

Shall America Be Defended? SALT II and Beyond

by *Daniel O. Graham*

(Arlington House; 267 pp.; \$10.95)

Gary L. Guertner

General Graham's book is an important contribution to the debate over strategic postural and doctrinal issues generated by SALT. *Shall America Be Defended?* is a bitterly critical review of U.S. strategic doctrine covering the state of the nuclear balance, predictions of trends, the relevance of strategic forces to superpower diplomacy, developments in technology, Soviet intentions and performance, and the character of a desirable strategic doctrine. Integrated throughout is the belief that SALT has been the lubricant for a U.S. strategic decline and the meteoric rise in Soviet nuclear capabilities.

By those who share the interpretations expressed by the former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the lucidly written arguments will be well received. Those who favor arms limitations and avoidance of nuclear conflict will be outraged at every page.

General Graham's interpretation of deterrence theory is based on the delicate nuclear balance model. The strategic nuclear balance requires the fine tuning of all variables lest perceived superiority result in military and/or political coercion. Central to his argument is the rejection of deterrence based on mutual assured destruction in favor of nuclear weapons and strategic doctrine capable of fighting nuclear wars when deterrence fails. He views mutual assured destruction (MAD) as the "negation of strategy." The global struggle with the Soviet Union and the "prize of world power" require the will and the capacity to fight nuclear wars.

In a chapter titled "The Real World" General Graham asserts that no scientific evidence exists to support the fears that nuclear war would spell the end of civilization. Those who cling to such views are, according to Graham, "Unwilling to face the realities of the nuclear age; they cling to science-fiction descriptions of the effects of nuclear war and attempt to terrorize everyone else into accepting their pacifist point of view." He adds: "World War III would do less damage to the Soviet Union than

the conventional World War II," and "Nuclear war cannot destroy the world, but may conquer it less damaged than Europe and Japan were damaged by World War II." He concludes that the proponents of current U.S. strategic doctrine might prefer the Gulag Archipelago to a victorious nuclear war because the latter would involve greater casualties.

Graham's war-fighting strategy reflects a traditional military belief that weapons exist to fight wars, not deter them, and that nuclear war is like any other in this respect. There is no recognition that events leading up to a crossroads in human history—the firing of thousands of strategic nuclear weapons—would be anything other than a neat, mechanical, step-by-step procession to confrontation, from which the two sides could easily disengage.

Third World countries are viewed as little more than inert objects manipulated according to the needs of Soviet foreign policy. General Graham is reluctant to view nations in Africa, Latin America, and Asia as capable of offer-

ing meaningful resistance to superpower pressures, and doubts that anything as intangible as nationalism can make much difference in countering Soviet military might.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution is the book's insight into the strategic balance of the past. General Graham reveals that as late as 1968 Soviet strategic forces were so few in number and so vulnerable to American attack that the U.S. had a de facto counterforce capability that it had not sought. His statistics are revealing in light of the positions being taken in books published at the time by other retired generals such as Curtis LeMay, Nathan Twining, and Thomas Power (*America Is in Danger*, *Neither Liberty nor Safety*, and *Design for Survival*, respectively). Their picture of the Soviet threat then was precisely what General Graham's is at the end of the 1970's. One reflects on such books with a profound respect for civilian control of the military, and for the presidents who must command generals like these. VVV

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Papers for sectional meeting on Christian-Marxist Dialogue are solicited hereby. Please submit suggestions to the above address.

Briefly Noted

Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend

by Frank J. Sulloway

(Basic Books; xxvi + 612 pp.; \$20.00)

This book has received wide and deserved attention also from people only marginally interested in psychoanalytic theory or practice. Sulloway's analysis of Freudian "myths" is perhaps, more important, a study of cultural and intellectual forces that have shaped the mind that calls itself modern. The basic argument is that Freud brilliantly synthesized biology, notably Darwinian thought, and psychology; contra psychoanalytic legend, he did not arrive at his conclusions through heroically isolated self-analysis. But Sulloway's greater contribution is to point out why the psychoanalytic establishment has found it necessary to lie, deceive, defame, slander, and commit other intellectual crimes in order to preserve the legend. Yet Sulloway himself arrives at a curiously relaxed, almost amused, conclusion that Freud's synthesis was, after all, brilliant enough and perhaps he deserves as his due the myths that

have been perpetrated by his disciples. This utterly engaging book might lead some readers to a somewhat more rigorous moral judgment about mendacity in the service of grand theory—whether the theory in question be psychological, political, economic, or religious.

Ethics for Bureaucrats: An Essay on Law and Values by John A. Rohr

(Marcel Dekker; xii + 292 pp.; \$16.50)

This book deserves a wider audience than it is likely to get, in part because both publisher and author seem resigned to the probability that only professional public administrators will be interested in the issues addressed. In fact, Rohr's argument is of the widest possible interest. The reformers of the last century sought to create a government bureaucracy that would separate administration from politics, thus doing away with patronage and partisanship in government functions. But, says Rohr, the bureaucracy has become a political power in its own right. He does not say that is bad; he does underscore the urgency of thinking through what it means. Thus the "ethics" in the title is

not so much related to the do's and don't's of bureaucratic practice as to the "legitimation" of the bureaucracy's political power—power that is not accountable to the electoral process. Rohr's case is complex, but it is presented in readable fashion and is a notable help in understanding the theory and practice of government today.

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WORLDVIEW

Index to Volume 22

January-December, 1979

Articles and Features

Allen, Loring, *Ali M. Jaidah: OPEC Speaks Out* (Interview), Mar: 41-46

Armajani, Yahya, *What the U.S. Needs to Know About Iran*, May: 13-19

Arriagada, Genaro, *Fidel: So Far From Marx, So Near Clausewitz* (Excursus), May: 28-29

Avnery, Uri, *Ezer Weizman, the Peacemaker*, Mar: 4-11

Baker, James E., de St. Jorre, John, and O'Flaherty, J. Daniel, *The American Consensus on South Africa*, Oct: 12-16

Ball, George W., *From Partial Peace to Real Peace in the Mideast*, Dec: 6-11

Barnes, William J., *Carter and the World: The First Two Years*, Jan-Feb: 35-39

Barnet, Richard J., *Civil Defense—the New Debate: The Illu-*

sion of Protection (Symposium), Jan-Feb: 45

Bassett, Mary R. and Monahan, William J., *The Catholic Church & the Population Explosion* (Excursus), Oct: 30-33

Belden, Sharon E., *On Sundays the Peasants Go Native*, Apr: 38-39

Bennett, John C., *Civil Defense—the New Debate: Reasons in Opposition* (Symposium), Jan-Feb: 43

Bensoh, Lucy Wilson, *Arms Transfers—the Record So Far* (A Conversation), June: 35-40

Berman, Harold J., *Law, Religion, and the Present Danger*, Sept: 46-52

American and Soviet Perspectives on Human Rights, Nov: 15-21

Bond, Robert D., *Our Troubled Friendship With Venezuela* (Excursus), May: 31-32