

The Soviet economy has no reserves by which it can both support an arms program and provide large-scale industrialization capital to other countries. Hence the focus of competition with the Communists must be shifted from the arms race to a race for leadership in the industrialization of underdeveloped countries. Since the United States has sufficient slack in its economy to maintain both races, we could, by challenging the Soviets to a peace race, force them to seek disarmament. If Russia continued the arms race, it would soon be clear that it was falling seriously behind in competition for the allegiance of the uncommitted, largely industrialized, nations.

Despite some shortcomings, this is a book for which the peace movement should seek the widest possible audience. *The Peace Race* packs an amazing quantity of facts and proposals into a very readable short space. Any criticism must recognize that the author was forced to choose between exploring all the tortuous qualifications implied by

his topic or simplifying in order to reach the maximum audience.

The first part of the book lucidly depicts the arms race as a road to defeat for the West. A chapter on the devaluation of human life in American institutions shows superbly how the nuclear arms race is producing our acquiescence in the self-defeat of "the whole style of life that differentiates the United States from a totalitarian society."

UNFORTUNATELY, Dr. Melman presents the "peace race" less convincingly. Part of the difficulty is that he rides two horses: the urgency and economic feasibility of disarmament, and victory over communism in the industrialization of emerging nations. As already noted, there is a logical connection. What is not made clear is the delicate necessity of convincing the Communists that the real American aim is to achieve a disarmed coexistence, with a shifting of competition to a new level, while at the same time convincing Americans that the peace race will force the reorientation of communism and bring eventual relaxing of totalitarian controls within the Communist sphere. The Russians are likely to take the bait only if convinced that American commitment to disarmament is as deep as its commitment to defeating communism in the industrialization race. Capital aid to industrially backward countries is already part of the containment policy; Melman proposes to step up the race. But since the United States is to initiate the peace race without slowing the arms race, the way is left open for the military mind to use any successes to tighten the containment noose, thereby strengthening the view in the Communist world that their system must be spread by revolution and defended by arms. Belief that the Communists would take up the peace-race challenge also depends upon the unstated assumption that Soviet-Chinese action is driven principally by international Communist ideology rather than by nationalism. If it is the latter, the response to the challenge becomes more unpredictable.

The book seriously underestimates the complexity of a world industrial program. Ignored or glossed over are the effects of the population explosion, the immense problems of altering social organization so that people are motivated to use effectively opportunities for industrialization, the rejection of the white man and his systems which is sweeping the former colonial world, the imposing difficulties of the agricultural revolution that must underpin industri-

alization. Only one chapter deals with these questions. It cannot be too much emphasized that, however great our advantage in capital, the race can be lost in underdeveloped areas if social realities and social techniques are not given as much attention as technology and capital.

THE ideology Dr. Melman offers is no naked free-enterprise vision. He says freedom arises, not from competition in the market place, but from having multiple sources of decision-making in the economy and in society generally. He stresses the labor union as an autonomous source of decision-making; and the nurturing of unions, as well as acceptance of planning in the public sector of the economy, as crucial for securing freedom in the industrializing nations. But not all readers will share the author's faith that, touched up with a bit more government planning, the American system can be exported as a unit to developing nations.

None the less, it remains true that the United States can hardly lose by a peace race. Even if it did not lead to disarmament, it would encourage full employment, provide some much-needed national purpose and perhaps salvage a large part of the underdeveloped world. The only question here is whether negotiations, based on more candor, might not more quickly bring disarmament than a technique that continued to depend upon competitive coercion. However, for those who want disarmament, but feel Soviet proposals have

The Invention of Comics

I am a soul in the world: in
the world of my soul the whirled
light/from the day
the sacked land
of my father.

In the world, the sad
nature of
myself. In myself
nature is sad. Small
prints of the day. Its
small dull fires. Its
sun, like a greyness
smeared on the dark.

The day of my soul, is
the nature of that
place. It is a landscape. Seen
from the top of a hill. A
grey expanse; dull fires
throbbing on its seas.

The man's soul, the complexion
of his life. The menace
of its greyness. The
fire, throbs, the sea
moves. Birds shoot
from the dark. The edge
of the waters lit
darkly for the moon.

And the moon, from the soul. Is
the world, of the man. The man
and his sea, and its moon, and
the soft fire throbbing. Kind
death. O,
my dark and sultry
love.

LeRoi Jones



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