

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ CORRIE NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-12

14th April, 1960

Karl Polany  
R. R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl Polany,

Your letter arrived yesterday; that means, with three weeks delay. I do not have the envelope, but it was probably addressed to New York, and forwarded here.

I want to tell you how much pleasure your letter gave me, first of all for expressing a sense of friendship which I always felt and feel, in spite of the fact that we have seen so little of each other, secondly because of what you write.

The last few years have made me feel increasingly strongly that I came back to where I started, although of course, as I hope, on a somewhat different and deepened level. I never ceased to be a socialist, but I am more strongly convinced than ever that the spiritual content which has to be found in socialism, and especially in the ideas which Marx expressed in the Paris manuscripts to which you refer, are still as vital as they were a hundred years ago.

I am enclosing a draft for a socialist manifesto and program which I wrote for the socialist party in the United States, which conveys my thinking on these points better to you than I could do in a letter. In fact, I had planned to publish an English translation of the Paris manuscripts with an introduction, and I might still do so. I am somewhat hesitant because there is a new English translation on the market, published by the Russians, and I understand that Mills has published one chapter in English; ~~an~~ ~~anthology~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~. I actually had planned to use a translation which Bottomore has made in England; he also planned to publish it in England, and waited because of the publication of the new translation done by the Russians.

I also have been thinking a good deal about an international journal discussing the ideas of what I would call humanist socialism. We thought of a kind of bulletin to be published four times a year on an international scale, with contributions on the question of humanist socialism, political, economic, psychological, philosophical, etc. We sent out about 100 letters to various socialists all over the world, and the entire response was 4 answers. Hence we decided for the moment not to pursue it any further, with *pol. letters*

ERICH FROMM  
EDZALEZ BOSIS NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

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the exception of a Spanish edition for Latin America, where we see much greater interest.

This is also by way of saying that I am naturally very much interested in what you write about the "Review". I would like very much to read some numbers, and if you could write them directly to send me some, or give me the address so that I can write them, I would be very glad.

I would also appreciate very much if you could write me in what form I could join you in helping this journal. At this point you don't make any clear suggestion, so that I do not know exactly what to do.

I am convinced that the answer to the alternative between Western capitalism and communist Krushchevism is humanist socialism, which is the expression of the spiritual heritage of our whole Western tradition. I also believe that there is a rapidly increasing interest, not only in the question of peace, but especially in the question of a critical review and of new *A Revision* goals for our society among college students and young intellectuals.

I joined the socialist party of the United States a year ago because I felt an obligation to do some practical work for socialist aims.

I would be very happy if you would have the time to write me a few lines about your reaction to the manifesto and program, and concretely what I could do about joining you in support of the Review.

I live most of the year in Cuernavaca, which is one hour from Mexico City. I plan to be in New York just for 3 or 4 days in the last week of May, and then my wife and I want to go on a trip, probably to Yugoslavia, because I am very much interested in seeing what is reality and what is pure ideology there. Then we will come back to Mexico, and I expect to be in New York again for a week or so in October.

I am very happy to hear that you got a clean bill of health in the hospital. I just had the same experience a few weeks ago when I was for a check-up in the hospital in New York.

I am, with warm regards and wishes,

Yours,

*E. Fromm*

Erich Fromm

R.R.3, Pickering, Ont.  
Canada

April 23, 1960

Dear Fromm,

You asked a hundred, and only 4 answered!

Your Manifesto is the first coherent, sustained voicing of the universal complaint underlying our present condition.

At some points accretion to the strength our convictions represent, is in prospect.

Paul Medow, a student of my 1952 class, is defending his Thesis in a few weeks at Columbia. In these eight years he has enriched the inner thought content of humanist socialism in the fields of economic theory, industrial engineering in a manner which has brought to bear in a concrete fashion the ethical sources of personal life on the vital issues. He is also the man to link solidly the contributions of Myrdal, Harry Pearson, Galbraith, Terence Hopkins and Schumpeter with the growingpoints of socialist economics. Paul Medow happens to believe himself indebted for his outlook to your work. I enclose some of his letters.

I am mailing to you (under separate cover) my "The Review" issues (1-3). Could you let me have some copies of the Manifesto by airmail?

What an auspicious start.

Affectionately,

(Stan) Kean

I will be writing soon about "Was tun?" (1863) as applied to 1960.

P.S. See particularly

\* Edgar Morin in The Review, No. 2, p. 8

\*\* Ferenc Töke " " " No. 3

\*) (A 'pluralist' interpretation of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and a pluralist document about the October Revolution)

Should there be no objection on your part to The Review publishing your Manifesto, please let me know.

Their address: "Imre Nagy Institute for political research", Bruxelles, 477, Avenue Louise. Subscriptions \$4 per year.

*Organization and institutional*

R. R. 3. Pickering, Ont.

April 23, 1960

Dear Fromm,

You asked a 100 and only 4 answered.

Your manifesto is the first coherent, sustained voicing of the universal complaint underlying our present condition.

At some points accretion to the strength of our convictions represented is in prospect.

Paul Creedon, a student of my 1952 class, is defending his Thesis in a few weeks at Columbia. In these eight years he has enriched the inner thought content of humanist

Socialism in the fields of economic theory, industrial organization and institutional engineering in a manner which has brought ~~the~~ to bear the ethical sources of personal life (in a concrete fashion) on the vital issues. He is also the man to look <sup>solidly</sup> the contributions of Myrdal, Galbraith, <sup>and Terence Hopkins</sup> and Schumpeter with the growing points of socialist economics. Paul Medow happens to believe himself decisively indebted for his outlook to your work. I enclose some of his letters.

I am mailing to you my "The Review" copies (1-3). Could you let me have 6-12 copies of the Manifesto by air mail? What an auspicious start. A devotee, Kar!

HARRY PEARSON

I will be writing soon about 'Wes' and 'see' applied to 1960. (1863)

See particularly  
P. S. Edgar Morin in "The Review" 2. Oct. 1957 p 8

xx) Ferenc Toke in " " N.S. Jan. 1960

x a pluralist interpretation of the  
Hung. Rev. of Oct. 1956

xx A pluralist document about  
the Oct. revolution

Should there be no objection on your  
part to The Review publishing  
your "Manifesto", please let me know.

Their address "IMRE NAGY institute for  
political research", Brussels  
477, Avenue Louise, Subscriptions  
\$ 4 per year. KA



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# CANADIAN NATIONAL



J. R. WHITE GENERAL MANAGER  
TORONTO

# TELEGRAPHS

STANDARD TIME

*Shored*

1960 MAY 3 AM 9 21

TNRY031 9 2 EXTRA=BRUXELLES VIA TORONTO ONT MAY 3=

:POLANYI= RR # 3 PICKERING ONTARIO

RR 3 PICKERINGTON (CORR TO FOLLOW)=

ENCHANTED ARE AT FROMMS DISPOSAL LETTER FOLLOWS=

HELTAI.

*ask*  
*A12-5988* *PT Tor*  
*956A*  
 TO: *Mrs P.*  
 BY: *RW*  
 FILE: *(Signature)*

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO RD. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-15

4th May, 1960

Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Eickering, Ont.  
Canada

Dear Karl Polanyi,

I just received your letter of April 23rd, and thank you very much for it.

I am very happy that you like the draft of my socialist manifesto.

I feel also very encouraged by what you write about Paul Medow, whose letters I also read with great interest. I think it would be a very good thing if he could participate in a committee which would try to work out research themes in sociology and economics. I certainly would like to meet him. Do you think he might be interested in joining the socialist party of the United States?

I shall be in New York from Monday May 23 to Thursday May 26th. Maybe you could write him and ask him to give me a ring at Schuyler 4-7382. I shall be very busy in these few days, especially as I have to give two lectures, but I shall make a serious effort to meet him.

I am sending you 4 copies of the manifesto. There is no objection to publishing it in the Review, if they would like to. It could be mentioned that it is a draft for a new program for the Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation of the United States, which is in the process of being discussed in the local groups.

Thank you also for the issues of the Review. I am leaving here tomorrow, and I will take them on my trip to read. At the same time I shall send a check for a subscription.

I plan to be now for about ten days in Michigan State University, Kellogg Center, East Lansing, Mich. (May 9 to 17) and then the last week of May in New York, (180 Riverside Drive) and on the 28th and 29th in Washington for the convention of the socialist party. On the 1st of June my wife and I plan to take a boat to Europe, and I want to go for 2 weeks to Yugoslavia.

I enclose a copy of a paper on unilateral disarmament



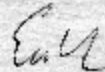
ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12. D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-15

- 2 -

which I just finished, and which will be published in a special edition of Daedalus, the journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and later in a book.

I am, with warm regards and wishes,

Affectionately yours,



Erich Fromm

5/13/60

wired 16

Michigan State Univ

47

Dear Polanyi,

thank you so much for your letter here

I just received. (and for the very interesting  
enclaved letter of P.M.)

I am delighted at the probability of seeing  
you in New York. I have to leave NY on  
the midnight train for Washington ~~Friday~~ <sup>Thursday</sup>  
night. That means if you would be in NY ~~on~~  
~~Friday~~ on Thursday we could meet Thursday

during the day. The most convenient time  
for me would be either from 11 AM <sup>and</sup> when  
we could have lunch together, or at 1 PM  
dinner until 4 or 5. I shall be in our  
apartment 170 Riverside Drive, (corner  
~~27~~ 90<sup>th</sup> street. Tel. Schuylke 4 7382.

Please write me here - or call me up  
when you arrive.

I am delighted about what you write about  
The Review. I shall announce that the program  
on one hand.

Affectionately  
D.H.

June 22, 1960

Dear Proun,

I had four letters inquiring the release of your MSS from "The Review"; the last of them yesterday. I sent two cables (1) "Fromm left for Yugoslavia" (2) "Received your postcard stop advise follows Proun's instructions." This takes in answer to their question whether I thought you would consent their publishing your paper in its original text. Yesterday's letter makes it clear that unless they hear from you <sup>at once</sup> they are going to publish the article with a write up on you. Moreover it will come out as a program - draft prepared ~~for~~ by yourself for the S. P. of the U.S. I feel certain that nothing will now stop them short of a categorical strong worded protest on your part forbidding publication, adding offer of fair compensation for eventual costs to them. I also advise withdrawal of your paper.

ENCLOSURE

In great haste. I do not intend to cable into wire to them again until I hear from you. Perhaps you wire or call if necessary.  
PICKERING, CNT AT 2-5988 Affectionately  
KP

IN 'THE REVIEW', R. Russels

Translation of 'I. I. N.' Bruxelles  
letter of vi. 17. 1960 to KARI P. Stany  
from J. Idelci No 1689 (H)

[Note the ignoring of my cabled advice.]

My dear friend,

Forgive me for harassing you  
continuously, but this time we are  
really in a 'hole'. Fromm has sent  
us no word since his wire, the  
text has been set in English, the  
French translation is ready but  
there is still no sign of the  
promised emendations. We must  
go to press by July 10th at the  
latest. There's hardly time to  
substitute an other text for the  
16 pages of Fromm's manifesto,  
and so our only hope is now  
that the changes arrive in  
time. Should they not reach us,  
I guess we will bring it as it  
stands, the title anyhow refers to  
it as only a draft of a proposal.

A few words of introduction are  
planned which again require some  
biographical data, as well as infor-  
mation whether the proposal was  
tabled and on what day. I hate  
to bother you again, but please do let us  
have the data. Sure you don't mind?

ERICH FROMM  
SONZALEZ C6810 NO. 15  
MEXICO 12. D. F.  
TELEPHONE 22-04-19

July 1, 1960.

Dr. Karl Polanyi  
Pickering, Ontario  
Canada.

Dear Polanyi:

Thank you very much for your letter. I followed your advice and cabled The Review immediately as follows:-

"Sorry must insist on postponing publication until  
"I have permission. Changes not finished before  
"August."

However, I did it with some hesitation, because I still do not know whether there is anything wrong with them. I was very much impressed with your original recommendation of them, and that was the basis for my intention to give them the article. The only reason for a change is that we do not know their material resources. At the same time you said you were convinced that they did not receive money either from the Communists or from the United States.

I would like to know if you wrote them again asking point blank to give you an answer on their financial resources, and if they replied.

I got a letter yesterday from a cousin of mine in Germany, Heinz Brandt. He is a former Communist who fled from Eastern Germany and who is now a convinced Anti-Communist, but a left wing pacifist democratic socialist, of whose integrity I have no doubt. I had asked him about The Review because I saw an article of his published in it. He wrote me that he is convinced of the Review's integrity, and that the only trouble is that they have no financial resources. (He was in Brussels and giving a lecture at their Institute.) This is exactly opposed to what preoccupies us. I shall write him immediately to ask him for further details. I would appreciate hearing any further reaction you may have on this matter.

Warmly yours,

P.S. I enclose the copy of  
the notes you sent me.

  
Erich Fromm.

MF.am

July 6, 1960

Dear Erich:

Thank you for your explicit letter of July 1, with the text of your cable to Brussels. I am very glad that, in spite of your natural hesitation to send it, you followed in this extraordinary affair my advice, and that in a way which, I think, was both effective and judicious.

I was, as you know, unable to get from The Review any answer to my question about their financial backing. What happened is this: In November, in London, I had enjoined my young friend Peter Kende to find out about it from the Editor, Heltai, who gave him, as Peter wrote me, the strongest assurances of their independence and determination not to brook any interference. No details were given. I twice repeated tactfully but clearly my inquiries by letter to the Editor, in view of my moral responsibilities towards myself and my friends. Meanwhile, in actual fact, their financial means continued to be practically unlimited (judging by offices, personnel, the convening of international conferences, journeys abroad and a costly publication in three languages). Apart from vague but incessantly recurrent plans for approaching American foundations, all I got was a handwritten postscript (not, therefore, appearing in the carbon) that Heltai was most eager to have a "heart to heart" talk with me. (This peculiar letter reached me only after I returned here *from New York*.)

Before you left New York I told you on the phone about the then most recent letter which still did not contain the answer on which I had this time insisted expressly with reference to yourself. I intended to ask point blank for clarification. Next day I unexpectedly learnt the

full truth. I would not have ever thought it possible. I consequently avoided all further correspondence, particularly also fearing that any letter from me would be used as an excuse for publication (which, eventually, in spite of all my cables, proved to be in the offing). What I had learnt was that the funds had been made available from over here, immediately following the judicial murder of Imre Nagy. These funds originated not with the Ford Foundation, nor with any other Foundation, all of which, of course, operate openly and responsibly. I realized that I "was had" by the use of a bona fide intermediary (Peter), deserving of the highest trust in my eyes.

Just had a letter from Peter Kende, from Paris. His family news is bad. His aunt, Dr. Lilly Gimes, mother of the martyred Miklós Gimes, Imre Nagy's associate, has committed suicide.  
(née Hajdu)

The affaire "Review": The hopes of mankind bought up on the political black market. No wonder it involves a series of daring mystifications, and many symptoms of a comprehensive moral disaster.

Some other organ will have to be created.

Affectionately,

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

14th July, 1960

Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

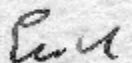
Dear Karl,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 6th  
which I just received.

I am very much interested in your new information  
about the Review, and glad that I followed your advice. I have,  
of course, not the slightest idea what their possible financial  
source could be, but maybe you could tell me about it at some  
opportune occasion.

With warm wishes,

Yours,



Erich Fromm

P.S.

I just got a letter from the Review people, signed by Heltai  
(incidentally, with the address 467 Avenue Brugmann, Bruxelles)  
expressing their regrets that it could not be published in the  
fall issue, and hoping that it can be contained in their next  
number. He also sends me the proofs, asking me to make the  
corrections therein.

Having given the reason to them that I did not want it to be  
published before corrections are made, I am now in an awkward  
position, if I tell them that I do not want to have it published  
at all, and I think in that case I would owe them some kind of  
an explanation. I would be perfectly willing to write them  
that in the meantime certain things have come to my notice which  
make it impossible for me to associate with them, or any other  
appropriate statement. However, this is very difficult, if I



ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

- 2 -

do not know at least somewhat more about the problem of their financial resources.

I can perfectly understand it if for one reason or another you do not feel free to mention it to me, and this remark is by no means an attempt to push you to it. If, however, you see your way free to write me something more about it, it would certainly be a great help in writing them and, in fact, also to form my own judgment whether I consider the thing grave enough to withdraw my original consent completely. I just would not like to be in the position of making weak excuses in not permitting the publication of the article.

11  
7/50 mhm



Copy

Pickering, Ont

21st July, 1960

Dear Erich:

I am glad to say you got my meaning precisely.

Since rumours have been circulating about the publishers' financial sources I think this fact should justify your asking for a statement before you agree to publication of your manifesto. Incidentally, the agency you were asking about has been some time ago publicly commended for its intelligence, a view with which I quite agree under the circumstances.

All the best,

Karl

R.R.3, Pickering, Ont.  
Canada

July 30, 1960

Dear Erich:

Yesterday we had a letter from an Italian socialist historian of the working-class movement, whom we know. He wrote inter alia:

"I had not known Heltai before, who came to see me unannounced. This was two months ago, in my office. At that occasion he only mentioned the "Etudes", later on he sent me from Bruxelles a Hungarian edition, called "Szemle", which caused me small surprise to me - all the more, since you wrote there exists also an English edition. Now, for sure, such a thing cannot be unless somebody supplies the means. I was told by him that they have Anna Kéthly's support, who again gets support from the Social Democratic parties."

So this confirms the existence of a Hungarian edition, over and above of the English, and of the French, of which we had learnt from the writer of the letter himself. He had mentioned it in passing in a previous letter of his, drawing our attention to the "Etudes" on account of its Hungarian material, and asking us whether we knew about "Etudes".

In issue No. 1 The Review carried a report from Anna Kéthly about her participation at the Conference to which she had been asked to come. It struck me at the time that she included an explicit reservation amounting to something like this: The subject of this meeting was the fight against Communism; this perhaps explains that it did not also attack capitalism, a subject on which she would certainly have been at least as critical.

There the matter rests. Though I know A.K., I don't personally feel like asking for confirmation about the financial support the Social Democratic parties are said to be giving through her to this venture. I wonder whether the Socialist Party of America is amongst them. Surely that would not be a confidential matter; and whatever their answer be, it would not appear any more out of place to turn to Mrs. Kéthly for fuller information.

Warmest regards,

P.S. Nomina sunt odiosa, however, for your personal information: the historian in question is Lee Valiani, editor of Il Ponte, (Firenze), a scholar of high standing.

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ BOBIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-02-19

1st August, 1960

Mr. Karl Polanyi,  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 21st, which I just received.

Frankly I am a little puzzled about the meaning of your last sentence, which says that the "agency you were asking about has been some time ago publicly commended for its intelligence". I understand from your letter that you do not want to make any further statement about the group, and I just feel at a loss to know whether whatever you heard about them is severe enough to forbid them to publish my manifesto.

It might interest you to hear the answer from my cousin, whom I had asked. He was there at a meeting, and wrote me something to the effect that it seemed to him that the independent French left was more strongly represented, and that there were also different Trotskyite groups, and that Heltai took the position of an independent Soviet socialism. Among those present were also some of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and my cousin hints, emphasizing that he has no knowledge about it, that it seemed to him that they might be the ones that finance and initiate the Review. He thinks that perhaps the development of the Review, which is independent from both blocs, may not be sufficiently pleasant for the people of the Congress of Cultural Freedom, and hence they might have the financial difficulties about which Heltai spoke at this conference. My cousin believes that the articles published are "sauber in ihrer Grundhaltung" and he does not think that there is any serious argument against publishing *them in the Review*.

Please keep this statement about my cousin's opinion entirely confidential, but I think it might interest you, and naturally I would be interested to know whether your own impression goes in the same direction, or of any hint you could give me about the Review.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

E. F.

Erich Fromm

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ CBBIG NO. 12  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

5th August, 1960

Mr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 30th.

I appreciate very much your sending me further information about the Review. I hope you do not mind if I raise one more question.

As I understand it from what you say, and also from what my cousin wrote, the suspicion really would be that they get money either from the Committee for Cultural Freedom, or from Social Democratic parties. While I would not particularly relish that, I would feel it is by no means as grave as if they got money from either the communists or from any government. Hence, while I would not consider them the organ we had thought, I would still not find reason enough to forbid them to print my program as originally promised.

I would greatly appreciate if you would drop me a line in case my assumptions here seem to be wrong to you, since I very much rely on your judgment in this matter.

With warmest regards,

*E. F.*

Erich Fromm

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

15 August 1960  
561 West 141 St  
New York, 31, N.Y.

Dear Dr Fromm,

I have re-read Rostow's book since I ~~XXXX~~ received your letter, and I have also discussed his treatment of motivations with Professor Polanyi, who is, as you probably know, very much involved in this particular problem. Aside from the review by Harry Schwartz in the Sunday Times about two months ago, which was extremely favorable, and from the protracted discussions and reprints of other discussions in the London Economist several months ago, I do not know of other reviews. It is still too early for the economic journals. When they do come, however, I expect that they, too, will be very favorable, although both the better economists and the conservative rear-guard will dissent. There is, at the present time, no other scheme at all that permits an integrated analysis of ~~the problems of~~ economic progress in non-Western countries in other than clearly inapplicable market terms. A number of my colleagues have been particularly excited by precisely Rostow's inclusion of a variety of non-market motivations among the "economic" ones.

Although I am sure that you are right in discerning a grave injustice to Marx's position concerning motivations in Rostow's exposition of it, I would like to caution you, if I may, against the danger of drawing misleading conclusions from the superficiality and other intellectual shortcomings of Rostow's book. This danger exists, in the first place, because Rostow is not the author of at least 98% of the ideas that he presents, as any one who has struggled through Schumpeter's Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy knows well. The non-market concepts that he employs (I have in mind above all his orientation on technology and his dissociation of enterprise from hedonist motivations) have, in fact, a distinguished even though somewhat erratic history that goes back to the works of Max Weber, Karl Menger, and Marx himself in a way that Schumpeter has made clear. Schumpeter has used them not only in formulating his Theory of Economic Development (1911) but also in analyzing the origins of business cycles in waves of technological progress, in demonstrating the the origins and transitional character of capitalism ~~in~~, <sup>as well as</sup> the economic superiority of socialist economies, ~~and~~ the nature of the economic institutions that will supersede markets and competition in a socialist economy.

With regard to the correct interpretation of Marx's own position concerning motivations, nevertheless, it seems to me that Rostow is both right and mistaken, because there is a definite ambivalence in that position. On the one hand it is correct to say, it seems ~~xxx~~ to me, that Marx analyzed the behaviour of all upper

classes essentially in market terms. In any event this was largely true of the upper classes behaviour of his (transitional) period; they had, under the impact of the reforms introduced by the national states, begun to betray the social responsibilities that had traditionally attached to their status, and to serve the state and the market instead. Their relationships to peasants tended to become influenced by the markets. It may be true, of course, that Marx must have had a different conception of the motivations of the lower classes, but even that may not be clear, since they were presumably in a situation of great need. More generally, in so far as Marx's concept of the struggle between classes does reflect the actual introduction of the conflicts inherent in unregulated market relationships into the traditional pattern of social relations, it is only natural that he should depict ~~relationships in the economy of his time~~ as essentially utilitarian and 'materialistic'.

Yet it is <sup>definitely</sup> also true that Marx ~~also ascribed~~ capitalist enterprise to <sup>other than</sup> materialistic motivations, ~~as he does states~~. Towards the end of Capital Marx states that in contrast to earlier times, when an important role was played by greed, the continuous reinvestment of capital ~~rests on that motivation~~. It had become, instead, a necessity in the situation created by ~~competition and declining profits~~. An impersonal mechanism <sup>of motivations</sup> governed the activities of even the upper classes. This is one of the points that Schumpeter developed further in his own theory of capitalist economic development, and it is also with the aid of this kind of approach that Professor Polanyi has analysed the institutional basis of non-market economies, in which religion and mutuality ~~were~~ the ~~most~~ important have frequently been observed to be among the leading motives for economic activity. Logically this method leads to an analysis of the interaction of the 'human' or 'existential' situation <sup>of individuals</sup> with ~~concrete~~ environmental situations that have the effect of inducing economic activity. By injecting normative elements into this kind of ~~analysis~~ analysis one may then proceed to appraise given (or imagined) economic institutions in humanistic terms.

I have completed a draft of the short memorandum on the economic problems of socialism. I would like to keep it for a while longer, however, in case it should need some revisions.

Sincerely,  
Paul Medon

\*\* This same ambivalence is also present in Schumpeter's analysis of capitalist enterprise, in which he refers both to the role of the Weberian non-hedonist motivations and to the activity-inducing effects of competition. It is possible to view the actual activity of entrepreneurs as an interaction of these two forces, but it is also possible to imagine that the first entrepreneurs, fresh from traditional society, were animated by the Weberian motives, while established entrepreneurs are active because of the pressures of competition.

"Routine" à la Parsons  
Sulzer



R.R.3, Pickering, Ont.,  
Canada

Aug. 17, 1960

Dear Erich,

I hasten to let you know that "The Review" now succeeded in gaining the moral support of Mrs. Kéthly (London Népszava, Aug. 1). Her carefully phrased references to their financial supports do not confirm that social democratic parties have been contributing to them, but neither do they contain any hint as to the factors that made these sums available. In effect, her phraseology is anything but a sementi of the highly sophisticated methods of 'no strings attached' practiced most intelligently nowadays.

The August 1, 1960 issue of the London Népszava (People's Voice), organ of the Hungarian Social Democratic emigration contains an article entitled "The History of the Hungarian Revolution", initialled K.A. (Kéthly Anna). The occasion is to introduce No. 4 of Szemle, (The Review), which contains a call from the editors for documentary material referring to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The article begins, saying that the analytical history of the Hungarian Revolution still remains to be written. Much research will be needed to make the relevant material available. After this introduction, the article continues:

"The Revolution disappointed the powers that be and who were in a position to provide the financial means required for the support of this kind of scholarly research. The more we progress in the knowledge of the true facts that the Revolution of 1956 did not aim at the destruction of the changes attained after the War, the more we find ourselves opposed by those who - this side of the Iron Curtain - are ready to spend any amount of money in support of destructive efforts of a reactionary character."



# EXCLUSIVE CONNECTION WITH WESTERN UNION CABLE SERVICE CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

J. R. WHITE, GENERAL MANAGER  
TORONTO

STANDARD TIME

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KARL POLANYI=

1723 RR PICKERING ONT=

SORRY I HAVE TO CHANGE PLANS CANNOT BE IN NEW YORK

BEFORE FROM OCTOBER 3RD TO 9TH=

ERICH SBOMM.

942A

AT 25988

int KP BY BP



DRIVER

Sept. 7th, 1962

Dear Erich

Toronto just phoned through the text of a cable for me from Brussels <sup>in reply</sup> "Corrected proofs fromm not yet received please intervene - Heltai." The written text will reach me tomorrow ~~by~~ mail. I will then forward it to you by airmail. ~~At this~~ <sup>of my disagreement</sup>

I shouldn't be surprised <sup>had you</sup> you meanwhile on the strength of A.K. I authorized publication <sup>my reaction would</sup> be the same, ~~but you~~ <sup>had drawn</sup> ~~with known~~ <sup>if not</sup> ~~permission having solved the riddle.~~ on the contrary,

I expect news from you any day now.

Our meeting i.e. my seminar was <sup>(to Sept 17th)</sup> postponed from Sept. 9th, for <sup>date</sup> which I had arranged. It so as to be able to see you. ~~too~~ As to Oct 3-9th, there is double uncertainty: my routine cystoscopy on Sept 23rd, and the proximity to the 17th of September.

How would I be surprised, if, on the contrary, you had already the withdrawal permission, having solved the riddle. I still expect news any day from you.

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12. D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-02-19

*Fromm*

12th September, 1960

Mr. Karl Polanyi  
R. R. 3,  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

I just had your letter, and went over all our correspondence, and I must admit I am not too good at solving riddles.

I cannot discover anything beyond a suspicion that they may have received funds from one of the <sup>social</sup> democratic parties in Europe, or similar organizations. I do not see any evidence, from what I understand, that they received funds from any government, either of the West, and certainly not from the communist bloc.

Considering all this, I find that there is not enough reason to withdraw the permission for them to print the article, which they had already set, since at least I should have done so in the intervening months since I received the galleys.

Naturally, I may be making a mistake in this, but feeling somewhat in the dark about the matter, that is the best I feel I can do.

I hope everything is all right with your health, and I am only sorry that I can not see you when I am in New York.

I am, with warm regards and good wishes,

Yours,

*E. F.*

Erich Fromm

ERICH FROMM  
Gonzalez Cosio No. 15  
Mexico 12, D. F.

17 September 1960

Dr. Paul Medow  
561 West 141 St  
New York 31, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Medow,

Thank you very much for your letter of August 15th which, due to many urgent things I had to do I answer with so much delay.

I appreciate very much the suggestions in your letter, which coincide very much with my own understanding of Schumpeter and Max Weber. As to Marx, I think you are somewhat too charitable to Rostow; what Marx means very clearly is that the capitalist mode of production produces certain motivations (and here he is, indeed, somewhat contradictory: one motivation is the greed for gain, and the other is the asceticism of the capitalist, who wants to save, but in the last analysis this is no contradiction - he wants greater profits, but not so much for consumption but to have more for reinvestment), but it is equally clear that these motivations, according to Marx, are the ones which the capitalist society creates in man, and not at all as Mr. Rostow has it, absolute human motivations which operate in any society. Marx actually speaks also about such motivations, and the only ones he mentions are sex and hunger.

Incidentally, I wrote about that in the Zeitschrift fur Sozialforschung in the early '30s, and tried there to differentiate between the misunderstanding of historical materialism as a theory of psychological materialism, rather than as a theory of certain socio-economic conditions for the production of any number of character types which fit these conditions.

I am, with best regards,

Yours,

Erich Fromm

ERICH FROMM  
BONZALEZ COSIO No. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 25-04-19

20th September, 1960

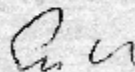
Mr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

I am sorry I only just got your letter now, that is to say, you have already left New York by now, and I can only write you to Canada.

This note is just to send you my warmest wishes for your short stay in the hospital, and my very cordial regards.

Sincerely,



Erich Fromm

ERICH FROMM  
SONZALEZ COSIO No. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

21st November, 1960

Mr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

I just came back from a trip, and I want to acknowledge your letter of November 8th, and thank you very much for writing me in such detail. I now understand more or less the whole sad story, and I hope I have not done any harm by letting them publish the manifesto.

I made a number of speeches for the socialist party, and I was glad to see the very favorable response of the students. There were 1200 at Yale and over 2000 at Chicago University.

I will send you in a few days a reprint of my article on disarmament, and of a speech on foreign policy.

With warm wishes, in friendship,

Yours,

*E. Fromm*

Erich Fromm





the question of the initial costs of the three language periodical.  
Where did this leave us?

You surely understand that if I had to ~~join~~ join a political party, I would, I suppose, belong to some democratic socialist party myself. H.'s having secured the moral support of the official Hungarian Social Democratic Party in exile left you (in my view) without sufficient grounds to withdraw your MS. My situation was different, having direct personal knowledge, though no documentary evidence, of the main fact, and moreover being committed through my past to the moral interests of the Hungarian movement. Only a few months ago a full history of the 'Galilei' Student Circle has appeared in Hungary, which, though it classes me as an "objective counter-revolutionary", yet recognizes the great historical role played by that movement in the annals of Hungarian socialism.

My sustained efforts at your ordered retreat from "The Review" have failed. The Cold War and its beneficiaries have proved too strong, and have laid their snares too well to be rent without even greater damage to all.

Sequel: Péter Kende, son of the co-founder of the Galilei Circle, first cousin of the martyred Miklós Gimes is a bone fide revisionist socialist, and as so many ex-communists, deeply and convincingly anti-Soviet. There are no grounds to assume that he is intimate to the financial background. He is a young scholar, and a pure idealist. H.,

*known* from the times of his American stay as member of the Washington staff of the Hungarian Embassy <sup>having</sup> met me once and has direct knowledge of my anti-communist position. In Hungary he was in the Foreign Office the officer in direct contact with Moscow. His diplomatic training is of a superlative order. Via Péter he could interest me, via myself, he could interest you, via yourself he might interest many non-communist bona fide soci



ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 19  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

28th September, 1960

Mr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

This is just a short note of thanks for your letter of September 21st. You can imagine how surprised I was at the solution of the riddle, which was the last thing I would have expected. I am sure had I guessed it earlier, I would not have given the permission, but as things are, nothing more can be done about it, and I hope not too much harm comes from it.


I am leaving today for the States, hence I write somewhat in haste.

With warm wishes, as always,

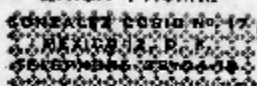
Yours,

Erich Fromm

Dictated by Dr. Fromm  
Typed after his departure,  
therefore sent without his  
signature.



ERICH FROMM



NEW MAILING ADDRESS:

PATRICIO SANZ 748-5  
MEXICO 12. D. F.

22-1

26th October, 1963

Prof. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 4  
Pickering, Ont.,

Dear Karl,

This is just a short note to ask you whether you will have the time to write something for the volume on socialist humanism. The piece should have not more than 15 typewritten pages, about 27 lines per page, and even if it is shorter, it would be all right.

I hope you are feeling well, and I would love to have a line from you.

With all good wishes, and warmest regards,

Yours,

for

Erich Fromm

*B. B. Mayer*

Dictated by Dr. Fromm,  
but not seen by him.

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

13 December 1960

Dear Dr. Fromm,

Thank you for your comments on Heston's position. It has occurred to me repeatedly since that it is the interaction between internal psychological mechanisms and external ~~(usually institutional)~~ activity-inducing mechanisms (that operate through the ~~continuous~~ re-creation of ~~various~~ activity-inducing situations) that must serve as the basic element in the study of societies.

I have expanded on the initial memorandum on the economic aspects of humanistic socialism that I had begun to prepare last summer and it is now well on its way to becoming a short book. It is concerned with the human and social problems of industrial societies generally, and begins with a critical comparison of your analysis in The Same Society with that of B.P. Vysheslavtsev in The Crisis of Industrial Culture. Both works are criticized for limiting their analysis to ethical problems and ignoring perhaps even more serious threats (such as the uncontrolled development of technological innovations) that also stem from the initial consequences of industrial <sup>and of the new conflicts that it creates</sup> production/on traditional social institutions. A descriptive analysis of the latter process, taken in part from Professor Polanyi's Great Transformation, follows in the third chapter, while the remainder of the book is concerned with the general problem of adjusting social institutions to the new types of social responsibilities that have emerged in industrial nation states. This centers on the norm of a social (rather than a functional) instituting of the various (objective) conflicts that exist in such an order, and includes a consideration of the need for (non-market) prices, although only as a basis for establishing the costs of various decisions, and not as the criterion for decision-making. I neglected to mention that a central conceptual element in this analysis is a view of Society as a set of institutional arrangements that stabilize ~~various~~ objective conflicts that tend to occur in man's otherwise chaotic environment in such a way as to make life bearable and livable, and in some cases even quite rich. The humanistic institutionalization of such conflicts would provide an additional norm, but could not possibly be the only norm. The title of the book will probably be "The Social Institutionalization of Industrial Societies". I must say that its inspiration ~~comes~~ <sup>comes</sup> very much indeed to both <sup>to</sup> your books, that I have read and re-read. ~~This means~~ <sup>This means</sup> with ultimate responsibility to aspects of human life and ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> to the continuity or efficiency of impersonal processes.

many times, and your lectures at The New School. It also owes very much to the very remarkable institutional thinking of Professor Polanyi, however, as well as to Schumpeter's analysis of economic processes, which differs significantly from the conventional analysis of market relationships.

Professor Polanyi is in Europe at the moment, but he will be back in about two weeks, and may be in New York either in late December or in late January. I understand that he is most anxious to write a brief article on his conception of the elements that must be present in the "new revisionism", if it is to be both humanistic and realistic, and also on "The New Test". His book on the Gahomey is now fairly close to completion.

Did you know that there is a faculty seminar at Columbia University on "The Economic Aspects of Disarmament" in which Prof. S. Helman is participating?

I am enclosing a copy of an entry on Vyacheslavtsev that I prepared recently for an encyclopedia. The main difference between his position and yours derives from his method. He ascribes the primary evil directly to technology and the introduction of large-scale production. The latter is responsible for the prevalence of utilitarian relationships (not character) which are imposed by the industrial bureaucracy that ~~it~~ it creates. The prevalence of such relationships then neutralizes the person's <sup>moral</sup> sense of right and wrong (since his action must necessarily be guided by other criteria), and this brings about the disintegration of their personality - a process somewhat different from the acquisition of a different character structure. I would also like to send you four more (shorter) entries on other emigre Russian religious philosophers whose position, I know, will interest you very much. I will have copies of them shortly.

Sincerely,

P. Medow

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

10th January, 1961

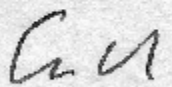
Professor Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 4,  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

I had a letter from Paul Medow saying that you  
are in Europe, but will probably return soon.

This is just a note of greeting, and to send you  
my warmest wishes for the New Year.

Yours,



Erich Fromm



ERICH FROMM  
SONZALEZ COSIO N°. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

10th February, 1961

Dr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Mr. Polanyi,

Your letter of January 14th arrived here just as Dr. Fromm was on the point of leaving on a short trip, and he asked me to let you know that he will reply as soon as he can after his return to Mexico.

Yours sincerely,

*03 JG Mayer*

ERICH FROMM  
SONZALEZ COSIO No. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

*Erich*

9th March, 1961

Dr. Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Fickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

I returned from my trip to New York a short time ago and found two letters of yours, one of January 14, which arrived just as I was leaving from here, and the other handwritten one. Thank you very much for taking the trouble of writing me so extensively and interestingly.

I am writing right now a book on foreign policy, and among many other things am also reading Carr's book, which I find quite as interesting as you said.

I would like very much to read what has been written on ethics from the Marxist standpoint. I understand the young Hungarian's work is not translated. I have not heard of Adam Schaff's work on Marxist ethics. I shall write to Paul to ask whether he knows anything more about it. (It was a great pleasure for me to talk to Paul in New York. He is so thoughtful, knowledgeable and concerned, that even if I do not always agree with him I am very glad to have a chance to talk with him.)

I was wondering about what you write about my ambivalent ethic with regard to Tchernyshevsky's ethics and the Leninist party organization. If one of these days you have a little time and could express your point a bit more in detail, I would appreciate it very much, but please don't bother to write until you really have some free time.

I am sending you a copy of an analysis of the declaration of the 81 Communist Parties.

I am at the moment in bed with a slight intestinal trouble, so I will stop for today. With warm regards, as always

Yours,

*Erich*

561 W 141st St, Apt 69,  
New York 31, NY  
~~July 12~~, 1961  
June 2,

Dear Dr. Fromm,

Thank you for your kind note. I, too, plan to go to Europe later this summer, partly in order to attend the International Conference on Input-Output Techniques in Geneva early in September, and partly to meet some economists and visit some economic research centers in the Soviet Union. I have been told that the underdeveloped countries will be heavily represented in Geneva. This is undoubtedly because input-output analysis promises to play a vital role in the national planning of investments.

I have read your "Marx's Concept of Man" with very great interest last week. I found the connection with Spinoza particularly interesting. It has occurred to me, however, that there may be a more important reason, besides the ones that you suggest, why it is not with this 'humanistic' aspect of Marx's writings that his doctrines are usually identified. This other reason is particularly apparent in the response to the Marxian doctrines of the Russian revolutionary intellectuals at the turn of the century, but it has a much wider significance.

In the case of the Russian intellectuals the particular Marxian doctrine that swept their imagination is the assertion that social structures as well as values and concepts of ethics are not absolute, as tradition and conscience both suggest, but change in accordance with changes in the mode of production. For the thought that there exists spontaneously developing, invisible (to the non-"materialist"), and impersonal 'forces' (economic means-end relationships) that in fact rule the lives of individual men behind their backs by determining the social

organization within which they must live and the irrational values that must guide them not only served to destroy the sacredness of tradition and to remove natural inhibitions against violent revolutionary action but also held out the promise that if one can learn to control these invisible threads, then one can presumably manipulate them ("plan") in such a way to create a social organization that will provide a human setting for the lives of individual men, and one, above all, that will no longer be determined by the chaotic play of impersonal forces. This is what the term 'materialism' has come to mean in the Russian Marxist tradition. As you see, it is different from the market concept of economic determinism that you mentioned, and it is not incompatible with a humanist position, which was, in fact provided, not by the one deriving from Spinoza, but by the Russian one, which has a long history of its own and has been reflected in the works of the Russian classics, in the populist movement, and in the writings of the emigre existentialists of this century. There is no doubt, of course, that subsequently it was the analysis of objective means-end relationships in the economy, and especially in politics (which was understood by Lenin in terms of an economically determined struggle on a world-wide scale), rather than of alienation, that absorbed more and more the attention of the Russian revolutionaries. But it seems to me that the intense pressures of the domestic and international political situation within which the revolutionary movement developed, and later the central concern with economic planning suffice to explain this second phase, which has acquired, today, an inertia of its own.

The Russian response to Marxist doctrines may <sup>thus</sup> be viewed as ~~an~~ a response to the Greek rather than the Judeo-Christian element of the

Western tradition embodied in Marx's system. In The Myth of the State, E. Cassirer, who traces the interplay of the Greek, the Christian, and the Romantic (national) strands in European doctrines, noted that Hegel had been strongly influenced by Machiavelli. Hegel's emphasis on "necessity" and Marx's emphasis on economic determinism thus appear to reflect a totally different conceptual tradition than the one stemming from Spinoza - one that stands for the recognition of the reality of means-ends relationships in societies independently of ethical inclinations.

In view of the existence of these two distinct elements in Marx's doctrine, it is possible to question which meaning of the term "alienation" is more relevant to the solution of the human problem created by market economies: the psychological one, which you discuss or the one that refers to the <sup>imposition</sup> ~~imposition~~ of an unwanted way of life by objective impersonal mechanisms such as that of the market, that the individual cannot control and that create compulsion through objective situations rather than through psychological pressures. The answer is important because the solution to the present human crisis in the Western market societies might require very much less than a change in character structure: it might only require the establishment of "personal situations" in which the basic human rights (needs) of men living in industrial societies are met (not maximized), so that they are not forced to subject themselves to alienating situations. The central problem of socialism may then still be to create a new structure of means-end relationships, ("planning"), within which it may be assumed that men may spontaneously develop a more human way of life even before they develop a genuinely productive character structure. This kind of planning- of consciously manipulating and limiting

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NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

the many means-end relations without which societies and especially industrial societies cannot exist, encompasses, of course, much more than the mere planning of investments and would require the conscious<sup>ous</sup> ~~ness~~ sacrificing of excessive economic, political, and military efficiency\*. It also presumes decision-makers who feel responsible (and assume the corresponding power) for the implementation of some vision of the "good society" that is certain to differ in different cultures.

Similarly with ~~the~~ regard to the new nations of Asia and Africa it would appear more likely that it is Marx the rationalist rather than Marx the humanist that will continue to exercise the greater influence for some time since the principles of market rationality is generally so alien to their cultures and so ~~more~~ unsuited to their economic problems. One of the consequences of your book, however, is undoubtedly going to be the development of more serious discussions concerning the proper ways of relating the unavoidable requirements of rationality to humanistic ethics in industrial societies.

Sincerely,

*Paul Medow*

\* The mathematical methods recently developed by the military in order to apply economic principles to military problems on a non-price basis may also be applied to calculate the social costs of efficiency in various fields. This makes it possible to impose mathematically formulated policy-derived constraints on efficiency-oriented decision-making.

Copy

June 25, 1961

Dear Erich,

Thank you for the advance copy of your "Is world peace still ~~possible~~ possible?"

In giant steps you have revved yourself up to the service of your time. I am happy that you achieved this most needed and rarest attainment of the philosopher. Not just one, but a whole series of interlocking ~~mechanism~~ moral devices had to be produced in order to re-formulate the root meaning of socialism in an industrial civilization so as to make it an instrument of the reorientation of the American people in its present so critical situation for mankind. The breadth and liberalism of your thinking has broken through to the concrete problems, to the political reality on that level where ~~it~~ is an intellectual and moral problem. Nineteenth century socialism never penetrated to the early Marx, and walled itself off in the Engelsian shell of an economic positivism. Now the world has been thrown wide open to the recognition of the roots of ~~marxism~~ Marxism through the Chinese explosion, which is the first non-Western event of these last two centuries that has an essence and core of its own, illuminating ours. By reclaiming Marxism for the 'West' you have infused a life-saving ingredient into both.

Warm affection for you goes with these lines. I admire your perseverance and dedication, and will <sup>th</sup> all my failing strength wish to encourage you on the road you have chosen.

Karl

ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO NO. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

30th December, 1961

Professor Karl Polanyi  
R.R. 3  
Pickering, Ont.

Dear Karl,

Thank you so very much for your letter of November 29th. I would have answered it earlier, but my time was completely taken up with writing an article on civil defense, against Herman Kahn; this article, together with one of his, will be published in Commentary in January, and I shall send you a reprint.

Thank you also so very much for your words of friendship. I was so happy that you received my lines on the same wave length in which they had been sent.

I was very much interested in the reference to the Hungarian piece "In quest of the vanished personality". I shall try the Atlantic Monthly, whose editor I know, to find out whether he is at least sufficiently interested to make it worth while taking the risk of making a translation. I am almost sure that one could publish it in Spanish in the Cuadernos Americanos, which is the most distinguished literary magazine in Mexico. I do not know whether there is somebody here who could translate it into Spanish from Hungarian, or whether it might not be better to translate it from the English into Spanish.

I do not know whether I have mentioned to you that I have the idea of publishing a symposium on humanist socialism, with participants on an international basis. I wanted to ask you whether you would consider writing something for this symposium, and also whether you would think that the Hungarian paper might be published there. In my idea the symposium should not have any dogmatic line, yet be connected by the common element of a radical socialist humanistic attitude of the authors.

I have read with the greatest interest your article on the new communist program. Like everything else you write, it is penetrating and throws new light on the matter. While I am entirely convinced that the program deserves every attention, and that it clearly expresses the peaceful intentions of the Soviet party, I differ from you in the interpretation of the cultural, moral ideals. After a thorough study of the program I have come to the conclusion that a good deal of what is said here is Marxist phraseology, and



ERICH FROMM  
GONZALEZ COSIO N<sup>o</sup>. 15  
MEXICO 12, D. F.  
TELEPHONE 23-04-19

- 2 -

that the really important values around which the program is centered culturally and humanly are the conservative values of duty, family, patriotism and work, and not a new man in a Marxist socialist sense. But whatever our differences in this point, I think the West has ignored or falsified the program. An example is, for instance, the New York Times, which called it in an editorial "a new Mein Kampf... a new declaration of war against the West". I wrote a letter to the editor of the Times pointing to the falsification of the program in this editorial, and quoting concrete evidence. At first the Times was reluctant to publish the letter, then they promised to publish it, and already set it in type, and then they wrote me a letter, after the Russian nuclear tests, saying that they thought there was no point in publishing the letter any more.

I send you all good wishes for the New Year, from all my heart, and my most cordial regards,

Yours,

*Erich*

Erich Fromm

Stockholm,  
6 Dec, 1962

Dear Dr. Fromm,

I am now in Stockholm, after spending six weeks in Warsaw, where I have learned much that is interesting concerning the way in which computers may soon be employed to assist central planning. Earlier I spent nearly a month in Moscow, where I divided my time between discussions with mathematical economists, on the one hand, and discussions with persons who might contribute to a new international journal, to be called "Co-existence", whose organization was initiated by Professor Polanyi. These talks appear to have been successful, and Dr. Arzumanian, the director of the Institute of International Economics and International Affairs, promised to Dr. R. Schlesinger, of Glasgow University, (who will be the editor of the new journal) to provide regular contributions on a high academic level. Subsequently, a number of other/internationally prominent social scientists in Moscow also promised to send contributions. As for Polish, Western European, and other contributions, Oskar Lange, Joan Robinson, and Karl Polanyi may definitely be expected to contribute to the early issues. (The journal will be quarterly, to be published in English and perhaps French, on a commercial basis by some private publisher in accordance with its status as a non-political journal (in the cold war sense) representing attempts on the part of social scientists of all countries to apply the achievements of their disciplines to specific problems of coexistence). Later it may be expected that such persons as Myrdal, Frisch, and Mahalonobis, who have strongly expressed their support of its aims but who are now very busy with other matters, will also write contributions. The contribution of prominent persons, however, may become less important after the first few issues, when the journal will have been effectively launched, and it is presumably the younger writers who may eventually be most important. I should be very glad to have any suggestions that you may have about either publishers or contributors, and I will then forward them to Dr. Schlesinger. It is vital, of course, that persons who are strongly committed to an anti-Soviet position not be invited at the present time. It seems to me that it would be desirable to include some articles by non-social scientists who are concerned with the problem of social responsibility for new developments in science and technology, and it is also possible that some articles in the field of philosophy and literary criticism may be included.

While visiting the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, I was introduced to its director, F. V. Konstantinov, rather by chance, and learned that he had met you shortly before that in Washington (at the International Sociological Conference). He seems to have retained a very good impression of you as a person, and judging from our long discussion of your books which followed, he is also genuinely interested in your work as well. Towards the end it clearly emerged that both he and some of his associates, who were present, would appreciate it very much if you could send the Institute a complete set of your books, if possible,\* and as soon as possible. (In view of the character of the library arrangements at the Institute of Philosophy, I would suggest, in fact, that you send three sets). It is also my impression that in the future the upper staff of the Institute would genuinely welcome an occasion to be of assistance to you should the occasion arise, and that generally, the fact that you hold an anti-Soviet position may be overshadowed in a large measure by a belief that you do this for honest motives. Mr. Konstantinov also mentioned to me that he was now quite aware that in the past the wrong English language books had been translated into Russian (in the field of sociology) and that a serious reappraisal is now being considered in the relevant work of his Institute.

I hope very much to complete the article for your year book in about six weeks. Its title will apparently be "The existential norms of humanism and the problems of an industrial civilization", and it will reflect in a large measure the views of Professor Polanyi.

Very best regards

*Paul Medow*

\* F. V. Konstantinov,  
Institut Filosofii Akademii Nauk,  
Volkhonka, 23/14,  
Moscow, C-19

961 W 141st St. Apt 60,  
New York 31, N. Y.  
May 22, 1964

Dear Dr. Fromm,

I suppose that you have read about Professor Polanyi's death several weeks ago. He died in his sleep, or rather had a stroke during his sleep and died without awakening, twenty four hours later. This happened several days before a serious operation for cancer had been scheduled, which he probably would not have survived.

The grief of his many relatives, friends, and associates who attended the funeral ceremonies was tempered by the knowledge that he lived an unusually productive life, whose fruits for mankind still lie largely in the future. The fact that the first issue of the journal "Coexistence" came out a few days after his death is a symbol of this. At this point it appears likely that several other projects in which he was strongly interested and which would enlarge the activities for which the journal stands may also be realized.

I think that it is correct to say that he regarded you as his only scientifically active colleague in defending the principle of subordinating industrial societies and the historical process to the humanist norms of the Judeo-Christian tradition. At the same time, however, he emphasized much more than you do the possibilities that derive from changing patterns of interaction among the deeper inner strivings on the one hand, and changing life-situations and also national and international political situations on the other; while within this process he regarded the presence of industrial economic structures, rather than of undesirable types of interpersonal relations, as the central element or "foreign body" which will now play a central role in the future course of history, partly because it tends to create either actively anti-humanistic (fascistic) or actively humanistic (socialistic) inner responses to situations of crisis.

While he regarded the present international situation as justifying hopes of peace and coexistence in the immediate future, he felt that it is already posing the gravest threats in the longer run, as the non-Western nations, too, begin to experience the problems of living in industrial societies, within an international environment that is likely to make international trade difficult, in which the instruments of mass persuasion as well as of mass destruction provided by science and

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technology are not yet regulated, and in which the uses of science and technology in the non-Western nations will probably not have the close association with humanistic ideals that they have acquired accidentally and also temporarily in the recent history of the West.

His unfinished short book For a New West was designed as a call to the West to recognize this urgent problem, as well as the fact that the West has no longer either the force nor the international prestige (lost as a result of the Cold War) to act upon it in a direct way. The course of action that he intended to suggest was that those persons in the West who really do wish to make possible the survival of the deeper Judeo-Christian-Greek heritage of Western civilization first dissociate themselves from the false identification of this heritage with capitalism and imperialism (created by the Cold War), and then devote themselves to the rapid development of ~~useful~~ scientific and practical knowledge concerning the social control of industrial economies, and generally, of meeting the various <sup>social and political</sup> problems that ~~transcend~~ they create. In this regard, he noted, the West has the advantage of having made all the mistakes, and also of a tradition in logical analysis and interest in method. The resulting fund of vital knowledge - and in the first place about control of economic planning and also the finding of sensible methods to organize international trade - would then be available to the non-Western nations as they themselves begin to confront difficult situations.

He emphasized very much, however, that the representatives of the New West must make it fully clear that they are not associating the supplying of this knowledge with a continued wish to dissociate the universalistic humanistic aspirations of ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> own civilization. Neither the non-Western nations must see that the West, too, is genuinely "choking in its boots", as he put it, before the horrors created for itself as well as for the rest of mankind by the international implications of industrialization and of the ~~use~~ <sup>misuse</sup> of science and technology; and that it is presenting this knowledge to others out of fear to itself. I think that it is this kind of mission that he associated with the journal, and for which it may now be possible to establish further activities.

At the same time he was also optimistic about the emergence of wholly new types of industrial societies reasonably soon, in which not only the adjustment of industrial structures to humanistic life situations will have been brought about by central planning, as far as this is possible, but in which Western man's present association of humanistic ideals with science and technology will have crumbled and will have been followed by a creative internalization of the remaining limitations imposed upon by industrial structures on the awareness of inner life and the possibility of inner death that has come, in the West, from the teachings of Christianity. He expected the resulting surge in ~~spiritual~~ <sup>spiritual</sup> to be similar to the one that results from a creative internalization of the reality of physical death.

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I assume that you will be leaving New York very soon, since your series of lectures ( I attended the last two) is nearly completed. My own immediate plans, before leaving for Europe again for part of the summer, are to visit some colleagues in Canada in order to discuss the possibility of establishing a Karl Polanyi Institute for Studies in Coexistence. I would like very much to discuss this briefly with you, as well as the problem of finding suitable contributors for the next few issues of the journal, which must maintain the high academic level. If you should have the time, you may reach me at FO-2-8704. Except for next Wednesday afternoon, my own time is entirely free.

I am also sending you a copy of the first issue of the journal with the same mail, ~~that~~ you should receive together with this letter.

With very best regards,

*Paul Hirst*

561 W 141st St. Apt 69,  
New York 31, NY  
20 Nov, 1964.

Dear Dr. Fromm,

I am enclosing the translation that I have made of Professor Konstantinov's article in "Literaturnaya Gazeta". I can vouch for its accuracy since I have some experience with translations of this type and am now editor of a journal of translations from the Russian. ("Mathematical Studies in Economics and Statistics in the USSR and Eastern Europe")

The Russian translation of your article appears on the back page of the "Gazette". While I have not checked it with the original, I assume that it is accurate and complete. The sense of your words comes through quite strongly in Russian, as does its obvious relevance to the industrial development of the Soviet Union.

The publication of your article in this form is clearly a very important event that could represent the beginning of a wider dialogue concerning an entire range of new problems that industrial economics create. This is precisely what Karl Polanyi had hoped would be achieved by the journal "Coexistence". In this connection he believed that it would be particularly important to challenge from the very first Merton's deterministic view of the social implications of industrialism. (I have attempted to describe the broader problems to which he related this in the short article that I am also enclosing).

The four objections raised by Professor Konstantinov, which emerge, he states, as one passes from a purely psychological to an economic and political analysis of the problem, as well, amount to an assertion that it is the profit-oriented character of decisions due to capitalism, rather than an antagonism of the economic process due to industrial production itself that explains the dehumanization of life in the United States; and that the planned character of the industrial economy in the USSR has in fact been subordinating it to humanistic aims.

(They may be summarized as follows: 1) Ultimately it is the orientation of economic decisions on profit considerations, rather than the transformation of the industrial economy into an end-in-itself that has caused the dehumanization of life in the United States. The resulting contradictions in the economic process also make it impossible to provide for the basic material needs of a large part of the population. 2) Because he ignores political analysis Fromm has no realistic conception of the means that are required to bring about a socialist "humanistic industrialism", which is already being achieved in the USSR. 3) The mistakes of science and technology characteristic of modern times arose and their associations with international power struggles stem from capitalism rather than from "industrialism", and cease to exist in societies in which the aim of planning is to serve the people. 4) In the USSR social transformation is occurring in all spheres, and not only in the economic sphere. More specifically a change in the political sphere has made possible a change in the economic sphere, which is making possible the all-round development of the individual.

A continuation of this debate could gain very much in my view if

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Professor Konstantinov or someone else would agree, as a first step, to consider more precisely some of the ways in which a centrally planned economy can subordinate the use of science and technology to humanistic norms. Such a debate would serve to make it clear that as long as new achievements in science remain a decisive instrument in international power struggles even the advantages of central planning in this regard tend to lose their significance.

Another related and important problem for the discussion of which current developments within the USSR have prepared the ground concerns the consequences of a full automation of the economic process with the aid of computers. The possibility of replacing bureaucracy almost entirely with data processing systems has been widely discussed at the technical level as well as in the press, and the first steps towards the construction of a national data processing system have been taken. The urgent problem concerning the actual extent of automation, and concerning the nature of the criteria and non-economic constraints that should be programmed into the central computers have not yet received much attention, however, nor have the wider social aspects of the vision of a non-bureaucratic planned industrial society that is implied.

With very best regards,

(Paul Medow)

180 Riverside Dr

423 West 120 St.  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr Fromm ,

You belong to those persons who are in a sense always present with me when my thoughts turn to that range of problems on which we first met almost two decades ago. *Grant*

I have read in the New York Times about your statement on TV this week. This occasion, I suppose, is as good as any to tell you of your permanent influence on some aspects of my ~~xxxx~~ own work.

You have helped me recently in formulating the problems of the institutional basis of freedom and ethics under a technological civilization. This is the subject of a short booklet ~~xxxx~~ on which I have been working.

This brings me to another topic, namely the change in the management of Beacon Press.

I have learned, recently, that Mr Thomas Bledsoe, who was formerly associated with Rhinehart, and then with Beacon Press, has resigned from Beacon Press. This followed the adoption by Beacon Press of a new policy under which the publication of works concerned with social issues would no longer be encouraged, as it had been by Mr Bledsoe, unless they were considered in terms that are more or less compatible with orthodox religious concepts. In accordance with this new policy a number of contracts with independent-minded authors have recently been annulled.

Although this new policy has not affected until now the readiness of Beacon Press to publish the short booklet on freedom in a technological civilization on which I have been working, it may be that I will decide Mr Bledsoe and the new organization he is now establishing in Boston publish it instead. I understand that Mr Bledsoe plans to publish in the course of the next few years a whole series of works of the first order concerned with a free-thinking reexamination of the social problems of the modern world.

It occurred to me in this connection that you may be interested in knowing about this. It is my belief that it is really in distinct series of this kind that your own works belong.

With warm regards, sincerely,



~~Waiting~~

Dear Erik,

or rather already <sup>met</sup> ~~which you have previously~~  
Since you may have to meet  
dates ~~in regard to your participation~~  
of deciding about publication  
~~in Brussels~~ <sup>and</sup> I think I should  
not put off saying that in  
view of the "Képskava" I  
do not think you have any  
alternative but to accept Hein  
the offer of publication. However  
to <sup>still</sup> advise caution in regard  
to the title, ~~the character~~ <sup>the he has made</sup> ~~and~~  
~~the character~~ <sup>propaganda</sup> ~~and~~  
and the <sup>propaganda</sup> ~~attached~~  
which I ~~must~~ <sup>must</sup> mention

As to my ~~own~~ <sup>own</sup> reservation  
we will ~~talk~~ <sup>discuss</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>when</sup>  
we meet. However, <sup>I am sure</sup> a careful  
rereading of ~~all~~ <sup>of our</sup> ~~correspondence~~ <sup>craft</sup>  
might be ~~en-~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~lightening~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~to you,~~ <sup>of this</sup> I feel sure.  
To avoid a possible source  
of misunderstanding <sup>between us.</sup> My suggestion  
that you ~~inquire~~ <sup>inquire</sup> with the American

had <sup>skill</sup> and have reasons to  
a social democratic party. intent from  
Party had the opposite purpose of  
what that you appear to have  
assumed. I disbelieved  
the assertion of <sup>financial</sup> social demo-  
cratic party support, and  
wished to explore the  
provision before ~~turning~~  
~~to Anna Keble for~~  
bothering Anna Keble.  
Hence ~~hence~~ over the Neysava  
article. ~~came~~ my surprise  
in spite of its ~~text~~ cagey  
~~text~~ wording.