1917 as the great watershed and point of discontinuity in Russian history."

And yet Joseph Berliner, who provides one of the very best papers of the collection, anticipates that "as the reader...moves from the preceding chapters to the ones that follow, while noticing the threads of continuity, he will surely be struck by the sharpness of the discontinuity." In his view: "The nature of entrepreneurship is vastly different, as are the economic problems associated with it." Socialism and central planning combine to produce an economic institutional setting very unlike that of the earlier developing economies of the West. The "Red-expert problem," the question of appropriate incentives, and "the fact that there is no lawful way in the socialist economy to transfer the risk of entrepreneurship from the state to individuals" differentiate the Soviet economy from its czarist predecessor as well as from its contemporary free-market competitors. In addition, the elimination of spontaneity through comprehensive planning, the resistance of centrally planned economies to the reorganization of production and to structural diversity, and the reluctance of bureaucratic "entrepreneurs" to form dynamic new companies when old ones become inefficient or obsolescent are salient features of Soviet-type economies.

Finally, the external environment has been both a source of economic "disequilibria" and a spur to those new combinations that Berliner believes to be the "essence of technological progress." He closes with an intriguing observation about the consequences of one important continuity. In old Moscow, most international trade was carried on by resident foreigners; as a result, Russian knowledge about foreign producers was second-hand. Today, Soviet knowledge of foreign technology, acquired mostly from books and periodicals and "foreign businessmen coming to Moscow as of old to sell their products and machines and factories," is similarly handicapped. In contrast to the Japanese, Americans, West Germans, and others, Soviet technocrats, engineers, and managers are not permitted to scour the globe in search of new products and techniques: "When technology is advancing rapidly, a nation whose entrepreneurs are not a full part of the international interchange in ideas and information cannot expect to keep abreast of that advance."

One other essay of special interest is that of the lone Soviet contributor, Boris Anan'ch's study of the crucial decades just prior to World War I is scholarly and insightful. He notes that Alexander II's reforms of 1860 had a "tremendous influence" on the Russian economy but precious little impact on the autocratic system of czarist rule. He argues cogently that Russia needed the dynamism of private initiative and entrepreneurial freedom but that, under the rigid system of czarist rule, the state would not relinquish its tight controls and restrictive business law. As a result, state and society were set on a collision course that culminated in the October Revolution.

Other articles deserve honorable mention: Roy and Betty Laird on innovation in Soviet agriculture; Gregory Grossman on the Party as manager and entrepreneur; Paul Cocks on attempts dating back to the late 1960s at institutionalizing the transfer of new technology from research to production through "science production associations." Cocks, for example, notes that "the slow and ineffective passage of ideas into practice remains the principal deficiency of Soviet science and technology organization."

Despite glaring inconsistencies in the scope, method, length, and quality of the essays in this volume, a few contributions are first rate, and several others contain enough subject matter of general interest to make it worthwhile reading for a fairly wide audience. However, most essays in the first half of the book will have appeal only to a very few historians with a special interest in Russian socioeconomic history or in comparative economic development. We

POWERS OF THE PRESS: TWELVE OF THE WORLD'S INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPERS

by Martin Walker

(Pilgrim Press; ix + 401 pp.; $20.00)

Arnold Zeitlin

Almost any weekend evening at about 10:30 the telephone will ring in a news agency bureau somewhere in the United States and the voice of an editor from headquarters in New York will boom accusingly: "The New York Times is reporting on Page One that..." This is usually the first word the outlying bureau has had that the Times scooped it on its own ground. Despite the lateness of the hour, the shaken bureau supervisor will set about trying to get within minutes a story that a Times reporter may have worked days to uncover.

It is a nightly routine in news agency offices to scrutinize the front and inside pages of the Times. Television news executives examine it for their own news agenda. Stories exclusive to the Times on Thursday appear in hastily rewritten form in Time and Newsweek over the weekend. No newspaper in the United States sets the national and international news agenda more firmly than the New York Times.

Such is the influence Martin Walker, a correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, has tried to isolate and illustrate in anecdotes of the New York Times and eleven other dailies from ten countries: The Times of London, Le Monde, Die Welt, Corriere della Sera, Pravda, Al-Ahram, Asahi Shimbun, the Washington Post, the Toronto Globe and Mail, the Melbourne Age, and the Rand Daily Mail. The selection leans heavily toward the Empire, and Walker does not pretend that these are the most influential. His explanation for not selecting others is simply that "books must end somewhere, and choices must be made."

Conceding that influence is impossible to define, he offers his own invention: "Press influence is the power, by right of publication, to impose a newspaper's values and

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Arnold Zeitlin, who has reported as a news correspondent from West Africa, Asia, and Latin America, now writes from Cambridge, Mass.
concerns upon society's attention... at the risk of commercial failure, imprisonment or even suppression." But is Pravda, in fact, a newspaper? And, in any event, isn't this a case in which a government imposes its values on a newspaper? How influential is the Rund Daily Mail when, for all its role in bringing down one South African government, the society around it seems to be running off in an opposite direction from its values, if not its concerns? Isn't The Times of London, the very first of Walker's studies, more influential in English memory than in English activity? Walker seems to suggest this when he remarks that he would rather write about his own Guardian.

Walker notes the strain of antiestablishmentarianism in these journals, however much they are a part of their establishment, pointing out that the New York Times has been attacked as the "uptown Daily Worker" by the Post as the "Washington edition of Pravda"; and Asahi as the "Red Asahi." He declares that Le Monde is "editorially on the side of the left." The Rund Daily Mail and the Age were never better than in opposing sitting governments.

Walker's profile of Le Monde is respectful and cogent; yet if Le Monde wielded influence with Charles de Gaulle, Walker doesn't make it clear to the reader. Le Monde is, he concludes, "the best something in the world, but it sure as hell ain't a newspaper": a judgment he attributes in his text to unnamed Anglo-Saxon journalists, the chief of whom turns out to be Abe Rosenthal of the New York Times. Walker subjects all but one of his newspaper choices to a test case: their coverage of Iran in the decade before the collapse of the Shah. With the exception of Le Monde, all fail the test. The conclusion is no surprise: world coverage of the Shah's Iran was always a disgrace. The omission of Abrahams from scrutiny here weakens the book because of the importance of the relation of the Shah and Sadat's Egypt. Walker, however, notes the "discreet censorship" under which the newspaper labored.

Walker does his best work on Pravda, possibly because that journal's role in advertising Soviet Party thinking is so concrete and naked. But he never pins down what makes any of these papers influential. He allows the reader to assume they are and proceeds with a welter of history and financial data, omitting, however, an index. At best, Walker simply reinforces the conviction that influence, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder.

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