PREFACE

## The World Perspective

# INTRODUCTION

#### CHAPTER 1

## A STALE AND CONFUSED CONTROVERSY

A Tautology	
The Innocence of Marx	
The Analogies from the Soviet Union	
The Disparity between Ideologies and Facts	
The Under-developed Countries	

A Declaration of Non-participation

#### I

# THE TREND TOWARDS PLANNING

#### CHAPTER 2

THE IMPACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CRISES	
Planning an Unplanned Development	12
The Liberal Interlude	12
State Intervention precedes State Planning	13
The Sequence of International Crises	15
Effects on the Structure of our Values	16
The Crumbling of the Gold Standard	17
Chapter 3	
INTERNAL FORCES	
Changing Structure and Role of the Market	21
Changed Outlook	23
Democratisation and Equalisation	2Õ
The Egalitarian Motive for State Action	27
Planning for Development	2 <b>8</b>
CHAPTER 4	
THE ORGANISATIONAL STATE	
The Organisation of the Markets	31
Collective Bargaining instead of Free Market Economy	<u>3</u> 2
The Infra-structure of Organised Society	34
The Quest for Democratic Participation	36
The Special Case of the United States	38
A Historical Note	40
A Fundamental Difference	43
xi	

page v

> 1 2

## CHAPTER 5

# PLANNING IN THE WELFARE STATE

----

	page
The Historical and Causal Order	45
From Intervention to Planning	46
"Full Employment"	49
The Fiscal Budgets	50
Converging Political Attitudes	53
A "Created Harmony"	56
Not the Liberal Harmony	58

## Chapter 6

## THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

A Regulated Society	61
People Like It	61
Replacing State Interventions	64
The Next Phase	67
The Utopia and the Reality	70

## CHAPTER 7

## PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY

A Strengthened Democracy	75
The Historical Perspective	76
Democracy a Danger for Planning?	78
Inflationary Pressures	82
Collective Bargaining between the Producers Alone	82
Not Soluble by Financial and Monetary Measures	84

## CHAPTER 8

ECONOMIC PLANNING IN THE TWO OTHER	ORBITS
Planning in the Soviet Union	87
Planning in the Under-developed Countries	88
The Legacy from the Western World	90
The Soviet Way	93
In the Under-developed Countries	95
Building up an Infra-structure	96
A Fundamental Difference	98

#### Π

# INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF NATIONAL PLANNING

## CHAPTER 9

# INTERNATIONAL DISINTEGRATION

	page
Fifty Years Ago	102
Disintegration	104
The Weakening of International Law	105
The New International Organisations	106
West-European Economic Integration?	107
The Liquidation of Colonialism	109
The Cold War	110
National Integration versus International Integration	111
The Role of National Planning in International Disinte-	
gration	114

#### CHAPTER 10

#### ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN THE WESTERN WORLD

The Welfare State is Nationalistic	117
A Moral Ambivalence	119
Resistance to the Welfare State	121
The Old School of Internationalists	122
A Forlorn Hope	123
The New School of Internationalists	125
International Coordination of National Economic Policies	126
The Difficulties	129

#### CHAPTER 11

#### THE INSTITUTIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL LEVELS

Introversion of Interests	131
An Institutional Bias	133
The Emotional Charge	135
Opportunism and Instability	137
Hostility and Aggressiveness	140
International Ideals	143

#### CHAPTER 12

## ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A Wider Perspective	149
Rational Grounds for More Nationalistic Economic Policies	151
The Political Need for Nationalism	153
•••	00

	page
Nationalism Beyond Reason	155
Interest Clashes	158
International Instability	160
A Parallel	161
Marx in a World Setting	164
The Cold War	166

# CHAPTER 13

## TOWARDS A NEW WORLD STABILITY

168
169
171
173
175
177
179
180
182
185
187
189
193
196
196

# CHAPTER 14

# THE GROWTH OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

National Economic Planning Leads to the Need for Inter-	
national Planning	198
The Surge of Organised Inter-Governmental Cooperation	199
A Relative Failure	201
The Credit Side	204
They Do Exist	205
The Force of the Ideal	<b>20</b> 6
The Illusion of False Optimism	209
Why has this Happened	210
Not the Responsibility of the Communists	211
The Fault of the Western Powers	212
National Integration and International Disintegration	212
The Mechanism of Nationalism	213