

University of Toronto

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY
100 ST. GEORGE STREET
TORONTO 5

Nov. 12/64

Hana,

If T.P. carries this off it will
become a brilliant contribution to
Coexistence

Servus
abey

New York
26 Jan 1969
(for E.F.)

From

Marysainig, 26 Jan, 1969

Note on the Debate on Alienation in Socialist Industrial
Societies in the Hungarian Journal Valóság (Truth), 1964.

1. Articles on alienation published in Valóság in 1964 include:

(?) in No. 9: an article about Erich Fromm

in No. 10: A. Schaff: "The Individual and its environment"

in No. 11: George Lukacs: "Division of labor and Alienation in Marxist
Philosophy and in Contemporary Western Philosophy".

Attila Agh: "Our present and our future: a Contribution to the
Discussion on Alienation"

Sula Buda: Book Review of E. Fromm, Ed. Psychoanalysis and Man
Budapest, 1963 Geopony Verlag, Munich

in No. 12: Joseph Loh: "Private Property, Division of labor, and Alienation"

István Balassa "Alienation and the Psychological Expression of
Individuals".

2. According to M. G. one of the arguments defended by those who affirm the
continued existence of alienation in a socialist society (Agh, Balassa) is
the following: since commodity production continues to exist, commodity,
fetters also continue to exist in the Marxist sense, and hence alienation.
But since commodity production is now directed by the State, it is with
regard to the State that alienation manifests itself.

3. A "conservative" view presented by Gyula Vörös, who denies that alienation
may also derive from elements inherent in a socialist society, centers on the
two following points:

1) it is not logical to cite "young Marx" rather than "old Marx",
since Marx's ideas were presumably more fully developed in his
later works.

2) alienation exists in a socialist society only because of subjective
factors: lack in ideology and incapacity to view consciously one's
own actual relation to society.

4. There has also been a discussion of "realistic utopias".

From
(for S. F.)

10 January 1965

MEMORANDUM
THE SOURCES IN 19-TH CENTURY RUSSIAN LITERATURE OF
THE CONTINUING DEBATE ON ALIENATION IN THE USSR

1. The Russian debate on alienation began in the works of Turgenev (Fathers and Sons) and centered originally on ways of overcoming the "nihilism" that came to Westernized intellectuals together with the purely scientific way of looking at everything. Subsequently while one group of writers, poets, literary critics, and philosophers moved increasingly in the direction of existential philosophy and intuitivism (Dostoevski, Tolstoi, V. Spivlov, A. Blok, N. Berdyayev, N. Losski) and displayed very far-reaching achievements along this line, another group emphasized the unity of inner aspirations with politically-oriented social practice as the prerequisite for a non-utopian approach to the overcoming of alienation. There was much interest, in the second group, in the communes suggested by Owen and Fourier, (and later Tolstoi) until Lenin's extension of Marxism brought an emphasis on proletarian revolutionary armies, and alliance with the peasantry, international strategy, and industrialism (the latter partly as a means for raising the peasantry from an orientation on tradition). In spite of their very great differences in emphasis, however, these two streams never separated completely, in the sense that neither relinquished its primary concern with the overcoming of alienation or "nihilism". (The title of one of Lenin's early works, "What is to be Done" is also the title of the earliest political novel concerned with the overcoming of nihilism - by Chernyshevski).
2. At the present time, the editors of "The Literary Gazette" (which reaches over a million serious readers) as well as those of many other literary journals are continuing this debate with reference to the new social context that has emerged as a result of industrial development, urbanization, the social pressures of the present as well as of the recent past, and the influence of fashionable but superficial concepts of the modern way of life that originate in Western Europe and the United States. The particular point of view from which the traditional problem is now examined is that of making possible the "education" (the Russian word is "formation") of the future non-alienated "communist man". Partly under the influence of insufficiently noted passages of the recently adopted new program of the Communist Party the future period to which this vision applies is associated, in an important measure, with modernized and culture-oriented rural communities rather than with the urban industrial complexes that prevail today. This permits a scope for discussion that lends itself to such freedom and in which such emphasis is placed on the deeper humanistic ideals as well as on the ideals of personal solidarity. It is natural, therefore, that in this field perhaps even more than in others, those Soviet intellectuals who are aware of the existence of some of the important contributions to philosophy and sociology made outside the Soviet Union in the past fifty years (including those made by some of the Russian emigres) now tend increasingly to encourage their discussion.
3. Since genuine literature is ultimately concerned with the way in which man experiences his successes and failures in meeting his existential problems (including the problem of his relation to future history and evolution) within the historical circumstances that are specific for his nation and his own generation, the writer who is loyal to his capacity to experience truth may be expected to remain the best measure of the extent to which particular ways of life and particular social arrangements, as well as accidental circumstances, will fall in meeting completely the requirements that stem from the inner norms of life. Accordingly, so long as the ultimate objectives of a society will continue to lie in this direction this may be expected to continue to endow the representatives of literature with an exceptional measure of political influence.

Paul Medow

In Karl Polany's memory.

On April 23rd 1964, after a long life devoted to the development of the social sciences, ~~the journal which he had to leave after the counterrevolution~~
~~of 1956~~¹⁹⁵⁶ ~~which he had to leave after the counterrevolution~~¹⁹⁵⁶ Karl Polanyi died in Toronto, Canada - far from his Hungarian homeland, and far from Vienna where he had spent many productive years of his life. The leading part played by him in the establishment of this journal, in full consciousness of his ^{prolongued} illness and its inevitable outcome, was regarded by him as the crowning of his work; I may best honour his memory by reproducing his last letter to me, ^{posted} ~~written~~ a fortnight before his death - with a delay which, as a handnote of his wife tells, was due to the rush about No. 1. Only a few sentences, referring ^{mainly} to the production process of No. 1 - the proofs of which he could see before his death - are omitted. The opening greetings - directed to me and my wife - are in German, as in the original, the rest in English ^{a)} ~~also~~ ^{see p. 1} in Karl's letter:
[Lieber Rudolf und Mile, wir freuen uns mit Euch dass es endlich so weit ist. And special thanks and congratulations to Joan....] (S)

The Journal should try to take up at least some important themes on which we would engage the interest of experts with original minds. Precisely this fortunately happened. Another of these themes that you have strongly stressed yourself is ~~that~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~x~~ 'developing' countries - I should ^{b)} be surprised if pan-Africanism turned out to be a topic in that field. Yet another should be Joan's idea mooted in Cambridge (in December '60) which should establish the Journal's importance for socialist thought. In W.W. Rostow's theory of stages the reactionary series of technocracy, managerialism, neo-technocracy and industrialisation reached their scientific apex. An equally weighty one would be national life under socialism. Few words in political

sociology are now so utterly perverted as nation, national, or even ~~n~~ nationalistic. After the feudal nation came the bourgeois nation, which now is being superseded by the socialist nation. Within a couple of generations things may have changed and, unless we break with a confusing usage, the permanent connotation of words may be lost. The essential connotation is here about the communion of humans. The heart of the feudal nation was privilege; the heart of the bourgeois nation was property; the heart of the socialist nation is the people, where collective existence is the enjoyment of a community of a culture. But I myself have never lived in such a society.

Karl

J

H.S.
2nd part

Galley-Corrections for 'C' No. 2 (as available on 5.X. after post)
Turgeon, Galley one 5th para, 2nd line United States, after unclear. Check ms.
6th para, first line ends long-run, 8th para (1st line the, next para
Galley 2, in 2nd para co-existing (with hyphen) and be consistent
throughout with this. 4 lines later experience; 3rd para 4th line develop
6th para 1st line advising; 5 lines later capitalist-orientated
Bohannan; Galley 3, para 6; 2nd line other; Galley 4, 9th para: Hausa
Galley 5; 1st para Bitenrica; 6th para 9th line by; 10th para, 1st line acc
Corbelisse (with 2 sil) Galley 7, footnote in 2nd para is 1), 6th para
5th line product; Galley 9, 2nd para lead to, after confused; check ms!
similarly for the-perhaps big-gap before Table VI; Galley 10 in text
exports, as he has imports. The end is on top of Galley 11, footnotes lack
ing. Check well with himself-this a case where 'small' incorrectnesses
may destroy our reputation, the more since he needs those offprints (paid
for his Institute). ~~From you or H.C. has my letter on these things? etc. at end~~
Landheer; Galley 11 last line 2nd para religious, 9th para upper
Galley 12, 5th para natural, Galley 13, 14th para expansion, Galley 14 and
typographical gap at end of last but one para-there are many of these
J6szef (on Galley 14a) Bog ar, Galley 15, 4th para, marketing, 7th and 8th
para, developing, and selling; 3rd line from below; invariably
Galley 16 a gap at end, 8th para starts Trade, Galley 18 (end) no institution
Engelborgh-Bertels. This is the really difficult case, and in view
of the otherwise sensible performance of the printers, for first galley
we must simply reconsider whether we did not overtake ourselves by
promising contributions in French. My own-school and reading-French (my
articles published in France are all translated) really does not allow
me to contribute more than ~~xxx~~ an additional pair of eyes, so, please, ~~ask~~
Flora, associate yourself with someone in Toronto who has reliable French
and take him or her with you to the printing shop, for precise revision;
Galley 19, 1st para, apparu; 2nd para: can a 'question' expliciter?
4th para, 4th line, presumably apres await? 6th para, destructeurs or
destructives? 9th para: passage, 10th para par l'U.S.S.S., after 'qui'
a word is lacking.
11th para, 1st line theoreticiens, 4 lines later 1961
12th para, 3rd line l'etape, 4th line communes
13th para: toujours; 14th para presumably actuelle, but perhaps ms. error.
Galley 20, 2nd para 1st line beaucoup, 3rd para 5th line muddle,
4th para, revisionistes one n, 5th para, make no God of Mao!
6th para degage and deja. Next para: what do the dots mean? 4th para from
below phenomene, next para resources, last but one frontiers-but
before there is a great muddle, in line 5, presumably one 'o' and one 'e'.
Galley 21, 1st para deux, 2nd para 1st line frontiers me-semble, in 5th
and 6th paras typographical gaps at end of lines; 5th para from below
1st line traditionnelle, 4th from below last but one lequel, last para
5th line from below presumably visé de.
Galley 22 2nd para make full stop after industrielle, also in 3rd para
Viet nam. End of 2nd para presumably dovent etre-but not clear to me.
5th para: at tout prix and, in last but one line, differend, 8th para deux
12th para la Chine, 15th para 1st line populations, 16th para nombreux,
17th para ainsi, last para au contraire (all in first lines of paras).
Galley 22 before enumeration typographical mess, in para after it implique
1st last para caracteriser, same muddle in 2nd para on Galley 24, in 3rd
one energies, and in last one a footnote is numbered 6, while it should
be a (non-existent) 7-Note 6 does not refer to it. But you may leave it
out-interested specialists will find the document. At the end E.-B's
short English summary has been omitted, which is wrong since this was
a condition for our accepting articles in French (she did it very brisk
'easily, but satisfied the principle).

Riga Galley 25, 4th para, in last but one line 'to' unnecessary. In next para, again under (3), typographical gaps at end. Four paras later: is 'eclipse' what he means?; end of same para 'grey'.

Galley 26, 1st para: noble, in 4th para presumably a hyphen omitted, *Ken-* Christian, four lines later instead of the s a colon; next para: is here, and after dialogue. Last sentence of that para is a duplication of what already has been said in last sentence of galley 26.

Galley 27 4th para: Mohannine. In last but one para, 4th line open bracket before 'or' (by the way, our friend is here slightly demagogic, to save the continuity with encyclicals which condemned liberalism not just for its interest in private enterprise but also for what it stated with liberalism as presently understood in USA) but this is his matter'..

Galley 28, 2nd para starts: Communism owes...., 21 lines later Cobden; end of that para order of lines mislaid; last but one para grave.

There is no signature at end - I would suggest we insert the customary, where he teaches (see that the forms of heading and signature are homogeneous through the issue!)

May 1965

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF SCIENCE IN THE AGE OF COEXISTENCE

Editorial Notes

Under the rubric "The Social Responsibility of Science in the Age of Coexistence" the next issue will contain two articles concerned with contemporary science-oriented doctrines that call for the postponement of coexistence.

An article written by a Soviet economist will consider the relevant aspects of the foreign policy objectives formulated by W. W. Rogov on the basis of his neo-Stalinist interpretation of the socio-political stages of economic growth. ^{Another} ~~The other~~ article will consider the doctrine of limited conventional and nuclear warfare under the threat of a full nuclear escalation that has been formulated by Herman Kahn, a leading American specialist on nuclear warfare.

It is hoped that this will serve to initiate a wider discussion.

THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENTISTS ON POLITICAL DECISIONS IN THE AGE OF COEXISTENCE
AND THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

By Paul Hecow

The threat of a nuclear war is only one manifestation of far deeper problems that stem in part from the very availability of the fruits of science and technology within institutional structures that have not yet been adapted to their actual implications for the life of man. Under these circumstances, whatever may be the personal aspirations and motivations of individual scientists, their scientific contributions may turn out to be highly destructive from a wider social point of view.

At the same time the scope of the influence of science on social change has been rapidly increasing. In the new epoch created by continuous scientific revolutions it has extended far beyond the formulation of social and political philosophies that derive their inspiration from the methods of science. The intensive and systematic application of science to military, economic, and medical technology is continuously altering the human environment in unexpected ways and subjecting social structures and human needs to disequilibrating pressures. The social sciences tend increasingly to accept the influence of positivism which derives from the natural sciences and from ^{the} ~~the~~ technical approach to the solution of problems. In recent years however, scientists have also begun to influence social change and international relations directly, by formulating supposedly scientific criteria for political and military decision-making and by designing comprehensive systems for gathering and analyzing the relevant information. At the present time this development is particularly pronounced

in the United States.

This has resulted in part from the inherent association of such fundamental technological developments as atomic bombs, guided missiles, and large-scale electronic computers with the political sphere, and partly from the privileged position of scientists engaged in military research. The need for a scientific analysis of industrial economies in the age of world-wide industrialization, and the growing interest in various forms of central planning has been another source of this influence. Still another stems from the recent development of new mathematical techniques that have endowed electronic computers with an unprecedented range of practical applications.

While this ^{development} is lending a new importance to the general problem that G. P. Snow has described in terms of the growing barriers to communication between scientists and the representatives of the humanities, a particular urgency attaches to the manner in which such scientists have tended to replace both diplomats and military professionals in formulating the foreign policy ¹⁶³ of individual nations. For it has resulted, in the United States, in an official acceptance of new doctrines that call for the postponement of assistance.

The first of these, which has been formulated by A. W. Santow, maintains that the eventual socio-political consequences of industrialization will be a universal abandonment of socialist ideologies and an uniform appearance of industrial societies of the American type. It is on these grounds that the need to maintain active military pressure on the Soviet Union is then defended, and that a need is also inferred for pursuing a policy of political and military interventionism in those new nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin

* Cf. A. W. Santow, The Hegemony Strategy, New York, Harper and Row, 1964; and L. Hartwig, The War-Peace Establishment, New York, Harper and Row,

America in which Communist governments may come to power with the methods of guerrilla warfare.

The second doctrine, which has been formulated by General Kahn, denies that wars have been made obsolete by the threat of nuclear devastation. It maintains, instead, that the United States must learn to accept the risk of nuclear destruction in order to reap the exceptional advantages that are provided by the possibility of resorting to the threat of nuclear warfare as an instrument of national policy. More specifically, it emphasizes that once a nation accepts the risk of nuclear suicide a balance is created for the rational utilization of both conventional warfare and limited nuclear warfare in a manner that makes it possible to adjust the existing balance of political and military power in the world.

This second doctrine is particularly dangerous because its implementation must tend to cause other countries to adopt the very same principles as a means of defense. Its further dissemination, however, has also been made possible by the successful utilization in the United States of a comprehensive computer-aided military planning system that is able to achieve an effective coordination of the military services of several nations to the practical requirements of a common nuclear strategy.

Aside from the stimulus that such doctrines provide to the existing threat of a nuclear war, the existing postponement of decisions continues to make it difficult for scientists to ^{exercise} ~~exercise~~ the more general limitations and dangers that attach to ~~the~~ ^{an} uncontrolled utilization of science. At the present time, accordingly, an independent appraisal of these and similar studies that are influencing the ~~policy~~ ^{policy} of individual nations with regard to assistance appears to be the most important task confronting the social responsibility of science.

This requires, above all, that the limitations of the purely technical approach to the use of military power in international relations be clarified. It also requires that independent studies be undertaken to establish whether scientists advising political decision-makers are in fact providing the full information concerning available alternatives that science can provide, or whether they are also consciously or unconsciously influencing the direction of political decisions by not mentioning certain available alternatives, by misrepresenting the capabilities of science in some field, or by introducing erroneous axioms that limit the scope of their analysis.

In spite of the continuing influence of a positivistic philosophy that worships science as an end in itself, a fundamentally different view of science also continues to be widely held, ~~that stems not from the modern~~ ^{It} ~~institutions of technology but from the "academic" tradition of Western~~ civilization that has inspired its humanistic centers of learning for more than two thousand years. In it science and logic continue to appear as the means that can liberate man's thinking from superstition and permit him to alter his social as well as his natural environment in ways that would create the conditions that are natural for his own existence. It is to this source, presumably that one must look for the constructive applications of science that civilization requires.

New international institutional forms appear to be needed to give expression to this role of the international or scientific community and to coordinate the necessary research.

May 1965

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~~THE IMPACT OF SCIENTIFIC POLITICAL DECISIONS IN THE AGE OF CONSCIENCE~~
~~AND THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY~~

By Paul Medow

10-11

The threat of a nuclear war is only one manifestation of far deeper problems that stem in part from the very availability of the fruits of science and technology within institutional structures that have not yet been adjusted to their actual implications for the life of man. Under these circumstances, whatever may be the personal aspirations and motivations of individual scientists, their scientific contributions may turn out to be highly destructive from a wider social point of view.

At the same time the scope of the influence of science on social change has been rapidly increasing. In the new epoch created by continuous scientific revolutions it has extended far beyond the formulation of social and political philosophies that derive their inspiration from the methods of science. The intensive and systematic application of science to military, economic, and medical technology is continuously altering the human environment in unexpected ways and subjecting social structures and human norms to disequilibrating pressures. The social sciences tend increasingly to accept the influence of positivism which derives from the natural sciences and from ^a ~~the~~ purely technical approach to the solution of problems. In recent years however, scientists have also begun to influence social change and international relations directly, by formulating supposedly scientific criteria for political and military decision-making and by designing comprehensive systems for gathering and analysing the relevant information. At the present time this development is particularly pronounced

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This has resulted in part from the inherent association of such fundamental technological developments as atomic bombs, guided missiles, and large-scale electronic computers with the political sphere, and partly from the privileged position of scientists engaged in military research. The need for a scientific analysis of industrial economies in the age of world-wide industrialization, and the growing interest in various forms of central planning has been another source of this influence. Still another stems from the recent development of new mathematical techniques that have endowed electronic computers with an unanticipated range of practical applications.

While this ^{development} is lending a new importance to the general problem that C. P. Snow has described in terms of the growing barriers to communication between scientists and the representatives of the humanities, a particular urgency attaches to the manner in which ~~such~~ scientists have tended to replace both diplomats and military professionals in formulating the foreign policy^{ies} of individual nations. For it has resulted, in the United States, in an official acceptance of new doctrines that call for the postponement of coexistence.*

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* cf. W. W. Kaufmann, The McNamara Strategy, New York, Harper and Row, 1964; and A. Bertozzi, The War-Peace Establishment, New York, Harper and Row, 1965.

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This second doctrine is particularly dangerous because its implementation must tend to cause other countries to adopt the very same principles as a means of defense. Its further dissemination, however, has also been made possible by the successful utilization in the United States of a comprehensive computer-aided military planning system that is able to achieve an effective subordination of the military services of several nations to the functional requirements of a common nuclear strategy.

Aside from the stimulus that such doctrines provide to the existing threat of a nuclear war, the resulting postponement of coexistence continues to make it difficult for scientists to ^{examine} ~~maintain~~ freely the more general limitations and dangers that attach to ~~the~~ ^{an} unconsidered utilization of science. At the present time, accordingly, an independent appraisal of these and similar studies that are influencing the policies of individual nations with regard to coexistence appears to be the most important task confronting the social responsibility of science.

This requires, above all, that the limitations of the purely technical approach to the use of military power in international relations be clarified. It also requires that independent studies be undertaken to establish whether scientists advising political decision-makers are in fact providing the full information concerning available alternatives that science can provide, or whether they are also consciously or unconsciously influencing the direction of political decisions by not mentioning certain available alternatives, by misrepresenting the capabilities of science in some field, or by introducing exogenous axioms that limit the scope of their analysis.

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New international institutional forms appear to be needed to give expression to this role of the international scientific community and to coordinate the necessary research.

May 5,
April 28, 1965

REVISED DRAFT

1. The P. P. shall publish as from January 1, 1966, the periodical CO-EXISTENCE half-yearly, the two issues of a total length not exceeding 150,000 words per annum, being published at the beginning of January and of July each year.
2. The full control of the contents of the journal will be in the hands of the Editorial Board. The care for publicity and distribution to subscribers and others will be in the hands of the publisher. Copies will be supplied to members of the Editorial Board and the Management Committee.
3. The Editorial Board undertakes to supply articles which are of high quality and original (with the obvious exception of documents reprinted); copy will be supplied two calendar months before publication date in a state ready for publication. Authors will be given 7 days for correction of proofs (between arrival of the proofs and their return).
4. Most articles will be in English: for those in French a summary in English will be added.
5. During the first year a number of addresses to which publicity copies should be sent (apart from those which the publisher deems fit) will be supplied by the Management Committee. Contributors will get one free copy of the issue in which their contribution appears and 20 free offprints. For additional offprints if required, the publisher will take an appropriate fee.
6. The Copyright in the Journal will rest in the Editorial Board. Permission to reprint individual articles will be granted by the Management Committee in consultation with the author of the article, provided that ~~the appropriate acknowledgement~~ ~~to the Journal and its publisher~~ will be added.
7. The publisher will pay to the Management Committee for each issue the sum of £100 for editorial expenses, including such fees for style correction as will be required in the editorial process.
8. In the event of difficulties or disagreements arising from the publication, a committee of four members of the Editorial Board, namely, A. Schaff, ~~and~~ ~~and~~ K. Muir, J. Robinson, and J. Tinbergen, will be consulted.

Suggested Membership of Management Committee:

I. Polanyi, Chairman; H. Campbell, K. McRobbie, K. Muir, A. Schaff, A. Rotstein.

Editorial Committee:

A. Schaff, Chairman; K. Muir, J. Robinson, J. Tinbergen, R. Schlesinger (Editor), K. Levitt & P. Medow (Assistant Editors).

- 1) Be responsible for the day-to-day editorial policy of the Journal.
- 2) Meet at least once a year, Management Committee to be responsible to arrange this.

Terms of Reference of Management Committee
of CO-EXISTENCE Editorial Board

- 1) secure and hold the copyright on articles.
- 2) receive and expend funds.
- 3) Decide the fees to be paid for editorial services.
- 4) Prepare a budget and secure contributions for annual meetings of the Editorial Committee.
- 5) Manage trust funds deposited with it.
- 6) Carry out such other duties as are agreed upon with the Editorial Board.

Article suggested by:

* Pergamon Press -
Oxford - London - New York

I. Polanyi
H. Campbell

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appear in our Nov. 1964 issue
Oll.

Handwritten text in Hindi, partially obscured by folds. Visible words include "पत्रिका" (magazine), "भारत" (India), "दिल्ली" (Delhi), "केंद्र" (center), "पत्र" (letter), "आप" (you), "को" (to), "भेजना" (send), "है" (is), "कृपया" (please), "सहायता" (help), "करें" (do).

First fold here

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Sender's name and address:—

W. C. Neak
Annex to C.S. Lodge
New Hyderabad
Lucknow, U.P., India

Third fold here

Professor Kari Levitt
Dept of Economics
McGill Univ.
Montreal
Canada

Second fold here

4 Mar 65

Dear Hari:

Letter from RS telling me to write you some last minute matters.

1) RS signature —

Walter C. Neale

The University of Texas &
Planning Research & Action
Institute, Lucknow

2) Re author's characteristics —

Associate Professor at the
University of Texas, author of ECON-

omic Change in Rural India: Land & Liv-

& Reforms in Uttar Pradesh 1800-1955

(New Haven - Yale - 62); and India: The

Search for Unity, Democracy, & Progress

(D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, 65 Searchlight

series #24); presently Fulbright-Hays Re-

search Fellow at Planning Research &

Action Institute, Lucknow, UP, India.

Have had 3 yrs field experience in India.

OK? choose as you wish.

changes in the text:

p. 12, lines 3-4: to read "...by force, which will, virtually by definition, require the sacrifice of democracy in a country composed largely of ~~the~~ farmers. The Indecentment..."

Give my love to your mother.

Yrs

Walter