



*Spotlight on the World:*

## “THE INTERPLAY OF EAST AND WEST”

*Author: Barbara Ward*

By AUGUST HECKSCHER, *director, Twentieth Century Fund.*

**T**HE INTERESTS of the average American have been hugely expanded over the past generation. The First World War brought a fresh consciousness of Europe. The Second World War made Russia an overriding preoccupation. When Wendell Willkie spoke of “One World” he meant mainly a oneness between the West and Russia; it remained for the Cold War (and for Adlai Stevenson, who first spoke, I believe, of “the uncommitted nations”) to make of vital concern the relations between the West and the whole vast sweep of the East.

Across this enlarged stage Barbara Ward, through her new book “The Interplay of East and West” (Norton, \$3.50), now offers herself as a guide. It would be hard to imagine one more lucid, more eloquent, or more charming. Her small volume, a gathering of lectures delivered at McGill University, yields many fresh insights into the way the two halves of the globe have reacted upon each other in the past and how they can be of help to each other in the crisis through which the whole twentieth-century world is passing.

A quick survey of former centuries reminds us that the interplay of the two strains of civilization is not new. What is new is the rapidity of change and the intensity of the relationships brought about by modern transport and communication. When Marco Polo first visited the East, he found a civilization more advanced than the Europe of his day, and far richer in all the current forms of wealth. Europe was then a have-not nation—yet rich in the gifts of mind and spirit which were to make the age of iron more productive in human well-being than the age of gold and spice had ever been. Today East and West confront each other on new terms; and the East, says Miss Ward, has no choice but to imitate the West and to industrialize as quickly as possible.

It must industrialize because only by this means can it have power, and it is no longer content to remain in a subservient position. Moreover, the immense increase in its population,

brought about by the beginnings of economic progress, compels it to go the whole way if its civilization is not to perish in war and disease. Faced by this necessity, the East has two alternatives. It can follow the way of Russia or the way of the free West. There is no question but that the example of Russia, which in a generation has shaped an economy of vast productive capacity, is in many ways attractive. But Miss Ward is convinced that forty years of experience with Communism has disillusioned those who might be her followers. Not only is lack of freedom a deterrent, but failure to deal effectively with the agricultural problem shows that the system has grave practical shortcomings.

The free West has its chance—but only if it acts with vision. It begins with the handicap of long association in the mind of the East with colonialism and aggression. It suffers today from the immense disproportion between its wealth and the poverty of the lands which it seeks to influence. In the end, Miss Ward is convinced, the West will have to accept in regard to the world community what it has made fundamental at home: the idea that great poverty and great wealth cannot safely exist side by side. Within national boundaries it has been recognized that all benefit

when well-distributed purchasing power and a rising standard of living provide a solid base for the economy. How this shall be accomplished on a world scale Miss Ward does not indicate. Evidently it will require something more than the limited economic and technical aid which the United States has been providing.

The necessity for vision applies to the East as well as to the West. The danger is that nationalism will be pursued in an extreme form, at the very time when its absurdity as a practical doctrine has been uncontroversially demonstrated. It is difficult for the West to overcome the virus of nationalism; for the East it may be even more so. Miss Ward, who has always combined a knowledge of economics with a sensitiveness to spiritual forces, argues that it will be subdued only by a greater force; and this force, she suggests, must be essentially religious in nature. The meaning of science, when apprehended in all its implications, will strengthen religion in the West; it may be given a vitality and power which permits it to illumine the nations struggling toward industrial and technological advance. Thus the East, Miss Ward proposes, can learn from us; it will be saved from the materialism through which it might pass in its search for material growth.

The book is wise in its understanding of Western strength as well as Western weakness; it reminds us of our opportunities even while it warns us against self-righteousness. If the next chapter in history is to avoid the overwhelming tragedy of a world divided and of civilizations at odds, it will be because men and women have taken thought in time. Miss Ward is one of the most eloquent of those in the vanguard.



**ABOUT BARBARA WARD:** “The Interplay of East and West” is a gathering of lectures that Miss Ward delivered at McGill University in the autumn of 1955. More than 2,500 people—students, professors, and other citizens of Montreal—turned up on three evenings in singularly wintry weather and sat silently attentive on the hard temporary seats that had been installed in the gymnasium armory because none of the lecture halls in the university was large enough to hold the audience. All this was testimony to the wit and charm of Miss Ward (or more

formally, Lady Jackson, for she is the wife of Sir Robert G. A. Jackson), who became foreign editor of the *Economist* of London at the age of twenty-six. Her reputation was initially confined to Britain’s serious classes, but she caught on among the man- and woman-in-the-street in the early Forties when she joined the panel of BBC’s “Brains Trust,” a kind of “Information, Please.” She has five previous books to her credit, of which “The West at Bay” and “Policy for the West” are perhaps best known in this country. Now, at the age of forty-three and the mother of a small son, she is winding up a lecture series at Harvard. Soon she will be heading back to England to join her husband, who recently completed a tour of duty as adviser to the government of the Gold Coast, the British colony in Africa that recently became independent Ghana.

—ARCHIBALD VAN VORHEES.



—From the book.

King Hussein of Jordan (right) with Alfred M. Lilienthal in Amman.

## Storm in the Levant

*“There Goes the Middle East,” by Alfred M. Lilienthal (Devin-Adair, 300 pp. \$4), is a strong attack on American and Zionist policy in respect to the Arab lands. Professor Sydney N. Fisher of the Ohio State University and editor of “Social Forces in the Near East” is our reviewer.*

By Sydney N. Fisher

**A**MERICAN chickens in the Middle East have been coming home to roost and are laying red eggs,” Alfred M. Lilienthal tells us in his new book “There Goes the Middle East.” Should the Arab states and consequently the entire Middle East, including North Africa, succumb to the Soviet bloc and permit the Iron Curtain to be moved outward, the United States could blame only herself. The Middle East is teetering precariously on the brink. Mr. Lilienthal’s pessimistic tone leaves little doubt about the outcome.

Written before the very recent political explosions in Jordan wherein King Hussein ousted Prime Minister Nabulsi and General Ali Abu Nuwar, “There Goes the Middle East” is a vigorous indictment of American foreign policy in regard to the Arab states and Israel. Mr. Lilienthal introduces his thesis with the words of Ernest K. Lindley, “Domestic politics rather than a considered analysis of the interests of the United States has been the predominating factor in our policy concerning Palestine.” It would be interesting to know whether or not Mr. Lilienthal considers the dispatch of the American Sixth Fleet to the Levant, the financial assistance delivered to King Hussein, and the probable indirect sympathy, encouragement, and favor transmitted to the

“pro-Western” forces in Jordan as an indication of a real shift in American Middle Eastern policy.

Step by step, point by point, this polemic narrates the battle between American officials and experts, first emblazoned by Secretary Forrestal who recognized the significance of the Middle East to the United States, and by Zionist leaders and pro-Zionist spokesmen who, Mr. Lilienthal believes, tried to subordinate general American interests to their own. Thus, this volume is not so much an account of contemporary events in the Middle East as a denunciation of the forces in the United States which have dictated our policy in the Middle East. Mr. Lilienthal recites the pressures utilized in getting the partition of Palestine through the United Nations Assembly and cites countless instances in which, he asserts, Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, as well as a whole host of governors, senators, congressmen, Cabinet officers, and political candidates, have yielded to Zionist political strength. He offers examples of slanted articles and news coverage in leading American dailies to round out a picture of an apathetic American public being misled by a furtive campaign of misinformation. In conclusion, he sorrowfully maintains that Communist inroads in the Middle East succeed only because American promises and good intentions toward the Arabs are hamstringed by Zionists or by those who fear their vindictiveness.

On some of these points Mr. Lilienthal is not very convincing. Exactly why Secretary Dulles withdrew the Western offer to help Egypt build the Great Dam at Aswan when he did and in such a manner is not clearly stated and Mr. Lilienthal acknowledges that many considerations other

than Zionist views were involved. Nor has he completely saddled the Zionists with the Suez problems of 1956 and 1957.

In order to save the Middle East, Mr. Lilienthal urges that we adopt a truly impartial attitude toward the two contending forces in the area. From such a posture, he hopes can come a peace settlement which will establish widely acceptable and delimited frontiers and which will solve the riddle of the tragic Arab refugees. He suggests the return to the Arabs of the Galilee hills region in the vicinity of Nazareth, where many Arab refugees originated and whose rugged terrain can be better cultivated by Arabs than by the Israelis. Surely small comfort to the refugees! Moreover, he asks that Israel become a small compact Middle Eastern nationalist state rather than continue as the center of a universal Jewish nationalism.

Zionists naturally will not like this book. Nor will many Democrats and Republicans. Indeed, there is hardly anyone who holds a position on the Middle East—whether British, French, Russian, or Arab—who will not take exception to some of Mr. Lilienthal’s words and points of view. The author is addressing the American public but the book is so full of names, places, and incidents, many of which are only identified most summarily, that the reader, uninitiated to Middle Eastern affairs, is more than likely to be bewildered. The experts, who in general have already made up their minds, may enjoy perusing this homily to find such expressions on American foreign policy as this condemnation of American action in the Middle East: “We are speaking loudly and carrying a little stick.”

**PARLIAMENT OR DEBATING SOCIETY?:** Has the United Nations, now in its second decade, really been moving towards an effective “parliament of man,” or has it, under the shadow of the Cold War, been sinking into a kind of debating society whose brilliant deliberations are carried on off the beaten path of world events? In “*Revolution on East River*” (Abelard-Schuman, \$3.50) James Avery Joyce, as his title implies, comes down hard for the first alternative. National sovereignty, he says flatly, is “on the way out.” Yet Mr. Joyce’s conclusion proves less a matter of demonstration than of hope.

His defense of neutralism will hardly endear him to many Americans, and his general peace-at-any-price approach sounds like the pacifism that was all too prevalent, and costly, before World War II.

—SAMUEL S. STRATTON.