

is anxious to turn to—seem inadequate.

Reich, for example, wants to give unemployed workers vouchers that they can hand over to a company in return for technical training and also wants to revamp the tax system to provide incentives for companies to invest in high technology. Hawken, for his part, wants to slap a dollar-a-gallon tax on oil and generally to move to a Schumacher-type "small is beautiful" world of small farms, smaller companies, and "friendly people at the gas pump."

Such remedies are clearly insufficient, unrealistic, or even unnecessary. Hawken's giant oil tax is a nonstarter, in any case, apart from the major problems it would raise. And it is not clear that greater emphasis on high-tech training will improve America's competitive edge. Other nations can subsidize their high-technology industries, which may or may not be a good thing, and in developing countries some elements of high technology can be assimilated easily into industrial operations. A more radical shift to a service economy may well require, in addition to computer expertise and other technical abilities, the further development of very different skills.

Similarly, Hawken's inadequate analysis of U.S. problems casts doubt on his financial recommendations. His advice boils down to "Save your money and play for safety." Admittedly, this is a refreshing change from the books that still want to tell you how to make a million dollars in real estate. But those who followed Hawken's advice a year ago would be way behind those who believed the economy would climb out of recession and so put their money in the stock market.

All this means that the American economy is a tremendously complex system, developing in ways that may not be clear to us. While governments will continue to try to direct it, simple suggestions for change are unlikely to do much good. Books like Reich's and Hawken's may provide some new insights, but they are nonetheless reminiscent of the blind men's description of the elephant. WV

TO END WAR: A NEW APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

by **Robert Woiwo**

(Pilgrim Press; xx + 755 pp.; \$25.00/\$12.95)

HOW WARS END: THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE TERMINATION OF ARMED CONFLICT, 1946-1964

by **Sydney D. Bailey**

(Clarendon Press. Vol. I xxi + 404 pp.; \$89.00. Vol. II xxxii + 715 pp.; \$98.00)

Terry Nardin

To End War is the sixth edition of an annotated bibliography first published in 1976 by the World Without War Council as a resource for those in the peace movement. Over the years it has grown into a volume of more than 750 pages, and the bibliography is now embedded in an extended discussion of the state system, the causes of war, and other familiar topics of international relations. Indeed, the book has come to resemble an introductory textbook on international relations, though its approach is more popular and more openly practical than that of most texts.

Offered by its author as "a manual for realistic visionaries," the book is skeptical of many of the assumptions of the peace movement, as well as of politics-as-usual, arguing, for example, that strategies for promoting peace must recognize the utility of weapons both as symbols and as instruments of political power. The gist of the underlying argument is that the only alternative to war is the settlement of disputes within a framework of world law. This, in turn, presupposes some "sense of community" among antagonists, to be fostered by policies promoting arms control, economic development, respect for human rights, and nonviolent social change.

Woiwo insists on the necessity of grounding peace advocacy in an analysis of fundamentals and therefore begins with a comprehensive survey of ideas about international relations, war, and peace. He moves on to develop proposals for appropriate changes in U.S. foreign policy—a focus said to be dictated by the global importance of the United States, by the openness of American politics to public influence, and by the opportunities likely to be available to prospective readers. The book concludes with a substantial section of information for citizen activists, such as the names and addresses of peace organizations.

Much of what the book has to say is

probably sound and is presented sensibly, but its discussion, especially of the fundamentals, is superficial and its conclusions weakly argued. Is it really the case that world peace is linked in any essential way to respect for human rights? Is the "sense of community" required for the peaceful settlement of disputes something that involves shared beliefs and values—or is it enough that adversaries acknowledge the authority of international law and of institutions like the U.N.? Is such acknowledgement even possible in the absence of ideological agreement? If not, does this mean that world peace is impossible except on the basis of ideological and cultural uniformity? Too many difficult and even uncomfortable questions simply are not asked.

Perhaps the ordinary citizen cannot be expected to think about questions of theory. Perhaps theory is not very relevant for intelligent practice, not an adequate substitute for experience and pragmatic judgment. But if so, what purpose is served by an attempt at popularizing international relations theory? Part of the reason why *To End War* does not quite come off is because it is so ambitious, seeking to combine in one volume a treatise, a textbook, and a practical guide to action. Yet the bibliography and guide to organizations and periodicals that take up rather more than half the book, though eclectic (is the Committee on the Present Danger a peace organization?) and sometimes inaccurate (Grotius' *Prolegomena* does not set forth any rules of warfare, nor does Charles Beitz defend state autonomy), remain a useful resource.

Sydney Bailey's *How Wars End* is also a big book—more than 1,100 pages in two volumes—and, like Woiwo's, adopts a practical rather than a theoretical approach. But while Woiwo discusses the entire problem of war in the modern world, Bailey focuses on the termination of armed hostilities through efforts in the United Nations. Both authors emphasize the importance of international law, with Woiwo arguing for the creation of a world legal order in which disputes might be resolved by legal rather than military action and Bailey largely occupied with the problem of how diplomats might make more effective use of international humanitarian law and U.N. procedures for limiting and ending armed conflicts. And where Woiwo seeks to encourage public action to ameliorate the underlying causes of war, Bailey is concerned with procedures and techniques through which diplomats may arrange cease-fires, prod the belligerents toward negotiation, protect noncombatants, and so forth.

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Bailey's many recommendations are based upon seven meticulously detailed case studies of conflicts brought to an end within the framework of U.N. diplomacy between 1946 and 1964. These studies, which constitute the second volume, assume that the reader is already familiar with the conflicts themselves. They make heavy reading indeed, and most readers will be satisfied to look at the first volume, which presents the author's interpretations of the lessons of the cases.

The discussion starts with a helpful examination of some important ideas, seeking to distinguish international and civil wars, regular and irregular fighters, combatants and civilians, truces and cease-fires, procedural and substantive questions in Security Council deliberations, and so forth. The next two chapters, which deal with Council procedures and diplomacy, provide an authoritative guide to some of the intricacies of U.N. politics, but one so detailed that only a specialist will want to attend to much of it. A chapter on problems in the field is equally detailed but, perhaps because one has moved from the stuffy atmosphere of the Security Council to the more graspable exigencies of the battlefield, is far more readable. The chapter on humanitarian questions juxtaposes legal and practical considerations in an illuminating way. What should diplomats attempting to arrange an end to the fighting do about irregulars, refugees, or units cut off from their own lines when a cease-fire takes effect? Bailey does not entirely neglect long-range problems, observing about the Palestinian refugee camps, for example, that "it is not surprising that extravagant political ideas flourish in such an environment and that there is a steady flow of recruits for the terrorist organizations.... Here is fruitful breeding ground for future wars."

War, Bailey argues from his case studies, rarely succeeds in advancing the aims of those who initiate it, and those aims are often strikingly confused. War is not an effective way to secure justice, nor are the righteous always victorious. More often than not war is a disaster, not a means to achieving a desired end. This is impressive, but Thucydides was able to conclude as much two millennia ago on the basis of his "case study" of the Peloponnesian War. Still, in our pride we probably need to be reminded of this again and again. How can the message be gotten across to arrogant men who have schemes for profiting from the threat or use of nuclear weapons? The value of Bailey's work lies in his close attention to the difficulties and opportunities of working with and trying to improve those quite im-

If you believe that pressing political, economic, and cultural issues cannot be resolved—or even understood—without considering their moral and ethical underpinnings, you should subscribe to

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Foreign Policy and "The American Way"

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by Allan C. Carlson

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The Market, Planning, Capitalism and Democracy

by Giovanni Sartori

Debates over the degree of economic planning that is compatible with political democracy are notable more for their passion than for their clearheadedness. Here, however, the distinguished Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at Columbia University presents light without heat: a remarkably readable and lucid explanation that, happily, defines some basic concepts too often obscured, when not overlooked entirely.

THIS WORLD is published three times yearly. Single copies are \$5 each. Subscriptions: \$16 for four issues, \$32 for eight issues. Please enclose payment with your order, and address:

This World 6th floor 210 East 86th Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

Editor: Michael A. Scully Editorial Board: Michael Novak, Seymour Siegel

perfect institutions we have set up to contain the inevitable frictions that attend the clash of divergent purposes. Such efforts may not be enough to save us from self-destruction, but that does not mean we can afford to neglect them. WV

THE HEALTH REVOLUTION IN CUBA

by Sergio Díaz-Briquets

(University of Texas Press; xvii + 227 pp.; \$19.95)

George A. Silver

Critical attention to Castro's Cuba extends to much more than its Soviet ties, the putative danger it represents to U.S. economic and political interests in the Caribbean, or the general threat of falling dominoes. Cuba has adopted a firm Marxist approach to social organization, analagous to, though not slavishly modeled on, the USSR—a Marxism in Latin dress, or, perhaps, distinctively Cuban. Social scientists have taken great interest in the changes that politics have wrought in the organization and activity of traditional social institutions and, to the extent possible, have launched studies about them. Among these have been studies of the health and medical-care system.

The desperate poverty and associated poor health standards of most of Latin America have been the object of concern and laborious efforts, with only modest improvement, over the past fifty years. Within a brief period following the Castro takeover, however, Cuban health standards improved remarkably—not only surpassing the levels of every other Latin American country but matching general U.S. standards and bettering those of some of our geographic areas and impoverished minority groups. In other words, from public health levels in 1953 characteristic of an underdeveloped country, Cuba has achieved the health levels of a technologically advanced, developed country. Not only is Cuban infant mortality at a record-breaking low for Latin America, but it equals that of the U.S., as does life expectancy and the overall death rate.

Infant mortality is heavily influenced by nutritional factors, prenatal care, and good sanitation, and so Cuba's achievement would have been impossible without an "infrastructure"—general improvement in health services, the elimination of the environmental diseases that result from the lack of clean water and good sanitation that are so devastating in poor countries, and good nutrition. Further evidence of improvement in

all the elements that contribute to improved health levels is the increase in health manpower. While the United States still has serious health-manpower shortages in certain geographic areas and continues to import foreign medical graduates, Cuba is exporting doctors, not as immigrants but as extensions of its foreign policy.

It is easy to see a propaganda impact here. The successes of the transformed medical-care system have become the subject of numerous books and articles, and conferences and seminars for the international health community have been fostered, though not necessarily initiated, by the Cuban Government. This July the World Health Organization is sponsoring a two-week seminar in Havana, with visits to clinics, hospitals, and other health institutions. While efforts have been made to impugn the data or the reporters, there is sufficient unbiased evidence to persuade health experts that Cuba has transformed a traditional Latin American, class-oriented medical-care system into a system committed to widely distributed, easily accessible, universally available medical care.

This book, by a U.S. population expert of Cuban descent, is as objective an analysis as has yet come out in the United States. There are many statistical tables, and the data and detailed analysis may not appeal to the casual reader. However, chapters four and seven, describing the situation in Cuba during the first half of the century and the situation since 1953, along with the author's conclusions in chapter eight, are useful and interesting. He recognizes and describes the positive changes and their source, pointing out that Cuba came into the Marxist era with a little more going for it than most

Newly Published

Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau will be published by Transaction Press in December of this year. Its editors are Robert Myers, President of the Council on Religion and International Affairs, and Kenneth Thompson, a Trustee of CRIA and Commonwealth Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. James Finn, Associate Director for Research at Freedom House and former Vice-President of CRIA, edited the forthcoming *Global Economics and Religion*, also to be published by Transaction.

A new edition of Lewis Nkosi's *Home and Exile and Other Selections* has been published as a volume in "Longman Studies in African Literature." Chapter 22 originally appeared as reviews in this journal.

underdeveloped countries but that the leaders of the revolution took excellent advantage of the situation and made the most of this. Some leading spirits of the revolution, like Che Guevara, were physicians; and they were better prepared than others to deal with a system whose professionals were enmeshed in traditional values. The attack on medical institutions was no less firm or complete than the attack on other capitalist institutions.

As Díaz-Briquets sees it, however, Cuba had the advantage of improved health standards from the beginning of the century as a result of several factors: the American occupation(!); a burgeoning trade union movement with beginning health insurance; and better economic circumstances—not detailed. He tries to distance himself from partisans on either side of the political fence; he looks neither to criticize nor to defend. He also recognizes the powerful role played by political considerations. "The key to the effectiveness of the reforms," he writes, "therefore was the political commitment to extend these services to all the population and place a premium on the measures that would minimize the ill effects of disease." Still, he suggests that Cuba's advance in health status resembles that of "similar" countries—Sri Lanka and Taiwan are mentioned—and he associates himself with those theorists who ascribe all such changes to pure economic development.

Díaz-Briquet is willing, however, to concede contradictory evidence: "It is of particular interest that the mortality decline since the early 1960s has taken place in the absence of economic growth as measured by conventional economic indicators." And further: "Commitment to a full, or nearly full, employment" with attendant job security does play a role. He notes that "other development programs geared to the elimination of social and rural-urban differentials have included a literacy and general education program." (Cuba's literacy rate is over 90 per cent.) Indeed, he notes, "It is possible partly to account for the mortality changes that have occurred in Cuba over the past two decades...by the extent to which these programs have expanded the coverage of public health and medical services and on the impact of increased availability of services on health conditions and mortality." In short, basic mechanisms aimed at improving health in the population, so far as public-health statistics can measure these, include "increased emphasis on preventive medicine; improvements in sanitation and related areas; raising of nutritional levels for the disadvantaged social groups, education of the public re-