PEACE IN OUR TIME

(Continued from page 14)

and preparing a vast military machine. It was in the light of all this that American policy, from Greek-Turkish aid to the Atlantic Pact, was shaped. Our citizens are not now going to be more noticeably reassured by being quoted certain temperate statements from Marx than would the American Indians have been by being read in toto the treatises of John Locke.

The book will either be conspicuously ignored or violently denounced. A better approach would be to judge it for what it is: the work of a professor of philosophy who has gotten rather badly mixed up in the fields of politics and international affairs.

Bigger Nation-State?

WESTERN UNION. By Andrew and Frances Boyd. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 183 pp. \$3.

By STRINGFELLOW BARR

THIS book is a brief, convenient compendium of the salient facts about Western Union, the movement towards a common federal government for Western Europe. Its appendices include speeches, treaties, and other documents that bear on that movement. It summarizes the postwar plight of Europe: the economic disaster which was Hitler's legacy, the East-West split, the German question, and the colonial tangle. It traces the slow growth, through the centuries, of Europe's longing for unity. It sketches present unifying factors, such as ERP and Benelux. It discusses the plans and policies of various organizations that are fighting for union.

This story is told without much insight, but it is such an exciting story that it has produced an interesting book. That the book falls so far below books like "The West at Bay," by Barbara Ward, can be easily explained. The Boyds are no more convinced than Miss Ward is that Western Europe must form a government without Russia. They are no more convinced than she is that Russian totalitarianism is wrong. They are as aware as she is that Europe shares none of America's faith in capitalism. That they lack her hard-bitten economic analysis is excusable. What is not excusable is their apparent unawareness that many of their premises are matters for argument.

The East-West split, for example, is "Stalin's achievement." Surely

- says Charles Rolo in The Atlantic

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JUNE 18, 1949

James P. Warburg has exploded that myth—and without congratulating the Russians on their behavior either. The force of anti-European feeling in the colonial areas is not assessed. But this feeling is one of the stark facts that statesmanship faces. The European Recovery Program is dealt with uncritically. American readers, at least, need to know the ways in which it is being criticized by intelligent Europeans who are neither pro-Russian nor anti-American. Mr. Churchill's campaign for Western Union is swallowed pretty much whole.

The authors of "Western Union" have a right to conclude that Russia is chiefly to blame for the cold war; that backward peoples still require supervision; that ERP is soundly based, and that Mr. Churchill is right. But they seem unaware of the many

good reasons for rejecting or modifying these views. This unawareness robs their book of depth and context. One may usefully take Miss Ward again as an example. She rejects the Russian solution of our problems, and gives cogent reasons for doing so. But she is attentive to Russian arguments, so that she knows what she is rejecting. "Western Union" overlooks arguments rather than meeting them. Its authors seem not to have heard them vet.

The effect of the book is therefore to make one wonder whether Western Union is indeed the step towards world government its advocates claim it is, or whether it is the parochialism of the nation-state writ more large, in a world where parochialism becomes more dangerous with each succeeding year.

Dovetailing the Globe

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND WORLD ORDER. Edited by F. S. C. Northrop. New Haven: Yale University Press. 486 pp. \$4.50.

By August Heckscher

THE attempts to create political L unity in the world are necessarily superficial and doomed at best to a partial success so long as ideological differences continue unexamined and unreconciled. The extent and variety of these differences are sometimes forgotten. The average member of Western society is amazingly insular, being blind not only to systems of value and thought on far continents, but insensitive to deviations within his own culture. As for any true comprehension of these ideologies, or any feeling for the ways in which they may be harmonized, the average man is totally at a loss.

The present volume makes a brave and massive attack upon the "certain blindness" which we all share. Edited by Professor Northrop, whose own epochal study has contributed to an understanding between East and West, it is written by many hands. No single author, indeed, could have had the knowledge to penetrate all the fields discussed, far less the insight to grasp their inner meanings and harmonies. Beginning with the eloquent statement of Dean Pound on the possibility of a new Jus Gentium, the volume deals with the philosophies at the root of Chinese society and painting, of classical Western and Gothic art, of aspects of Latin American and Russian civilization. It proceeds to a discussion of the cultural values of which the New Deal, the British Labor Government, and contemporary French literature are, among others, the expression.

But this study is not merely an encyclopedic treatment of diverse ideological systems. It wants to suggest, as well, the means by which what is basic in these ideologies can be refined by criticism and purified by knowledge and brought into a closer relationship. Are social and cultural phenomena determined inexorably by objective, material factors? Or are they in some measurable degree the product of conscious ideas? "Once it is realized," writes Professor Northrop, "that ideas are relevant to social and cultural institutions and events and that the ideas of men can be altered by men themselves, then the way is opened for placing the fate of men . . . back in their own hands." Accordingly, the second part of the book emphasizes the methods



used by scientists and scholars in analyzing any given culture: the role they assign, as economists, sociologists, psychologists, etc., to ideological and non-ideological considerations.

If no one man could have written the book, few will pretend that they can wholly master it. Certainly this reviewer cannot pretend to have done so. And yet a certain elusiveness, a residue of the inexplicable and unplumbed, is not by itself objectionable in a book. On the contrary, it gives it an air of great value. The present volume, indeed, is a good example of the satisfaction which the ordinary reader can derive from a book which was not written expressly for him, and has not been simplified or thinned. Reading it slowly, he finds his mind being rather rudely stretched, and putting it down from time to time he finds that the experience has been unexpectedly rewarding.

August Heckscher, a former member of the faculty of Yale University, is an editorial writer for the New York Herald Tribune. He is the author of "A Pattern of Politics."

Building Unity

FOUNDATIONS FOR WORLD OR-DER. Addresses by Ernest L. Woodward, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Edward H. Carr, William E. Rappard, Robert M. Hutchins, Francis B. Sayre, and Edward M. Earle. Denver: University of Denver Press. 174 pp. \$3.

By Joseph P. Lash

WE GENERALLY shy away from books with "world order" in their titles. We have the uneasy feeling that the slogan "world government now" may be as little related to the realities of securing peace in this postwar period as the Oxford Oath movement "not to fight for King or country" was to stopping war in the mid-Thirties. The ardent crusade that has developed around world government testifies more to our hunger for a faith to live by than it does to the validity of the solutions which are offered to overcome the bitter clash of economic and political systems.

It was an agreeable surprise, therefore, to discover that this book, which binds together a series of addresses delivered under the auspices of the Social Science Foundation of the University of Denver, approaches the problem of world unity with scholarship, urbanity, and a minimum of utopianism.

The series was organized so that