

# Political Road Map of USSR

**"The Great Contest," by Isaac Deutscher** (Oxford. 96 pp. \$2.75), consisting of lectures presented in the autumn of 1959 in Canada under the auspices of the Dafoe Foundation, predicts that freedom in Russia will soon rival that of the West. The latest book on the USSR by Harrison Salisbury is *"To Moscow—And Beyond."*

By Harrison Salisbury

ONE OF the great tours de force of Soviet studies was accomplished by Isaac Deutscher a few weeks after the death of Josef Stalin March 5, 1953. In those few weeks Mr. Deutscher wrote a brilliant forecast of what Stalin's death would mean in terms of Soviet foreign policy, Soviet domestic policy, and the repercussions upon that delicately balanced structure in which Russia vests her power—the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. Deutscher not only assessed with remarkable accuracy the main outlines of the coming struggle between the Malenkov and Khrushchev lines. He pre-

dicted the thaw in Soviet policy at home and the effort to achieve a detente abroad. When one picks up Mr. Deutscher's "Russia After Stalin" it is difficult to realize that the body of the old dictator was hardly cold in the Red Square Mausoleum by the time these pages were written.

The judgments that Mr. Deutscher presented in 1953 were neither accidental nor fortuitous. They were based on solid scholarship, intimate personal knowledge of Communist politics and Russian psychology, and that sixth sense of personal intuition which distinguishes the brilliant researcher and the scientific genius from the solid but plodding scholar.

In this new and slender volume Mr. Deutscher again applies the force of his reason and the power of his logic to the task of forecasting what the future will bring in Russia. More than ever what he says is worth listening to. For history has proved that his reasoning is more than likely to be confirmed by events.

What Mr. Deutscher says now, in effect, is that the Soviet is moving forward with great and increasing momentum toward a position from which

she will be able to challenge the West not only on a basis of material, economic, and scientific achievement but upon a basis of comparative and increasing freedom. The author concedes that for the present the laurels of political freedom are firmly held in the West. "But," he writes, "I do not think that the contrast will last indefinitely. The Russians have already discovered that they need freedom, if only to be socially efficient."

It is Mr. Deutscher's belief that in the next ten years there will be a gradual enlargement of civil liberty in the Soviet Union—although one that will be marked by temporary setbacks and, possibly, even dramatic clashes between the rulers and the ruled. He warns that these developments may radically affect the nature of the coming phase of struggle between East and West by striking from our hands the one clear advantage—that of political freedom—which our system continues to hold against that of the Communist world.

This may seem a gambling hypothesis. Surely it is a bold one. It appears only too clear that the struggle within Russia between the parties advocating less freedom, less relaxation, and those who would continue the line identified with Premier Khrushchev is far from over. But the case which Mr. Deutscher argues is a powerful one. He envisages Mr. Khrushchev as an interregulatory ruler—a man who is leading a painful transition between the closed society of Stalin's day and a considerably more open one to come. It is for this reason, he believes, that Mr. Khrushchev backs and fills, that he takes two steps forward and one back, that he is at one and the same time the man who encourages greater freedom for writers and who stands by while the pack is loosed against Boris Pasternak.

Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Deutscher holds, partakes inevitably of the two eras in which he has lived: that in which Stalin ruled by terror and forced irresistibly the ferocious pace of primitive accumulation in order to build up Russian might, and the new era in which Russia is beginning to enjoy if not an abundance of goods at least the potential to eliminate serious want.

Mr. Deutscher does not believe it is possible for Russia to turn back the clock to Stalin. The dynamics of Stalin's day are dead. This, he warns, is no unmixed blessing. The West must gird for the greatest challenges.

"If only the West learns to face the future instead of clinging to the past," he writes, "the challenge will hold no threat to it; and—who knows?—competitive coexistence may yet change from the bitter competition it is into cooperative emulation."



## Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich

### BITS AND PIECES

Herewith a group of four-word extracts from the last lines of sundry English sonnets. The authors are alphabetized in Column Two. Elizabeth Mills of Springfield, Missouri, asks you to match words and writers and to give the titles of the sonnets. Answers on page 50.

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. "a peak in Darien"          | ( ) Matthew Arnold             |
| 2. "beneath the tamarind tree" | ( ) Elizabeth Barrett Browning |
| 3. "Death, thou shalt die"     | ( ) John Donne                 |
| 4. "I shall but love"          | ( ) John Keats                 |
| 5. "in that victorious brow"   | ( ) Henry W. Longfellow        |
| 6. "Look in thy heart"         | ( ) John Milton                |
| 7. "lone and level sands"      | ( ) Edgar Allan Poe            |
| 8. "no man ever loved"         | ( ) Christina Rossetti         |
| 9. "only stand and wait"       | ( ) William Shakespeare        |
| 10. "Or hear old Triton"       | ( ) Percy B. Shelley           |
| 11. "Our love shall live"      | ( ) Sir Philip Sidney          |
| 12. "remember and be sad"      | ( ) Edmund Spenser             |
| 13. "the eternal ages watch"   | ( ) Alfred, Lord Tennyson      |
| 14. "voice of the dead"        | ( ) William Wordsworth         |

# Economics in the Samaritan Style

**"Giant Among Nations," by Peter B. Kenen** (Harcourt, Brace. 232 pp. \$5), suggests how we may solve the dilemma of the underdeveloped countries. Special assistant to the publisher of Time, John Scott wrote "Democracy Is Not Enough."

By John Scott

**H**AD "GIANT AMONG NATIONS" appeared in 1945, the reader would not have needed to go past the title to know with what nation the book dealt. Fifteen years ago the United States was without doubt the Giant of this world's nations: the economies of Western Europe and the Soviet Union lay in ruins; China seemed bent on bleeding itself to death; the rest of the world was still sleeping fitfully.

But fifteen years ago Peter Kenen was still in elementary school. In the few short years he needed to acquire his Ph.D. and his assistant professorship in economics at Columbia, the world changed a good deal, and I am not at all sure the title is still a good one. China, now unified and effectively governed, is four times as populous as the U.S.; the Soviet Union is twice as large in area, and, though only half as productive, its productivity is growing twice as fast; the Western European community, well on the way towards integration, is already more productive than this country.

Without stopping to document his title, Dr. Kenen proceeds from the first chapter to prescribe a number of measures which the U.S. should undertake in order to fulfill adequately its role as Giant. While I agree that most of the measures he suggests are indeed desirable, I was disconcerted by the lack of political realism in many of his suggestions and found myself remembering and chuckling over the story of the gouty old centipede who appealed to the philosopher for advice and was told that if he changed himself into a mouse, he would be twenty-five times better off. "That's fine," said the centipede, "but how do I change myself into a mouse?" "I wouldn't know about that," shrugged the philosopher. "I'm just a policy man."

Having thus spear-pointed what seem to me to be two serious shortcom-

ings in Dr. Kenen's book, let me now dwell on its numerous virtues.

In a style accurately described in a short introduction by Chester Bowles as effective, fresh, and eminently readable, Kenen begins by stating the dilemma of the underdeveloped nations, whose low incomes do not allow the savings needed for the investments without which incomes cannot rise. Lacking outside aid, he points out succinctly, the underdeveloped nations face the choice of no growth or totalitarianism à la Soviet. Kenen then directs his attention to various economic measures through which we—the "Giant Among Nations" specifically and the Western world generally—may find it possible to provide our less-developed neighbors with the capital they need to break the vicious circle of misery.

In a good, clear description of the balance of international payments, the author lays out the complex chemistry of international trade in layman's language, though, perhaps in defense of his title, underemphasizing the growing role of Western Europe in world trade. He points out along the way that the U.S. does not really suffer in international trade because of our higher wages, as these are more than compensated for by higher productivity. He summarizes with admirable clarity the philosophy and structure of tariffs and the structure of U.S. investments abroad, then launches into a cutting denunciation of United States "particularism" (a word once used to describe Earl Browder's heresy in the 1940s) in retaining protectionism by "economic

fraud," which shows us to be "the victims of economic nationalism." Kenen recommends the repeal of the Buy-American Act, the discontinuation of price supports on American foods and fibers, and, apparently, the substitution of something like the old Brannan Plan. To stabilize world trade, Kenen recommends our compensating producer governments rather than pegging prices, but he is vague as to how this procedure might be financed.

After pointing out correctly that most of U.S. private investments abroad have gone to the developed countries, where they are least needed, while from 1950 to 1958 only 3½ billions went to Asia and Africa, and most of that into the extractive industries, the author devotes an instructive chapter to the tax and other motivations through which more private investments might be channeled for development of underdeveloped economies. But the reader is left with the feeling that Kenen is not as optimistic about or as interested in private investment as he is in governmental aid.

**H**E devotes nearly a third of the book to an interesting treatment of the various organs of international governmental financial operations: the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the Export-Import Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Development Loan Fund. Pointing out that most of these organizations channel governmental loans to needy borrowers, Kenen demonstrates that as presently constituted, they cannot lend for less than standard rates of interest (4 per cent or 5 per cent), while Soviet foreign loans usually carry interest payments of 2½ per cent. He also remarks critically that all these organizations lend at the rate of about \$12½ billion annually for an average of twenty years, meaning that at the end of ten years the net flow of capital to underdevel-

