

themselves of the unqualified reasonableness of their demands, and who cannot understand why the West will not recognize that they have climbed down a long way from the proclaimed ambitions of 1917, but who have thus far refused to admit to themselves that a settlement with the West means more than co-existence, and, if not renunciation of the faith, at least co-operation in the maintenance of world order and limits on their opposition to the global interests of the West. It is a group of men who have failed to secure agreement on these terms and who must now set the course of high policy in the light of Western insistence that "Shrimps must learn to whistle." Meanwhile, they are still trying to salvage something on the detection of nuclear tests and surprise attack, and to secure a voice in the Middle East.

As the U.S.S.R. has acquired power it has tried to emerge from isolation. So it has found that hostility to the West, which was relatively facile in isolation, is vastly more difficult in the complex world of global politics, so it has found that the contradictions between the logic of power and an idiotic idea have increased. Moscow cannot indefinitely stifle nationalism within the bloc and support this in Asia. A nation with thirty million Moslems cannot encourage an Arab renaissance without complicating her position in the Middle East, if not without incurring risks to her national security. Moscow cannot export commodity surpluses without impoverishing those whom she is trying to woo, and without forcing the West to close markets which she needs to penetrate. Moscow cannot maintain an arms race and still grant its people the long-delayed promise of a decent life. Moscow cannot seek long-term commercial links with the external world and still isolate her economy from the depressions which her ideology commands her to foment. Moscow cannot develop such links and still isolate her planning procedures and her pricing policy from the eroding influence of a Western world which is far less statist than her own. A capital-poor country which is only beginning to learn the meaning of scarcity cannot endlessly export producers' goods without developing an interest in ensuring a return on the investment, and therefore in stability. The Soviet political formula has already proven to be too crude at home. Moscow is only beginning to learn how crude this formula has been abroad.

But if the prospects of a Soviet failure to achieve a summit meeting are for a further change in Soviet foreign policy which will be welcome to the West, there are also grave risks in a Western position which is adamant. The West cannot refuse to admit the phenomenon of Soviet power, cannot refuse to take a reasonable view of the limits of Soviet ambition, cannot continue to prattle of the Soviet will to dominate or convert the world without affecting Soviet intentions adversely. If a Western refusal to meet the U.S.S.R. at the summit failed to stiffen and to increase the influence of conservative elements in the U.S.S.R. in their contention that the aims of the West *are* ultimately sinister, this is only because these conservatives are now a minority. Western intransigence is based on the assumption that if, under a prolonged conservative dispensation, trouble does break out within the bloc, this trouble can be contained. This is altogether too grave a risk for responsible statesmen to accept.

The increasing modesty, normality and legitimacy of Soviet external ambition, and the gradual refinement of an extremely crude political approach in turn suggest the need for a re-examination of the framework in which the West views the Soviet problem. It is frequently forgotten that Eastern Europe, including Russia, provided the classical models of "under-development" until 1945, and the West has come to think of the problem of backwardness largely in the economic context and largely in terms of Asia. It has yet to address itself to the subtler political problems which attend on the emergence of a nation from this status, especially when, as in the case of the U.S.S.R., it suddenly acquires material power which is incommensurate with its political experience. The West has generally imputed too