

worth reading for its excellent discussion of revolutionary warfare, its analysis of the terroristic element in both revolutionary war and nuclear deterrence, its attention to the currently often neglected problems of the right to go to war, and its consideration of the pacifist and realist alternatives to the just war tradition. The reader who spends some hours with Johnson and Phillips will learn much more about the moral issues raised by modern weapons and modern forms of warfare. But because Johnson avoids and Phillips stumbles over the deeper question of how to lay a foundation for just war thinking, one is still at the very beginning of the philosophical inquiry when one puts these books down. :WV.

A PALESTINIAN STATE: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ISRAEL

by **Mark A. Heller**

(Harvard University Press; x+190 pp.; \$16.00)

Thomas A. Idinopolus

This is a carefully reasoned and boldly stated book by a political strategist who teaches at Tel Aviv University. Heller argues that the Arab-Israeli conflict will not end unless and until the Palestinian problem is solved. What is the problem? The demand for territorial autonomy, self-government, and refugee repatriation. The United Nations will not solve the problem, nor will the United States or the Arab states themselves. Only Israel has sufficient power and motive to solve the problem. Considering the consistent opposition of Israeli leaders to a PLO-led "third state" between Israel and Jordan, it takes courage for Professor Heller, an Israeli Jew, to assert that the best solution is for Israel to declare its support for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza, and part of East Jerusalem and to negotiate directly with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the future leadership of that state. He reasons that when Israel acknowledges the PLO, the revolutionaries will be too busy organizing their new state to continue with terror. Unfortunately Heller does not tell us whether, once in power, the PLO leaders will try to even the score with West Bank Arabs who opposed them or did not wholeheartedly support them.

Virtually all Israelis cite security reasons in objecting to an independent Arab Palestine on the West Bank. Heller argues that the continuing military occupation of West

Bank Arab territory stretching from Jenin in the north to Jericho in the south provides strategic "depth" against any future major attack. Returning the West Bank to Arab sovereignty would restore Israel's pre-'49 narrow waist at the two points where the distance between Arab settlement and the vital Mediterranean coastline is less than ten miles.

Heller is one of a minority of Israeli left-wingers who believes that the security risk, although permanent, can be considerably reduced. He proposes the phased withdrawal of Israeli occupying troops, timed to allow for the installation of devices to monitor Arab movements in a region demilitarized by treaty. Israel would retain the right to enter the West Bank and Gaza with force to stop the entry of personnel and weapons that threaten her. Heller dismisses (rightly, I think) the danger that an independent West Bank Palestine would become a base for Soviet incursion or subversion in the region. It is against Jordan that an independent Palestine poses a palpable threat. The Hashemite monarchy is resented by Palestinians for the 1970 Black September massacre and for the nineteen years (1948-67) of Jordanian exploitation of the West Bank. King Hussein fears the Palestinians, does not want more of them in Jordan, but would keep his promise to form a single federal Jordanian-Palestinian state should Israel declare support for an independent PLO-led Palestine.

The establishment of an independent state honors the legitimate political rights of the Palestinians and, in Heller's judgment, lifts a burden from Israel. Before the Six-Day War of June, 1967, when the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem fell to Israel, the Palestinian problem (then largely seen in terms of the plight of the refugees) was in the lap of the Arab states. After '67, with the rise of the PLO, international attention turned to the questions of Palestinian nationalism and Israel's occupation of the Arab-populated West Bank and Gaza. Heller notes that nineteen years of occupation are having a deleterious moral and social effect on Jews no less than on Arabs. The failure of successive Israeli governments to deal with the West Bank problem strengthened the hand of right-wing Israeli politicians who view the territories as part of the biblically promised Eretz Israel and demand annexation.

Professor Heller responds by arguing that Israel confronts a dreadful dilemma. If the territory is annexed and Israel adds 1.3 million Arabs to its present population of 700,000 "Israeli Arabs," the "Jewish" character of the Jewish State (inhabited today

by 3.25 million Jews) would be radically altered. Indeed, with Arab natural increase double that of Israel's Jews, by early in the next century, if not sooner, Muslims will outnumber Jews in the whole area west of the Jordan River. In addition, the voting strength of a new Arab bloc would have serious implications for the country's Zionist policies. If, however, the territory is annexed and the Arabs are absorbed but full civil rights, including voting rights, are *not* extended, then Israel would lose her claim to democracy and surrender the case to the critics who today are accusing her of practicing South African-style apartheid toward the Palestinians.

Thus, in Heller's judgment, the only way for Israel to retain its Jewish self-identity without losing the democratic principles Zionism espouses and to rid itself of its crushing Palestinian burden is to openly declare for an independent Palestine. The decision is Israel's, and the day of decision draws closer. The demographic handwriting is on the wall.

Heller's thesis is provocative, but it is also timely and thoughtful and should be given a fair hearing by all who do not despair of solving the oldest, still most difficult, of the Mideast's many problems.

THE COEVOLUTION OF CLIMATE AND LIFE

by **Stephen H. Schneider**
and **Randi Londer**

(Sierra Club Books [San Francisco]; xii+563 pp.; \$25.00)

Albert L. Huebner

Most general readers will be drawn to this book for its extensive discussion of climate, human affairs, and their close interaction. The effects of that interaction are most notable at present in Africa. They are becoming more global all the time. But *The Coevolution of Climate and Life*, the product of a very successful collaboration between a leading atmospheric scientist (Schneider) and a first-rate science journalist (Londer), promotes the discussion of effects by laying the groundwork essential to a clear understanding of prospects and options.

The authors cover major elements in the history of climate in Part I and the mechanisms of climate change in Part II. This requires them to draw upon the research methods of a wide range of scientific disciplines. Schneider and Londer have selected so skillfully from this large body of

material that the result is comprehensive and up-to-date, yet their clear and lively writing has made it easily accessible to the intelligent nonscientist.

Unlike the authors of many books written at this level, Schneider and Londer place great stress on the uncertainties in our present understanding of the mechanisms of climatic change. These uncertainties carry over to those effects of greatest interest, the ones for which we are responsible—from acid rain and the greenhouse effect to “nuclear winter.” Significantly, much that is being written or broadcast in the mass media ignores the extent and importance of this uncertainty.

Not that the authors view them as an invitation to do nothing. As would be expected, they strongly endorse the research efforts necessary to improve understanding of a disturbingly long list of large-scale and complex human/climate interactions. And they advocate a comprehensive “anticipatory adaptation strategy,” composed of measures that simultaneously serve two vital purposes: They contribute to the solution of already pressing problems, and they “build resilience” into life-support systems in a way that minimizes vulnerability to future climate changes, whatever forms they take.

High on this list is a workable world food security system. A crucial first step is to address the acute and chronic food crises that ravage many underdeveloped countries, more as the consequence of political and economic forces than climate change per se. Schneider and Londer insist that the present chaos must be replaced by a program that provides short-term emergency aid, fully complemented by longer-term technological assistance and capital investment. Done correctly—that is, in a way that quickly gets the benefits to people at the bottom of the economic ladder—the goal of self-sufficiency can be reached, making further aid unnecessary.

Taking a broader view, the authors show that a relatively small drop in grain stocks triggers worldwide price increases that affect the needy everywhere. The poor of all nations would immediately benefit if the world level of accessible grain were maintained above a definable minimum—something that also provides a logical basis for meeting potentially severe and unremitting climate fluctuations.

As these and other ingredients of their anticipatory strategy emphasize, the vulnerability of essential support systems to future changes in climate is increased by the distressing fragility of those systems at present. Accelerating soil erosion and de-



Stephen Swarty

terioration of water resources, for example, present a growing threat to the quality of life everywhere on the planet, even in the absence of any significant long-term climate change.

Schneider and Londer are right in claiming that swift, vigorous implementation of resilience-building policies “are vastly more urgent for human well-being... than whether or not to impose automobile import tariffs, build B-1 bombers, reform government overregulation,” and many other issues that dominate political attention. But what is the likelihood that consciousness can be expanded before the most ominous of current trends have become irreversible?

The prospects aren’t encouraging. If, for example, the program to achieve world food security has a familiar ring, it’s because Schneider and other thoughtful analysts have been urging its adoption for more than a decade. It is scarcely more likely to be implemented during this period of urgent budget cutting, despite recently engraved images of mass starvation, than it was after the Sahelian famine of the early 1970s. And at a time of falling farm income, equally unlikely to be implemented are the soil reclamation projects required for building resilience. When it comes to improvements in energy that quickly pay for themselves and that could do much to reduce the burden on the atmosphere that is promoting climate change itself, the prognosis is equally bleak; in the U.S., preeminent as an energy user, this form of conservation is being steadily de-emphasized as a policy option.

Schneider and Londer see one major avenue of hope. It derives from the fact that societies largely determine the societal con-

sequences of weather variations, with industrial societies like the U.S. having a disproportionately large influence. Invoking H. G. Wells’s familiar insight, “Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe,” they argue that a thoroughly informed citizenry can tilt the scales against climatic catastrophe. *The Coevolution of Climate and Life* is an excellent starting point for that critically important process of education. **WV**

ON HUMAN DIGNITY: POLITICAL THEOLOGY AND ETHICS

by Jürgen Moltmann
translated by M. Douglas Meeks
(Fortress Press; 222 pp.; \$15.95)

Richard John Neuhaus

Jürgen Moltmann of the University of Tübingen, West Germany, is among the most distinguished Protestant theologians writing today. He is most closely associated with “the theology of hope,” an approach to theology that makes Christian teaching about the promised consummation of history the starting and ending point for all theological reflection.

In the present collection of essays Moltmann addresses a wide range of cultural, social, and political issues from the perspective of the theology of hope. The title is perhaps unfortunate, since “human dignity” relates most directly to the opening statements on “human rights,” which Moltmann himself seems to feel are not the