

Dr. Robert D. Leigh,
President
Bennington College, Vt.

Dear Dr. Leigh:

You desire to hear my opinion on Dr. Karl Polanyi. Dr. Polanyi has been my teacher more than any other man - both as a scholar and as a human being. And he, more than anybody else is responsible for the little I have learned.

I have know Dr. Karl Polanyi for 12 or 14 years. I met him while I was still an undergraduate, whereas he was a mature man editing the most responsible serious weekly paper in Central Europe. And I have been keeping in close contact with him ever since. If I should single out one quality of his for special emphasis, it is his natural genius for educating and forming young people. He has had patience even for my most immature projects, and he has helped me at every stage of my work - never discouraging me but always prodding me on to be more critical toward myself.

As to his work, I believe that his greatest asset is his rounded experience as a scholar, an educator, a journalist and a practicing politician which has given him an insight into social and economic matters which is very rare indeed. I am looking forward to the completion of his book with the greatest anticipation. Judging from the little, I have seen, it should be one of the most valuable and most important studies of economic and social history.

I need not add anything about the man; you know him.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Peter F. Drucker

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FROM JAMES G. MCBURNIE

111, PRINCES HOUSE,
KENSINGTON PARK ROAD,
LONDON, W. 11.

Dear Paul,

The things which I have in mind
the letter not needed. In fact something
was arranged - to go to the

University of California in 1940 -

but of course it was intended.

Wald should not be in
to do a summer school course in

Europe or Eastern Europe of which

they's said in the States.

Yours as ever

My kin

Bon Voyage

P.S. I - some things have
of case filed.

Hi, dear Pip

There is nothing more
frightful than the "gossip"
of our letters

Hardly had I posted
my note to you when your
long letter arrived with the
same suggestion: let us
try & do some piece of
work together.

Complimentary letters
that 'iron' are the true
fulfillment of a converging
effort.

Yes, I have now with the
help of your long and very
interesting letter understood
where I come in: clearly what

I called the "inevitable alternatives
of moral existence" is the
same element of reality
you meant when the
tragic nature of creature
advance first occurred
to you. The analogy is
in the (a) ~~necessity~~ ^{necessity} ~~for~~ choice;
(b) the concreteness
of the "situation" demanding
this; (c) the concreteness
of the alternatives;
(d) the inevitability
of sacrificing the one
path, road or life in
choosing the other path,
road or life.

(e) the application
of the alternatives involved
in growth of the moral
to human history as a
whole - the totality of
man's organized world.

(f) this is based on
the analogy of the human

organisation with the
'institutional' organisation
of society - the institution
being a self-thinking
in regard to the ideas of
mind embedded in it
as the human body is
in regard to the mind
that it inhabits it.

I don't think that I
will be going to Hungary
before Spring 1947. Tho'
this is not final as yet,
I'm arranging on that
basis. Accordingly, I'll
be seeing you soon - I
suggested Friday, Nov. 1st.
I propose to go by Green
line from Herndon Central
(taking the 143, at our end,
to Herndon). In spite of you
optimistic rationalisations,
the train was $3/4$ hours
late ~~last time~~ returning
last time (which however
troubled me ^{but} little).

Thank you Pip for your
long letter. I don't think
that I could have been
prouder to convey otherwise
to me the true joint
growing point of our
thinking. We are both
working towards a clarifi-
cation of the crucial
relationship between
growth & limitation;
freedom & constraint,
idea and institution,
mind ^{and} ~~what~~ body,
life & death -
the Insuperables.

Love

KL

My love to Jo. & thanks for
the letter

Beloved Karl,

I'm so glad, (from my own point of view!) that you aren't going over to H. just yet & that there's a chance of seeing you again before I leave. I'm afraid I'm still unable to do more than hobble about on sticks so I can't come to you. Glad says she has told Rene to come over with you any day you like.

I don't think it's at all accidental that our ideas about the 'necessity' that 'determines' (in the sense of putting inevitable 'limits' round - the proper sense, I mean!) human life & thought, should chime so well together. I have felt ever since we met, stalked in Geneva at more length, that our thought did chime & have often longed that we could somehow or other work in touch with one another. I was always incapable of grasping the tremendous drive & power of your massive concrete movement of thought, weighted with factual historical understanding; the way I think; & perhaps must think, is much more a discursive abstract birds-eye-view sort of business which needs a lot of ballasting. Still, I was always being surprised at the strange way even chance remarks of yours chimed in with things that had struck me. (I suppose the

Same sort of affinity is what makes Colingwood
so radio-active for my mind). For example, it
was your few very short & pregnant remarks,
^{in your book,}
on man's freedom being depending on his
power to stop rebelling against his necessary
limitations & constructing a new life on that
foundation - this crystallised a lot of
things that had been buzzing about in my mind
for some time. It started, as far as I remember,
along time ago when I began puzzling over the
problem: Why did Jesus really go up to Jerusalem
quite deliberately, knowing he would be killed, &
saying to his followers all the time, 'Know what
is to happen: I'm accepting it, making it the
best way of achieving my purpose'. The attempt
to answer this led me to what has seemed to me
the clue to the whole story; & I tried to explain
why in The Man of Nazareth. The point is (as
I saw it) that his enemies had blocked him;
it was either one of two paths: Give up & resign
your purpose in life, or go on & be killed about
- & so defeated either way. No, he said, I will go on
& turn apparent disaster (a messiah on the follows!)
into the very means of achieving my purpose.
And he did! - as St Paul says: 'Our gospel is
this: that a man hanging on the follows is
embodies the whole power & wisdom of God'
i.e. 'that is the divinest thing in the world!!'
Indeed Jesus has been winning ever since, wherever

Western man has won anything worth while
at all. (Jesus was a Jew, & his act lights up the
whole OT as well as the NT.) The 1914 was set
me thinking about this principle in contemporary
history. I looked round in India, & saw where the
choice JB made after 'the Mutiny' was leading her;
but it was at Geneva that the full significance of
the principle got hold of my mind. Perhaps ^{in the} they
^{lived} it seemed to me that Russia was bringing
about a new birth in the Western world, & doing it
in the way that new life is born in the organic
world - I mean, when the ovum ~~splits~~ splits in two
& forms two counter-poles of energy one of
which must push the other out to die. So perhaps
the Russian Revolt - itself the inevitable child of
the Russia of Peter & Catherine out of Western
industrialism - was compelling Western Statesmen
to choose between going on ^{creating} or destroying
the new thing at birth (like Heros in one did
land!). The two nuclear poles were forming.

And it was soon obvious that, to the privileged
ruling classes of the XIX century world, the
choice would be a foregone conclusion. What
interested me was the way in which it became
clear that the choice had (as usual) lain between
two roads & one had to be chosen; then, that
one had been chosen (reaction), & that though the
Statesmen knew they had chosen the road to
destruction (how often they said so at Geneva!)

they still tried to pretend that the alternative
(a new socialist world in which their ^{privileges}
power would dissolve) was worse, & therefore
they were right: - though they knew that the smell of
death was in the air on the road they chose...
What ^{else} could they have done? my answer was a good
example of how discursively my mind had ^{been} about
Smell of death - Cassandra - the Agamemnon.
Orestes' dreadful choice between death or death.
Apollo or the Furies - but Aeschylus, mighty
creative mind that he was, saw the way of
creative mastery of fate: out of the blood-few
into the new Justice in the Areopagus Court.
Tragedy. Shakespeare's tragic heroes: 'character
is destiny': Brutus, Othello; Hamlet 'caught in the
coils of Necessity' as Mucydidis said: then
Shakespeare's great heave of creative
mastery into 'The Tempest'. ("The prophetic
soul of the wide world dreaming of things to
come"). And then - Keats had already found
the ^{way of} 'creative advance' for the new century:
"There grew a power within me of enormous
Keats, to see, as a God sees" - the God is Apollo, the
God of Creative Imagination (music + poetry + light)
but all his creative power is useless until Minerva
gives him the Wisdom secret of 'wisdom through
suffering' - the lesson of history explained by Oceanus,
the knowledge of which is 'the top of sovereignty':

3/ = life is finite; but for the new to be born from
the old must die - ^{the old} it has: one ^{alternative} choice: it can
fight for to keep its 'surranty' + survival, or
it can willingly give itself to help the creation
of the new; the first is the way of death, the
second is 'trying to live'; the way of creative advance
(Hyperion II. 167ff). So when its time comes, the old
order must give itself to the creation of the
new + better order coming to birth. The other way
leads to despair + death (the fragment of second
version of H. Underlines (this).... Baldwin, Macdonald,
+ Chamberlain could not find the heroism
to give themselves to ^{working with} the new forces
into a creative advance; so they chose the other
way. ^{the situation} It soon began to focus round the nuclear
jobs of Stalin + Hitler. We ought to have had
describers there to describe it! The hour passed
from ^{Chamberlain etc} them to Hitler step by step while Chamberlain
took refuge in his dog dream as Saviour of
the world + world of peace, plenty, + profit for
XIXC. industrialism. I went back to India
with my ~~eyes~~ whiskers singed. And there I saw
the old pattern repeating itself!! The end of the
British raj was of course a foregone conclusion.
The critical issue ^{for India} to now was cooperation
(for life) or antagonism (for mutual ^{between her own communities} ruin). The
first meant for the great communities
a transformation that would have been a dying
of the old order into a new way of life.

And they were not trying to do it! That was
what seemed plain. Nehru's Nehru might
- but not Patel or Bose or Jinnah or Gandhi.
It seemed to me that Gandhi's idealism
& personal sincerity & courage deceived men
into thinking he belonged to the creative
advance, but that this was a complete
● mistake: he seemed to me to sum up the
essence of what is ~~residual~~ ^{residual} good still living
in the AD Hinduism. One of the most extra-
ordinary insights of Keats is displayed in
his onalig Saturn's obtruder benevolent
not evil ("all these acts of ~~poor~~ which deity
sublime, doth ease its heart of love in")

I. H. I. 105. 112). That was an astonishing piece
of wisdom, (meaning the change between
the Elizabethan world & the 19th c.): benevolence
maybe one of the most fatal enemies
● of the Creative Advance, it may bewitch
people into refusing the creative effort
& resigning themselves to the Status Quo (Latin)!
Rub your eyes - & there is Gandhi's attitude
to the Untouchables down to the last dot
of the last i!! And when you've seen that,
all sorts of other queer things in Gandhi fall
into pattern. at least that's how it seemed
to me. Jinnah (ly's antithesis!) turned his back too

4) though for very different apparent reasons.
So it looked as though ^{the} wrong road had been chosen
again - (though it may still not be too late).
Meanwhile all this (the N.T., Greek drama,
Shakespeare & Keats, Geneva after the world
war, ^{India etc.} crystallized by the insights you & have kept
dropping into my mind) came to a focus
in Collingwood's interpretation of history, & in
at the Revolution. You couldn't escape Lenin,
so I tried to put myself into Lenin & see what
he did from his 'stand-point'. Then it was
~~all very clear~~ - clear. 'Real' freedom is the opposite
of 'idealistic' freedom: it is the freedom of
knowing exactly where you stand, in your
historical situation, & the actual alternatives
which that historical situation leaves
you free to choose between: it is another
aspect of the wisdom that sees which way
~~must~~ ^{must} lead to destruction, & which way leads
to the creative advance, and of the creative
energy which ^{puts its} drives into ~~the~~ ^{the} creative advance.
I know you will see the impact which
the end of your book made on me: it
positively changed into my thinking made
me see stars.
But that wasn't the only thing you book did.

time. My mind, as I say, is as discursive as
a bee: out of its discursive ramblings
over the universe - The Bible & Shakespeare,
Keats & Karl Marx, Aeschylus & Freud, Plato
& Faber etc etc - a pattern began to form. Always,
wherever you looked, the mind seemed after
the same thing. e.g. one great moment was the
Pythagorean discovery: music = vibration =
mathematics: musical harmony is one idiom
of something for which mathematics is another
idiom!: 'number & harmony rule the world';
= the principle of Science & of Art is the same?
And the principle of Health is 'harmony'.
Say boy. We seem to be getting somewhere. Come
on. Modern science agrees that math is
the master key to the scientific understanding
of nature. The same 'harmonious form' or
harmonious 'function' is also the clue to living
nature (organism: instinct). And talking
about organism, hadn't Plato suggested
that just as the health of the body is the
harmonious functioning of all the organs in
their own place (ἑκάστων τῶν ἰδίων ἡμετέρας)
so the health of the mind is the developing
harmony of all the functions. And ancient
Freud & Jung etc finding the whole trouble in

5/ in 'conflict in the mind' which prevents harmonious development & adjustment?

Discuss for harmony. "Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune, harsh" - music again - or Shakespeare's own dramas, or Keats's ~~poems~~ odes - any art - with the whole significance of any work of art just this harmony in which every detail is itself, & as its unique self helps to make the harmonious whole which is the work of art? Of course. Well Art is the mind acting spontaneously, creating its own forms to express its own activities.

But the mind is a truth seeking activity (- that's what 'science' means); so let's look at it when it's after truth, knowledge. 'Theoretically'; here's 'facts' or 'premises' or 'hypotheses', there's the mind starting from them to get out more truth out of them = logic. And what's logical thinking but the same pattern all over again - the pattern of maths or art, or the functions of mind, ~~there~~ a pattern in which everything falls into place as a unique part or function in a whole which is all these parts or functions as one harmonious whole, everything playing its own part in its own place. Philosophy is simply the mind trying to see all its experience as such a whole unity, a Kosmos, a coherent

whole (the principle of contraction, the principle of
coherence etc). For the matter of that, to enjoy
oneself ~~to~~ play games, & what is 'playing the
game' but observing the rules you have made for
yourself; & if you want to 'dine well' you
go from the soup to the 'savoury' etc. In that
wherever you look you always find the
mind after the same thing - the thing which
in one idiom is maths & in another is
music or harmony. That is how the mind
always, in all its functions, tries to realise
itself, to be itself. It's the nature of the
heart! And since the mind is nothing but an
activity, the mind can be defined as
an energy which is always seeking for
harmony. 'Activity directed to harmony' is the
fundamental principle of mind as such &
expresses its innermost nature. And this
embraces all experience (as we've seen); and
therefore all of the mind, and all the various
activities of the mind. This applies not
only to the discoveries the mind makes
(eg in natural science) but to what the
mind is itself trying to become - at the same
time that it is finding its world, it is making
itself. In that, it is a creative energy

6. But when Plato was talking about the
'health' of the mind being like the health
of the body: a state of $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\alpha \delta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$
- a harmony of functions - he was really
looking for the clue to 'the good society'; & he
found this in 'Justice': that is $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
but a society in which $\epsilon\kappa\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\alpha \delta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$
is what man, the social or (personal) mind, is
after is to create a society of personal minds
which is again this harmony of unique
members each making its unique contribution
to the whole which is the integral unit of
all these unique members. History is the story
of how man has been trying to do just that,
better & better, more intelligent & more widely etc.
Civilization is this harmonious cooperation
formed by the creative energy of the mind,
its 'urge' or 'instinct' or 'drive' or striving for
self-realization. Every step forward has been
an embodiment & achievement of this
energy directed to this end. And in all
this the mind has come to know itself
as this creative energy, with a drive to
realize itself in this all-embracing harmony.
In 'Culture' it has learned to see that it

does not care to realize itself as a member
of the whole world-commonwealth of minds
which live & grow by mutually enriching
one another. The mind that realizes this
finds all the recorded & possessed experience
of the human race at its disposal.

Now all this was first full interest
me. It seemed to me quite demonstrably
true. And when I got back to where I started
from everything seemed to fall into place
like the bits of a jigsaw puzzle, & to function
like the parts of an intricate machine:

Plato & Shakespeare & Keats & Keats etc.

One of the most exciting discoveries of all
was that our religion (Judaism-Christiansm)
is about the plainest & most daring assertion
of the truth of the above that could be
conceived. For it declares this is the
truth not only about the human mind &
experience, but about the entire universe.

It says it is prepared to make a venture
of faith - and stake everything on it - that
in this principle of creative energy directed
to complete harmony we have the secret
of ultimate Reality itself - that this is
(in Paul's words) 'the wisdom of God & the power of

of God: thus the world is made by Creative
Mind" who is the fount of all that comes into
being. In creation, mind (or spirit) embodies
itself in what it makes - so creation culminates
in "incarnation", in which Creative Mind embodies
itself in a world of embodied personal minds.
These personal ^{minds} are made to pass into self-realisation
i.e. to become more & more like the Creative
Mind of their maker, from embryhood to
at-one-ment. Personality is social in essence,
i.e. Creative Mind is not a person ~~at~~ but a
Trinity in Unity, an ideal Society which is an
ideal unity - that's the nearest we can get
to the truth about it. So history is the drama
of the Creator which has for its goal the
growth of man as a personal mind (i.e. free)
through self-realisation (for in a real sense
man as creative energy makes himself)

to the fullest harmony or at-one-ment.
Mind lives by giving out of itself, living in others,
& living itself; so the Creator not only incarnates
himself but lives in the world of personal
minds identifying himself with human
struggles & sufferings & achievements to the
point of sharing the burden of evil & death
(the Cross). As the mind lives by giving itself &
its wealth to others, so the Creator reveals

to his creative minds
- himself, ('Revelation'). In all these creative
energies the Creator incarnate in the words
of personal minds 'redeems' them from
the conflicts + discords that work against
the cooperative commonwealth of mutual
enrichment which is what human nature
is 'for', + from the lethargy + discouragement
that defeat the creative energy of the mind;
he inspires them towards the Kingdom of
Heaven': the ^{minds} achievement of mind ~~as~~ creative
energy, its self-realisation as creative energy
in a vast universal commonwealth of
personal minds all working together
enriching one another for the common welfare.

Now, however 'symbolic', that maybe,
it is a magnificent audacious + challenging
assertion - backed by a readiness to renounce
everything as it + live by it - of all I've
been talking about; + the significance
of it came as the high peak of my
voyage of discovery in search of mind.
Anyway I felt that this view of mind +
the nature of man seemed to verify itself,
however wide you could look, and however
deep you could go, and was at least worth

try out. And it does give a very interesting
flavor to some very important influences -
Gandhi eg, or Bernard Shaw whose strength
is (I think) that he has got hold very vigorously
of part of the stick - & waves the life force
about; but being an XVIII C rationalist
who has discovered the life force, his
view is seriously limited. But must
come to my real point & stop this endless
meandering. Clearly, assuming the truth of the
above, the job of every embodied personal
member of the Commonwealth of minds
is to live at the point of creative
advance of mind 'here & now'. And that
brings me back to Russia. Russia has
made a most exciting & important
creative push. But if what I've suggested is
true, it isn't enough to see ^{that} mind is creative
energy - you must also see it as an
energy that drives at 'integral harmony'.
The historical situation compelled Lenin
to smash down the obstructions to creative
advance. But if the 'closed fist' posture
mind stays there as a habit of mind
the energy will cease to be 'creative' ~~growth~~
i.e. a creative advance. It seems to me that

There are many signs that this is actually
happening in Russia. One can say, yes,
because real 'evidence' is ^{not} available. But
there does seem to be a continuation of the
appalling indifference to personal values:
the uniqueness + worth of the individual
which may be crushed + destroyed with
ruthless indifference to loss + suffering etc.

Internationally it can hardly be said that
Russia is acting as an 'energy' directed
to the harmony of the Commonwealth
of mankind. Insofar as this is true, it would
mean that the R. Revolution is coming back
contrary to the nature of man - (always assuming
that what has gone before is a valid interpretation
of man's nature.) This might be explained
partly by its situation vis a vis America;
but not much - as Yenan indicates; for
Yenan has not deviated under pressure.
Partly by the previous barbaric history of
Russia. But there does seem to me something
wrong with what the Russian leaders are
after, the way they look at things. And this would
be a tragedy. e.g. They always seem to me to be acting
as if Marx + Lenin had laid down the lines along
which history was bound to move. This astonishing
confusion between scientific laws + the
dialectical movement of history is quite fatal.

92 It results in the closed mind: closed against
the people you 'must' fight and are: and to be
obliterated; closed to the actual facts & movements
& opportunities of the changing historical situation
in which you must act; & becoming a deep well.
This determination would drive the world into
a war that would be an end of civilized living
for us all. This is the sort of thing that sent
me back to Marx. And the trouble seems to
me to be that Marx himself is ambiguous
on nearly all these wide fundamental issues.
His whole 'dialectical' theory of history makes
utter nonsense of the 'scientific' view of history.
But M does call it scientific, & as the scientific
view of history was so much advertised by
tongue & pen & many leading German writers
just then, & as M did assume (at times)
that you can foretell the future in history as
you can in science, it does seem that
he was (unconsciously?) influenced deeply by
the 'scientific' fallacy just when history was
making a creative effort to escape from that
stupidity. The reason why it is very worth
while to get ones conceptions of human
nature & history right (theoretical and may
appear at times) is I think just very well
illustrated here. One's behaviour is controlled

by what we believe; if you have wrong
conceptions of reality, you will act wrongly
- sooner or later on vital issues. Unless,
course you have the open mind that learns
as it goes along. Another ambiguity was
his assertion that by civilization + culture
are determined by man's material needs, or
by the development + control of the ~~process~~
production process: historical materialism.
But what did he really mean by determine?, by
them being primary, or so on? As a protest
against Hegel's treating man as mind,
it was wholesome its reminder us we are
'embodied' minds. But it might mean
that our minds + culture are bodies whose
conscious processes are the product of the
material. ^{Marx} I said he ~~stood~~ found Hegel has
stood phil⁴ on its head + he put it on its
feet. That isn't true. Hegel was right to
see the rational, the rational real.
- that is the nature + tendency or drive
of mind: the goal of its creative energy;
but it's a one sided way of putting it.
Hegel left phil⁴ standing on one leg:
Marx left it standing on the other.
His theory was not the synthesis; but the
antithesis to H's thesis. In this exappation

10/ I was again most influenced by the fact that he lives in the XIX^c industrial era. Economics set him his historical problems as a member of the XIX^c Century. He naturally answered them in economic terms. This is all right if you believe in the 'dialectical process' of history (lose their Hegel's phrase), ^{because} then you'll see why Marx did that, show his questions + answers were limited by his historical situation - naturally but definitely limited; but if the closed mind turns them into the infallible dogmas of a new sacred scripture, the natural 'abstraction' becomes the ^{total} 'reality', + one's whole conception of man is ~~again~~ radically falsified. Combine these two fallacies, turn them into dogmas, the new energy will hardly succeed in being creative or an advance.

Well I must stop this meandering which has carried me far beyond my original intention. What I wanted to do was to answer your question as to how I related your book to my theories. It will now be clear that ~~it~~ ^{the book} was decisive.

Suppose you have reached the point of

Seeing ~~that~~ a unifying principle in all
the activities of the mind + its making of
human history: that mind reveals itself
as a creative energy which realises itself
in the effort ~~after~~ to achieve harmony.
The point of creative advance here +
now must then be the point at which
man is struggling for deeper and/or wider
integral wholeness + harmony - a new
understanding + realization of the common-
wealth of mankind. It is of supreme
importance that we should understand
+ support the creative advance today
because ~~modern~~ ^{the scientific} control of nature has
put an annihilating force into our hands
which if used destructively ~~will~~ will simply
destroy civilization itself. (So I believe).

History is always proving that a false
view of man's mind + history leads
to wrong choice, perverted by those misconcep-
tions, + to disaster.

So will the views of man's mind + history
expressed above stand the test of
actual best concrete history?

11) - The crucial case is the Russia of the Revolution.
And my impression was that if the USSR was
right, my theory was wrong. But what was it?
When in this dilemma I went to Marx, I found
reason to trace Russia's deviation from what
I believed to be the creative advances, to limitations
& ambiguities in Marx.

But then I know nothing of economics; & my knowledge
of European & even British politics, apart from
a few books, was worth nothing.

You can imagine the effect of your book at this
^{point} ~~book~~. It gave me all I most needed. It was
the profoundest study of this range of subject
that I ever came across. It was creative
mind transforming our knowledge of the
subject. It was everything I have been
weakest in: packed with concrete fact,
saturated with firsthand contact & intimate
knowledge of political & economic movements
& theories - in short, it was the masterpiece
I knew you'd be producing some day.

Moreover it was controlled by the evidence, not
by any theory. And what I found was this:
Here is an era of civilization basing its whole
organisation & way of living on the repudiation
of integral man as a member of the integral
commonwealth of mankind, & the assumption
that man is not all creative energy seeking

realisation in the achievement of harmony
but an economic creature whose main spring
was the urge for gain. The effect was to
disrupt society both within & without.

In short, it was suicidal. Man must
be restored to his integral wholeness as
a personal member of the whole Commonwealth
of persons.

It was marvellous.

When is the next book that only you can
write like that, coming along? It must be
done. We all need it. It won't be popular
(probably). But it will make the future.

Love
P.D.

The address should be written as large as possible in BLOCK letters wholly within this panel.

The address must NOT be typewritten.

Read carefully instructions on back.

To: Mr K. POLANYI
49A HORNSEY LANE
GARDENS
LONDON N6



WRITE THE MESSAGE VERY PLAINLY BELOW THIS DOUBLE LINE

This is the second message
I read, as you wrote *ppp* about your *Study's Address* (S. Schuler, 170 Buxton St. N. Wellington, New Zealand) *ppp* self, have also reached only now maturity. As a matter of fact I attempted to show that late capitalism by concentrating often the motif of maximising profits, has slipped into a natural exchange economy, as also here the transfer of goods is ruled by a variety of motives but no longer by the uniform motif of securing a largest profit regardless of wants of the individual as in our type of money economy. This is important from the angle of post war reconstruction, i.e. post war control of business, as business led by merely the motif of maximising profits can be guided simply by providing profitable investment opportunities, while this device fails, as soon as maximising profit is no longer the only motif for business. I have written this in the Melbourne "Labor Call", and I shall send to you a copy, as soon as I get one. I think that one could also approach the monetary world plans from this angle, showing that they want to establish a money corresponding to our type of money economy, as far as the circulatory side of money is concerned, but as far as above all the American proposal with its favourising *ppp* of gold is concerned, a metallic money, i.e. type of natural exchange economy is implied. It *ppp* might be possible to show that this latter attempt leads to certain contradictions within our economic reality, a fact which is shown by the usual objections against the gold standard. One also could show, that the "classical" school (Pigou etc) is moving within a money economy because of its various simplifications, while Keynes with his theory of psychological elements (e.g. liquidity preference) determining investment makes room for an economic reality with elements of natural exchange economy. The advantage of the Keynesian theory compared with the "classical" theory can be said about monopolistic competition theory leaving space for a variety of motives, while pure competition assumes behaviour led merely by maximising profit motif. Whatever one may think of this, (I have not proved it yet), it seems to me sure that we must link our distinction in some way with the problems economics have to deal with to-day. - It is simply the same here as in every other market. You just have to deliver what the public - in this case the people applying the results of economics - want. I say this, being fully conscious, what it means. This way of saying it, might result from the fact, that since more than a year, I have been in business myself, and therefore in closer contact with the laws of demand. It was an awful jump for me, but it had to be taken, as I felt, and as the doctor told me, that I could not continue my job as under-presser any longer by reason of health. I am only sorry that I did not do it four years sooner, as it was inevitable. It is of course so far as *ppp* as

This space should not be used

2 Crown Hill Rd.

W.2.

Sept. 11th.

Dear Dr Polanyi,

The only hard information

I can collect is the letter

signed by "the Democratic Hung-

arians of Stockholm" which app-

peared in Dagens Nyheter, 19.4.44.

This defended Count K. against

an article "originating from

Hungarian sources" which appeared

on April 15th and apparently

attacked the Count on the usual

lines. Probably the "sources" were

Morvay, the press attaché, who

first joined Mlein-Reviczky and

later announced that he was going to support Horthy (probably by arrangement with U-R so as to be able to remain in touch with Budapest!).

The other item is the report in Dagens Nyheter, 23.6.44, that the "Hungarian Democratic Association" in Stockholm had published the first issue of its paper Free Hungary, and that Pest had declared that ~~U-R~~ U-R was the founder of this Association. The Association denied this. Pest, 26.6.44, reported this denial, in which the Association said they had never received advice from U-R and were not interested in the question of his joining them.

From this I conclude that the Democratic Hungarians in Stockholm are pro-Károlyi and anti-U-R; but of their relations with our friend B or with the Social Democrats in Hungary itself I can find no information.

Handwritten signature

Paper

Dear Michael James,

I am writing on behalf of Miss Mappery Palmer, whose case is threatening to take a tragic turn. ~~for many reasons~~. She has ^{just} passed her Entrance Examinations to the ~~London~~ ^{University} of Economics, but however, she is ~~now being~~ ^{advised} that the University of London but the University of London has ~~was a~~ ^{rejected} her application for a scholarship. Heaven only knows what it takes for a post office typist who has ~~not~~ ^{as much as attaining} a school certificate, to pass ~~into an~~ ^{that} Examination including ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~all together~~ ⁴ days ~~leave~~ ^{all told}. ~~It certainly is~~ ^{of} nothing else, it proves her ability & perseverance beyond any doubt. ~~I~~ ^I understand that one year's maintenance would enable her to ~~proceed~~ ^{take} an honours' course at the L.S.E. I have known her for ten years, and ~~it~~ ^{my} wife & I regard her as a person of exceptional qualities of mind & character. I hope you will be able to

Delivered to the office of the Secretary

admission all right - by email - help to get to unit 2 to

London *Co-operative Society Limited.*
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Education Secretary:
JAMES T. GUEST.
Telephones: EUSTon 6461 (four lines)

34, Tavistock Square,
London, W. C. 1.

22 St. Andrew Rd.
W. 10.

Wth London 3592

Confidential

Dear Palauyi,

I enclose herewith some material
on the relations between the UK & the
Soviet Union. I ~~shall~~ return it
personal. And should you make
of it, let me have a copy of your
or article.

Your letter to the NS+N was, I feel
most useful.

Yours very sincerely
E. Greenwood

Chapter 1

increase its power. About the same time the symptoms of the dissolution of the existing forms of world economy - colonial rivalry and competition for exotic markets - became acute. The ability of haute finance to avert the spread of wars was ~~therefore~~ diminishing rapidly. For another seven years peace dragged on but it was only a question of time before the dissolution of Nineteenth Century economic organization would bring the Hundred Years' Peace to a close, ~~and a period of general wars would open.~~

highly

~~It is~~ In the light of this ~~conclusive~~ recognition ~~that~~ the ~~ex~~ true nature of

~~trans~~ artificial ~~the~~ of the economic organization on which peace rested becomes of utmost significance to the historian.

Secondly)

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

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

^{From Laski} Thirdly: Hungary, like Germany and her other vassals, was faced with the demand for unconditional surrender. She has lost the war and no armistice has as yet been accorded to her. Under such conditions the ~~measured~~ ^{national} measure of ~~political and economic independence~~ ^{self-government} granted to her people by the Russian occupation armies appears as ~~rather~~ remarkable. Here, more than anywhere else, ^{we} believe, lies the key for the ~~truly amazing~~ unanimity with which Hungarians abroad stand to the extemporized National Assembly and the Provisional Government ^{which it should}

^{ought and necessary to appoint}

attempts to cling to illusionist planks amongst the general wreckage, the way was clear for a most fruitful analysis. (The Course itself started with a discussion of the Hundred Years Peace, the Balance of Power policy, system, principle and 'law', the Concert of Europe, and so on, introducing Versailles, the inter-War period and the problems of post-War reconstruction only gradually).

It would appear quite possible to organize the subject in such a fashion as to by-pass all outworn issues and to lead the discussion right on to the unavoidable issues of post-War construction in terms of a ruthless and imaginative realism.

Underneath the solid empirical crust there is a deep-seated distrust of the average person with all current assumptions and axioms of international politics. In effect, the man of the 40ies has not forgotten the 20ies, and even vaguely remembers the 20ies.

Party allegiances can be spared by the simple means of accounting in a realistic spirit for the past mistakes of the various groups. Actually, most groups had better reasons than they thought at the time for the policies which appear to day as mistaken.

As to the future, party susceptibilities need not be offended, since there are many variants of the appropriate realistic policies.

It is a recognized law of politics in the U.S.A. to-day that the mass of the common people are ahead of the leaders of the organized groups. Although this cannot be yet said of this country, there is a greater approximation to this new state of affairs than is commonly realized.

Yours sincerely,

(sgn)Karl Polanyi

Dear Karl and Hona,

I just got a call from Paul Lazarfeld that the publisher had read your book. He had read ^{not} only the "flaming" preface and his only comment was, he thought the introduction to such a book should have been less flaming and more explanatory. Anyway, the book is out and, if you are still interested in it, accept my congratulations. I am not quite as happy: ~~the~~ ^{my} publisher asked for some changes which take quite some time, since I have only weekends, and even those only since very recently - more about that later.

Through some friend I ~~was~~ am trying, as I promised you, to get the review for the Postman Review.

My new job, almost old by now, remains to be very interesting but is absorbing to a degree to such even I am not quite ^{accounted.} ~~used.~~ For the last six weeks something like 70 hours a week in the office. It pays insofar as we are rapidly becoming the outstanding experts in radio research, at least for the comparatively limited field of radio entertainment. Sooner or later this too will become slightly boring, but so far it has not yet.

One of the ^{few} drawbacks of our job is the lack of humour which permeates such a big organization; one seldom laughs ~~with~~ doors open.

Some of the problems of being a foreigner in such a loose group outfit become apparent once in a while, but so far their calculation, that it ~~perhaps~~ will pay to hire the two of us (Herta L.) has not ~~disappointed~~ ~~has~~ been wrong, neither in their opinion nor in ours. Our little group is constantly growing, which means that they think the investment is good; I have now not only a secretary but also a statistical clerk at my disposal. Herta for her detailed program analysis, has even three people. In short, everything is fine at this end - which shouldn't make you think that it is not at others.

Even family life is not as bad any more. Eva will have another baby around July; thus far ~~to~~ it has not impaired her activity very much. She is bustling and bustling between school, factories and Museums of Modern Art and will receive great honors: the Museum will exhibit a luncheon set of hers and also ~~the~~ some pieces of her utility ware. Unfortunately no manufacturer wants to make it, so she has to make it herself, which is cumbersome, not so good, and costs money. One of the problems, which we, so far, have been unable to solve, is, how to make her ~~great~~ outstanding talents (as such even acknowledged by the trade) pay at least the expenses of her operations. Maybe we can, although the arrival of a second baby and the hardly "soluble" "maid" situation may not be the best opportune moment for it.

Hall House,
Old Bennington College
Bennington, Vt.

My dear Tom:-

My nephew George is
trying to secure the participation
of outstanding American liberals
in his paper. Don't you think
that you or just could lend
them a hand? Maybe some of
your friends might be approached,
if you think fit.

I thought his own article
rather clever, tho' peculiar &
inconclusive without some more
light on the Keynesian passage.

Yours in Harpers, now
came to my hand; I loved to
read it - it was so very much
your peculiar temper of mind
poise and style. Also I thought
it an excellent summary up
of that which Americans too easily

miss - the basic facts of English reality.
English degeneracy is, of course, a
Hitlerian myth, and is especially
foolish in view of the downright
Spartan character of its high-type
barbarian civilization. See Eton
and call England degenerate! -
well, the very term 'comfort' is
banned in that country. Of this,
however, there is no mention in
your article; it puts down England's
power of resistance in the war
not to ~~its~~ the fabulous training
of its hyperbureaus, but to the
traditions of the City. I am
prepared to compromise to the
point of crediting its ruling class
with a large share in keeping the
Common people physically sound
& hale. But you should not be let
off as lightly as that - what about
England's lack of armaments? Its
consistently pursued appeasement
policy? Kennedy's Govt show
conclusive? that they were the result
of City's budget & currency tactics.

Their military strategy and the (corresponding) diplomacy were those of a country buying its supplies during a war overseas, and thus needing two things & two only:

a powerful fleet and a sound currency. "limited liability" strategy (Liddell Hart) was the City's strategy. "limited liability" diplomacy (A. Chamberlain) was the City's own diplomacy. England's conservative finance has proved its greatest weakness. In your place I would have argued that it is a fable that social and economic conservatism must go together. Indeed, why should they?

Personally, I believe that the English ruling class is anything but degenerate; but the working class is inarticulate and shy of responsibility. This is the skeleton in the cupboard. It was good at taking the bombing; it is much less good in ~~fighting~~ in the industrial effort. Britain is unable to overcome its lack of skilled mechanics; its army is not up to standard. - I'm sure you don't mind my carping, as in the good old days. Yours, H.A.

Dear Professor Tawney,

You might have been surprised not to hear from me ^{for} so long after having kindly ~~consented~~ consented to my request to read the ~~chapter on Poor Law in~~ ^{chapter on Poor Law in} ~~Poor Law Chapters of~~ the Ms. of my book. But I decided to speed up the work and to deliver the Ms ready for print before sailing, ^{some of the material of} even though I had to forego ^{most} valuable advice. I omitted the discussion of the Sixteenth Century enclosure movement and refer to it merely as a parallel to the Industrial Revolution, ^{respect} in regard to the devastations which improvements caused in the habitation of the common people.

This short book, produced comparatively late in life, ~~is~~ ^{is} necessarily incomplete; should its approach prove to be fruitful, much good work would remain to be done. For reasons intimately connected with the nature of the book itself, I ~~feel~~ ^{felt} that I ~~should~~ had to try and do ^{that work} it in this country. I intend to apply soon for an academic post in England so as to be in a position to ^{continue} ~~carry on my work~~ ^{on this task}. I hope you will let me know whether you think you will be able to support an application I might make in that direction. I am marking the book with a separate cover.

Yours sincerely,

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON, VERMONT

July 22

Dear Karl + Flora:

I was sorry to hear that Karl probably won't come to Ben. I still hope he will be able to come. It's good to know that you are getting along well with the M.S. We are in the semester end rush, everybody running around with bundles of reports to be written. There was a student petition to induce Roosevelt to do something about the race riots. It was signed by 250 students + faculty and threw up some reactionaries. A student meeting was held to air the views on the riots, and there seems to be a fairly widespread desire to have more

meetings of this sort.

I sent off my M.S. to the
Lancetan Review. Curious whether they
will take it. I changed (added to)
beginning + end + revised the
business on "work", generalizing to
"total human practice". Not, really
a better way of presenting the old
man's position. - I got a splendid
student paper on Thuman to hold.
I'll have it mimeographed +
shall send you a copy.

Good luck + best wishes from
Friede + Philip. (I saw Baumbi!)

Pete returned from the
court + reported that every body
there is holding his views on the war.

Yours,
Hurst.

Ueber Fan Tori, ein rein
Theorie der Rechenbarkeit:

1) Die isolierte Unit - ob Robinson, ob
UdssR - kann prinzipiell
wirklasten. Die subjektive Schule
führt auf die Theorie dieser Wirklast.

2) Die isolierte Unit kann wirklasten,
aber ^{er kann} nicht rechnen. Er wirklastet
nach dem Gefühl, nicht mit dem
Rechenstift. Für eine mechanische Wirklast
genügt das, nicht.

3) Die formale Rationalität hat
Werkstoffflächen (marktwirtschaftlicher)
Korrektheit ist unbestritten. Wate-
nille Rationalität genügt die
2. B. die Unit zu korrekter Gleiches
Einkommen. In diesem Fall ist
auf eine, höchste Berücksichtigung -
Summe "nachweisbar". Soweit es über-
haupt ~~ein~~ Summe hat im obartigen zu
prüfen, ist ^{bei} nicht nicht ein ein
Kann man bestätigen diese Summe wirkt
mechanisch.

4.) Ist unter Berücksichtigung der
Marktbeziehungen eine solche
= beste Wirtschaft möglich? Die Frage
sollte nicht einfach mit "ja" oder
"nein" beantwortet werden. Zum
Begriff der wirtschaftlich rationalen
geht es jedenfalls, daß das wirtschaftliche
Funktion der Bedürfnisse der
Einzelnen sei. Das ^{aber} ist wohl auch dann
möglich, wenn keine Produktions-
motivation (Rentabilitätsmotiv) im
Spiel sind, hingegen andere die Kon-
sumententendenz sich frei entfalten
können. Es scheint mir denkbar, daß
mit Kaufkraft (Einkommen) aus =
gestützte Konsumenten einen begrenzten
Vorrat gegenüber durch Limitation
zu einer wirtschaftlich rationalen
Preisbildung gelangen. Die Proble-
matik dies falls kann auf
Wunsch nachgetragen werden
Wir grüßen alle! (St. Th. 1968)

I hope soon to be doing a talk on the air again. I had tea with one of the talks directors last Thursday, and she wants to introduce light political talks into one of her womens' features, and of course I jumped at the chance, as it is just my line. I don't know if she will like the first draft, but I have sent it in. It is nice to get to Town every now and then, and it makes an opportunity when I am doing rehearsals etc.

London is still very full and bright, it is extraordinary how life seems to go on in spite of blitzes.

I go to Bournemouth for a week in April, doing a certain amount of speaking and seeing old friends in between, and I intend to do the same in Wales in September. I am now speaking with all my old fluency which is a miracle as I never dreamed my speech would return so fully, after fifteen years of throat trouble.

I hear from the refugee friends from time to time.

They are settled in America now, and I hope very much to visit them when the war is over. They seem to have made good over there. The Austrian family is still with Miss Rawlins at Berkhamstead and doing quite well. I had a very long letter from Mr Liffman who came to your class once or twice. His wife is broadcasting in New York I believe or Rhode Island where they live perhaps, and she has a lot of pupils too, he is in his own business. The people I helped to get out of Frankfurt are also settled in America the boys all in war service and the others working at some job or another. They still suffer from their experiences in concentration camps but I am glad they are safe and settled. In between other activities I have developed a craze for making dolls which were very scarce here last Xmas. My married sister is head of the Red Cross at Welwyn Garden City and Gladys and I made some lovely dolls for her. One which Gladys dressed in woollies, made £12 14. 6. I spent a lot of time over them I fear, but they were very fascinating and they make a lot of money.

I was delighted to hear that you were having a useful time in America, I expect your wife and daughter love it, I look forward very much to coming over, I should really have come before the war, but there always seemed something in the way. I should think when you return you will have lots of interesting information to give. I have just struggled through a short history of Poland, and am now wrestling with a new history of America, very well written but rather long, it is more the sort of book one needs to keep to dip into, but it certainly casts an original light on the early days of America which orthodox history had presented in a somewhat glamourised form. We occasionally get a little light relief in a film, though good ones are few and far between, I don't know if the ones you get are better, I suppose so, as you are at the source so to speak. I enjoyed the Walt Disney, "Bambi" but missed Fantasia.

The days of our Repertory theatre seem like a dream.

Mr Horton still comes to the class, but Miss Wilkinson has to go away so we miss her, she was so keen on the W.E.A.

We don't do any written work for these classes, which is a pity I think as it clarifies one's mind to write things down. Some Johnny said sometime I think "writing maketh the exact man". It's quite true, it's wonderful how one has to clear one's ideas in order to get them down in some sort of order.

My sister sends all greetings to you. I wonder when we shall have the pleasure of making coffee for you again!

With every good wish

and kindest regards to your family

Yours sincerely

Annie Calver

7 High St
Bexhill.

Sept. 13.

Dear Dr. Polanyi.

Your letter came like a shaft of sun
shine on a dreary day. It was very sweet of
you to write. I passed the letter on to Mummie
Palister & to one or two of the others, whom I still
meet. I expect some of them will be writing
to you.

It came as a little shock to me to learn
that Mrs. Polanyi & Hans are with you in America
for the knowledge makes my hope that some day
I'd attend yr. lectures again seem fainter, -
as if you are gone for ever.

However I am glad for your sake, very, -
& I remind myself that, while to me & to my
kind to go to America seems rather like passing
into another life from which there is no
return, to you, & to yr. kind, it may be no
more than a sojourn in London wld. be
to me.

I miss your lectures, & access to yr.
opinions so much.

I am turning very 'red', & shall
probably

join the Communist Party soon. I rather doubt
if that wld. meet with yr. approval.

Your object in yr. lectures was not to point us
which path to take, but to show explain how
we have got where we are, & what are the
issues at stake, & maybe, the general
trends of present movement.

I always thought you wanted socialism
with democracy.

However, it seems to me that if the capitalist
system is to go, — & it must go if a 'New
Order' fundamentally different from Hitler's
is to be brought about, there is only one way
to do it, & only one party with that aim
clearly in view.

I am reading the "Socialist-Sixth of the World"
by Hewlett Johnson. I dare say you told us
to recommend us to read it, the last year at
Bexhill, but I am only just on it now.

It is a most excellent inspiring book, —
I wish everyone cld. be made to read it, —
& it is a thriller!

But I do feel that there is a most urgent need
for a small book, in simple language, —

W. H. 4-100
M. H. 4-100
M. H. 4-100
M. H. 4-100

2

addressed to ignorant, simple people & sold at 6^d or 4^d, the first part of which should explain in detail the Capitalist System, how that it is not a part of the "Natural Order," as most people think, (like the "family") but is a recent development, — how it arose why & how it prospered, the benefits which it bestowed on humanity, the changes it brought about in society, good, bad & indifferent, — & the moral qualities or shall I say, character qualities which it tends to develop.

Also the social clashes which it causes, or helps to cause, both great & small.

And how that it can not work now, & why it can not work now.

And the second half should show how a great measure of freedom is quite compatible with a socialist or communist system.

The two kinds of freedom, ^{one} possible under our system, — its extent & its limitations & the other under the Soviet System, — its extent & its limitations, should be clearly indicated. ^{It should be shown how much} freedom exists & how much initiative & personal responsibility are called for in the U.S.S.R.

This is done, or the latter fairly fully, —
but the former not nearly fully enough
I think. In Hewlet Johnson's book —
but I want it a little simpler, & in
a cheaper edition.

I will buy 20 copies at once & lend them
assiduously to all and sundry!

Oh my master, is this the book you
are writing?

No one else do it better than you.
If you have not already done it, will you
do it at once?

I have a sort of feeling that your book
is addressed to intelligent & informed people.
You don't give a hint of its subject.
I wonder if I shall ever be privileged to
read it.

Thank you, Michael is still on
muntions, it is now over two yrs. since
he started training. He seldom comes
home, hardly ever writes, — but occasionally
phones. We hear of him indirectly through
friends. He must, of course, be very much

(3)

better, to have ~~been~~ kept up so long. But I fear he is still far from normal.

However, it is a tremendous relief to know that he is so much better, & to have him off hand for the present.

Jane has given up teaching, & has a job in the bio-chemical lab. at the Royal Sussex Hospital. Brighton. It is routine work, but she likes it, & the experience is useful, as far as it goes, for she is hoping to qualify as a doctor, when she has saved enough money. She is allowed to watch post mortems, which she greatly enjoys.

I am glad to have her so near.

I enjoy my work at the R.A.F. Records Office, at Hastings. It is over a year now since I went up there.

The hours are long. I am out of the house for just on 12 hrs. five days a week & about 9½ on Saturdays. — A poor grammar is alone. She is 81, & begins to feel her age. However, it can't be helped.

Please give Kari my very best wishes for success in her work. — I am sure she will ~~work~~ do wonderfully. June would like to join me in all good wishes.

It was never my good fortune to meet Mrs Palanyi but she was so kind as to write to me — when I wrote to you in '41. Please give her greetings from me.

As regards the present generation of young people being superior to those of our time, I fear I can not agree. I think there are good, bad, & indifferent in every age.

I am glad to know that you believe we are moving forward into a better world. I wish we could be here to see the New Order well started, but I feel that the chaos of transition will outlast our time. I am coming back. — only I shan't remember this experience!

Very best wishes to you, & kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely,
Charles E. Evans

(3)

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that he is so much better, & to have him
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for just on 12 hrs, five days a week, &
about 9½ on Saturdays, — & poor Grammie
is alone. She is 81, & begins to feel her
age. However, it can't be helped.

...with ... Oakwood Drive, ...
... Barnet, Herts. ...

... for ...

My dear Mr. Polanyi, ...
... the other day,
... found Mr. Polanyi at home. ...
... spent a most delightful couple of hours ...
... Mr. Polanyi, whom we interrupted in the preliminary of packing to
... felt the same, must be highly doubtful ...
... suggested that I might perhaps like to write to you, and
... gave me your address, ...
... and am very glad to be able to, and to be
... to send you my warmest regards. That you are doing
... work that is so congenial to you, was a delightful news, and I
... greatly enjoy your collaboration with students, and I can well
... imagine the joy you are getting of and enjoying your
... class in Denmark, which is assisting in your book, if you can
... spare the time, would you kindly let me know when it is
... published, and whether it will be obtainable in England.
... for myself, I like most people when, as
... steadily settling down to the work, that is, when somehow
... the possibility of danger of the year after June, 1940, and the
... complacent tepidity of the 'situation' which is the cause
... of the latter, the A. I. quietness of the first of the more ...

Being more closely personal, perhaps, apart from, aschranide,
of broken windows, boats, might be in shelter, first night, Harro,
ambulances and all the other incidents of a night's work, I believe
you might be able to get a reaction of a sort that is not the bounded
of American efforts. Apart from all that, perhaps, as well as the
interested in what is to be made, and the world of us, and the
world. address; (2) the Gospel in translation, and the the
deepest immersions, with actuality.

Under the influence of one of my closest friends, who is now in
a senesary hands, I have frequently been with that world and its start
with the individual, I spent some time with the the
writings on this subject. Christopher Dawson's in chief. It is of
course, as a matter of fact, to find how temporary has
been allowed to degenerate into the spiritual, and the
and in modern politics, equally easy to justify, as the
and that their inquiry of the physical, moral and spiritual
I despise, persuaded, and now the challenge, as the
and the principles of charity and justice, and the
and the same, and the same, and the same. It is an
ineffable ideal, but more and more. I am not sure that
men can be changed, so that the right psychological training
from both up, they could mature, and the perfect, and the
ambition, and all the other, and the other, and the other.
I believe, and the other, and the other, and the other.

self to change men without the atomism of their wills, the real
traditions of the past. This is a psychological neptunism
which, out of fear, will lead to feelings of black violence.
(This is to take a very terse view of their doctrine).
During the course of reading, I have taken in the two new
encyclopaedias, "Repum Romanum" and "Quadragesimo Anno" with
much admiration for their analysis of the social
consequences of laissez-faire. Then there is communism.
It is difficult at this time to say if that sense of
social brotherhood and self-abnegating effort, which is so
much a part of Communist mentality now, is not rather the
result of a movement under oppression than inherent in
Communism itself. I am inclined to think that the struggle
in a Communist State for membership of the despotic Party
and the competition which comes from power when the individual
has achieved that membership, militates against the ultimate
advantages of a true communism. Then with what
are we left? In enlightened Fabianism in civic, education
and ethics, a general, a temperate, and alert advance,
based on the existing institutions, towards the equal ^{share} ~~in~~
in income, education and social amenities. To que enough,
but I think that such a ^{genuinely democratically controlled} system ~~would~~ ^{would} be
something of a civilized humanity.
I enjoyed Plato very much for ^{the} fascinating play of

his argument, and found curious affinities in him with the
Mig philosophy of the eighteenth century. The same outlook towards
one's wife, the acceptance of slave labour combined with an
enlightened insistence on the culture of the individual, the
public duties of a representative aristocracy in politics etc etc
next to him, I enjoyed Aristophanes and the Scurians, without
suspicion of his comedies.

Apart from the sheer enjoyment of his narrative power,
I found an strange tonic in the times and feelings of
Macaulay's world. To read Carlyle's life of his uncle is
to live in a sober, steady world of righteous endeavour
towards a Progress's goal which was fully defined in its
insularity. There was the British Empire, and the men of
the first half of the nineteenth century who were quite clear
in their minds as to the infinite glory of that, and the
enlightened functions of it. At home, the Reform Bill, the
Repeal of the Corn Law; outside England, the suppression of
slavery, popular education in India; the classics, the
Great Exhibitions of 1851. In these unstable times it is
something to know that the aftermath of that other
convulsion which ended in 1815, should have been so
accomplishing.

My wife sends her kindest wishes to you. She is
teaching at a Central School now, taking French, English

Aug. 7th

THE ARCHDEACONRY

ROCHESTER.

Dear Mr. Polanyi

I wrote to you a few weeks ago but cannot remember addressing the letter! a shocking confession - but I hasten to write again as I am sure you didn't ever get my first effort. We so often think & talk of you all & wonder what you are all doing - If your job still functions & is as interesting as ever - If the Dr. is back in England & if Karli is going to Oxford in October. Sheila hopes to go to Westfield College - now at

St Peter's Hall & you & let's hope a very much hopes
there may be a chance of meeting Karl's Hen.
We seem in rather a sadwater in Rochester &
have been very quiet lately. The W.S. A. are hoping
for another course of lectures this autumn.

With best wishes & greetings from us all

Yours very sincerely

J. J. Garvey Browne.

of Dr. Neetham of Cambridge or Woodger in Tinsie, the Refreshing River, 1942

Langdon Hall
Sunday night

Dear Mr. Polanyi -

I've thought of you very often lately, and wished we could talk more immediately, though perhaps this is the better discipline. Anyway, it must be, and suffice. Let's, at the outset, cope with Woodger. He has become a King Charles Head - if I remember Dickens correctly - I can't bury him and I can't bring him to life; can we for a time suspend him more comfortably in some neutral realm of anticipation, and not harass him with present frustration? Since you say he is worth studying, I want to; but other matters are more urgent now, I feel. I don't like to put him off like this as it's something poor I'm prone to do, as I told you once. But there are truly other things, as you will see. Woodger will be as important to me in time, I'm sure; but there is some ground to be cleared first. OK?

Last week I re-read your essay on Facticism, and also on to B. Meier's essay on morals and religion which I had not read before. I'm enclosing my notes and comments as you might be interested in them in toto and there remain questions to be discussed. Would you mind returning them - I want to keep them more as a 'philosophical curiosity' than anything, for within the week I have come to see things as I did not before. (Time out for reading the notes.)

What I have come to believe is: ^{not} "that man" would seem to be another expression of a creative power" but that ~~man~~ man is another expression of an incalculable energy, that men are part of a creation infinitely past, and eternal, and that as part of ~~the~~ creation and as an atom of the total energy or spirit each man is tremendously important, because the spirit is so magnificent that the least, most minute expression of it must be grand (adjectives break down; greater taste is required than I possess); but a man is a most minute expression, unimaginably minute. When a man realizes this he becomes, he sees himself, at once ~~exalted~~ exalted and humble.

It's the Christian individualism and universality. And yet it's more than Christian; Jesus was not "God's only begotten son" - other men who have taught men to see God as best they can, are likewise expressions of God. (Have you ^{ever} talked with any

Hinduism about the Bahai faith? You would be interested, I'm sure.)

I don't wish to declare or parade. But I've ^{never} believed this before, and it changes everything, so you should know about it. Before now I have held, rather limply ~~to~~ at that, what those of same mind would probably call an "enlightened agnosticism": "One must accept the fact of existence, and one of the

conditions of existence seems to be that we require an Absolute of some sort to exist happily. And men have, throughout history,

certainly cooked up some interesting absolutes. I wonder which one is compatible with my frame of reference? I wonder what kind is coming next? "Chacun à son goût, however." ^{This} would be

the attitude, (not, I trust, a parody) I've just come to see the blindness and arrogance and poverty of it. [As a side point, which

I'd like to ask you about, the religious education of children has always been a problem to me. I would not want to force one belief on a child, consciously or unconsciously; it is just as limiting, though, to give him none. I was never brought up with any concrete one, but with an attitude that some day

I would find and decide for myself. So I never believed in God, but had a sort of faith that someday I would find a faith. But now I think that is too risky because supposing a child should never find it? And yet I would not want to stop him from questioning and searching and finding for himself. It is a dilemma. And yet one, I suspect, that comes from a weak faith in God.]

I don't understand how I came to see it, nor how I avoided it for so long, but it has, I think, made things more clear-cut, and immensely difficult.

Believing this is the denial of Fascism. That is what is clear-cut. Acting upon the belief, and trying to fulfill it, is what is difficult.

What bothers me more than anything now is: how can

you know enough of the nature of God to understand the will of God enough to act upon it? That may sound like a contradiction of what I said before; I think however it comes from confusion and incomplete thinking. The basic fact ~~is~~ appears: Do unto others as you would have done unto you.

In regard to the perturbation about Original Sin, expressed

in the notes: I do not believe with those who say "There can't be a God because if there were there wouldn't be all this suffering in the world" - that is egocentricity - Creation is not for man's convenience though modern science might have made it seem so. What science has unleashed in men! Original Sin would seem to be an attempted rationalisation - in the sense of satisfying by explaining, not

excusing - the observed evil and inadequacy of men. You can get into a beautiful tangle on it, thus: "if men are created evil

then nothing can be done about anything; and if you say something can be done to decrease evil you challenge and refute the almighty power of the Creator." Yes, but ^{even} if men are

created limited, with many faults, and always will be that way, they cannot escape the fact that other men are also created and thus also to be respected and not subjected to human

injustice." Man may be an evil animal but he is also a thinking
one, and as a part of creation has a responsibility.

What do you think happened to the idea of Original Sin?

We must surely recognize human limitations, under one label
or another; the war is forcing everyone to it. Only when people
realize human inadequacy will there be a chance for the
humility and good-will that must come before real peace.

Perhaps Christianity as a creed and a particular church has
lost its power; then a re-statement will have to be made. But
the principles of it are the answer to Drucker's, I believe.

These have been the urgent things, you see.

For a time I thought I had neither sufficient skill
nor spirit for rock-chewing, but the rock proved stronger than
I, and gave me strength. These are good times in a way; you are
forced upon your own, and forced to the realization of how feeble
in one way that 'own' is, and how strong in another. Everything
becomes unsure but two individuals and we alone are so
weak and yet the alone-ness gives a strength. I would rather
search for an authority than live in a time when everything was
considered settled, comparatively so. Though this attitude
reminds me somewhat of Margaret Fuller. When things look
very bad there is a temptation to ~~submerge~~ cheap comfort in
submerison: "we are not alone." There are thousands - millions - far
worse off than we."

Impersonality is a chilly refuge, if it is not warmed by
hope and faith.

Do you know Gibran's "The Prophet"? He saw some of this
well.

I have wished often - every day in fact - that you were
here to see and hear something; I've tried to enjoy it for
you, so to speak, and have enjoyed it the more myself thinking
you would. Every noon on a field about a block square, next

to the University library, there appears from nowhere an
attenuated mob, along the sides of the field, raising pau-
demonium. All because there are 4 baseball games going
on at once, on the field. You walk by on the way home
from class, stop and watch someone strike out; and an
hour later it is as furious as ever, still going on. And
suddenly disappears. Completely casual - anyone can join
any side at any time - and yet to hear the shouting
you would ^{think} it was Montagues and Capulets. I
reminds your tale of the baseball game in the rain. It
also reminds me of the warfare of the Plains Indians,
what I have heard of it: largely verbal, with great relish
and an occasional blow.

That was a fine joke on Tynbee; only I'm
afraid he would never appreciate it if he knew. I found
a lovely picture the other day in a biography of
John Wesley. One of his friends in describing his early
preaching at Oxford to several of the students ^{said}: "He

would get them to breakfast, and over a dish of tea endeavour
to fasten some good hint upon them." That's truly lovely -

There is a book and an article on postwar reconstruction
that I want to work on and talk about soon. The book is
Corbett's "Postwar Worlds" which I've just started and found
rather disappointing at the beginning. The article is George

Soule's "The lessons of the last time" in the New Republic
for 2 February 1942, which I have read over, without
specific study. My impression is that his most valuable
idea is the concept of a ^{reconstruction} ~~wasting~~ or ~~entire~~ period.

I mention these in case you might have seen them.

By the way, what happened in Vienna in
the early 30's, when there were ^{strikes and} riots and shootings and
burnings of workers' homes? I could dig it out of newspapers
but I think you would know - I hope I don't thrust into a
sore subject. Was reading Stephen Spender's "Vienna" -

I hope your book is progressing -

Yours Faithfully,

Char

Wednesday night -

Dear Karl - Thanks so much for the good lunch today, though I was too excited to be hungry, and for the same reason even less articulate than usual. This will interrupt your working, but I think we'll get forwarder on Friday if I tell you some of my ideas now, that seem relevant. This is somewhat the letter I've been meaning to write for the past 2-3 years.

You asked what had happened since College to direct my thinking. Being happily married is the most crucial thing; the most important thing about me, really, is John - and the children, but primarily John. Another factor is a small-scale revelation I had while still at Wisconsin: it was Spring, and John and I had just satisfactorily cleared up a serious misunderstanding, so I suppose it was brought on by general euphoria: anyhow I was walking to a class and was suddenly possessed by the conviction that the creative power that started the universe and kept it the most ~~was as simple as~~ ~~God and~~ or power was a satisfying belief, but raised more questions than it answered. If God was the Creator, who or what was responsible for the destruction and pain in the world? for instance. I'm not very good at asking myself intelligent questions, but over a period of time I've arrived at the following belief: the universe came into being through the power that is God, which is the power of creation, the power of destruction and the power of preservation. Time is one of the conditions of existence, not separate from it; God is timeless. All of nature, the physical universe, is continually being disintegrated and re-created in other forms; and if the disintegration or recreation involves pain or death for men or other creatures, that is one of the conditions of existence; I don't assume that God is good according to my concepts - there is no value or moral intention or meaning involved - nature exists and functions according to the conditions of its creation, and is, as far as I can tell, amoral, or non-moral, except for man. So a man

This concept I got from the Munda set-up of the Bahgyavad-Gita. ie. it's not an original idea - Thanks to reading I Ching and Vishnu - Thanks to reading I Ching and Vishnu - Thanks to reading I Ching and Vishnu -

Karl Palamji
Bennington College
Bennington

I have been wondering for sometime how you have been getting along during these two years since I last saw you, whether you are still at Bennington and whether your book is published yet.

I've been particularly interested in the book. There are so few naturalized Americans who grasp the deeper meaning of our culture articulately, so few who have all the detachment of the European and yet are able to think in the American tradition. The 19th century had its Tocqueville and Miss Martineau and others but so far the 20th century has had no European interpreters worthy of the name until the recent migrations. And these arrivals are still too new to be able to appreciate our peculiar problems, with some exceptions, of which I feel you are so properly one. Perhaps it is your unusual understanding of the Protestant mind and your sympathy that has made it possible for you to know so well the meaning and drift of our traditions. Perhaps the cause lies elsewhere. But you do have, in a unique sense, an understanding of our culture quite uncorrupted by the normal institutional lines of the academician.

Karl Palangic
Bennington College
Bennington VT

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has a very clear concept of its policy but also an incredibly
able way of handling things. ~~What is~~ The funny thing is,
however, that Russian moves - although they are ~~the~~ more
clearly indicated than any other country's - come ^{always} ~~always~~
unexpected. Nobody ~~is~~ - except Dorothy M. - expected ^{to} the
Russians to continue their Finnish negotiations after the
first rejection on the part of the Finns; actually the
Russians handle this situation apparently with big
gloves, with utter disregard for face saving and other
unimportant factors. I think they strengthen thereby considerably
their hand in matters where they prefer not to give in, as
for instance, in the Polish question.

I must not forget. Jack Riley (Martha White's, my friend's,
husband) is coming to England to be DWT. He will call on you.
He is, as you will see, a terribly nice person; I laugh Sociology
at Rutgers.

One more word about our ~~complexion~~,
every day and her mastery of language ~~process~~ is undoubtedly
her outstanding talent. Her reasonableness does never fail, and
after having looked around very carefully and without prejudice,
we decided that there is no better and sweeter child around,
than she. She remembers you very well and if you should
write us some time, don't forget to write a line for her, or even
better, to enclose some snapshot. ^{Be very nice to read in the current}
^{issue of Science and Society ~~is~~ a very}
^{interesting article on economic}
^{theory in it.}
Much love from all of us,
Mary

But this could continue far too long considering the time I have. What I did want was simply to recall to you that I have waited for the appearance of your volume. It may even have appeared. (I have had little opportunity to know because the Navy tends to suppress or obliterate ones interest in the real world.) If it has I want to see it.

Peg I saw last June in San Francisco, a town to which she has grown quite attached. Slowly she is resolving her emotional conflicts, slowly emerging as a unified individual. It is cause for rejoicing.

Incidentally I was married in December '42 and now have a child, Susan, 13 months old. My wife is living temporarily in D.A., though NY is home. We are nicely suited and fantastically pleased with us.

I'd like hearing from you. The Pacific becomes a really devastating place in which a letter from you would be another tenuous connection with a reality I try to cling to - rather hopelessly, while this war continues. Still it is refreshing, and I would like to talk with you again.

(Sgt) R. Mac Call
455 Buick D D 589
FPO San Francisco

Kinutely
Rueph MacCall

Dear Polanyi,

Thanks very much for your letter and the book, which I have not yet, of course, had time to read. But from what I already know about your work you may be sure that I would support you in the application.

Yours sincerely,

A.D.Lindsay.

My dear Polanyi,

I shall look forward to seeing your book, which I expect will be waiting for me in London when I get back on Saturday.

I am, of course, entirely willing for you to use my name as a reference in any application that you may make, providing that you realise that I can only speak of you in an unprofessional way because I have had no contact with you as a teacher. I could, however, speak as to your suitability for a research post.

Yours sincerely,

G.D.H. Cole.

Dear ~~Dr.~~ Polanyi,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday, and also for so kindly sending your book. I am glad that it ~~was~~ is out and shall look forward to reading it.

With regard to an academic post here:- you can, if you like, give me as one of your references on the understanding (which is usual) that I am free to act also as a reference for other candidates for the same post. If you do want to give me as a reference, please let me have particulars of your previous career (age, posts previously held, publications, etc) in case inquiries are addressed to me. With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

R.H. Tawney.

Dr. K. P. Polanyi

Barnet V

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
TUTORIAL CLASSES COMMITTEE

Temporary Address:-

London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
Keppel Street
W.C. 1.
Museum 3041

A.14
To Class Secretaries
Copy to Tutors.

Roll of Students:
Three Year Tutorial Class

Dear Sir or Madam,

May I remind you that the roll of students must be closed not later than the end of the sixth official meeting of the class. Will you, therefore, kindly let me have the Provisional Register by the earliest possible post after that meeting. It is important that the names of all intending students should be on the Provisional Register as no additions to the roll are possible after the sixth meeting except under the regulations for the admission of added students.

You will remember, however, that names may be taken off the roll up to the twelfth meeting. I shall write to you about this in due course.

Not more than 32 students, however can be put on the official register or admitted to the Class. If there are more than 32 names on the Provisional Register please score out now those to be omitted to bring the membership down to 32.

The Permanent Official Register will be prepared and sent to you with ut delay.

Yours sincerely,

W.S. ADAMS.

Secretary for Tutorial Classes.

Pacific

A. Anxley

G. Hearn

Hearing

B. Russell.

395 Otley Road,
Leeds, 6.

My dear Karli,

I found the book absorbing; I should say "great" without the "pernicious". On the whole, it is very clear; and I have marked the passages which caused me any difficulty. I think you assume too much knowledge in the general reader at times. For example Physis is not in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, and you can't assume that all your readers know about physiocracy and the Greek derivation physis.

But the book is quite devastating, and if the Liberal Economists were open to reason (which I doubt) they would all cry "Peccavi!"

I'm a little doubtful about your use of the word "Utopian", as it usually has a favourable sense in English; but it shouldn't cause any difficulty.

It was good to see you.
Love from us all,

Kenneth

Appendix

stand that such is indeed your opinion,
and nothing could be more natural.

In true gratitude for your most
obliging kindness, I am, dear Sir,
sincerely yours,

Careal Kolnai

Forgive me. This was the close of
my letter to John Macmurray.

Ah yes: for the 1st time in ^{my} life, I
— no, no baby Dachshund, alas! — have
been under the impression as though I had
exercised a certain "influence". (You know
how absolutely foreign this aspect of inter-
human relationships is to my very essence.)
In the fine New York periodical "Cath. World",
March, there is an amazing review of "War
against" (by a certain F.K.W. who is also an ex-
Major!!!), not only very favourable (placing me
in a perspective with Chesterton, Baedeker and
President Roosevelt) but expressly dwelling on
my point that Nazism be more deeply anti-Christian
than Bolshevism, yet not censuring but approv-
ing me! Incredible, and apt to encourage
my sinful vanity.

also with Mr. Neville, but authentically

icism or schematic condemnation, and the
"Right", apologetic admiration. Again, I am
not wholly inclined to reiterate (or re-echo)
certain hackneyed slogans popular with more
"detached" students of British foreign pol-
icy - "irrational improvisation", "instinct"
etc. I should, in particular, attempt to
dig into the philosophical depths behind the
hostility to "splitting into two ideological
camps"; - an attitude prima facie absurd,
and working out in favour of the fascist
"camp", but enclosing other and rather
complex elements too.

I should not in the least be sur-
prised if you were to suppose that I
could scarcely have anything interesting to
say about the subject, and that it would
be a small loss to the world if such an
article would not be written or published.
If you do not trouble to answer, I under-