ^{the} method of working

The school and the
tutors, especially yourself and
our seminars, has given me a
tremendous enthusiasm to carry
this sort of work, so as well
as endeavoring to acquire the
books on the list you gave me.
I am also taking the evening
classes on Public speaking &
Essentials of English, to gain
more confidence for future school
and meetings, and also to be able
to impart some of the knowledge
which you have given us to

⁵
members of my office who
present have no interest in any
sphere outside their own work

By doing this I hope
to be able to repay you in some
small measure for the really
happy times I spent in your
company.

Yours Sincerely
Daniel O. Ryder.

have not forgotten the photographs,
I doubt Miss Rogers has also
assured you of this, and we will
send them as soon as we possibly

can. I am looking forward
seeing them very much, and only
hope they come up to our
expectations.

I have also recently
changed my address as you
will no doubt have already
noticed.

L. Ryder.

49A Hornsey Lane Gardens,

London N.6.

[Dec. 1946]

Dear Mr. Farquarson,

Excuse me for not having answered your good letter of 13th November before. Today I had an other letter from you of 25th November. So let me deal with them together.

No I have not heard from 'Commentary's plans in regard to the speeches made at the Reading Conference. As they indicated in the footnote to my Report on the Reading Conference I was only writing as a guest in that feature of the periodical.

Also I do not really think that I should necessarily hear from them for the following reason: 'Commentary' invited me on April 3rd, 1946 to write a 5000 word article for them in their current series, which I promised to do. This article has not yet appeared in the series. Like my Reading lecture, it is based on 'Origins of our Time'. Though it is in essentials an entirely different piece of work from the Reading lecture, inevitably part of the material overlaps. That is why I would not be able to agree to

my article
your publishing it before /~~it~~ had
appeared in 'Commentary'. This
is however to be expected in a few
months (i.e. almost as soon as I let
them have the MS).

I do not really think that the
communication contained in your second
letter need interfere with the above
outlined way of treating the matter. For
'Commentary' will hardly wish to
include my Reading address in their
new series, since as I said (and they
must realize by the report which I gave
in 'Commentary' & of my speech) ~~that~~ it
must necessarily overlap, so far as
material facts are concerned, with
the 'Commentary' article.

You do not say whether 'Commentary'
agreed to your reprinting my Report on
the Reading Conference. I do hope they
did.

have
I will let you my script soon, and
you are entitled to make use of it,
under the above mentioned condition
as to the date of publication.

With all good wishes .

Yours sincerely

Re postponement of my proposed visit to Budapest.

' I must assume that no entry permit for me had been asked for by the Budapest University authorities. This was most probably due to a misunderstanding which arose in Budapest.

In agreement with the British Council in London, I wired to Dean Eckhart, on 14th October 1946 as follows: ' Confirm wires from you and subsequently education ministry stop please inform british council representative of entry permit when available'. This was in response to the latest communication to reach me on this matter from Budapest, namely from the Ministry of Education, on 12th October. It ran: ' Steps necessary for entry visa taken stop expecting arrival soon'.

Unfortunately, Dean Eckhart (as I see it) took this to mean that I advised him to consult the British Council representative, who, however, for local and transitory reasons, was ~~unable~~ not in the position to be helpful. He wrote to Dean Eckhart to this effect, who thereupon informed me that in view of the 'present position in regard to the facilities of entry', my visit would have to be put off.

I made no mention of these facts to Szakasics, KéthlyAnna and Horvat, when interviewed by them, on 12th November, about my prospective visit to Hungary, which as I told them was now postponed to Spring. Later, I informed Káldor György, of the fact that there must have been some quid pro quo in regard to the underlined passage of my wire. To stop rumors from queeri

ing the pitch for cultural co-operation with Hungary, I should like Minister Riesz to be informed of the contents of this letter, since, as I gather, he is taking a special interest in the broadening of the scope of such academic activities as he happens to be connected with.

Of course, I have kept the British Council in London informed about developments.'

(sgn). Karl Polanyi

Polanyi Karoly.

London Summer School
Westonbirt

Tetbury,
Gloucestershire

Dear Dr. Palanyi,

I have for the time being recovered more or less from the horrible attack I suffered from at Oxford and am again able to take an interest in things.

I learnt more about politics from the talk with you on Friday than from my fortnight's study and perhaps that helped.

This place is really stupendous. I can't ~~give you~~ describe how marvellous it is. Do you remember walking down Merton Road (the one that came out near Mandelin(?) Bridge) delighting in the beauties of the ancient colleges, then turning to the vulgarity of the new ~~new~~ baroque(?) college at the end of the street? Well that one was a pale modest shadow compared to this. I know nothing about art but I guess that this house is the epitome of expensive vulgarity. (it was built 1864 at the cost of £250,000). But I find the ^{magnificent} vigour, exuberance and utter lack of compromise absolutely delightful. Really there

are so many astonishing features that I haven't the time or the ability to do them justice and in consequence suffer the torture of writer's frustration.

On entering the first impression is vast space and overwhelming magnificence. - marble floors marble pillars, wooden pillars, arches, balconies etc. Every space which it is possible to fill in with a picture or a carving is filled in with a picture or a carving. The wall coverings vary. Sometimes they consist of what looks like ~~silk~~ silk damask. Others are embossed heavily in dark green or purple and gold. Other rooms consist of ornate woodwork. Where I am writing, the simplest room I have yet come across the walls are covered with green velvet. The

The fireplace in the hall is magnificent. at least 20 feet high and made of black, black & ~~white~~ white, red and white, brown marble. Four twisting black and white marble columns bloom into white ferns. Two curious objects begin as ~~sculptural~~ geometrical formulas, turn into plant life half way up and eventually blossom into the upper half of a woman. Two marble Byron heads

support an impressive black niche in which stands a large alabaster chessman. At first I thought the head of the chessman was the Queen. (Vic) Second thoughts decided on Dante, but at the moment I think it probably the wife of the original steel-magnet. The whole structure is crowned by a basket of white marble fruit, about 20 ~~inches~~ feet up. Very impressive.

My bedroom (which I share with 6 others) has 4 doors. Each door has 6 pannels. Each panel has a romantic picture painted in it. At one end is an alcove led into by an arch and flanked by Moorish windows (with columns etc).

The passage outside is a balcony looking down into the hall. It is lined with brown square pillars with gold ornamentation. The ceiling is a raised design of sort of trellice work of raised up golden squares (there is practically no white ceiling in the house). On the walls golden cherubs wave heads of golden corn. Golden cupids shoot golden arrows, amongst golden pineapples grapes etc. In fact the whole place ~~is~~ breaks into fruit flowers and cherubs with astonishing fecundity. I won't describe the organ, or the dining room ceiling (which is indescribable) because I fear this

letter has grown deady dull with descriptions.

We have had a lecture on the WEA and workens education. Why are all talks on this subject so boring?

Dr. John Lewis is here. I haven't really met him but I feel he has never really recovered from the time he was a parson.

I am overwhelmed with guilt whenever I see Mr Adams & Shearman now that it is publicly known that I have had more than my ration of Summer Schools. Mr. Adam particularly disapproves of this I believe.

A most unfortunate thing has happened. At Oafert I wrote an essay on "Liberty" and I thought that with just a little alteration I could turn it into a suitable essay on democracy, which was the subject I was set to write on before coming here. But Mr. Holloway did not return this essay to me, so when asked to hand in my paper on democracy here I had to explain that I did indeed write it but unfortunately I have lost it. This I am afraid is not very convincing.

Do you remember mentioning two political writers to me whose names were I think Vaughan & Adams. Is that correct? Could you mention any books they wrote, so that I could perhaps ask for them at a library.

Could you say, yes or no, whether the following books are worth reading here.

Lectures on Modern History	- Lord Acton
Socialism	Berkenhout
Reflections on History	Burckhard
Nationality in History & Politics	F. Hertz.
Studies in Mod. History	Gooch
Is Lewis Mumford and good?	
Political Thought	J.P. Meyer
Reflections of Violence	Horde Sorel
British Approach to Politics	Michael Stewart

If you are busy don't bother about answering

Yours sincerely

Margery Palmer

[John A. Kousshauer] [1946?] (from a letter to J.A.K.)

Your country should not be judged from too near just now (letters I had from such who love it mirror a veritable anguish of pain over the moral superficiality of her new-born ways); it is from a distance that her basic steadiness can better be gauged. London is the centre of the political cyclone of our planet, and it is from here that one best can recognize the stabilizing role of the U.S.A. to-day. I was amazed to hear American friends complain of the utter lack of policy of the State Department. That is eminently unfair to Byrnes and his crew in the St. D. They are not in words but in actual reality working for peace with all their ~~man~~ might, and have done a good, a very good job. Lippmann ~~man~~ (whose little books I admire for sheer straightforward pamphleteering) merely touched the fringe of the post-war political problem, and that rather in the vein of the tutor than the statesman, the educator rather than the politician. The real job was to tackle the Far East, and thus to prevent an entirely unnecessary and yet unavoidable war between the U.S.A. and the USSR. For unless China was restored as an integral national state there was no way of avoiding such an unwanted war. Its inevitability was purely geographical i.e., no conflicting interests entered; the Chinese vacuum alone would have been responsible for it. That Byrnes and Stalin, obviously following up the outlines of Roosevelt's (maybe unwritten) political testament succeeded in ~~summing~~ fording that fourhundred million broad maelstrom will for all times (and irrespective of the duration of their success) rank amongst the high lights of historical statesmanship.

The trouble is with us. Britain is reluctant, perhaps even unable, to do what is needed, namely, to go ahead and help to fill in the terrifying vacua of the political globe. The victory was much too great; some 600 million people in the East, and some 400 million in Europe have been thrown out of their power fixture. The USA and the USSR are rushing in under sheer vacuum pressure - it is overpowering - to cover up the chasm and reorganise the field of power so that life can continue. Britain alone shies at the brink of the abyss and hesitates to take the jump. Consequently, she is forced to undertake the impossible, i.e., to maintain things as they ~~was~~ were in the midst of a cataclysm. Britain can exist as a larger and stronger entity, or as a much smaller one, but certainly not exactly as she was before. By insisting on this, she actually puts herself into the wrong. For history has no patience with the shirker. (In practical terms this means: taking the lead in Western and North Western Europe, planning as far as possible the Commonwealth plus Western Europe. Such a greatly ~~was~~ strengthened Britain could (and should) make reasonable concessions not only to India, Egypt, etc. but also to the USSR where the latter's vital interests conflict with secondary assets of Britain. This is the way to compromise with the USSR and arrange for co-operation primarily on the reconstruction of Europe, including Germany.) This would make co-operation with the USSR in Europe, with the USA in the Seven Seas possible, and allow UNO to be built up into a world clearing house of political debit and credit. The USA should make her contribution to this solution by helping in a positive fashion to organise world economy on a semi-regional basis (instead of forcing an ~~anti~~ entirely utopian, because reactionary, free trade line upon a world which has just escaped the deadly dangers of such an artificial abstract Potemkin solution of the world economic problem).

Domestically, Britain is sound. The steady forward drive in her home affairs is borne along with an unsuspected vigour which is very far indeed from having spent itself. Her administrative chiefs are as able as their Tory predecessors, but much keener on results; and they are supported by innumerable similar enthusiasts in minor positions. That's why the great unsolved riddles of production, efficiency, restrictive trade union

practices, and so on, do not cause dependency.

Life is, on the whole, easier than it was during the war; there's no black-out and no Vs. Maybe it is more difficult to bear, since we call it now "peace". But after all, - what is in a name? People are beginning to realize the misnomer.

Churchill's speech fell through in this country, because the country does not believe in "power-politics". I am afraid, this silly word merely covers up its unwillingness to face up to the issues of the time. Britain should, in my belief, "go ahead", since her weakness is the chief cause of world imbalance; but "going ahead" does not involve an irresponsible (and effortless) military alliance with the USA, but, on the contrary, it means national reorganization, a socialist Commonwealth, leadership on the Continent, concessions to rising nations and Russian needs, with a view to genuine collaboration with Russia in rebuilding Europe and with the USA in reconstructing the Planet. I am afraid my views are not cutting much ice at present, but at least they permit me to take a positive attitude to the tasks of the hour.

When I received the programme for the above school at Ruskin College I felt very ill-prepared for the discussions and seminars, knowing that, although I was interested in the subjects to be considered, my thoughts and reading were quite unguided. At the end of the week however, after listening to excellent lectures; hearing the views of people from all parts of the British Isles; learning about other Trade Unions; and being helped by my own Tutor in the way to think about world affairs and advised which books to read, I could view the problems that confront the people of today a little more clearly.

Our seminar group considered International Co-operation and Understanding and we discussed the differences between the League of Nations and U.N.O; the power vacuum in various parts of the world resulting from the recent war; the emergence of the two blocs dominating the Eastern and Western hemispheres; and the effects of the Atom bomb. Suggestions were made as to the possibility of preserving peace in the event of U.N.O. failing, by regional spheres of influence in Europe and other parts of the world.

On considering the matter, I feel that the choice seems to lay between the destruction of our civilization in a future war, and world government. The idea of spheres of influence, blocs and so forth seem quite out of date, and the Baruch plan will have to be extended even to a Court of International Law to whose decisions all powers will have to submit. A world Food Board is being set up, and presumably it will be found that similar organizations will be necessary to solve the problem of displaced persons and recurring mass migrations of confused peoples.

It has been said that Europe's hope today is Great Britain - it may be that tomorrow Great Britain will be the last hope of the world, for I feel that the danger in a World Government would be a subtle tyranny, but if the British people by virtue of their native sanity and love of freedom could exert a moral influence throughout the world by precept and example perhaps a Huxlean "Brave New World" might be avoided. This influence can only be achieved if the mass of the people in these Islands remain alert and well informed and determined to preserve and extend our way of life.

M.K.O. Leary.
I.R.S.F.

An excellent summary,
2nd day

From a letter to John A. Kouvenhoven.

"....In the meantime 'The Education of Henry Adams' and 'Of Time and the River' (first chapters) was added to my 100 books, both bearing out powerfully your thesis of the supreme importance of the vernacular, the folk way, the 'practical' approach for the great American achievement. Thomas Wolfe is only seemingly Joycean, actually his breadth and width is that of Whitman, not of Joyce. And Henry Adams is the most un-European mind ever produced by your Continent. He is a centaur combining 18th century man with 20th century horse-power - a ~~hybrid~~ hybrid of pure rationalism and pure irrationalism, of natural law and the laws of nature, of Rousseau and the atom bomb. America is modern civilization minus the nineteenth century. The frontier held on to Roger Williams, Locke, Rousseau, and the Physiocrats until Einstein arrived. Actually, they did not have to wait for the 20th century, atomic physics and genetics, for in Walt Whitman the new twentieth century idea of totalitarian democracy met them half-ways. That is the refreshing feature about America - the absence of that vacuous facade which was the nineteenth century. This kept the American young-Jeffersonian and Jacksonian -- and allowed him to hibernate during the dreary 80ies till he woke in the metallic Spring of the 20th century. He is an inverted Rip van Winkle, at home in the new world because he o'erslept a century.

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We just heard Part 1 of 'Hiroshima': 'The noiseless flash' by John Hersey. Ilona and I have been listening together. That, you see, is an American feat ^{both} the report, and what the report is about - here you have it ~~again~~: The 19th century on the 20th. Humanism on inhumanity. The beginning on the end, The origins on the outcome."