

Chronique bibliographique et documents des Nations Unies

Chronique bibliographique

A dater de 1965, une nouvelle formule bibliographique sera adoptée par la Revue internationale des sciences sociales. En principe, chaque livraison contiendra une bibliographie choisie de publications récentes se rapportant au thème principal traité dans la première partie. Au cas où cette bibliographie, destinée à compléter les informations contenues dans les articles, s'avérerait difficilement réalisable, des références bibliographiques systématiques seraient jointes aux articles mêmes.

Cette nouvelle formule entraînera la suppression de la « Chronique bibliographique » et des « Notices bibliographiques » telles qu'elles sont actuellement présentées. Les livres et publications adressés à la rédaction feront l'objet d'une seule rubrique, intitulée « Livres reçus », dans laquelle seront éventuellement de très brefs comptes rendus destinés à donner aux lecteurs un aperçu général du contenu et de la portée de la production la plus récente dans le domaine des sciences sociales, sans entrer dans le détail des ouvrages et sans formuler d'appréciation sur leur qualité.

BOASSON, Cl. *Approaches to the study of international relations*. Assen, Van Gorcum and Co., 1963. 100 p.

La guerre constituant un aspect des relations entre États, l'Institut de polémologie de l'Université de Groningue a chargé le Dr C. Boasson de définir ce que l'on peut entendre par l'étude des relations internationales.

L'auteur commence par constater qu'il n'y a guère d'accord entre les spécialistes à ce sujet et choisit, en conséquence, d'examiner les approches à son avis les plus fructueuses.

L'étude est divisée en cinq chapitres. Le premier constitue une préface philosophique, où C. Boasson expose les principes généraux qui ont guidé sa recherche (ce que l'on doit à son sens examiner ou rejeter ; les tendances ; les problèmes de la théorie et ceux de l'utopie, entre lesquels les modèles permettent d'établir un lien, etc.). Le second traite de la théorie des relations internationales. Il s'agit de bien réaliser ce qu'est la théorie (elle est bonne si elle permet l'action) ; il ne faut jamais oublier que les divisions nécessaires à l'analyse ne sont établies que pour comprendre les situations, mais que le domaine étudié dépasse leurs limites ; il faut replacer le tout dans son contexte ; il convient de ne pas se laisser séduire par les résultats obtenus dans d'autres disciplines ; c'est ainsi que les spécialistes ont eu le tort de vouloir utiliser la théorie mathématique et celle des sciences physiques sans prévoir le détail d'une telle adaptation à leur domaine ; des données insuffisantes ne seront pas « purifiées » par l'usage des mathématiques ; enfin, les rapports complexes entre ce que l'on fait et ce que l'on devrait faire ne doivent pas être oubliés. Dans le troisième chapitre, l'auteur procède à un examen historique. Les historiens, les géographes, les diplomates ont souvent estimé que les relations inter-

Publication de « Coexistence »

Revue d'études comparatives de sciences économiques, de sociologie et de politique dans un monde en transformation

Sous le titre de *Coexistence*, une revue savante internationale doit être publiée au Canada, principalement en anglais. Les articles rédigés en français seront publiés dans la langue originale, avec un résumé en anglais.

La revue reflétera des opinions autorisées concernant la coexistence, considérée comme le seul moyen d'éviter la guerre froide. Elle envisagera la coexistence sous un aspect positif et réaliste plutôt que polémique et servira de point de rencontre à des opinions diverses. Elle traitera des problèmes nouveaux et vastes que ne peut manquer de susciter une telle politique. Elle publiera aussi des articles de mise au point philosophique, de coopération culturelle et de critique littéraire, ainsi que des comptes rendus, des communications des lecteurs et de la documentation. Une telle publication exige l'apport créateur d'esprits indépendants. Le comité de rédaction, composé d'hommes de science de différents pays, sera un organe de discussion et de réflexion. Des garanties privées assurent l'indépendance financière de la revue dont la publication commence en 1964. Chaque numéro comprendra environ 100 pages.

L'abonnement pour 1964 est de 3 dollars des États-Unis ou de 1 livre sterling, frais de port compris. Le prix du numéro est fixé à 1,75 dollar des États-Unis ou 12 shillings.

En attendant que ses ressources financières lui permettent de devenir trimestrielle, *Coexistence* paraîtra chaque année en mai et en novembre. Les abonnés sont invités à souscrire pour deux ans, si possible, afin de fournir au comité de rédaction une base financière plus solide pour l'élaboration de son programme.

Comité de rédaction : Ragnar Frisch (Oslo) ; P. C. Mahalanobis (Calcutta) ; Gunnar Myrdal (Stockholm) ; Karl Polanyi (Université Columbia) ; Joan Robinson (Cambridge) ; Rudolph Schlesinger (Glasgow), rédacteur en chef ; Hans Thirring (Vienne) ; Jan Tinbergen (La Haye) ; Shigeto Tsuru, Tokyo.

Les commentaires et suggestions à l'intention du comité de rédaction, de même que tous les articles et communications, doivent être adressés à :

D^r Rudolph Schlesinger, Editor, *Coexistence*

Inverloch, Kilmun by Dunoon, Argyll (Scotland).

Les abonnements et la correspondance commerciale doivent être adressés à :

Business Manager, *Coexistence*

Box 429, Pickering, Ontario (Canada).

LARGER CAPS →

CO-EXISTENCE

(1)

A Journal for the comparative study of economics, sociology and politics in a changing world.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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PUBLISHER:

CO-EXISTENCE, Box 429, Pickering, Ontario, Canada.

status → *The Editorial Board announces with deep regret the death, on April 23, of Karl Polanyi

Under the title Co-existence, an international scholarly journal is being published in Canada, mainly in English. French contributions will be printed in the original, with English abstracts.

The journal will advance responsible thinking on co-existence, which is recognized as the alternative to the cold war. It will formulate co-existence in a realistic and positive rather than polemical manner, providing a meeting ground for a diversity of views. It will tackle the new, far-reaching problems that such policies must necessarily raise. It will also bring articles dealing with philosophical clarification, cultural co-operation and literary criticism.

Co-existence will appear in May and November. The subscription price for 1964 is \$3.00 (U.S.) or £1 (U.K.) which includes mailing. Individual issues are \$1.75 (U.S.) or 12 Shillings (U.K.).

Until such a time as financial resources permit Co-existence to appear on a quarterly basis, it will be published in May and November. Subscribers are asked to subscribe for a two-year period where possible, in order to aid the Editorial Board to establish a longer term financial base for the planning of issues.

The articles below are being prepared at the invitation of the Editorial Board for inclusion in Issues No. 2 and No. 3:

- PAUL BOHANNAN, Center for Advanced Study, Stanford: Co-existence, colonialism and biculturalism
- JOZSEF BOGNAR, Budapest: The World Trade Conference and co-existence
- M. Y. GHORPADE: Indian grassroot leadership
- GYULA EORSI, Budapest: Comparative law and peaceful competition
- TOM KRONSLI, Stockholm: Theory of the balance of power in a nuclear age
- PAUL MEDOW, Rutgers University: The temptation of mathematical economics and the humanistic ideals of the Enlightenment
- SHIGETO TSURU, Tokyo: Co-existence debate in Japan
- ROMESH THAPAR, New Delhi: The non-alignment problem for the underdeveloped countries
- IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, Columbia University: Pan-Africanism

To correct accounts
0 0

Contributions are expected from Kenneth Muir, Liverpool — A. A. Arzumanyan and N. A. Tsagolov, Moscow — Oskar Lange, Adam Schaff and W. Brus, Warsaw — François Perroux, Paris — Thomas Hodgkins, Ghana — B. Blagoyevich, Belgrade.

Comments and suggestions for the Editorial Board, and all articles and communications to the Editor should be sent to:

Dr. Rudolf Schlesinger, Editor, CO-EXISTENCE
Inverloch, Kilmun by Dunoon, Argyll, Scotland.

? Please check in who's who. I think it is V. not B.

The following are abstracts of the articles appearing in Co-existence, Issue 1, May, 1964:

DEWART, Leslie. "Peaceful co-existence in John XXIII's Pacem in terris", Co-existence, p. 21-38, May 1964.

As implicit in their respective diplomacies, co-existence is conceived by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union in substantially the same way, i.e., as a compromise between the ideological need to prevail and the practical impossibility to do so in the thermonuclear age. As long as this ideological need remains, the best prospect is the indefinite continuation of a more or less peaceful cold war. This is, of course, an inherently unstable international order.

The teaching of Pope John is a practical basis for a stable peace order. It proposes (a) the subordination of ideological needs to human actualities, (b) the possibility of co-operation at the practical-existential level among individuals and groups with opposed ideologies, in virtue of their common human condition and interests. This might be acceptable to both sides because the Pope provides a re-interpretation of the theory of natural law which might undercut the root of the cold war conflict. Both Soviet Marxism and American Liberalism believe that their ultimate ideological prevalence is guaranteed, not as a matter of fact, but as matter of right, by the law of nature — though one side understands natural law as a cosmic, "material" principle, whereas the other understands it as a transcendent moral order. Pope John suggests the continuity of the physical and moral orders and, thus, the common origin of man and the physical universe. There is a common human situation for all men: both ideologies might well agree on this truth as a matter of fact. On this basis it might be possible to undertake first, mutual toleration and, ultimately, genuine and extensive co-operation on the common tasks of mankind.

GADKIL, R. C. "Ex-colonial and new income differentials in India", *Co-existence*, p. 74-76, May 1964. (2)

Gadkil sets himself the task of examining the trend of income differentials in India since independence, in the light of the common expectation that the end of Colonial rule would lead to a reduction in these differentials.

He concludes that the expectation of reduction in income differentials has not materialized. The government undertook no salary reform, although certain controls have kept the disparities in government salaries from increasing and extremes in government salaries remain greater in India than in most other countries. Ever more important are the disparities that exist in the private business sector and if anything the situation is worse than five years ago. There is no doubt that the number of high salaried posts is widening. The salaries paid by international organizations to the highest qualified technical and other personnel have a similar effect.

HOPKINS, Terence K. "On economic planning in tropical Africa", *Co-existence*, p. 77-88, May 1964.

Owing to their common colonial background, most tropical African economies have similar characteristics, and these define both the objectives and the limits of planning. Two general approaches to planning can be distinguished: one concerns itself mainly with furthering the kind of development that occurred under overrule; the other is concerned with reversing that pattern of development and instead encouraging the evolution of a national economy linked closely to the evolving national policy and society. The three sectors into which these ex-colonial economies can be classified — the modern sector, the transitional, and the subsistence — pose quite different problems and both require and permit quite different kinds of action. The existence of private centers of power and interest defines the major problems of planning in the modern sector and calls for rigorous administrative action. Increases in specialization and productivity are the principal planning objectives for the transitional sector; their attainment will probably require a more conscious planning of the whole of rural society than is at present usually attempted, since the problems here revolve about the incorporation of both land and labor into the national economy. Planning with respect to the predominantly self-sufficient sectors concerns the initial integration of these sectors into the emerging national economy and requires a pragmatic approach based on a knowledge of the strains and tensions inherent in the particular traditional system in question.

MAHALANOBIS, P. C. "Perspective planning in India: Statistical tools", *Co-existence*, p. 80-73.

By "perspective planning", Indian planners mean the formulation of short run, e.g., 5-year plans, with a long run 15-20 years perspective in view. This long-run perspective has two aspects: (a) viewing each five-year plan as a specific phase in the fulfillment of long term goals and (b) anticipating future needs in creating productive capacity.

In his paper, Mahalanobis attempts to detail the various aspects of "perspective planning". These may be summarized under the following three headings: (a) How to translate aspirations, e.g., doubling the per capita consumption of the second poorest decile of the Indian population, into planning targets such as increasing the national product by 5-7 per cent per year. (b) Are aggregative models reliable enough as a guide in estimating the future rate of economic development? and (c) How to anticipate and plan for future bottlenecks in the supply of certain key resources, for example, steel, electricity, external trade, scientific and technical personnel, etc.

Consideration detail is provided on the statistical methods presently employed, and the value of these methods is discussed.

ROBINSON, Joan. "Chinese agricultural communes", *Co-existence*, p. 1-6, May 1964.

The basic problem of the under-developed economies is to increase efficiency in agriculture, starting from a low level of productivity and, in most cases, a high labour/land ratio, a low capital/labour ratio and methods of cultivation which fail to take advantage of modern discoveries. The choice of the scale of organization is an important matter and by no means a simple one. For the deployment of labour, a rather small scale is required. The deployment of knowledge requires larger units.

Based on results made in the summer of 1963, the author describes the present organization of Chinese agriculture which has evolved from 1956 to 1963 into an ingenious system for reconciling the requirements of large and small scale.

There are three tiers of organization; the team, the Brigade and the Commune. The team, consisting of the labour force of some thirty families, is the basic accounting unit for production and distribution. The teams forming a brigade elect a management committee and appoint a leader, deputy and accountant. The Commune has absorbed the lowest level of local government (the *hsiang*) and is responsible for such matters as registration of population, taxation, local militia and for gearing the communes' contribution to education and health service into the country's.

SCHLESINGER, Rudolf. "Co-existence as a framework of social evolution", *Co-existence*, p. 46-53, May 1964.

Peaceful competition of countries representing different social systems does not imply the creation of a stable international social and political order, nor the end of the conflict between alternative lines of social development. Such peaceful competition merely means removing that conflict from the field of warlike trials of strength and replacing it with the efforts of each side to use the processes of synthesis and adaptation in favour of the values of its own competing order. This competition involves not only the two major systems of social organization, which co-exist at present, each in many fold variety, but also the solutions which may be arrived at in the attempted reconstruction of the underdeveloped countries. The relations between the two Super-Powers are of first importance. On the one hand, they possess the means which could bring human civilization to an end, on the other, their influence is strong enough to prevent the spread of nuclear arms and the future settlement of international questions by other than peaceful means except perhaps the removal of still surviving elements of colonialism and racial subjection.

However, in the settlement of conflicts between the Big Two, methods which create the impression of an alignment of the industrially most developed against the underdeveloped nations should be avoided. A division of the world into spheres of influence, or the bestowal on the United Nations of functions exceeding the present consensus amongst the vast majority of mankind should also be avoided. An attempt is made to indicate the stages through which peaceful competition may emerge from an abatement of the 'cold war', at present still non-explicit. This should be possible without Utopian demands being made on present international organizations.

SINGH, V. B. "Need for planning", Co-existence, p. 54-59, May 1964.

The foremost defect of private enterprise has been the failure to utilize resources to their full capacity and the resulting chronic unemployment or underdevelopment of land, labour and capital.

Planning is the means for effective economic development according to predetermined goals drawn up by the representatives of the people. Thus it is an integral part of a democratic social process. The history of planned economic development reveals that planning cannot be successful unless and until the 'Commanding Heights' (that is, Basic Industries, Transport, Communications, Banking and Finance) are in public hands.

The author then examines eight different aspects of planning. He concluded that the history of planning is the history of the transformation of a backward country, through extensive industrialization and utilization of modern techniques on an unprecedented scale, into a highly industrialized country in a short span of time. From this he generalizes: the more backward an economy, the greater the need for planning.

SOMERVILLE, John. "The East-West ideological rift", Co-existence, p. 7-14, May 1964.

The ideological rift represents not only a conflict of ideas, but an immense clash of material interests. To present the issue as freedom or democracy versus communism or totalitarianism prevents adequate understanding and significant debate. The conflict is more accurately expressed as one between those who support capitalism and those who support communism. Differences (and common ground) between capitalist and communist concepts of freedom and democracy can then be constructively explored.

To satisfy standards of scholarly responsibility, and contribute to strengthening peace, the "Unesco approach" proves best. It rests on three axioms:

1. The different parties to the ideological conflict have equal rights to exist in the international arena, whether as systems of doctrine or as sovereign regimes.
2. The different parties to the ideological conflict have equal rights to expand their influence in the international arena, whether as systems of doctrine or as sovereign regimes.
3. Peace is strengthened by seeking out and bringing to consciousness common ideological ground, shared positions and shared values, as well as differences.

The concept of peaceful co-existence accompanied by peaceful competition, grounded on equal rights, is not controversial in the perspective of the U.N., but is built into its charter and structure.

TINBERGEN, J. "Concrete concepts of co-existence", Co-existence, p. 15-20, May 1964.

The concept of co-existence has remained distressingly vague. A more precise definition is needed of the organized system for avoiding nuclear conflict which we choose to call co-existence. This definition will probably have to consist of a set of rules, which can regulate the struggle between east and west. Both sides must recognize that both will continue to exist, and that nuclear war is worse than anything else — including the other side's victory. Further, both sides must draw up clear rankings of various institutions and developments. There should be some agreement about the relative acceptability of these things; if the two sides rank different things very differently,

- continued -

Reverse side of
Coupon

ADVERTISEMENT

co-existence is impossible, because no agreement will be obtained. But there is probably already some agreement about the rankings of various things. This must be revealed. In particular, the two sides do not seem to be very interested in traditional nationalist issues, especially involving territory and national sovereignty. Further, though east and west have different socio-economic ideologies, they are decreasingly inclined to differ about concrete socio-economic arrangements, and they are more and more willing to discuss concrete matters pragmatically, not ideologically. In matters of government the area of disagreement is still very great. But even here there is hope for pragmatic agreement, as the west comes to recognize that democracy is not always a perfect political system. To prevent tensions from being exacerbated, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should be able to take common action whenever extremists cause tensions. They can do this if they first establish a "code of good behaviour" for other countries. This code should employ multiple criteria; it might or might not be incorporated into a U.N. charter. The two great powers should also be able to co-operate in a programme of world socio-economic progress. Common military action might also be useful. Unfortunately it requires the acceptance of common value-rankings, and willingness to compromise. The possibility of avoiding nuclear war requires the latter; investigation and discussion may eventually bring the former to birth.

VAJDA, Imre. "The shifting background of world trade", *Co-existence*, p. 39-45, May 1964.

Why are people and government increasingly eager to develop trade? The reason cannot be found in any disruption of trade comparable to that of the early thirties. It is instead to be found in the increasing concentration of manufacturing industry. Within each country, the number of manufacturers has tended to fall, and the optimum size of plant has tended to rise. In small countries, therefore, the optimum size produces too much for the domestic market, and manufacturers are obliged to look for export markets. This increasing dependence of manufacturing industries on export markets has been concealed because the service industries have been expanding more rapidly than the manufacturing industries. Therefore it has been possible for manufacturing industries to become more export-oriented, without raising the share of exports in the gross national product. These tendencies can be observed both in capitalist countries and in socialist countries like Hungary. The socialist countries are beginning to develop the model of a socialist entrepreneur, who can serve all society by exercising initiative and imagination in the export field. The activities of such entrepreneurs are not anti-social; indeed, their activities are necessary if socialist plans are to be grounded in reality and if socialist countries are to earn sufficient foreign currencies to pay for the imports which their rapid growth requires. But socialist entrepreneurs are different from capitalist entrepreneurs, in trade as elsewhere. The former act on behalf of the whole society and economy; the latter act first and foremost on behalf of their own interests.

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Global Mail May 19-68

Plain

By MICHAEL HANLON

RANDALL MAY PURSUE 6-FIRM AUTO PLANT

Economics Minister Stanley Randall leaves for Europe tomorrow and while he's away he may work on a special project to attract new industry that was launched by Robert Macaulay. Last year Macaulay ordered a survey of the possibility of six European car manufacturers assembling their products in one plant in Ontario. The report by a firm of engineering consultants was received by the Department of Economics and Development after Macaulay had quit the top post and Randall had taken over. Macaulay had discussed the possibility of such a plant with manufacturers when he was on a tour of Europe and some of the manufacturers sent representatives to Canada to investigate. Among those interested are Renault, Peugeot and Alfa-Romeo. Randall says the survey reported that such a plant is feasible if an output of 10,000 cars a year is possible. "I don't think that would present any problems," he says. "When I get to London I'll probably make arrangements to talk this over further with the manufacturers concerned." Premier Robarts will join Randall in London on Saturday. They will also visit Milan and Dusseldorf.

A new journal "for the comparative study of economics, sociology and politics in a changing world" is being published, under the direction of an international editorial board, at Pickering, near Toronto. One of the leading men behind the birth of the journal, which is named Co-existence, was Dr. Karl Polanyi, internationally known author of books on economics and social science, who died on April 24. For the past 14 years, Prof. Polanyi had lived in Rosebank, near Pickering. One reason for the journal's being published in Canada was that it was convenient for Prof. Polanyi, even though the editor, Rudolf Schlesinger, is in Glasgow. Polanyi was the North American representative on the editorial board, which includes men from Oslo, Calcutta, Stockholm, Cambridge, Vienna, The Hague and Tokyo.

Mayor Philip Givens had kind words to say to Judge Ian Macdonell the other day. Givens told Macdonell, who is 5 feet 8, that he was just an inch too small to be one of Toronto's finest. "But you're a big man in other ways," he added. Police Chief James Mackey chimed in to remind the Mayor that this is an election year and every vote counts. But Givens had the last word. He reminded Mackey that the judge was ineligible to vote in the election.

That thunder on the left as you drive past St. Lawrence Market tonight may well come from the market itself. Toronto Board of Control has given the nod to the Queen City Fife and Drum Band to practice drill in the farmers' area of the market on Tuesday evenings until the end of September. The band, which generates a lot of noise, pays the city \$10 to cover lighting charges and is responsible for any breakages (possibly of windows shattered by over-enthusiastic fifeing and drumming).

How fared the bookies this fine holiday weekend? Not very well, by most accounts. They again lost on Northern Dancer, although one fancier said he doubted the betting was as heavy as it had been for the Kentucky Derby. Some bookies are reported to have closed their books early in the week and to have refused wagers from even their regular customers because of the difficulty in laying off.

control two-thirds of 00 square miles of mountainous jungles. key region to cement on northern Laos. It so give them easy access neighboring pro-Western d.

list Premier Prince Phouma, discussing y situation at a news appeared worried

been submerged by er of Communists."

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ugh they were re- 30 dead. ed violence in Kwilu with continued terror- e eastern province of livu where, on Satur- orists overran the little nganyika town of Uvira. February. Maj. - Gen- n Mobutu, commander of Congolese Army, said the revolt had been successfully contained and that the army's pacification of the region would completed within two weeks.

cannot Rescind Naturalization, U.S. Court Rules

Washington (AP)—The U.S. preme Court declared unconstitutional yesterday a section the Immigration and Nationality Act that strips naturalized americans of citizenship if they return to their native land for three years.

The validity of the section was tacked by Mrs. Angelika L. hneider, who was born in avaria, Germany, in 1934. In 50 she became a naturalized merican.

In 1959 she returned to Ger- any to marry Dieter hneider, a lawyer in Cologne. ree years later the U.S. on- late in Dusseldorf asked her surrender her naturalization dicate.

he did so under protest, then lawyers begin action in ral courts in this city. rs. Schneider contended the violated the U.S. Constitu-

LINCOLN CENTER

To the Editors:
Of course, about the state of the New York theater and that includes the Repertory Theater of Lincoln Center, Miss Hardwick is right. When she says, "The destruction of the American theater seems to have come from the fact that producers and directors and actors do not know that the drama is a branch of literature," she fails to include, however, another culprit—the reviewers of the major daily newspapers. They are models of adequate knowledge, mediocre taste, and unwhimsical opinions.

Thank you especially for Mr. Marcus's review!

Edward Karl Pean
The City University of New York

To the Editors:
Elizabeth Hardwick's brilliantly written article is magnificent! Thank you.

Alice S. Mowls
Harper's Bazaar
New York City

To the Editors:
Elizabeth Hardwick was entirely correct in giving forty whacks to the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater. (They deserved eighty.) And the Actors Studio is indeed the most phoney theater "in group" of all time. And there is a lot of silliness, bad taste, and stupidity in the New York theater.

But like Susan Sontag in *Fordism Review* she hasn't quite earned her right to be so scathing because, like many high-brow, neither really understands the art of the theater.

Here, for instance, is a list of plays produced since 1953 both on and off Broadway, which were both interesting and delightful. How many has Miss Hardwick seen or read? *Big Fish Little Fish* and *Look What's Come Through* by Hugh Wheeler, *Soldado* by Lee Remick, by Tennessee Williams, *In The Summer House* by Jane Bowles (a masterpiece).

Many of the productions of the Living Theater have treated a stir, in par-

ticular *The Connection* and *The Brig*. Other great writers who have written plays for this organization were Paul Goodman and Claude Fredericks.

It is interesting that the high-brow English theater magazine, *Encore*, has just published an essay by Eric Mottram called "The New American Wave," which has given credit to the Living Theater and the Artists Theatre for their achievement.

Julia Bernard Myers
New York City

To the Editors:
Elizabeth Hardwick's piece "The Disaster at Lincoln Center" . . . seems to me to be a parochial attack, filled with mephitic half-truths and outright distortions, exhibiting the myopic perspective of a village theorist. . . . Perhaps her righteous anger may be applauded by some—and it is a measure of the necessity of such articles that when it was read backstage in *A Man For All Seasons*, it stirred violent reactions both pro and con; and to the credit of those theater people she seems to despise, almost all were quick to defend what truth there was in her article and her right to say it. All of which makes simply and her last paragraph where one notes that a devaluation of social existence forces her to admit (however gracefully) that some kind of "final solution" to the problem of professionalism—which would devalue the talents of actors, directors, and producers now working in our theater—is undefeatable.

She seems not to realize how difficult and shabby an enterprise a repertory company is; and how difficult it is to turn the idea of an overwhelmingly selfish selfish enterprise like the commercial theater. Since nearly everything in this country is founded on the principle of profit, dare she expect the theater to be different? Yet, in this instance, I know personally—as many do—that the actors, directors, and probably even producers, have tied themselves to a venture for far less money than they usually command, and for nearly three years of their lives, only to the bare

hope of turning the tide. That the first season has been disappointing is no doubt their fault, but critics are not lights dropped even by magnificently patronized enterprises. The third play had the merit of O'Neill's name, and is an important American play which surely deserved its first hearing since its original opening.

Further, it is absurd to state that drama is "first and last" an act of literary composition. It is not, if it is written to be played by living actors on a stage—whether open, presentism, arena, or semi—in its last state, and the one in which it is most fully realized, is when actors stand upon that stage and deliver its meaning in living speech to an audience. To assert otherwise is to deny the history of drama as a fundamental of the history of plays and why they were written from Aeschylus forward. It is equally absurd to insist that great drama is necessarily great literature to read, as witness all we know of the Commedia dell'Arte, the Kabuki, and for that matter, Marcel Marceau. The Greek-based word "drama" is translated as "action," not as "literature."

It would be interesting to know what Miss Hardwick conceives drama to be if it is not "an arresting idea or situation presented by mechanical, theatrical devices." I would call that as reasonable a general description of *Oedipus Rex*, as of *Marathon '91*. But, obviously, there is no gainsaying the difference, either. Our theater pandered before to a seemingly endless collection of "packages" which have no heart, no concern with real issues, no involvement with the great issues of the great world which exist in this nation, no elevation of language, no sense of destiny, struggle, or danger. But surely it is as much the duty of a critic to act with maturity in finding the new and exciting paths as it is solely to attack blindly with too few facts and with only rage or hatred as a weapon. . . .

Lawrence Luckinbill
Toronto, Canada

To the Editors:

The vehemence of Miss Hardwick's disappointment astounds me. Is it possible that she does not know what repertory theater is like? Has she never seen *The Old Vic* and when they are here with an all-star cast of a jazzi new production by Zeffirelli, but with their regular company in their own house coming and moving in search through a production of *Julius Caesar* that would shatter any decent high school drama department? Has she never seen the *Cambridge Transpire* walk through *Phedra* as it is with *La Gioconda* with scenery and costumes that make our poor City Center look rich and fat? Does Miss Hardwick not know that the constant complaint about repertory where it is well established is that it is dull, unimaginative, pedestrian and inept?

There is a great deal to complain about in the Lincoln Center company, and Miss Hardwick's diatribe against professionalism was not entirely irrelevant. But surely in a repertory theater professional competence is preferable to amateurism, however inspired, and surely the basic fault of the Lincoln Center Repertory is not its professionalism but precisely its amateurism in trying too hard to live up to the dreams of anti-Broadway anti-professionals who don't want to see anything that Broadway would touch.

Gene Thornton
New York City

To the Editors:

Surely one does not have to defend the current season at Lincoln Center in order to take exception with the over-patrons masquerading as analysts written by Elizabeth Hardwick for your last issue. . . .

It seems ridiculous to have to point it out, but the literary values of any particular stage production are only one part of its total theatrical values, the remainder of which are achieved through these so-called "secondary arts" of the director and actor, among

Read the full text of "The Triple Revolution" in the April

LIBERATION

The interrelatedness of the revolutions in cybernetics, weaponry and civil rights is not a new idea to Liberation readers, nor is the belief that all instances of society must change in the abundance that automation can bring. But "The Triple Revolution," by W. H. Ferry, Conrad Fiedl, and other members of the Ad Hoc Committee, is a fundamental and concise statement of an analysis aimed to provoke radical social change in the United States. In mimeographed form it has already attracted wide attention in the New York Times, through William Sherman's column and elsewhere.

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The Editors of Liberation are Bayard Rustin, A. J. Hayes, Dore Delaney and Sidney Hillis, men whose names near time and again whenever struggles for civil rights, peace and economic justice are reported. Liberation's editors and contributors are leaders in many of the organizations of protest, yet Liberation remains independent. Liberation is radical, fully committed to the revolutionary challenge of militant direct action.

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JAMES HARRISON

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CONTENTS: MAY 1964 ISSUE INCLUDES:
JOAN ROBINSON: Chinese agricultural reform
JAN TINBERGEN: General concepts of co-existence
LESLIE BOWEN: Financial cooperation in Soviet-American relations and in 1957 KREDA's speech in 1954
USSR: The Background of World Trade

In its first year Co-Existence will appear in May and November 1964. The subscription price for 1964 is \$3.00. Individual issues \$1.75.

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others. When Miss Hardwick con-
descendingly dismisses the drama as
"After all, literature written for the
stage," she misses the essence of these
very gifts she so applauds. For instance,
in Zeffirelli's revival of *Romeo and
Juliet*. For they are obviously non-
literary gifts; the talent of Zeffirelli
lies, after all, in Zeffirelli, not in
Shakespeare. Of course the literary value
of *Morambro* '73 was all, less than
nil, if possible; but the theatrical elements
of the production as developed
by the performer and director made
it an event of considerable theatrical
value.

However, Miss Hardwick is not in-
terested in theatrical value in the the-
ater, only literary ones. But what, pre-
cisely, does that mean? What play?
Beyond "The Twelve Women and Eu-
ropean drama" she does not say. . . .
It seems . . . ridiculous to ask Miss Har-
dwick, who is so determined to judge
things theatrical according to a literary
standard, to define what she means by
literature. . . .

Lincola Center has its problems of
course, and sometimes there has obvious-
ly made distressing mistakes. It might
be interesting to discuss some of them
in this journal, but since a discussion
can proceed with Miss Hardwick only
after she has defined the terms of this
literary yardstick with which she is
heating the American theater.

David Shaber
New York City

Miss Hardwick replies:

I wrote out of my despair for today's
theater, but it does not surprise me
that there are some who are more satis-
fied with things as they are than I am.
After all, I read the newspapers. No
doubt there are happy instances I might
have commented but I was writing
about our "situation" in a general way
and particularly about the Repertory
Theater of Lincola Center. A few things
I might add in my discussion with pro-
fessionals: I am not thereby awaiting a
theater made up of "consciousness and
boon salesman, maximizing on the
weekends. I used the word "profession-
al" as the opposite of "artist." In New
York if you have participated in ten
live productions you will very likely be
chosen for the elements since, no matter
what your results, you are a "profession-
al." I have the idea, also, that even
writing about the theater is felt to be
a trade for which one needs a union
card, a daily paper. About drama as
literature, I did not have in mind that
part of the theater which depends upon
mime, dance, etc. I meant that part of
the theater dependent upon a written
text. I can only repeat that when I go
to the contemporary American theater
I am flustered by these texts. . . . One
more thing: Mr. Luckinbill is right. I
have spent a lot of time in the village
Library.

GULFI
To the Editors:

When any accused criminal, even the
author of a new book, is up for sen-
tence, it is his right to be judged by
a jury of his peers. . . . I'm sure you'd
agree with me that an indelicately
popular cartoonist would be a poor
choice to pass judgment on the work
of an unobscuredly unpopular poet.
The opportunity to review David Man-
ning White's *From Dogpatch to Slo-*

bovia, a collection of my cartoons,
was accepted by John Hollander: a
poet currently in residence at a non-
profit institution. It isn't Hollander's
fault he made a damn fool of himself.
You made that inevitable by giving
him an assignment he couldn't resist,
or incompetently perform.

First, he gave you a couple of hun-
dred words on the history of modern
cartooning, which revealed the poet to
be as familiar with comic strips as
the average comic stripper is with mod-
ern poetry. . . . It included every arti-
cled cliché that has turned comic strip-
poet's vomit into it became stink-
to discuss comic strips. . . .

Your reviewer's judgment that "Lil
Abner" doesn't "seem very funny on
occasional reading" makes good sense.
Reading page 1 of *Tom Sawyer*,
Tom Jones or *Tom Swifty* one day
and page 30 a month later, wouldn't
make them seem very funny either.
Nevertheless, your reviewer is
a man with a heart: "Lil Abner," he
wrote, "should be allowed to continue"
although "Sadie Hawkins Day" and
"The Shamus" were unnecessary inven-
tions. "Dammitt, 'Sadie Hawkins Day'
and the 'Shamus' were necessary in-
ventions! You see, I have 80 million
readers, and more coming along every
day, and I've got to think of SOME
THING for them to read. Certainly, the
inventor of such "banal and badly ex-
pressed" phrases as "Sadie Hawkins
Day" and "The Shamus" cannot help
but be grateful for even the contempt
of the inventor of "gross disservice,"
"Vigil derangement" and "starkly lyri-
cal" but we both do our jobs the best
we can. . . .

Hollander's review quoted me as say-
ing, "The politeness of the Caucasian
must be a revolting sight in the lower-
most districts of Dutch Guiana (Siall
Whamm! Gulp!) where folks are a
normal, healthy black." Now, I didn't
say that she, whamm! and gulp—not
when I wrote that sentence I didn't,
and I don't like your reviewer giving
your readers the impression that I did.
I don't know where he picked up such
expressions, unless it was from his oc-
casional reading of comic strips, but
if he wants to use language like that,
let him use it in his own stuff and
not stick it into mine.

When it is comic strip epithets used
to denote an assault, gulp! is a comic
strip epithet we used to denote the dis-
comfort of the assaulted, and siall is
what you say to a dumb creature when
you order it to make an assault.

Maybe Hollander didn't intend to make
it seem I'd said sic, whamm and gulp
in that sentence. Maybe he unconscien-
tly put those words in because they
were on his mind at the time. Maybe
someone said "sic" to Hollander when
they gave him Professor White's book
to review. And then—WHAMM!

Gulp!
Al Capp
New York City

John Hollander replies:

I was displeased with Mr. Capp's re-
cent book because I felt that the se-
lection and presentation of material
did him an injustice. His pitiless let-
ter suggests that I was wrong. His
guilty-sounding hostility seems to in-
dicate that *From Dogpatch to Slobovia*
represents him at what, after all, has
turned out to be his best.

Perhaps, then, it is no misfortune

that Mr. Capp couldn't read what was
clearly my appreciation of some of his
poor accomplishments without believ-
ing himself. All his harumphing aside,
he still seems to need:

- 1) A good atlas, to tell him about
"Dutch Guiana."
- 2) A dictionary, to tell him what
"sic" means.
- 3) A grasp of the differing functions
of parentheses and square brackets.
In my review I used the latter.

Mr. Capp's letter only compounds his
reclonies of blundering and bad taste.
The only sorrow I can feel is for the
insecurity and poverty of spirit that led
him to unleash them.

THE DEVIL'S DISCIPLE

To the Editors:

Marvin Mudrick tells us (*New York Re-
view*, April 2, 1964) that *Saint Joan*,
Adam and Superman, *Cassius*, and *Clea-
rwater*, *Canalis*, *Major Barbara*, *Heart-
break House*, *The Devil's Disciple*, and
The Doctor's Dilemma are all inferior
to any five consecutive pages of Shaw's
most criticism. Later he says it is "a
statement of fact" (fact?) that Shaw's
prefaces are better than his plays. But
how many pages of comic criticism are
they better than? The formula is in-
conclusive.

Since he quotes Tolstoy as a disparag-
ing authority on Shaw, it may be of
interest to quote Tolstoy on Shake-
speare: "I have again read the whole
of Shakespeare . . . and have experi-
enced the same feelings still more
strongly, no longer with perplexity but
with a firm and instinctive conviction,
that the unimpaired form Shakespeare
enjoyed as a great genius, which makes
writers of our time imitate him, and
readers and spectators, divorcing their
aesthetic and ethical sense, seek un-
existent qualities in him is a great
evil, as every falsehood is."

Mr. Mudrick's article is a barely per-
suasive thesis that has bloomed under different
names for at least half a cen-
tury, but I suppose we can expect to
see it more often, now as the bottom
of the Shavian barrel is scraped. The
publication of Shaw's trivia and other
detracts—as well as biographies by au-
thors who have found new "angles"
and continuing, indolent criticism—
will doubtless serve others besides Mr.
Mudrick as springboards for attacking
something quite different: Shaw's ma-
jor works. But Mr. Mudrick has set a
mark for them to aim at. One does
not quarrel with his opinions, even
when he calls them false; his pro-
nouncements are so inclusive and final
that one has at least to admire his
courage. His article is a reminder of
the executioner's report in *Saint Joan*
(if I may quote that now-famous play).
After he sees that he has finished his
job and that everything of Joan that
would not burn is at the bottom of the
river, he confidently tells Warwick:
"You have heard the last of her."
Stanley Kaufmann

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To the Editors:

Marvin Mudrick's judgments on Shaw
in the April 2 *New York Review* are
so grotesque that it is hard to believe
that they were meant seriously, al-
though I suppose that a reviewer who
could dismiss Dostoevsky's dying speech
in *The Doctor's Dilemma* as "Ho-de-

The New York Review

CO-EXISTENCE

A Journal for the comparative study of economics, sociology
and politics in a changing world.

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Publisher: Co-existence, Box 429, Pickering, Ontario, Canada.

Under the title Co-existence, an international scholarly journal is to be published in Canada, mainly in English. French contributions will be printed in the original, with English abstracts.

The journal will advance responsible thinking on co-existence, which is recognized as the alternative to the cold war. It will formulate co-existence in a realistic and positive rather than polemical manner, providing a meeting ground for a diversity of views. It will tackle the new, far-reaching problems that such policies must necessarily raise. It will provide articles dealing with philosophical clarification, cultural co-operation and literary criticism. The Journal will also aim to include survey articles, correspondence and documentation.

The creative functioning of the independent mind is essential in achieving the purposes of such a publication. An Editorial Board comprising scholars from different countries will ensure that a forum of effective discussion will exist. Private guarantees against loss will provide the initial financial independence to enable the first numbers of the Journal to appear in 1964. Each issue will be approximately 100 pages.

In its first year Co-existence will appear in May and November 1964. The subscription price for 1964 is \$3.00 (U.S.) or £1 (U.K.) which includes mailing. Individual issues will be \$1.75 (U.S.) or 12 Shillings (U.K.)

Until such a time as financial resources permit Co-existence to appear on a quarterly basis, it will be published in May and November. Subscribers are asked to subscribe for a two-year period where possible, in order to aid the Editorial board to establish a longer-term financial base for the planning of issues.

Contents of Co-existence May 1964 issue will be:

- Joan Robinson, Chinese agricultural communes
- John Somerville, The East-West ideological rift
- Jan Tinbergen, Concrete concepts of co-existence
- Leslie Dewart, Peaceful co-existence in Soviet-American diplomacy and in John XIII's Pacem in terris
- Rudolf Schlesinger, Co-existence as a framework of social evolution
- Harry W. Pearson, Policy and economy in the overdeveloped society
- V. B. Singh, Why Planning?
- P. C. Mahalanobis, Perspective planning in India, statistical tools
- R. G. Gadgil, Ex-colonial income differentials surviving in India
- Terence K. Hopkins, Non-bureaucratic planning in Africa
- H. D. Koctush, The macro-economic theory of the economic effectiveness of investment.

The following articles are being prepared at the invitation of the Editorial Board for inclusion in Issues No. 2 and No. 3:

Paul Bohannan, Center for Advanced Study, Stanford
Co-existence, colonialism and biculturalism

Jozsef Bognar, Budapest
The World Trade Conference and co-existence

Gyula Eorsi, Budapest
Comparative law and peaceful competition

M. Y. Chorpade
Indian grassroot leadership

Tom Kronsjo, Stockholm
Theory of the balance of power in a nuclear age

D. Mukherjee, Calcutta
Eastern and Western aid for India

Goran Ohlin, Stockholm
The concept of convergence

V.K.R.V. Rao, Planning Commission, New Delhi
Public and private sector in a mixed economy

Ashok Rudra, Planning Commission, New Delhi
Marxian humanism today

Ramesh Thapar, New Delhi
Non-alignment and the developing countries

Shigeto Tsuru, Tokyo
Co-existence debate in Japan

Immanuel Wallerstein, Columbia University
Pan-Africanism

Additional contributions are expected from C. P. Snow, London - A. A. Arzumanyan and N. A. Tsagolov, Moscow - Oskar Lange, Adam Schaff and W. Brus, Warsaw - Francois Perroux, Paris - B. Blagoyevich, Belgrade.

Comments and suggestions for the Editorial Board, and all articles and communications to the Editor should be sent to:

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~~The first of the series:~~ (1) (2) (3)

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Other prospective contributors - apart from the Board Members - are R.M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; John ~~Hammer~~ Collier Sr., Taos, ~~N.M.~~; Paul Bohannon, Northwestern University, ~~Evansville, Ill.~~ as well as a number of social scientists connected with the Interdisciplinary Project at Columbia University, 1953-58; Francois Perroux, Collège de France; Tibor Mende, Paris; Kenneth Muir, Liverpool University; Thomas Hodgkin, Oxford and Ghana; Ki Zerbo, Upper Volta; Franco Venturi, University of Turin; ~~Leo~~ Leo Valiani, Milan; ~~Italy~~ Alberto Moravia, Rome, ~~Italy~~ Contributions are expected from A.A. Arzumanyan, Director, World Institute of Economics, Moscow, and other Soviet ~~social~~ ^{also} scientists, as well as from scholars from Poland - among them Adam Schaff, ~~from~~ Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

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For the Editorial Board

Karl Polanyi
Visiting Professor of Economics,
Columbia University, 1947-1953

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one name to each person.

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Overseas,

Other prospective contributors - apart from the Board members - are R.M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; John Collier Sr., Taos, New Mexico; Paul Bohannon, Northwestern University, as well as social scientists connected with the Interdisciplinary Project at Columbia University, 1953-58, among them Paul Medow, Rutgers University, Terence K. Hopkins, Columbia University and Harry W. Pearson, Bennington College. From ~~France~~ François Perroux, College de France; Tibor Mende, Paris; ~~Manchester~~ Kenneth Muir, Liverpool University; Thomas Hodgkin, Oxford and Ghana; Ki Zerbo, Upper Volta; Franco Venturi, University of Turin; Leo Valiani, Milano. Contributions are expected from A.A. Arzumanyan, Director of the World Institute of Economics, Moscow and other Soviet social scientists, also ~~some~~ scholars from Poland - among them Adam Schaff -, Hungary - among them József Bognár -, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

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Visiting Professor of Economics,
Columbia University, 1947-1953

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A. Rotstein, Lecturer in Economics, University of Toronto

Dear

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~~It~~ will ~~advance~~ advance responsible thinking in West and East on co-existence, which is recognized as the only alternative to the Cold War. The Journal ~~will~~ ^{112 pages per issue} will formulate co-existence in a realistic and positive, rather than a polemical, manner. It will tackle the new problems that such policies themselves must necessarily raise in many fields.

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Completed by Frisch
Studies and articles for issues, commencing January, 1964 have been promised from the following Canadians: Northrop Frye (Victoria College, University of Toronto), ^{- on the Ecumenical Pacem in terris -} Leslie Dewart and Marshall McLuhan (St. Michael's College, University of Toronto), ^{- on the French Canadian question -} Michael Oliver (McGill University), ^{- on Revolution and Democracy in the XXth century -} C.B. Macpherson **¶** and H. Gordon Skilling (University of Toronto).

Other prospective contributors - apart from the Board members - are

R.M. MacIver (Professor Emeritus, Columbia University), John Collier, Sr. ^{concluded with the Editorial Board}
as well as a member of younger social scientists
(Taos, N.M.), Paul Bohannan (Northwestern, Evanston, Ill.), Francois Perroux (College de France), Tibor Mende (Paris); Kenneth Muir ~~(University of Liverpool)~~ (Liverpool University), Thomas Hodgkin (Oxford and Ghana); Ki Zerbo (Upper Volta); ~~Adam Schaff (Poland)~~, Franco Venturi (University of Turin, Italy), Leo Valiani (Milano, Italy), Alberto Moravia (Rome, Italy).
Essential contributions are expected from A.A. Arzumanyan (Director, World Institute of Economics, Moscow), ^{and other Soviet social scientists} ~~Adam Schaff (Warsaw)~~, ~~from Poland~~ as well as ^{from} scholars ~~from~~ Poland, among them Adam Schaff, ^{from} Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

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Kenneth McRobbie, Lecturer in History, University of Manitoba;

Abraham Rotstein, Lecturer in ^{Economics} Political Economy, University of Toronto.

One of the ^{above} ~~following~~ will be getting in touch with you in a few days.

for the Editorial Board

signed

KARL POLANYI

Visiting
1947-53

Professor of Economics, Columbia University

I have great pleasure in enclosing a number of copies of the subscription about Co-existence that is now being circulated. Your own subscription to the journal is already entered, and you will receive a copy of No. 1 in May. Should you wish a number of complimentary copies, please let me know at the above address, and they will be sent to you.

The Editorial Board sincerely hopes that you will find your association with the Journal one of satisfaction and pride. Every effort is being made to secure the best possible articles, within the limits imposed by the slender financial resources of Co-existence.

A subscription campaign is being conducted in many countries. Any help which you can provide by having your friends and associates become subscribers to Co-existence will be appreciated. Additional subscription forms are available on request.

If you have any further questions, do not hesitate to write to the members of the Board, or to me.

Yours sincerely,

H. C. Campbell,
Business Manager.

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GYULA EÖRSI, Budapest: Comparative law and peaceful competition
TOM KRONSTJÖ, Stockholm: Theory of the balance of power in a nuclear age
PAUL MEDOW, Rutgers University: The temptation of mathematical economics and the humanistic ideals of the Enlightenment
SHIGETO TSURU, Tokyo: Co-existence debate in Japan
ROMESH THAPAR, New Delhi: The non-alignment problem for the underdeveloped countries
IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, Columbia University: Pan-Africanism

Contributions are expected from Kenneth Muir, Liverpool—A. A. Arzumanyan and N. A. Tsagolov, Moscow—Oskar Lange, Adam Schaff and W. Brus, Warsaw—François Perroux, Paris—Thomas Hodgkins, Ghana—B. Blagoyevich, Belgrade.

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Dr. Rudolf Schlesinger, Editor, CO-EXISTENCE
Inverloch, Kilman by Dunoon, Argyll, Scotland.

The following are abstracts of the articles appearing in *Co-existence*, Issue 1, May, 1964:

DEWART, Leslie. "Peaceful co-existence in John XXIII's *Pacem in terris*", *Co-existence*, p. 21-38, May 1964.

As implicit in their respective diplomacies, co-existence is conceived by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union in substantially the same way, i.e., as a compromise between the ideological need to prevail and the practical impossibility to do so in the thermonuclear age. As long as this ideological need remains, the best prospect is the indefinite continuation of a more or less peaceful cold war. This is, of course, an inherently unstable international order.

The teaching of Pope John is a practical basis for a stable peace order. It proposes (a) the subordination of ideological needs to human actualities, (b) the possibility of co-operation at the practical-existential level among individuals and groups with opposed ideologies, in virtue of their common human condition and interests. This might be acceptable to both sides because the Pope provides a re-interpretation of the theory of natural law which might undercut the root of the cold war conflict. Both Soviet Marxism and American Liberalism believe that their ultimate ideological prevalence is guaranteed, not as a matter of fact, but as matter of right, by the law of nature — though one side understands natural law as a cosmic, "material" principle, whereas the other understands it as a transcendent moral order. Pope John suggests the continuity of the physical and moral orders and, thus, the common origin of man and the physical universe. There is a common human situation for all men: both ideologies might well agree on this truth as a matter of fact. On this basis it might be possible to undertake first, mutual toleration and, ultimately, genuine and extensive co-operation on the common tasks of mankind.

GADKIL, R. C. "Ex-colonial and new income differentials in India", *Co-existence*, p. 74-76, May 1964.

Gadkil sets himself the task of examining the trend of income differentials in India since independence, in the light of the common expectation that the end of Colonial rule would lead to a reduction in these differentials.

He concludes that the expectation of reduction in income differentials has not materialized. The government undertook no salary reform, although certain controls have kept the disparities in government salaries from increasing and extremes in government salaries remain greater in India than in most other countries. Even more important are the disparities that exist in the private business sector and if anything the situation is worse than five years ago. There is no doubt that the number of high salaried posts is increasing rapidly and that the gap between industrial wage earners and managerial personnel is widening. The salaries paid by international organizations to qualified technical and other personnel have a similar effect.

HOPKINS, Terence K. "On economic planning in tropical Africa", *Co-existence*, p. 77-88, May 1964.

Owing to their common colonial background, most tropical African economies have similar characteristics, and these define both the objectives and the limits of planning. Two general approaches to planning can be distinguished: one concerns itself mainly with furthering the kind of development that occurred under overrule; the other is concerned with reversing that pattern of development and instead encouraging the evolution of a national economy linked closely to the evolving national policy and society. The three sectors into which these ex-colonial economies can be classified — the modern sector, the transitional, and the subsistence — pose quite different problems and both require and permit quite different kinds of action. The existence of private centers of power and interest defines the major problems of planning in the modern sector and calls for rigorous administrative action. Increases in specialization and productivity are the principal planning objectives for the transitional sector; their attainment will probably require a more conscious planning of the whole of rural society than is at present usually attempted, since the problems here revolve about the incorporation of both land and labour into the national economy. Planning with respect to the predominantly self-sufficient sectors concerns the initial integration of these sectors into the emerging national economy and requires a pragmatic approach based on a knowledge of the strains and tensions inherent in the particular traditional system in question.

MAHALANOBIS, P. C. "Perspective planning in India: Statistical tools", *Co-existence*, p. 60-73, May 1964.

By "perspective planning", Indian planners mean the formulation of short run, e.g., 5-year plans, with a long run 15-20 year perspective in view. This long-run perspective has two aspects: (a) viewing each five-year plan as a specific phase in the fulfillment of long term goals and (b) anticipating future needs in creating productive capacity.

In his paper, Mahalanobis attempts to detail the various aspects of "perspective planning". These may be summarized under the following three headings: (a) how to translate aspirations, e.g., doubling the per capita consumption of the second poorest decile of the Indian population, into planning targets such as increasing the national product by 5-7 per cent per year. (b) are aggregative models reliable enough as a guide in estimating the future rate of economic development? and (c) how to anticipate and plan remedies for bottlenecks in the supply of certain key resources, for example, steel, electricity, foreign exchange, scientific and technical personnel, etc.

Considerable detail is provided on the statistical methods presently employed, and the value of these methods is discussed.

ROBINSON, Joan. "Chinese agricultural communes", *Co-existence*, p. 1-8, May 1964.

The basic problem of the under-developed economies is to increase efficiency in agriculture, starting from a low level of productivity and, in most cases, a high labour/land ratio, a low capital/labour ratio and methods of cultivation which fail to take advantage of modern discoveries. The choice of the scale of organization is an important matter and by no means a simple one. For the deployment of labour, a rather small scale is required. The deployment of knowledge requires larger units.

Based on visits made in the summer of 1963, the author describes the present organization of Chinese agriculture which has evolved from 1956 to 1963 into an ingenious system for reconciling the requirements of large and small scale.

There are three tiers of organization; the team, the brigade and the commune. The team, consisting of the labour force of some thirty families, is the basic accounting unit for production and distribution. The teams forming a brigade elect a management committee and appoint a leader, deputy and accountant. The commune has absorbed the lowest level of local government (the *hsiang*) and is responsible for such matters as registration of population, taxation, local militia and for gearing the commune's contribution to education and health service into the country's.

SCHLESINGER, Rudolf. "Co-existence as a framework of social evolution", *Co-existence*, p. 46-53, May 1964.

Peaceful competition of countries representing different social systems does not imply the creation of a stable international social and political order, nor the end of the conflict between alternative lines of social development. Such peaceful competition merely means removing that conflict from the field of warlike trials of strength and replacing it with the efforts of each side to use the processes of synthesis and adaptation in favour of the values of its own competing order. This competition involves not only the two major systems of social organization, which co-exist at present, each in manifold variety, but also the solutions which may be arrived at in the attempted reconstruction of the underdeveloped countries. The relations between the two super-powers are of first importance. On the one hand, they possess the means which could bring human civilization to an end, on the other, their influence is strong enough to prevent the spread of nuclear arms and the future settlement of international questions by other than peaceful means, except perhaps for the removal of still surviving elements of colonialism and racial subjection.

However, in the settlement of conflict between the Big Two, methods which appear to create an alignment the industrially most developed against the underdeveloped nations should be avoided. A division of the world into spheres of influence, or the bestowal on the United Nations of functions exceeding the present consensus amongst the vast majority of mankind should also be avoided. An attempt is made to indicate the stages through which peaceful competition may emerge from an abatement of the 'cold war' at present still non-explicit. This should be possible without Utopian demands being made on present international organizations.

SINGH, V. B. "Need for planning", *Co-existence*, p. 54-59, May 1964.

The foremost defect of private enterprise has been the failure to utilize resources to their full capacity and the resulting chronic unemployment or underdevelopment of land, labour and capital.

Planning is the means for effective economic development according to predetermined goals drawn up by the representatives of the people. Thus it is an integral part of a democratic social process. The history of planned economic development reveals that planning cannot be successful unless and until the 'Commanding Heights' (that is, basic industries, transport, communications, banking and finance) are in public hands.

The author then examines eight different aspects of planning. He concludes that the history of planning is the history of the transformation of a backward country, through extensive industrialization and utilization of modern techniques on an unprecedented scale, into a highly industrialized country in a short span of time. From this he generalizes: the more backward an economy, the greater the need for planning.

SOMERVILLE, John. "The East-West ideological rift", *Co-existence*, p. 7-14, May 1964.

The ideological rift represents not only a conflict of ideas, but an immense clash of material interests. To present the issue as freedom or democracy versus communism or totalitarianism prevents adequate understanding and significant debate. The conflict is more accurately expressed as one between those who support capitalism and those who support communism. Differences (and common ground) between capitalist and communist concepts of freedom and democracy can then be constructively explored.

To satisfy standards of scholarly responsibility, and contribute to strengthening peace, the "Unesco approach" proves best. It rests on three axioms:

1. The different parties to the ideological conflict have equal rights to exist in the international arena, whether as systems of doctrine or as sovereign regimes.
2. The different parties to the ideological conflict have equal rights to expand their influence in the international arena, whether as systems of doctrine or as sovereign regimes.
3. Peace is strengthened by seeking out and bringing to consciousness common ideological ground, shared positions and shared values, as well as differences.

The concept of peaceful co-existence accompanied by peaceful competition, grounded on equal rights, is not controversial in the perspective of the U.N., but is built into its charter and structure.

TINBERGEN, J. "Concrete concepts of co-existence", *Co-existence*, p. 15-20, May 1964.

The concept of co-existence has remained distressingly vague. A more precise definition is needed of the organized system for avoiding nuclear conflict which we choose to call co-existence. This definition will probably have to consist of a set of rules, which can regulate the struggle between east and west. Both sides must recognize that both will continue to exist, and that nuclear war is worse than anything else — including the other side's victory. Further, both sides must draw up clear rankings of various institutions and developments. There should be some agreement about the relative acceptability of these things; if the two sides rank different things very differently,

— continued —

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co-existence is impossible, because no agreement will be obtained. But there is probably already some agreement about the rankings of various things. This must be revealed. In particular, the two sides do not seem to be very interested in traditional nationalist issues, especially involving territory and national sovereignty. Further, though east and west have different socio-economic ideologies, they are decreasingly inclined to differ about concrete socio-economic arrangements, and they are more and more willing to discuss concrete matters pragmatically, not ideologically. In matters of government the area of disagreement is still very great. But even here there is hope for pragmatic agreement, as the west comes to recognize that democracy is not always a perfect political system. To prevent tensions from being exacerbated, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. should be able to take common action whenever extremists cause tensions. They can do this if they first establish a "code of good behaviour" for other countries. This code should employ multiple criteria; it might or might not be incorporated into a U.N. charter. The two great powers should also be able to co-operate in a programme of world socio-economic progress. Common military action might also be useful. Unfortunately it requires the acceptance of common value-rankings, and willingness to compromise. The possibility of avoiding nuclear war requires the latter; investigation and discussion may eventually bring the former to birth.

VAJDA, Imre. "The shifting background of world trade", *Co-existence*, p. 29-45, May 1964.

Why are people and government increasingly eager to develop trade? The reason cannot be found in any disruption of trade comparable to that of the early thirties. It is rather to be found in the increasing concentration of manufacturing industry. Within each country, the number of producing units has tended to fall, and the optimum size of plant has tended to rise. In small countries, therefore, the optimum size produces too much for the domestic market, and manufacturers are obliged to look for export markets. This increasing dependence of manufacturing industries on export markets has been concealed because the service industries have been expanding more rapidly than the manufacturing industries. Therefore it has been possible for manufacturing industries to become more export-oriented, without raising the share of exports in the gross national product. These tendencies can be observed both in capitalist countries and in socialist countries like Hungary. The socialist countries are beginning to develop the model of the socialist entrepreneur, who can serve society by exercising initiative and imagination in the export field. The activities of such entrepreneurs are not anti-social; indeed, their activities are necessary if socialist plans are to be grounded in reality and if socialist countries are to earn sufficient foreign currency to pay for their imports which their rapid growth requires. But socialist entrepreneurs are different from capitalist entrepreneurs, in trade as elsewhere. The former act on behalf of the whole society and economy; the latter act first and foremost on behalf of their own interests.

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