The Devil's Repertoire by Victor Gollancz. Doubleday, 192 pp. $2.50.
The Fearful Choice: A Debate on Nuclear Policy conducted by Philip Toynbee. Wayne State University Press. 119 pp. $2.50.
Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare by Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. 92 pp. $2.50.

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

Three books have recently appeared dealing with the possible ultimate consequences of nuclear warfare. All three are written by distinguished Englishmen who have been identified with left or liberal movements for most of their adult life and profess a united disdain for Communist ideology. The three authors are strongly affected by the knowledge that England, a small and heavily populated island, would suffer frightful damage in atomic warfare and the three again tend to equate the fate of their island with the fate of all civilized mankind. As a consequence, though the authors have widely differing intellectual and religious attitudes, the books are united in a desire to negotiate disarmament to a much greater degree than any American writer of non-Communist sympathies would express.

Starting with the book of least worth, The Devil's Repertoire by Victor Gollancz, we are confronted with a badly-written but passionate plea for pacifism, a pacifism induced by the brooding over what nuclear warfare would mean. The basis of Mr. Gollancz's pacifism is theologic and, as such, beyond the scope of this review. In the practice of his convictions, the author suggests that England (and he hopes for the United

Mr. Friedenberg writes on political and cultural affairs for The New Republic, The Commonweal, and other journals.
Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare, Lord Russell attempts to find grounds of appeal to all sides, "on the analogy of sanitary measures against epidemics." Illustrating the tremendous destruction bound to occur by means of testimony in the United States, he searches for motives appealing to the common interests of the rival parties.

From this, he projects a program that may safely initiate moves toward concrete peace in "a number of stages." The cessation of mutual vituperation has already begun in his opinion; and, though not quoted, the present exchange of ballet companies and symphonic orchestras is indeed a hopeful sign. The abolition of nuclear testing would be the next step since both sides share equal concern in the poisoning of the earth's atmosphere. As Bertrand Russell points out, this would have collateral benefits, since "any agreement between East and West about anything is to the good", the problem being to a large extent psychological. Following this, every endeavor would be made to agree that no nuclear weapons should be manufactured, a measure which could be enforced by inspection without very great difficulty.

Up to this stage, Lord Russell feels agreement might well lie within the reach of possibility. The next giant step, destruction of the existing stocks of H-bombs, would then tell the story, because there could be no mutual agreement without an accompanying reduction of conventional forces. For, as the author states, "I doubt whether an agreement to this effect will be concluded until there is a genuine readiness on both sides to renounce war as an instrument of policy." The ultimate thereafter, of course, would be an International Authority with the military power to enforce its decisions.

To the American reviewer, sharing the American illusion of safety accorded by distance, much of the discussion in these books seems to border on hysteria. But Englishmen, only three hours from Moscow by jet, undoubtedly sense an urgency which makes this reading salutary if only because it brings an awareness if Europe's mood. Certain omissions and confusions, however, should be corrected in order to bring the discussion into clearer focus.

One cannot escape notice of the strong parochial feeling existing throughout the three books. It is accepted almost without exception that England is the center of the universe and that Western society is identical with all civilization. Only Joseph Grimond, M. P. avoids this egocentrism when stating in wry words: "The present situation is only thought 'unique' because it is 'God's children', the British, that are threatened . . . Nuclear war might finish mankind but it might just finish the British, Americans, and half the Russians. The Indians, Chinese, Africans, South Americans might be left—and left freed from Western madness."

This in turn involves another curious oversight, the place of China in the modern world. Lord Russell alone approaches this momentous issue. It is implicit in any agreement to suspend nuclear testing that China should be a party. Not only could China develop her own bomb, free of all control, but Russia could use Chinese territory for testing. This seemingly obvious fact has been bypassed in all discussion in the same way American officials ridiculously ignore the actual physical existence of China.

The salient point is that the technical information to make nuclear bombs is now known to the entire world. The United States had them in 1945, Russia in 1950, England in 1952, and France and China are rushing to join the Nuclear Club. Within twenty years, countries like Egypt and Argentina will likewise manufacture them. Furthermore, countries going through the first virulent stages of nationalism will be less inclined to weigh consequences to the same extent as more mature nations. It is an axiom of power politics that only equality produces respect, a condition reached by the United States and Russia. It may still be that Russia could restrain China, as America might France; but once the many little nations possess nuclear weapons, the task of serious negotiation will be very much more difficult.

Insofar as the immediate future is concerned, it seems to me that Messrs. Gollancz and Toynbee share a degree of intellectual abstraction akin to that state of insanity known as disassociation. We should never lose sight of the fact that the Russians exhibit our same anxieties and, due to their recent war experiences, probably to a larger extent. A principal reason why we have not yet had war, and it is unlikely we will, is that Russia and America, because of their mutual anxieties, understand and respect each other's paramount zones of influence. Our action in Guatemala, our lack of action in Hungary and Suez clarified the world situation to a large extent. In effect, we chalked off East Europe in not supporting the Hungarian revolt and the Middle East in rejecting the Suez invasion. The Russians likewise know that we will not tolerate their action in West Europe and the Americas. If we can clarify the remaining twilight zones by patient negotiation (leaving both Germany and Fomosa independent—the American aim; but incapable of offensive warfare—the Russian aim), there is sound reason to believe nuclear disarmament would very soon result. Patient, ever-careful patient negotiation, not abstract appeals to morality, religion and pacifism, is the only realistic road to that success which every moral, religious and pacific man so ardently desires.
Dream and Reality: Aspects of American Foreign Policy
by Louis J. Halle. Harper. 327 pp. $5.00.
A foremost interpreter of American foreign policy here takes
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can history, both as it reflects the structure of our national
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mankind—the eternal conflict between illusory hope and factual
reality.

The Prerequisites for Peace
by Norman Thomas. W. W. Norton. 189 pp. $2.95.
Disengagement, disarmament, and the establishment of world
order through the UN are not only necessary but possible,
Mr. Thomas believes, and he presents a detailed outline of
how we may achieve these ends on the basis of a "mutuality
of interests" among the great powers.

Protracted Conflict
by Robert Strauss-Hupé, William R. Kintner, James E. Dougherty,
"The significance of Communism as a doctrine and a tech-
nique of conflict" is revealed and explained by four members
of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. The authors analyze
the purposes and principles that lie behind Communist strategy,
its chief targets in the Cold War, and its methods of operation.

The West In Crisis
by James P. Warburg. Doubleday. 192 pp. $3.50.
The crisis of the Western world, as Mr. Warburg sees it,
derives not from the external threat of Communist imperialism
but from the failures and weaknesses of Western policy which
have rendered us so vulnerable to that threat: "not the enemy
without, but the enemy within."

The Ecumenical Era in Church and Society
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CONTENTS
Editorial Comment .................................. 1
In the Magazines .................................. 2
Africa in Transition ............................. 3
William Person
War as a Moral Problem ....................... 7
Walter Mills
Correspondence ................................. 9
BOOKS
Britain and the Bomb by Daniel M. Friedenberg .. 10
Current Reading ............................... 12

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